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A. L. U. SWEEPING THE STATE HEADQUARTERS QUESTION

Oregon Labor Unions are Turning to the American Labor Union.—Growth of the Young Political Action Giant Meets With Rabid Opposition on Part of A. F. of L. —Organizer Latimer Challenges Gomper's Man to Debate, But It is Not Accepted.

We Have Gotten Together; Let Us Get to Work.—Let the Workers Rule the Party Which the Workers are Making.—An Article Written for The Journal by Walter Thomas Mills, National Committeeman for the State of Kansas.

The Portland Oregonian of recent date contained the following:

The powerful rival of the American Federation of Labor, the American Labor Union, has begun a campaign of invasion in this territory. Unions which have long been members of the older organization have been transformed into branches of the invading force. The scene of operation has thus far been confined to Southern Oregon, but within a few months organizers of the American Labor Union will be at work in Portland.

That they will find many union men willing and ready to join the new association there is no doubt. Especially among the members of the building trades unions are a number of men dissatisfied with present conditions and only too eager for a change. A strong faction has been opposed to the present officers of the State Federation of Labor, as well as to the predominating sentiment in the Federated Trades Council, and these men have been in sympathy with the agents of the American Labor Union for some months past. Now that an active campaign has commenced, they have come out boldly and say that they are in favor of the invaders.

Organizations Differ.

The two organizations differ in their plan and scope on two important points. The never-failing axiom of the American Federation of Labor is, "Keep out of politics." Not only does the other organization encourage its members to engage in politics, but there is also a strong sentiment in favor of socialism among its members at large which is more than encouraged by the high officers. The advocates of the American Labor Union say that this is the highest form of unionism; that the day of conservative trades unionism is past, and that the condition of the workingman can only be improved by constant watchfulness at the polls. On the other hand, the members and staunch friends of the American Federation of Labor declare that it is not the province of such organizations to dabble in politics, and that trades unionism can win its fight only by keeping within its natural sphere.

T. E. Latimer.

T. E. Latimer, the editor of a socialist paper in the city, is the man who has been bringing converts into the ranks of the American Labor Union in Southern Oregon. Formerly assistant professor of economic in the University of Washington, he retired to devote his entire attention to socialist work, and has been appointed state organizer for the American Labor Union. He has just returned from a tour of the towns in the southern part of the state.

"No, we will do no work in Portland for some time, for it is better to let things alone for the present," said he yesterday, when asked as to the plans of the organization which he represents. "Outside of the city there is a better opportunity at present, for the members of the different unions are greatly dissatisfied with the present management of the State Federation. As to the Portland unions, they are now doing exactly what we want them to do—that is, to discuss politics in regard to the labor movement. There will be a general discussion on this subject in the Federated Trades Council on April 10, and when union men get to doing this it is just what we want, and if we let them alone they will come to our way of thinking very soon. Just as soon as the workmen get to thinking over questions of this kind they will see that the plan of the American Labor Union is the best. I am going to Astoria tomorrow, while I understand that G.

Y. Harry is going to Southern Oregon, where I have just brought many of the union men into our organization. In Eugene all the men except those of the Typographical union were brought into the American Labor Union, while in Roseburg and Grant's Pass all but the clerks joined us. In Grant's Pass we now have 350 members.

No Fight.

"There will be no fight between the two organizations; it is simply a difference of ideas," continued the socialist editor. "I believe that before long the two unions will combine, for there should be but one representative of organized labor. At the last convention of the American Federation of Labor a large number favored this step and the sentiment is constantly growing. We now have affiliated with us the United Brotherhood of Railway Employees, the Western Federation of Miners and the Hotel and Restaurant Employees' International Association, besides a large number of unions chartered directly by the organization. Will we find many members of the Portland unions in favor of us? Indeed we will, especially in the building trades."

Has Become a Reality.

It has been rumored for some time that the American Labor Union was about to invade this field, but the members of the other organization have always said positively that this was impossible. Now the rumor has become a reality and it remains to be seen whether the federation which has so controlled the unions of Portland will be able to keep its hold upon the members.

There is one union that wants very much to be taken into the fold of the American Labor Union. This is the Journeymen Tailors' Union, No. 1, of Portland, Oregon, whose members seceded from the regular tailors' union, some months ago and who have recently formed a union of their own. T. E. Latimer, state organizer of the American Labor Union, says, however, that he could not take the union into the organization. "Our plan is to organize labor and not to disrupt it," said he, when the subject was mentioned. "We couldn't take the new tailors' union, for the members of the other union say they are seceders."

The Evening Telegram says: A fight to the death is now on between the American Federation of Labor and its rival, the American Labor Union. The old feud has been renewed and Oregon is the arena where the two factions are likely to clash the most fiercely, as the old feud between the two organizations has been renewed lately by the latter order placing in the field here a district organizer.

The difference between the American Federation of Labor and the American Labor Union is that the former does not allow any politics to be mixed with its organizations and affiliated bodies, while the latter freely mixes in politics and does everything it can to forward its interests through politics. In this state the United Brotherhood of Railway Employees belong to the American Labor Union, as well as the Cooks and Waiters and several others, it is claimed by Mr. Latimer, are about to quit the American Federation of Labor and enter the fold of the American Labor Union. He says that the policy of the A. F. of L. to organize unions according to classes and give each class in the smaller towns a charter is not advisable, as there are not enough members to hold them together. The policy of his parent organization, on the other hand, he claims, is to organize all of the different unions under one organization, which gives them a prestige they could not obtain in any other manner. He stated that the separate unions organized by G. Y. Harry have been neglected and that they were glad to take advantage of the more liberal offers made by the American Labor Union.

