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ORGANIZE THE STATE.

This is the Aim of the California Lumber Union of Tuolumne.

The appointment of Organizer Ware seems to have struck the boys at Tuolumne, Cal., just about right. Herbert S. Lewis, the secretary, writes that at last they are in a position to do something toward organizing the mills. Brother Ware is, he says, an enthusiastic worker, a good talker and will do all that is in him to unionize the mills of California. A plan to organize a state union is now under consideration. All unions in California affiliated with the A. L. U. are earnestly requested to correspond with H. S. Lewis, financial secretary Sequoia Union, Tuolumne, Cal., and also to elect a delegate to the state convention to be held in May.

Sequoia union is prospering, says Mr. Lewis. He also remarks that some of the boys are very loose-mouthed about union affairs, and hints that discovery of the culprit may cause some unpleasantness for him. The California boys, it appears, have a few of that nearly extinct class of workmen who believe in voting with the boss. These brothers, says Secretary Lewis, are displeased with the Journal because it stands for the principles of Socialism. He hazards the opinion that those who take this position have had no occasion to do any thinking for themselves on political matters. It is only after a man has been up against an injunction or two and discovers that the only kind of law there is for a workman is the kind that puts him in jail; that divided labor at the polls can pull down more in fifteen minutes than unions can build up in fifteen years, that he begins to realize how helpless is the workman if he is not united politically as well as industrially. Warning to his subject, our correspondent says:

HARD STRUGGLE IN A SCAB TOWN

Crime to Talk Socialism, but the Number of "Criminals" Are Increasing. The Socialist party in Leadville, in spite of antagonistic surroundings, is up and doing. M. E. White, who participated in the campaign, says: While the counting of ballots in the Socialist press is going on, Leadville is still on the map, and had a Socialist ticket in the field this spring. The result of the count shows a net gain over last fall. The highest vote cast was for city clerk, who received 123. The balance of the ticket will average 105 votes.

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McGRADY REPLIES TO BRONDEL

Editor American Labor Union Journal:

The Butte Miner, in its issue of the 28th ult., quotes Mr. Brondel as denouncing Father Hagerty and myself, and stating that we are exploiting the laboring people. This is not a strange accusation, coming, as it does, from a man who represents the exploiting class; who sanctifies legalized robbery with the halo of religion, and practically endorses all the fraud, hypocrisy, deception, despotism, ignorance and deeds of blood and violence which essentially flow from the reign of commercial cannibalism, and is ever ready to prostitute his sacred calling in justification of industrial criminals, who are worthy to be ranked with a band of midnight assassins. The position of Mr. Brondel is quite consistent with his life and character, for he himself is an exploiter of the vilest type. Driven from Belgium by the pangs of hunger, for he sprang from the starving proletariat of that land, cursed by the blighting hand of royal and ecclesiastical despotism, he assumes the sacred character of the Lowly Nazarene, and wends his way to the wilds of the West, and locates, in the Rockies where he lives on the fat of the earth at the expense of poor Irish and German Catholics. And what does he give them in return for his bread? Does he attempt to alleviate their sad condition? No. He revels in luxuries, and when they ask him for bread he gives them a stone. When they plead for liberty he gives them the lash. He sacrifices their joys and pleasures and blood and lives and souls on the altar of Mammon for the glorification of legalized criminals. The Catholic Hierarchy hates Protestants with all the malice of demons, as is evidenced by the bloody history of the last four centuries, and emphasized in the denunciation of the American government for the expatriation of the Friars from the Philippine Islands, and the strong condemnation of the free schools of the United States, and I may safely state that there is no love lost, and yet the plutocratic bishop and Protestant and Catholic millionaires forget their animosities and differences, and unite in the common cause for the oppression of Catholics and Protestants alike in the ranks of the toilers. Mr. Brondel sacrifices his own down-trodden people for the elfare of a financial king, who praises the eloquence, ability and sincerity of the consecrated hireling of capitalism through the medium of his corrupt organ, the lying and contemptible Butte Miner. This plainly shows that the capitalists are class conscious. Religion does not separate them, but they use the charm and influence of that sacred word to divide the toiling hosts who are conquered in their weakness, begotten in disunion. The atheist, the Protestant, the free lover and the bishop meet at the same board in the ranks of capitalism and denounce the Socialists as the enemies of marriage and religion. They are united in the hour of battle, and when the soldiers have baptized the cause of capitalism in the blood of the laborer, the bloated ecclesiastic and the wealthy debauchee celebrate their triumph with the wine and viands created by the toil of the martyred army. Mr. Brondel does not represent the church, and should the Man of Galilee come down on the earth today and gaze on the well-fed face and scrutinize the life of the pampered prelate, he would say, "Lo! How I have changed."