When seen this morning and asked for a statement, H. Y. Harry said: "According to all of my latest advice the unions in Southern Oregon affiliated with the American Federation of Labor are in a prosperous condition and still retain their charters from the parent body, notwithstanding reports to the contrary. And I must say that these unions are apt to sever their bonds with a powerful organization like the American Federation of Labor to take up with a weaker organization like the American Labor Union."

To discuss the differences between the American Federation of Labor and the American Labor Union—this is what T. E. Latimer, state organizer of the latter organization, wants G. Y. Harry, who holds the same office for the American Federation, to do in Eugene on April 5.

There will be a mass meeting of labor men in Eugene on that day and this will no doubt be attended by Mr. Harry, who left yesterday morning for the southern part of the state. Mr. Latimer declares that he will issue a challenge to Mr. Harry to discuss with him the two organizations which each represent at the meeting. If the debate does not come off there

will doubtless be the greatest war of words on the labor movement ever heard in Oregon. Both men are accustomed to public speaking. Realizing that much depends upon the sentiment of an audience at the end of the discussion, each will do his best to down his opponent.

Though Mr. Harry said before his departure that his visit was only a long delayed tour of the southern towns, the opposition is openly declaring that he has rushed off to repair the damage which Mr. Latimer says he has done to the American Federation of Labor in the towns of Southern Oregon. Latimer is going to Astoria on Monday and will soon after follow in Harry's footsteps through Southern Oregon. He has been over that country within the past few days, but is no doubt afraid that the unions which he says he has organized for the American Labor Union may repent of their action when the president of the State Federation, of which they are members, comes to town and wants to know what it is all about. Therefore, the organizers of the two rival federations will no doubt clash somewhere in their travels.

Despite the protestations of the Portland members of the American Federation of Labor, dispatches received in the city yesterday confirm Latimer's statement that he turned several unions from one federation to the other.

The Portland Labor Press is the official organ of the various unions of the American Federation of Labor and is owned by them. It takes the invasion of the rival organization very seriously, and in the weekly edition, which appeared yesterday, Mr. Kundret poured hot shot into Latimer and the federation which he represents. Evidently the local members of the American Federation of Labor realize that their opponent has come to stay and that its existence cannot be ignored. Here are some extracts from the editorial in the Portland Labor Press:

And so the Labor Press announces to the organized forces of this city and state that the American Labor Union is in our midst. It has been known for some time that its representatives were here at work, but until now they have not been known. Come out in the open, gentlemen, and let the light shine upon your work.

T. E. Latimer, organizer for the American Labor Union, makes the sweeping announcement that he will meet any and all representatives of the American Federation of Labor in debate at any place or time they may designate. He will hold an open meeting in Eagles' Hall tomorrow night, and lecture on the benefits of the American Labor Union vs. the American Federation of Labor, and cordially invites Hon. S. G. Kundret, editor of the Labor Press, or any other representative of the rival organization, to share the platform with him.

"We court discussion," said Mr. Latimer this morning, "for it only strengthens our position. The expenses of the hall are paid, and we are willing to share our time with any authorized representative of the American Federation of Labor and let the audience judge which organization has the most liberal provisions in the interests of organized labor. I am willing to divide the time with their best speakers."

Mr. Latimer's aggressive campaign is stirring things in labor circles, in spite of the fact that the leaders of the rival organization throw cold water upon his efforts by declaring he is nothing more than a Socialist agitator. The Federated Trades at its meeting last evening went on record as standing solidly for its parent body, the American Federation of Labor. Secretary Lawton made a short speech in which he reviewed the work the Federation had done for the benefit of the Trade Council.

Mr. Latimer has issued the following challenge to G. Y. Harry, the organizer of the American Federation of Labor:

"Dear Sir—Believing that the working class is interested in the best possible methods of organization, and knowing that the American Labor Union possesses the most progressive methods, I hereby challenge you to meet me in joint discussion of the principles of the American Federation of Labor versus the American Labor Union.

"Yours for industrial unionism and political action.

"T. E. LATIMER,"

"Organizer of the American Labor Union."

"It is claimed, Mr. Latimer," he was told, "that you are simply working in the interests of the Socialist party. What have you to say?"

"The American Labor Union," he replied, "in many places put in union labor tickets, in other places they favored the Socialist platform, that is, locally; again, in other places they have elected men on the old party tickets. But realizing, as Samuel Gompers does, that this struggle is going on in which the working classes are trying to get their product of labor

The referendum which has been asked for regarding the national headquarters of the National Committee has voted to submit in the form asked for by the locals and while it seems clear to me that the referendum asked for by Comrade Hilquitt and his associates is not in constitutional form, I nevertheless hope that question will not be raised in this connection. Let the comrades vote and then let everybody drop the question, and obeying the vote, push the work of our party for half a million votes in the next election. I would like a million better, and if all hands will strike for Socialism and cease striking at socialists we may have the million if we will.