The bishop of Helena states that, according to the rules of the Catholic church, priests have no right to appear at public meetings except by special permission of the bishop. The emancipated slaves of the South may frequent meetings of any character and may express

BISHOP ARRAIGNED AS A CAPITALIST TOOL

Eloquent Kentuckian Scourges the Bishop as One Willing To Prostitute Sacred Calling to Commercial Cannibalism — Sacrifices Working Class on the Altar of Mammon.

their opinions and doctrines from a public rostrum, and yet an educated Catholic clergyman may not exercise the same prerogative of American citizenship without the special permission of an ecclesiastical superior. If this be true, the Catholic church is the most despotic organization that ever cursed the earth, and her bitterest foe has failed to expose the depth of her iniquity. If this be true, the members of the A. P. A. party should be hailed and lauded by every lover of liberty for defending American institutions from the pernicious influence of a power that places its ban on the human brain, that trammels the freedom of the mind, that annihilates the activity of the soul, that blights the intellect with the curse of despotism, that takes the right of citizenship from its clergy and

FATHER TOM McGRADY,



Who Resigned from the Pastorate of the Roman Catholic Church of Bellevue, Kentucky, Rather Than Retract Compliments He Had Paid to the Memory of Famous Men.

makes them crawl in the dust before an ignorant clown, who, robed in the emblems of royalty, seeks to enthrall mankind in mental bondage and wields the scepter of faith for the demolition of democracy and republican institutions. The church does not stand for such damnable tyranny, and when Mr. Brondel made that statement he uttered an infamous falsehood. He calumniated his creed and brought down on it the just contempt of all honest and intelligent men. Every Catholic in his audience knew that the affirmation of the prelate was untrue. But he lied to serve his master, and if he lied once to accomplish his political purpose, he lied all the way through his discourse, and a professional liar is worthy of utmost contempt, and his purple robes do not sanctify his falsehoods. When Mr. Brondel made that statement he prostituted his holy office to the service of Mammon, and covered the intrigues of the consecrated hypocrite with the sacred veil of divine authority. We must not identify the church with the ecclesiastical politician. The divine character of religion is entirely distinct from the human character of the men who come to us in the clothing of sheep, but who are ravenous wolves. The church is not responsible for the bloody

deeds and vile machinations of consecrated criminals. Christianity stands on its merits, and the Catholic church represents love and justice, and repudiates the hypocrisy of a Judas who sold Jesus for thirty pieces of silver. Mr. Brondel and men of his ilk are worse than the faithless apostle, for they dail sacrifice their Savior on the altar of personal ambition and immolate their people to the gods of finance and commerce. With all the reverence that a Catholic bears for the Mother Church, I prefer the following charges against the ecclesiastical politicians as individuals: (1) They have completely repudiated the teachings of primitive Christianity, as embodied in the writings of the early fathers, doctors, popes and councils, which denounced the right of private property. (2) They have ever been the enemies of science and have stood for darkness and ignorance and crime. (3) They have opposed the growth of liberty wherever they had the power, and established Inquisitions, suppressed knowledge, thought and the spirit of inquiry, and persecuted Freedom's children with fire and the sword. (4) They were, and are today, the staunchest defenders of monarchy and despotism and the uncompromising foes of democracy. (5) They are being expelled from France as the enemies of popular government and a menace to republican institutions. (6) They have denounced our free schools under governmental control as ungodly, atheistic and immoral, and have been, even in this country, the opponents of education and enlightenment. (7) For one thousand years they have encouraged free love among the clergy, and grew wealthy on the imposition of taxes paid for the privilege of sacerdotal concubinage. I challenge Mr. Brondel to meet me on the rostrum and disprove these accusations, and until he refutes my charges his arraignment of Socialism is unworthy of consideration. The bloated ecclesiastic says that Father Hagerty and myself are not in good standing, and if he intends to say that we cannot be compared to Father Walser, who was lately imprisoned for the murder of his host's sister, Agatha Reichlin, at Lorain, Ohio, last week, we gladly submit to the accusation, for neither of us has ever been traced by bloodhounds. The Socialists have been too patient with the ecclesiastical politicians, and we will henceforth expose their hypocrisy and corruption. As a Catholic, I protest against against the Judases in the church, stigmatizing the face of our mother with the infamy of their crimes. I do not pretend to represent the church on Socialism, neither does Mr. Brondel represent the church on Socialism. I merely speak as a man and try to convert people by appealing to their minds, and Mr. Brondel and the pope also speak in their private capacity on Socialism, and not as representatives of the church. The pope is only infallible when he speaks on questions of faith and morals. He is not infallible on questions of science and the history of the papacy is full of mistakes that the Roman pontiffs have made when they attempted to decide controversies outside of their sphere. The church is not responsible for the errors of popes when they attempt to use the sacred charm of religion for the aggrandizement of their families and the promotion of their personal ambition and their political intrigues. The pope's encyclical on Socialism merely give his opinions as a man, and are not clothed with divine authority. Leo made the same mistake when he condemned Socialism as Urban when he placed the helocentric theory under the ban of the church.