I had hoped to escape the necessity of taking any part in this controversy, but the shape in which the matter stands, with the requests of those with whom I voted at St. Louis and the challenge of those who are attacking my record in that matter, I have no choice in the matter, and am compelled to make the following statement:

The Question Stated.

There are four propositions now before the party membership in this referendum:

First: Shall the action of the National Committee in removing the headquarters be approved?

Second: Shall the removal of the old quorum be approved?

Third: Shall the National Headquarters be again removed to Chicago?

Fourth: Shall the present quorum be removed and the members of the

the exception of the members from Pennsylvania and Missouri. It may be taken for granted then, that it was the will of the party that the headquarters were to be removed. This being the case, ought the committee to have moved the headquarters, or ought the committee to have nominated one or more places and submitted to a referendum the question of removal?

The committee understood that it was the wish of the party that the committee remove the headquarters, and the committee further understood the National Constitution to place the responsibility for the removal on the National Committee, always with the provision that any act of the committee was subject to a referendum from three states as is the case with all other acts of the National Committee.

The committee had good reasons for holding this view.

Power to Remove or No Power at All.

(1) The plain language of the Constitution in the matter of a referendum on the headquarters is exactly the same as when providing for a referendum on all other acts of the committee. Therefore, if the National Committee could not remove the headquarters without first taking a referendum, then it could not, constitutionally, elect a National Secretary or transact any business without first taking a referendum. This position would be utterly absurd. The plain meaning of the constitution is that the committee shall act, but that its acts are subject to a referendum after the manner provided.

It was the understanding of

(2) It was the understanding of

PROFESSOR WALTER THOMAS MILLS,



Eminent Lecturer and Teacher of Social Economics.

National Committee from Wisconsin (Senger), Illinois (Beryn), Indiana (Mahoney), Kentucky (Dobbs), and Iowa (Work) be made a new quorum?

There are other points submitted, but as no one seems to favor the return of the headquarters to St. Louis, nor the reinstatement of the old quorum, these points in the referendum need not be discussed.

First, then, as to the approval of the action of the National Committee in removing the headquarters.

Everybody for Removal.

All of the votes cast at St. Louis on the subject were for removal with

the whole party membership that the headquarters could be removed by the National Committee. A large share of the members of the committee, including the member from New York, came, so they stated, with instructions to remove the headquarters, but not one committee man had instructions that the committee should work for a referendum for removal, or for a referendum for removal to any particular place. How could these state committees instruct these National Committees to work for removal of the headquarters if the committee had no power to do so?

The Press Demanded Removal—No One Mentioned Referendum.

(3) The party press had wildly discussed the matter of removal before the committee meeting. In not one single newspaper or magazine in all of this discussion was it ever suggested that the National Committee should vote for a referendum for removal, but it was always demanded that the National Committee should remove. It would seem that these newspapers and magazines understood, as did the National Committee, that the committee had the power to remove.

Why Wait for the Committee?

(4) If the responsibility for removing the headquarters is not placed on the National Committee, always subject to a referendum, then why did the comrades everywhere wait for a meeting of the National Committee to have this matter attended to? The headquarters could have been removed by a referendum initiated in the usual way six months ago, if that had been understood to be the constitutional method of procedure. The party did not treat St. Louis then as it proposes to treat Omaha now, for no other reason than because it was universally understood that the action of the National Committee was necessary—that the responsibility rested with the National Committee.

"To Elect the Place"—Not Nominate It.

(5) And, finally, the action in removing the headquarters was taken by the National Committee on a recommendation of the sub-committee on organization. The clause, under which the committee was acting, reads as follows:

"That on the adoption of this paragraph this committee proceed to elect the place of the National Headquarters."

This clause was made a part of the sub-committee's recommendations on the motion of Comrade Carey of Massachusetts. It was not once suggested in the subcommittee, on the discussion of this clause, that the action would properly be to elect a place for referendum. The clause was reported to the general committee and adopted unanimously by the committee, and not one word spoken on the question whether the committee had the right and the responsibility for doing what it was voting to do. The published records of the meeting show that it was only after the nominations of the various cities had been made, and as a matter of fact, only when it had become evident that Omaha would surely be elected, that the cry of usurpation was raised and the contention made that the committee had no authority "to elect the place of the National Headquarters."

The cry came too late to be taken seriously. I do not think there is a man in the National Committee who thinks this question would ever have been raised had Indianapolis been selected; that is, had the place desired by, and voted for, by all of the members of the old quorum, been agreed upon.

That Unseemly Hurry.

But it is contended that the National Committee not only moved the headquarters, but that the records and other effects of the party were moved in an unseemly hurry. They were not removed until all of the affairs of the former Secretary had been settled, and all the work of the National Headquarters, which required any of the effects of the party, to be present in St. Louis for the convenience of the former Secretary, had been properly attended to. Why should they not then go to the new headquarters? The comrades seem to have neglected to notice, or to have condemned the committee for its action without considering the other and only remaining proposal which was suggested as an alternative to what the committee did.

What the Opposition Wanted.

There were two proposals, one to take it for granted that a referendum would be asked for and to leave the records and other effects of the party in St. Louis, after it had been voted to remove the headquarters to Omaha, and to elect a new temporary local quorum from the members in St. Louis to act while the referendum was being taken. The other proposal was to elect a regular quorum as required and to remove the effects of the party to the place where the new headquarters had already been established; but, in so doing, to take no action in any way calculated to embarrass the outgoing Secretary. The committee acted on the latter, and what seemed to the committee the more reasonable alternative. Every State in the Union, except two, had voted to remove the headquarters somewhere. Of the States represented, as between the two leading cities involved, the vote had stood fourteen for Omaha to four for Indianapolis.

(Continued on Page Two.)

INDEX.

- PAGE ONE—Headquarters Question. Sweeping the State.
- PAGE TWO—Headquarters Question (Continued).
- PAGE THREE—English Trades Unions and the Law.
- PAGE FOUR—Editorial. Cartoon. Hughes Sharp Shooters. Ancient Fabrics Modernized. Official Department.
- PAGE FIVE—Labor Events. A. L. U. Notes. Propaganda Brigade.
- PAGE SIX—The New Trades Unionism. Current Comment.
- PAGE SEVEN—Constitution. Financier's Notions.
- PAGE EIGHT—News of South. World of Southern.

HEADQUARTERS QUESTION

(Continued from Page One.)

It was simply doing what had been voted to be done.

The Removal of the Old Quorum. Second: As to the removal of the old quorum:

Most of us were instructed to do so. Not one member of the committee had been instructed to prefer charges and to remove them if found guilty of things charged, denied, and subject to dispute and trial.

A Page of History.

All this would not be so serious a matter were it not for a brief page of our party's history. Here is the history:

The California History.

Again, last summer the California comrades had succeeded in healing the wounds caused by previous unwise leadership in the Socialist party in that State, and had established friendly relations with the Trades Unions both in San Francisco and Los Angeles.

Voting Down the Anti-Fusion Constitution.

Again, on the request of a great many comrades in California, I furnished them a copy of a form for a State Constitution which had been the result of the study of our class on the subject of forms of local, State and National organization in our school in San Francisco.

Harriman, Hilquitt, the Old Quorum and "Immediate Demands."

Job Harriman, the partner of Hilquitt, the National Committeeman from New York, coming straight from New York by way of St. Louis, came to California.

Acquaintance Will Kill Suspicion.

I voted for Omaha at the meeting of the National Committee. I did so because I wanted the East to know us better in the West.

Fusion Came From New York.

Mr. Harriman had hardly reached California when the local quorum in St. Louis became very active in the support of what was called the "Position of the California Comrades."

Hearst was running for Congress himself in New York, a movement started, also from New York, to elect a Democratic Congressman with Socialist votes in San Francisco.

Hilquitt on Fusion—His Work at St. St. Louis.

Again, on the floor of the committee meeting, Hilquitt argued, not against fusion, but that the occasion for fusion had not arisen; and not only so, but in the anti-fusion resolution adopted at the recent meeting of the National Committee, reported and recommended by Hilquitt's subcommittee, the last "Whereas," next preceding the resolution, reads as follows:

"At the present stage of development of the Socialist movement of this country, there is neither necessity nor excuse for such alliance."

If this means anything at all it at least means that with the further development of the Socialist movement the "necessity or excuse for such alliance" may arise. I voted for these resolutions. But I did so, and I am sure that most of the committee did so, without noticing the force of this clause.

Is it not plain that the removal of the quorum, as well as the removal of the headquarters, was to disentangle the committee and its work from this whole compromising combination?

Omaha and Chicago Friends—Not Rivals.

And now a word as to the vote between Omaha and Chicago. Neither the comrades at Omaha nor at Chicago have asked for the headquarters. If the headquarters are taken from Omaha not a comrade there, nor anywhere else, will slacken his pace in his work for our party.

Acquaintance Will Kill Suspicion.

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Mr. Harriman had hardly reached California when the local quorum in St. Louis became very active in the support of what was called the "Position of the California Comrades."

midst. If we are wrong, help us to correct our errors. If we are right, cease this censure for faults which are none of ours.

No Ancient History in Omaha.

Again, I voted for Omaha because the Socialist movement has suffered sadly from Socialist factions.

No Dictation From Omaha.

I voted for Omaha because I believed that the local comrades would in no way try to dictate or in any manner to control the National work.

The Present Quorum Can Be Trusted.

I voted for Omaha because the local quorum, which would come with that location, and which was afterwards elected, represent in every instance local movements which are without local strife—clear, active, safe, and no one of them ever involved in a party quarrel.

The Proposed Quorum Ought to Be Defeated.

The removal of the headquarters to Chicago does not give to Chicago the local quorum, with the exception of Berlin of Chicago, whom everybody knows to be the embodiment of personal devotion to the cause of Socialism.

No Secret Scheming at St. Louis.

It is proposed that the headquarters be removed from Omaha because those of us who voted to fix the headquarters there held a caucus in St. Louis.

No Sectionalism for Omaha.

Again, we are accused of being sectional. Of the seven men from the Atlantic Coast, four voted for Omaha, one for St. Louis, one for Indianapolis one for Washington, and none for Chicago.

Again, it is charged that I am making large sums of money out of the Socialists in connection with my school, and that I voted for Omaha and therefore—Well, just what the connection is, I cannot see.

The International School of Social Economy Not a Political Machine.

I am personally accused of using my school to control the action of the National Committee, and to dominate as a party boss, over the affairs of the Socialist party.

Working Socialists for Money.