Fraternally, T. McGrady.

REFERENDUM VOTE.

Result May Be a Strike on the Great Northern Railway.

Great Northern employes are now voting on the proposition of whether or not they will strike or will accept the terms offered by the road after the recent conference in St. Paul, including the advanced wages. The original demand of the trainmen, which includes the brakeman and conductors, was for a 20 per cent. advance in wages. This demand was refused by the managers of the road. Subsequently an amended demand for a 15 per cent. advance of wages for trainmen of freight trains and a 12 per cent. advance for passenger trainmen was made. This demand was acceded to by the managers of the road.

All points at difference between the managers of the road and the employes were agreed to with the exception of the question whether the train crews should have double pay for the trains when two engines are attached to it. This affects almost exclusively the men in the Rocky mountain regions. In carrying trains over the mountains is sometimes found necessary to attach a helping engine. The contention of the trainmen is that they should have double pay when the helping engine is attached. The company has, however, declined this proposition.

The new scale of wages allowed by the company is as follows: For conductors of passenger trains, \$140 per month; train baggage men, \$80; brakemen of passenger trains, east of Minot, first five years \$67.50; after five years service, \$70; west of Minot, first five years, \$70; after five years, \$75; freight conductors, 35 cents per hour; freight brakemen 23 cents per hour; conductors on mountain runs, between Skyhomish and Leavenworth, 38 cents; brakemen, same, 25 1-2; conductors on certain yard-freight runs, 38 cents; brakemen 25 1-2.

The above is taken from the dailies. They are not always to be relied on in their reports of labor difficulties, as their information, in many instances, is obtained from the employers, who naturally put things in the light most favorable to their interests. The Great Northern has been exerting itself greatly to influence the vote of its employes in this matter, with how much success remains to be seen. The Great Northern men are far from radical. They have permitted the management to extend the Butte yard limits from Woodville to Silver Bow, a distance of nearly fourteen miles, with only a mild protest. Should they vote to strike it will certainly be for a good and sufficient cause.

The situation on the Great Northern is regarded as extremely critical. An ultimatum has been sent to the general committee declining the concessions offered by General Manager Ward at the conference held between Mr. Ward and the committee, and insisting upon the original demands of the men with regard to "double-heads." Neither side will say much regarding the state of affairs, although Mr. Ward expressed himself as hopeful that a strike might yet be averted. Apparently both sides are firm in the maintenance of their respective contentions, and unless one or the other turns squarely about, serious trouble is likely to follow.

The U. B. of R. E. Strike Bulletin, the Clarion and the Western Socialist have combined under the name of The Western Clarion. Vancouver's labor interests will in future be represented by this bright paper.

The strike at the paper mills at Appleton, Wis., is called off, according to the daily dispatches, which, by the way, are not always reliable in matters regarding the unions. The report says the points in dispute are to be arbitrated, the state board taking part in the deliberations.

We have just passed the four hundred mark in the number of local charters issued. This does not mean, however, that our locals are to consider themselves part of the "400." We can be sure, though, that by maintaining a distinctly aggressive union policy, both industrially and politically, the American Labor Union will bring not only its own members, but the entire working class into possession of the best in the land. "The world for the workers" is our slogan.

A SHORT, CLEAR EXPLANATION OF GOMPERSISM GIVEN BY ONE WHO KNOWS

Under date of April 30th H. L. Hughes, member of the executive board of the American Labor Union, writes the Journal from Spokane as follows:

"During my recent trip through the east I availed myself of the opportunity to stop at Pontiac, Ill., and visit Mr. Z. T. Trumbo, secretary and treasurer of the Laborers' International Protective Union of America, and was delighted with the splendid, progressive spirit of that class-conscious, stalwart young labor organization. It is less than one year old, but now has more than 100 big, strong locals, and is spreading like wild fire. It has been organized fundamentally right and is bound to succeed. It is opposed to the policy of striking against the best 250 down out of the best and then ac-

ing for him on the 355th day. It has decided that the working class must cease scabbing at the ballot box, accordingly Sammy Gompers, with true fidelity to his masters, the capitalist class, refuses them a charter as a separate international. Gompers, however, has not yet wuch a monopoly that he can control all of the working class; accordingly, these people, who can think for themselves are proving that they can establish and carry on an organization without the "divine" assistance of either Sammy Gompers or Mark Hanna.