Again, it is charged that I am making large sums of money out of the Socialists in connection with my school, and that I voted for Omaha and therefore—Well, just what the connection is, I cannot see.

Who Builds the New Building.

asked with a sneer, "Where did the money come from to build your school building?"

Let the Workers Be Heard From.

To those comrades who are selling literature, who are organizing new locals, who are pushing the circulation of the Socialist papers, who are getting up public meetings, who are fighting the battles for Socialism in a hand to hand encounter with the enemy and not with each other, you who have never asked for any places or offices in the party or nominations at the hands of the party, all this means that you workers who are making the Socialist party ought not only to make it but to manage it.

Ask My Students About It.

hundred comrades in night schools, or in regular sessions, have taken training courses under my direction.

Let the Members Rule.

Again, I am accused of opposing the referendum. All who know my position on this matter know this is entirely wrong.

Ill-Informed.

It is charged that I am ill informed and not a safe or desirable teacher of Socialism.

The California Comrades Misrepresented.

Again, it is charged that my presence in California was a misfortune to the movement.

and the gentleman who has so widely charged me with injuring the work in San Francisco was present at the meeting and if he did not vote for the resolutions at least did not vote against them, for they were adopted unanimously.

The World Is Ours.

Comrades, the world is ours. Let us go after it and get it now. I am sure that the comrades who asked for the referendum to take the headquarters away from Omaha did so without fully understanding the situation.

Vote It Down, Boys.

Hilquitt says that on an important vote at St. Louis I cried out, "vote it down, boys," and he further says that they voted it down.

it probably was, that was a good service to the party. He neglects to tell you that I was on the floor seeking for an opportunity to answer him when the moving of the previous question cut off debate and that under the rule I could not argue the question, and so declared the position that I wished to argue and could not because of the previous question.

"Get Together—Get to Work."

And Hilquitt and Harriman and all the old quorum, I urge to do the same. I have just voted as a member of the National Committee against expelling or submitting to a National referendum the question of expelling Harriman from the party.

Peace and Push.

Then, with no personal animosity towards anyone, with no desire "to rebuke," to discipline or to offend anyone, but solely for the sake of peace and push in our party affairs, I shall vote for the approval of the removal of the headquarters, the removal of the old quorum, and against removing the headquarters to Chicago or anywhere else at this time.

WALTER THOMAS MILLS.

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PHOTOS BY THE PROCESS

English Trades Unions

And the Law

Written for The Journal
By John Spargo
Editor of The Comrade
New York

It is now generally recognized by the British trade union leaders, and openly boasted by the employers, that nothing less than the utter destruction of the trade union movement is aimed at by the latter in the campaign of litigation which they have begun waging during the past five years or so. That is the true meaning of those far-reaching decisions in the famous Taff Vale Case, and other cases of equal importance. There, as in this country, the "courts of justice" are wholly subordinated to the interests of the exploiting class.

It is a well known fact that English legal decisions are closely followed by judges in this country and quoted

common. We read of such associations were then called, and it is quite interesting to notice how, since that time among the printers, the laborers in the building trades, etc. About the year 1700 there arose in England a new class of journeymen workers for whom there was no prospect of becoming anything else, and from that date trade unions may be said to have arisen. The Journeymen Tailors' organization, of London, is without doubt the oldest trade union in existence, having a clearly recorded history from 1720 onward. Against them the first law passed against trade unions was directed in that year, in response to a petition of the master tailors. That law was passed

in 1867 the Tories passed acts giving minor advantages to the unions, but it was not till 1871 that the next really important move was made. The liberal government had in the plain terms possible promised to introduce a bill into the House of Commons which would remove the evils against which the unions were vigorously complaining. Having by that promise headed off a definite working class political movement, they passed two measures—one giving the workers the right to organize, the other imposing all sorts of restrictions, making effective organization well nigh impossible. Penalties of a most severe nature were imposed for all sorts of offenses. Anything which the judges might hold to come within the meaning of words like "molest," "threaten," "obstruct," "watch," "beset" and so on, was made a criminal offense. For calling "blackleg" (i. e., scab) after one man, seven women were sent to prison, and it is interesting to recall that, in 1872, Lord Justice Brett—anticipating Judge Elmer B. Adams of Missouri—sentenced some London gas-stokers to prison merely for preparing for a strike! In 1875 the Tory government repealed that law and completely legalized trade unionism. Not that their love for trade unionism was greater than that of the Liberals, but entirely from fear of the enraged workers whose wrath had proved disastrous to the Liberals.

JOHN SPARGO,



Editor of The Comrade.

as precedents in our courts. We are vitally interested, therefore, in these decisions. Having been firmly established there, it is morally certain that they will be extensively followed here. A glance at the history of the English unions, and a brief consideration of their present position as determined by judicial wisdom, is therefore of considerable interest and value.

The exact origin of the trade union movement cannot be determined. It was for a long time believed and taught that the modern trade union was a development of the early trade guild, but the theory is scarcely borne out by the facts so far as they are known. The ripest scholarship rejects it entirely. Other imaginative writers, like the late G. Osborne Ward, for example, have tried to extend the history of the union back to Bible times. These attempts are interesting, and do nobody any harm. But they are of no historical value. The trade union is essentially a modern institution.

Throughout the seventeenth century ephemeral and temporary associations of wage-workers were quite

by the Liberals or "Whigs" as they time, opposition to the unions has been about equally divided between the two great parties, Liberal and Tory. Like the workers of England have had many bitter experiences of the antagonism of all capitalist parties to the interests of labor. In the fifty-six years from 1714 to 1770, the Whigs (read "Liberals") passed many laws directed against combinations of workers in various specified trades, and in 1799-1800 the Tories extended those laws against all workers—the Whigs uttering no word of opposition or of protest. In 1824-25 all these laws were repealed and trade unionism became legalized.

In 1830 the Whiggs came into power, and for the first time began to call themselves "Liberals." They at once began to undo what had been done to make trade unionism legal. Some of the worst cases of tyranny on record are those of the persecution of the trade unionists of England at this time. For example, there was the banishment of six agricultural laborers of Dorchester for merely taking part in the initiatory ceremony of their union. In 1859 and again

ry, mental anxiety, due to various causes, or overwork. Different people afflicted with this disease and its attending evils require different modes of treatment; but as Doctor Kelly has thoroughly mastered the treatment and cure of all forms of nervous debility, it is with pardonable pride that he points to his unparalleled record of not a single failure to cure any case among the many thousands he has treated.

After having once experienced the indescribable evils and distressing effects of nervous debility, patients when cured of the disease are thereafter, as a rule, more careful of their habits and seek to avoid any possible return of the malady through voluntary acts of theirs. But in spite of all, this great American evil is constantly increasing, and the only safeguard against a fatal termination in a majority of cases is a skilled physician like Doctor Kelly, who can through his complete mastery of the disease at once start the sufferer on the right road and speedily restore him to health and strength.

The Yellek Medical Institute is located at the N. E. corner West Broadway and Montana, and Dr. Kelly can be found there in their elegantly and well-equipped offices from 9 a. m. to 9 p. m. every day in the week.

Approves Strike.

The executive council of the United Textile Workers of America has given its unqualified indorsement to the request of the operators in the cotton mills in Lowell to enforce their demands for an increase of 10 per cent in wages. A similar indorsement was given the operatives of the mills of the New England Cotton Yarn company in New Bedford, Taunton and Fall River, and the strike of the spinners now in progress at Woonsocket and Manville, R. I., was approved. In order to support the strike in the latter places, and in anticipation of those which may take place at Lowell and in the mills of the New England Cotton Yarn company, the executive committee voted to levy an assessment on the 20,000 members of the textile union to cover immediate needs, and also as a benefit fund.

II.

The main facts of the Taff Vale Railway Company's suit against the officials of the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants are well known and need not be recapitulated at length. The judgment in that case, upheld as it has been by the House of Lords, which is the highest legal tribunal, strikes at the very foundation of trade unionism. Briefly stated, it amounts to this: If, in a strike, the employer sustains any loss or damage is done to his person or property, or to the person or property of his agent, no matter how entirely irresponsible the person or persons committing the damage may be, the employer can recover the full amount of such damage from the union, all the funds of the union—not merely the strike funds, but all funds, or property of any description—being subject to seizure. As there could not very well be a strike of any kind without loss to the employer, this decision makes it almost, if not quite, impossible to conduct a strike. The strength of a union is in its treasury; when that is attacked successfully by the enemy the union is powerless. It has also been held that the same principle holds good in cases of boycott by the unions. The Railway Servants' Union has paid to the company something like \$115,000.

Another decision of vast importance was recently given and confirmed in the case of the Yorkshire Miners' Association. This decision goes even further than that in the Taff Vale case. In this case the employers had one of their paid employees join the union, and when a strike took place, although he himself was entitled to and received strike pay, he applied for an injunction, which was granted, restraining the officials from paying out any strike funds, although the said funds had been subscribed by the men themselves for that very purpose. In this case the employers, outside sympathizers cannot, under this decision, be distributed among strikers.

The position is full of the greatest peril for the British trades unions and for their allies. There, as elsewhere, the people to suggest a remedy are the Socialists, who call upon the workers to organize themselves and carry the fight into the political field.

Will they earn the lesson? Will the workers of our own country learn the lesson?

District of Columbia Judge Renders Important Decision.

Judge Hagner of the supreme court of the District of Columbia has issued an injunction involving the American Federation of Labor and the Knights of Labor. The practical effect of the injunction is to compel sub-contractors on a building who had engaged Knights of Labor to employ members of the Federation of Labor, as provided for in the contract with the original contractors. This is contradicted by eastern papers, yet the Associated Press sent it out.

Wages and Profits.

Prior to the strike the anthracite miners worked ten hours a day 200 days of the year for an average wage of \$1.42 a day, which amounted to an average individual income of \$248. Each miner received about 60 cents for each ton of coal that he mined, and each miner mined about two and one-third tons a day. In computing the wages of the miners the mineowners fixed the weight of a ton of coal at various figures, ranging between 2,740 and 3,190 pounds, and sold the same coal to the customer at 2,240 pounds to the ton.

The average cost of the coal delivered to the local dealers throughout the country was \$1.57 a ton. The average cost to the consumer was \$6.25 per ton. The difference between the cost of production and the price paid by the consumer, \$4.28, represents the profits of the coal trust and the retailers.—Boston Traveler.

These Things Are Done for Profit.