"But what have they done with the other 5 cents? Did they spend it in the interest of the laborer? The result proves not. Did they pay the railroad fare of your delegates to the convention so that they could have some lame made that you wanted? Have you the least chance in the world to say what laws should be passed in your interest?"

"The international union pay you half a cent per month, while you pay TEN CENTS. This is taxation without representation. They do not want you to send

delegates, and they prove it by holding the convention at the extreme ends of the country. Last year at New Orleans and next year at Boston. They know you can not afford to spend \$100 to \$150 to send a delegate, and it would do no good if you did, for the state federations, central bodies, local trades and federal unions were represented by 144 delegates and cast but 155 votes. While the 57 delegates that represented the national and international unions cast 9,294 votes, or 5,146 more than 144 delegates. In the face of all these facts, brothers, is it not time that the general laborer was rallying around the banner of the Laborers' International Protective Union of America? The laborer are as much entitled to an international of their own as any other class of wage workers. They are as competent to govern themselves. What do you expect to

gain by remaining as local unions? "What's better conditions have you got this year more than you had the year before, or for that matter, five years ago? ARE YOU NOT WORSE OFF?"

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AS WE APPEAR TO OTHERS.

Corporation New York Sun Criticizes the Socialist Movement.

The Socialist party, some of the members of which have claimed a popular vote of 400,000 at the elections of 1902, is divided into two rival factions. The members of each faction devote their most diligent efforts to antagonizing the political interests of the other crowd.

It is rather to this antagonism than to the success of the Socialists in getting new recruits that the large vote they have polled through the country in 1902 is due. In the presidential election of 1900 the Socialist vote for the two rival candidates was 125,000. The increase to nearly 400,000 was chiefly in a few states. In New York the combined Socialist vote, 25,000 in 1900, was 29,000 in 1902; in Pennsylvania the gain was from 7,800 to 27,000; in Ohio from 6,000 to 17,000; in Illinois from 11,000 to 23,000; in Massachusetts from 12,000 to 39,000; in Connecticut from 1,900 to 3,500, and in Washington from 2,800 to 5,500. In all these states there were two rival Socialist tickets.

In Rhode Island, with only one Socialist ticket, the number of votes was less in 1902 than in 1900. In Minnesota it decreased from 4,400 to 2,400; in Missouri from 8,400 to 6,300, and in New Jersey from 6,900 to 4,400.

The weakness of the Socialist party is its dearth of support in the rural districts of the country, and especially in the west and middle west; its complete lack of organization in the South, and the increasing political feud between its members, which, except in Massachusetts, prevents it from electing state legislators.

Any prediction of increase in the number of Socialists, based on the growth of the vote recently, is misleading if it does not take into account the fact that Socialist voters in the United States are, almost exclusively, naturalized citizens, and that, having few native born American recruits, the growth of the Socialist parties is dependent upon foreign immigration.

Mr. Ben Tillet. Mr. Ben Tillet, we learn from an American paper, is to lecture in the United States during the autumn under the auspices of the Social Democratic, or Socialist, party of that country.

In order to help his mission we may recall the fact that this is the gentleman who in 1892 opposed the motion to give to the body now known as the Independent Labor party, in England, the title of the Socialist Labor party. In doing so he stated that Socialists always talk of revolution, but "in moments of danger are the first to crawl under the bed," a phrase for which the representative of the German party took him severely to task.

He is also the man who was brought to Australia to lecture for the trade union and Labor party of that country, and before he returned to England took service as an immigration agent with the Queensland government against the wish and in spite of the indignant protests of the men who had brought him to Australia.—The Workers' Republic of Dublin (the Irish Socialist party organ).

Four thousand glass blowers will be thrown out of employment as a result of the Lubber window glass blowing invention. The American Window Glass company has given orders for the discharge of its glass blowers, closing its forty factories in order to put in the machines. A company with \$20,000,000 capital has been formed to make the machines. The displaced mechanics will have a little time to reflect on the question of confiscation as practiced by the capitalist element.

Revolutions never work backwards.—Wendell Phillips. When the people are intelligent they will rule.—Victor Hugo. That alone is wise which is just; that alone is enduring which is right.

Pres. Elliott and The Labor Problem For The Journal by Helen L. Sumner

There is, perhaps, room for a few more words concerning the attitude of the president of Harvard University towards the labor movement. His remarks at the banquet of the Economic club of Boston are, of course, the basis of discussion, and there are two points which I wish to consider. These are the remarks that he "had a profound contempt for any man who did not choose to labor every day just as long as his strength would permit," and the further remark that "the scab is a good type of the American hero."

Naturally, these statements aroused considerable indignation in more than one quarter. Even Mr. Gunton has taken issue with the learned president. But the first heat of anger is over, and it is now time to give some cool, scientific consideration to the proposition.

President Eliot is said to be a hard-working man, and this is doubtless true, but the fact has little bearing upon the question, for we must not discuss personalities. There are plenty of hard workers in all walks of life, and the proposition is distinctly not a personal but a general one. The contempt is expressed for "any man" who does not desire to labor as long as it is physically possible. This is our first case. The question of scab heroism will come later.

But, although we are not justified in making a personal matter of this, we are amply justified in making a general classification of labor. There are three kinds of labor, (1) labor for profit, (2) labor for honor and position, and (3) labor for wages. Labor for profit, which is that of the capitalist, need not be considered here. Labor for honor and position is the labor of the intellectuals who have already attained a comfortable living, who do not care for wealth and who, consequently, are working for personal glory. This class is very small because most of the intellectuals are working for wages which do not fill the needs of life, and, therefore, belong to the third class. All of the members of this second class are working at thoroughly congenial pursuits, and have complete command over their own time. They are, undoubtedly, the most fortunate human beings in the world, and their good fortune is due partly to their own efforts and partly to a favorable environment.

The third class, labor for wages, must be again subdivided into three divisions, intellectual labor, skilled manual labor and unskilled manual labor. These are arranged in the order of possible entrance into the first or second class. The second class is undoubtedly recruited from the first division of the third class, though a subdivision of the first division into pure intellectuals, such as teachers, and manual intellectuals, such as stenographers and typewriters, would show that it is only from a small sub-division of this first division that the second class can by any possibility come. Most of the intellectual wage-earners are permanent members of the wage-earning class. Occasionally skilled manual laborers pass into the class of laborers for profit, but the rapidly increasing amount of capital required in all branches of industry is rendering such a move more and more difficult, if not impossible. As for the unskilled manual laborers they are obviously permanent wage-earners, under present conditions.

It will be observed that there is no mention here of what is generally called the middle class or small capitalists. For all the purposes of this discussion these belonging to the laborers for profit for the difference between them and the large capitalists is not in the economic character of their work but merely in the size of their profit.

We have, then, a division something like the following: 1. Labor for profit. (a) Large capitalists. (b) Small capitalists. 2. Labor for honor and position. 3. Labor for wages. (a) Intellectual labor. x. Pure intellectuals. Possible entrance into 2. y. Manual intellectuals. Remotely possible entrance into 1 (b). (b) Skilled manual labor. Remotely possible entrance into 1 (b). (c) Unskilled labor. Permanent.

There are two things to observe here. First, it is only picked individuals, chosen merely because of some eternal and accidental circumstances, who can pass from class 3 to either class 1 or class 2, and none of the three divisions of class 3 can by any possibility be destroyed, while it is possible to conceive of both class 1 and class 2 as non-existent without any virtually important change in one's ideas of the organization of society. Class 3 is, then, by far the most important, and it is of this class that we must make our further study. But, before we proceed to a further analysis, we must observe, second, the growing consciousness of class among the laborers for profit and the laborers for honor. The latter are too small a class to show this feeling markedly, and, moreover, there are some serious schisms in their ranks. There are some men among them who are willing to sacrifice position for the honor of feeling themselves in the right. But most of them consider themselves a class apart, having close social relations with the capitalist class, but conscious of being, as indeed they generally are, superior in every way to the ordinary capitalist. Occasionally, too, the lines are partially blurred by some intellectual capitalist. The pure capitalists, on the other hand, have as keen a consciousness of their class affiliations as could possibly have grown up within an American historical environment. This is prob-

ably strongest among the women, and is so obvious to anyone who has any close acquaintance, and to many who have had only business relations with these people as to need no proof. Evidences of this form of class-consciousness are to be found on every hand, and are too numerous to be dwelt upon here. To return to class 3, which was found to be the only essential one of these classes, there are certain general characteristics to be observed. In the first place, the choice of occupations within this class is for the most part narrowly circumscribed, and is generally determined exclusively by environment and accidental opportunity. This may not be so true of the pure intellectuals, but it is certainly true of all the other divisions. The individual must be what circumstances have made him, quite regardless of his natural talents or natural tastes. Of course, there are individuals who are physically and mentally capable of modifying their environment, but "the exception proves the rule." No capitalist would expect to be able to place his child in the slums of a great city or in the cotton mills of the South and have that child develop any talents whatever. In the second place, most of the