Testimony before the grand jury in the investigation charges that traffic in girls for immoral purposes exists in the Fourth police district. St. Louis, Mo., was to the effect that girls were sold like slaves and that a price of \$100 for paid for each good-looking young woman secured. Further testimony was to the effect that girls are secured and held prisoners and forced to wear garments that make it impossible for them to escape to the streets.

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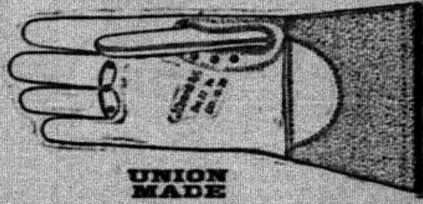
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THURSDAY, APRIL 9, 1903.

Socialism demands that every man shall support himself. Isn't that dreadful?

Speaking of confiscation, who settled that little expense bill of the Boston Tea Party?

Jesus scourged the money changers from the temple. Did he compensate them for the injury to his business?

The greatest foe to the material advancement of the masses is the working man with a capitalistic mind.

Man is largely what conditions make him. So long as there is a premium on wrong-doing just so long will we have wrong-doing.

Conservation of energy is a natural law and so inexorable in its workings that collectivism is being ushered in, spite of congresses, camps and courts.

This is said to be a competitive system, but with the growth of the trusts about the only competition noticeable is that between workmen for a job.

We do not seek to change human nature. We simply desire to change the system which causes human nature to show such objectionable phases.

Socialism contemplates giving to human beings as much luxury, at least, as is now enjoyed by dogs. Can you wonder that the capitalists oppose it?

Capitalism is in favor of giving to labor everything it can't possibly have any use for. Note-There is nothing which capitalism cannot find a use for.

Industry, frugality and thrift are the roads to wealth, says the plutocrat. The native Filipino lives on rice and raw fish. They ought all be millionaires.

Pure and simple trades unionism gives the capitalist a club and then fights him, itself being barehanded. Socialism believes that labor should wield its own club in its own interest.

Keep in mind that there are only two classes in society, those who produce nothing and have everything and those who produce everything and have nothing. To which class do you belong?

It is natural to seek the lines of least resistance; hence we have labor-saving machinery. Nature allows waste as well as a vacuum; hence we have the trusts; and self-preservation is nature's first law, hence Socialism is inevitable.

We venerate the memories of dead heroes and think it patriotism. We should remember that these honored dead fought against the abuses of their time. So be worthy of the privilege of holding their names in reverence. We must fight against the abuses of our time.

Washington attacked the divine right of kings. The Socialist attacks the divine right of property. WE ARE NOT AS RADICAL IN OUR GENERATION AS HE WAS IN HIS. Had he failed in his purpose his body would have hung in chains and his head graced a pike. Our enemies have not gotten to that point with regard to us.

The difference between "pure and simple" trades unions and political action trades unions is simply this: The "pure and simple" fellow begs for A LITTLE MORE of his production. His political action brother demands ALL he produces and he is rapidly getting into a position to ENFORCE the demand. One stands erect, the other crawls.

If one desires to understand the teachings of Christianity he does not study the Koran, for instance; neither would one who is interested in learning the character of the Mohammedan, faith study the Bible. It is unreasonable, then, to ask those who desire a clear idea of Socialism NOT to study the writings of those who have no knowledge of the subject they attempt to discuss?

When agitation for a shorter work-day was started in America the employers opposed it because they said we would only spend the time granted in a saloon. They were very careful of our morals, you see. But if they could find a machine to do our work they were supremely indifferent as to where our time was spent; saloon or poolhouse was all one to them. These people are now warning the people against Socialism. If they could decide a way to continue their mode of living on some one else's labor under Socialism, they would not oppose it at all.

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INCORPORATED ON THE CO-OPERATIVE PLAN PUBLISHERS OF SOCIALIST LITERATURE

Chicago, March 6, '03

MR. CLARENCE SMITH, BUTTE, MONT.

Dear Comrade: I send you herewith, under separate cover, the photos of Mrs. Simons and myself for which you ask, together with an article for publication. Mrs. Simons will probably send on her article in the course of a couple of weeks. I hope that this may be satisfactory.

Permit me to congratulate you on the excellent paper you are turning out. I believe it is the best labor paper in the United States and I see almost all of them. Fraternally yours, A. M. SIMONS.

The Butte School Election. The school election of Silver Bow county, which occurred on the 4th of April has demonstrated more clearly than tons of argument could possibly have done that the emancipation of the working classes could not be accomplished in eighteen millions of years by the pure and simple trades unionists. The personalities of the candidates were not an issue. While the school board of the past has been conducted in the interest of the board members rather than in the interest of the public, their mismanagement were not an issue for the reason that none of them had been renominated. The point involved was whether the workmen of Silver Bow county had sense enough to manage their own affairs or not, and further, whether the teachers were entitled to the same political privileges, the same rights and liberties as are accorded to other American citizens or whether they should be placed in a class with Indians, Chinamen and convicts. The workmen of Butte have, by their votes, declared for the latter classification. They have further said, by their vote, that a labor union is not a respectable organization. There should be no complaint when they find themselves taken at their word.

The press dispatches contain a statement that bricklayers are wanted in San Francisco. We have not been able to learn of its authenticity.