occupations in which labor is carried on for wages are in themselves degrading and brutalizing. Here, too, there are exceptions. There are only one or two occupations, perhaps, which are ennobling, and there are others which are neutral, but it is safe to say that as a rule the labor for which wages are paid is, unless it is ennobled by high intelligence and an independent fund of rich human experience, calculated to cultivate the animal side and to stunt the intellectual and moral sides of the human character. That this effect is so little apparent is largely due to the superior natural character of the wage-working classes, and largely to the steady efforts of the trades unions to better the conditions of their members, intellectually and morally, as well as materially. I am perfectly conscious that here is a large class of theorists who laud the "nobility of labor," and I see their point and approve of it in a measure. But I observe that those of their number who have ever experimented personally with this noble labor have chosen the high art forms of handicraft. Even then they bring to their labor a wide knowledge, high ideals and a spontaneous enthusiasm. Such men and women are merely playing in the kindergarten of the world's great workshop. Their ideals may be all right, but practically they entirely fail to meet the case of real labor—labor for a livelihood, labor un-inspired with ideals, unlightened by

between twenty and thirty are his "palm days," so far as he will ever have any, and that if he does not raise his family before middle age, he is likely as not to find himself unable to support his children at just the time when they most need support. Laziness is a vice which few wage-workers are able to indulge. Overwork is the rule, and underwork the exception in this class. It is owing to these facts—the lack of a spontaneous choice in occupations, the degrading and brutalizing nature of most wage-labor when unrelieved by other elements, and the actual condition of overwork due to the lack of control of the laborers over hours and wages—that we are forced to consider President Eliot's remarks decidedly out of place as applied to the wage-earning class. There is, of course, much more that might be said on the subject, but we must pass on to the consideration of the "scab" as a hero.

This idea that the "scab" is a hero is the necessary fruit of an extreme individualism—an individualism that justifies and applauds the selfish assertion of the liberty of the individual at the direct expense of the liberty of the social body, an individualism that considers it right and good that one man should use his freedom to prevent his neighbor from having any freedom. But the individualist generally fails to see that when he approves the liberty of one human being to trample on the liberty of another human being he at the same time sets his seal of approval on nine-tenths of his actions that are usually punished as crimes. The "scab" may be pardoned on the grounds of ignorance and extreme poverty, but to say that he is a "good type of the American hero" is to say that Benedict Arnold was "a good type of the American hero"—that any man who places his own individual interest above the social interest should be called, not a traitor, but "a good type of the American hero."

Now, President Eliot would deny that the principles of trade unionism conserve the best interests of society. The British would have denied that the revolutionary forces conserved the best interests of society. To my mind it is as plain as noon-day that the best interests of society lie in advance, in progress, in liberty, in an equitable distribution of wealth and in the spontaneous efforts of groups or classes of individuals to help themselves, to rise in power and intelligence. However, the argument is quite as good if we say that the scab is a traitor to his class, for we have seen that there are distinct lines of class division, and that these lines are, for all practical purposes, permanent and unchangeable.

We have noticed the consciousness of class which is characteristic of the capitalists, of those who labor for profit, and also of those who labor for honor and position. Now we have occasion to notice the consciousness of class which is growing up among those who labor for wages. The capitalist may consider that the laborer should be ashamed rather than proud to belong to the wage-earning class, but as a matter of fact there is springing up in America today a new and healthy growth of class-consciousness among the wage-earners. This feeling of class solidarity is one of the most hopeful signs of the twentieth century. Developed far enough it would destroy all the futile vulgarity of a slavish imitation of the manners, morals and dress of the moneyed class. Even as it is, this feeling has practically set apart the wage-laborers who possess it in its true essence as the sturdiest the most self-respecting, the most energetic, and, withal, the most truly and innately refined, of the American people.

Contrasting this attitude with that of President Eliot it is evident that, while the latter is even more insidiously dangerous, as well as more prevalent than anarchy, by reason of its stultification of all higher ideals of citizenship and loyalty, the former—that of the class-conscious wage-earner—is distinctly friendly to a better and more sincere social order. The laborer problem must be solved by the laborers themselves. When this third class, the class of those who work for wages, shall be united into one class-conscious, class-proud and class-loyal body, then there will be no labor problem.

HELEN L. SUMNER.

W. THURSTON BROWN,



One of the Most Eloquent and Aggressive of the Champions of the Cause of Industrial Freedom.

ably strongest among the women, and is so obvious to anyone who has any close acquaintance, and to many who have had only business relations with these people as to need no proof. Evidences of this form of class-consciousness are to be found on every hand, and are too numerous to be dwelt upon here.

Thirdly, the hours and wages "in class 3 are entirely, or almost entirely, beyond the control of the laborers. President Eliot thinks that every man should labor "every day just as long as his strength will permit." We will be liberal in our construction of this statement and take it to mean that the man is to labor as long as he can without impairing his future efficiency. That is, we will consider the health rather than the strength of the man, for if the health were injured the strength would be destroyed. Now, as a matter of fact, the manual laborer often works far beyond the strength, and quite generally he works longer and harder than is consistent with good health and long life; that is, with the greatest total efficiency. This is shown by the high death rate of the laboring class as well as by common observation. It is not without reason that the laboring man marries early, for he knows, if the complaining sociologist does not know, that the years

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Table with 5 columns: Mills, Capital, Spindles, Emps., Weekly Pay. Rows include Merrimac, Hamilton, Appleton, Tremont and Suffolk, Lawrence, Boott, and Massachusetts.

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Thing of maintaining a family of little ones on \$7.49 per week? Consider what chance to live has the offspring of these employees! Poor clothing, insufficient food, no chance for education; as soon as they are old enough to tend a loom they are thrust on the auction block of the wage market

are forced to compete with the labor of their own child. Can we wonder at the ominous rumbling in the depths? Can we blame the anarchists so very much for their hatred of law, when we remember that such conditions are upheld by the laws of our land? Idleness is the dead sea which swallows up all virtues and is the self-made sepulchre of a living man.—Dr. Johnson. But what is Freedom? Rightly understood. A universal license to do good.—Coleridge.

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The Haverhill Campaign

Written for The Journal

By Parkman B. Flanders

American Labor Union Journal:

An attempt to write a description, or history, of the campaign which resulted in my being seated in the mayor's chair January 23, would be simply to relate what we have been doing for the past five or six years, both in and out of season. The season of political activity as carried on by either wing of capitalism, democratic or republican—yes, or both combined—has been during the few weeks preceding the election. After election there would be a long lull, until some of their best(?) decided that it was now their turn, when a noise by the friends and supporters of certain candidates would be a notice to the rest of the world that very soon there would be something doing. This would be followed by the election of lots of "good fellows," the most of whom would faint in office, at a hint that anyone, except the

few, but have tried to get the votes of the workers, by nominating for office those among them that could safely be trusted to oppose Socialism and at the same time give them a line—such as contracts, etc. Socialists, of course, strive to make all departments as independent of all outside influence as possible, and to cut out all idea of profit, and make every department a public benefit only.

Now, our last campaign, like the preceding ones, since our advent as a political factor, was along the lines of class-conscious Socialism, clear-cut and well defined. No one could accuse us of any attempt to deceive, or misrepresent our position for the sake of votes, more or less. We had already refused any sort of fusion or endorsement by other political parties. All understood that whatever the result, so far as electing

having been in close communication with the republicans, trying to down Socialism, this year came out and tried to prove that they were again alive, by issuing pictures of business men who were supposed to know all about it.

The result proved a case of bad memory, and that the slogan now and henceforth is "Workingmen, with methods that will work!" I don't know how or when, this particular campaign commenced, but feel sure that what might properly be called the time of starting, was about October 1st. So far as my memory goes, there was no let-up in the interest or relaxing of the tension, until the final decision by the supreme court, that votes cast for blank if they were equivalent could not be counted for the republicans. This decision came down January 14. After that another delay until January 2, for the purpose, probably, of allowing the republicans a chance to sycophant freely without my hearing them.

At the close of the state campaign, about November 1st, which resulted in an increased vote for our state ticket, and also the re-election of James F. Carey, as representative from the Fifth Essex district, for the fifth time, we at once started away for the municipal race which was supposed to end about December 1st, by increasing the size of all committees, getting in touch with all divisions of workers, and such other matters as were deemed essential or necessary to the proper conduct of our local campaign. Our committees, one and all, can give even the president points upon the life strenuous. Ask the committee on naturalization, or on literature, or on registration, or printing or music, or rallies or information or the general campaign committee, who had the details of all in charge, who met daily, and had reports upon all kinds of things relating to the art of voting.

They can tell of how an up-to-date Socialist campaign was conducted. They can tell of the public meetings held in the various large halls in the city, addressed by speakers of national, state and local reputation, preceded by a parade, with our own Socialist band leading with good music and plenty of harmony. They can also tell of the daily noon meetings weather permitting.