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Twenty-four postal clerks at the Butte, Montana, postoffice have been notified of a raise of \$100 per year. The office was also authorized to engage four additional clerks. The political outlaw of one generation is the patriot of another.

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Official Department AND NOTES OF THE AMERICAN LABOR UNION
To Local Unions and Affiliated Organizations, Greeting: March 27, 1903. In accordance with the law of the Constitution, the call is hereby issued for the Sixth Annual Convention of the American Labor Union. This meeting will convene in the City of Denver, Colo., on Monday, May 25, 1903, at 2 o'clock p. m., at I. O. O. F. Hall, No. 1543 Champa street, and will continue in session from day to day, until its business is completed. Representation in Convention. Representation in the convention will be as follows, based on the membership reported in good standing at the end of the quarter previous to convention (March 31): Local unions--One delegate for the first 100 members or less, and one for each additional 100 members, or majority fraction. Central and district bodies--One delegate. State organizations--One delegate for each 4,000 members. National and international organizations--One delegate for each 4,000 members. Election of Delegates. Unions must elect delegates on or before April 25, as the constitution provides they must be elected at least thirty days prior to the meeting of the convention. Credentials. Credentials and duplicate credentials are enclosed herewith. Use one of each delegate elected. Duplicate credentials, properly signed and sealed, shall be given to the delegates-elect who shall present them to the secretary-treasurer at the convention. Qualification of Delegates. No person is eligible as a delegate who has not been a member of his local union at least six months; provided, such local union has been organized that length of time. No organization can be represented by proxy. Railroad Rates, Etc. Arrangements are being made with the railroad companies for a rate not to exceed one and one-fifth fare. Completed railroad arrangements, hotel accommodations, etc., will be made known to delegates-elect in a later communication. Amendments, Resolutions, Grievances, Etc. Local unions and affiliated organizations should consider amendments to the constitution, resolutions, grievances now, if they have not already done so. To avoid useless waste of time of the convention, these matters should be put in shape and mailed to the secretary-treasurer within the next 40 days; so that when the convention meets, they can be considered and acted upon promptly. Select Best Men. In the selection of your representatives to the convention, the greatest care and judgments should be exercised to elect only such men as are sober, industrious, reliable and intelligent, and who are possessors of definite, honest convictions; men who are familiar with the conditions of our members and their desires, and who fully appreciate the responsibility of participating in the making of laws to govern and direct the local unions and their members for the future. The interests of your organization can be better protected by having a full representation in the convention, and we would vigorously urge your union to send its full quota of delegates, as a number of questions of great importance to our organization and its members will be brought before the convention. Do not allow the expense to interfere with or prevent your organization from having a voice in this meeting. Wishing your union success and prosperity, and soliciting a continuance of your friendship and co-operation in the interest of the producing masses, we are, Fraternally yours, DANIEL McDONALD, President A. L. U. CLARENCE SMITH, Secy.-Treas. American Labor Union. Portland has a scrub union of journeymen tailors composed of men who are under fine of \$50 each, imposed by Union No. 74. These scrubbers have adopted a label which is almost an infringement on that of the Tailors' International Union.

HUGHES' SHARPSHOOTERS Pithy Paragraphs by a Member of the Executive Board. In the leisure class society of capitalism the baby now ranks second to the poodle dog. "Monkey dinners," "dog teas" and "cat parties" are quite the swell thing in high society. We are great! Our system produces women of wealth who spend their idle time slobbering kisses over a shaggy poodle, while they hate and look down upon their sisters of honorable toil. The capitalists are helping along some--their open acts are showing the working class that ALL the political machinery of the country is being used by the capitalists to further their scheme of exploiting and subjugating the toilers. And why not--IT ALL BELONGS TO THE CAPITALISTS? YOU have given it to them with YOUR votes. And yet the workers comprise 95 per cent of the population. The reason that this mighty majority has not ONE representative in any branch of the government, while ALL the law-making and law-interpreting power is in the hands of their enemies, is because the workers have not understood the struggle in which they are engaged. They are beginning to understand now, and the monster oppressor is all a tremble. The middle class people are willing to do anything for the worker except "to get off his back." This was never more aptly illustrated than in the case of W. R. Hearst, prince of fakers, whom a lot of other fakers are booming for president on a "Labor Democratic ticket." Hearst is loud in his protestations of friendship for the working class; yet he works his engineers in New York 12 hours a day. See?

Ancient Fables Modernized No. 7 Written for The Journal by Marcus W. Robbins. The Man and the Lion. A man and a lion traveled together through the forest. They soon began to boast of their respective superiority to each other in strength and prowess. As they were disputing they passed a statue carved in stone, which represented "a lion strangled by a man." The traveler pointed to it and said, "See there! How strong we are, and how we prevail over even the king of beasts." The lion replied: "That statue was made by one of your men. If we lions knew how to erect statues, you would see the man placed under the paw of the lion." One story is good, the other is told. A toiler and a soldier one day walked through a large library. They soon began to boast of their respective superiority in the progress of mankind. As they were thus disputing they passed a bookcase that contained several histories. The soldier pointed to them and said: "See there! Those books show what we have done for the race. Every page is but the record of some of our actions, while you are hardly mentioned. The toiler replied: "Those books were written by soldiers and their followers. If we toilers had written the histories, the works of labor would fill the page and not tales of blood." MARCUS W. ROBBINS.