Often two, three and even four such gatherings were provided for in one day, usually in front of one or more of the large shoe factories, where the people seemed glad and anxious to listen. In the evenings rallies were held in the public squares, or in the outlying districts where the branch clubs, or ward committees had made arrangements for the same. They can also tell that the reward came when the returns came in and it was found that the largest vote at large ever cast for Socialism had been rolled up. While the returns did not show that we had elected more than the councilmen, school committee and assistant assessor for ward five, nevertheless when I arrived at headquarters at 8 p. m. I found Jim Carey and others addressing a crowd which packed the building to the doors. That gathering was the opening rally of the campaign which, in the popular mind, will close with the election of 1903, but which will not close with us until a recount of votes will not be called for, to install our object, the Co-operative Commonwealth.

PARKMAN B. FLANDERS.

PARKMAN B. FLANDERS,



The Socialist Mayor of Haverhill, Mass.

heavy taxpayers, so-called, owned, or should have anything to say about the city of Haverhill, or its management.

There has been a change. Our campaigns are now continuous, and always warm, as a report made by the committee on education at the last meeting of the Central Socialist club will show. That committee, having caused the distribution of no less than 10,000 pieces of literature from March 1 to April 8, inclusive.

Whatever the old parties may do or say, they are agreed that the Socialists are a nuisance, because we oblige them to keep hustling to abate or abolish the same.

Well, of course some good has come even to them. They no longer look entirely for the support of the select

any one was concerned, the issue was clearly for or against Socialism. Compelling a recognition of the issue was, therefore, our first victory. We did not allow any thought of personal or political ambition or hopes, to cloud the minds of the workers, so that they could not clearly discern that the great question for them to decide for all time was, "Can the workers make arrangements to live and flourish here on earth, without paying anybody for the privilege, whether that privilege is named rent, interest, profit, or even business methods?" How long have we heard the yell "Business men and business methods!"

But in this municipality that cry is only a memory, as evidenced by the fact that the local democrats after

What Is Socialism?

Written for The Journal

By J. W. Martin

This question is often asked, and too often answered in such a way as to leave the inquirer in doubt as to whether it is desirable or otherwise. To throw a dictionary definition in a man's face is to hopelessly muddle him, for the reason that the dictionary writers do not know anything about Socialism; consequently, cannot define it. If I wanted to know what Free Masonry is, I would inquire of an intelligent Free Mason. If I wanted to know what Mormonism is, I would ask an intelligent Mormon. If I wanted to know what Methodism is, I would ask an intelligent Methodist; and to know what Socialism is, interview an intelligent Socialist.

In defining what Socialism is I want to first notice a few things that it is not; this by way of clearing away the underbrush as we used to do in the woods back East when clearing land.

Socialism is not anarchy—the one being collectivism, the other individualism—extremes as anyone ought to see. The capitalistic system lies between the two, but nearer the anarchy line than to Socialism. Socialism is not communism. The communist would have all things common, would have no private property whatever, and his law of distribution would be to everyone according to his need. The Socialist would have all the means and machinery of production and distribution collectively owned, but would not interfere with the rights of private property in other things, such as homes, with their furnishings, comforts and luxuries, and anything held for convenience and not for profit; and his law of distribution would be, to every one according to his work.

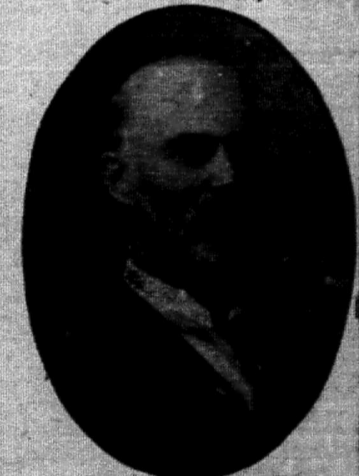
Socialism is not religion. There are many religions, there can be but one Socialism, and that one Socialism must stand on a basis as broad as the human race. The man who insists that Socialism and Christianity are the same thing, would bar the Jew, the Mohammedan, the Buddhist, the agnostic and all others who are not Christians from becoming Socialists.

Socialism is an economic science, and proposes a complete revolution in economic conditions. To accomplish this, it presents a clear, logical, scientific programme. First—Organize the working class into a class-conscious political party, to seize the powers of government, from the lowest to the highest. This class-politi-

cal organization recognizes the irrepressible conflict between the wage working class and its exploiter, the capitalist class, known as the class struggle, a conflict for which Socialists are not responsible, but which they must recognize.

Second—Having seized the political powers they will have possession of all the departments of the government, legislation, executive and judicial. The army the navy, the courts and all the machinery of government will then be the servants of the working class. The working class at least three to one, will not need to fear any rebellion on the part of so small a minority, especially when that minority has never been

J. W. MARTIN,



Socialist Party, State Secy. Colorado.

known to fight, but has always hired the working class to fight its battles. This, however, will not be possible when it loses its political power.

Third—Having made all the departments of government the servants of the working class, on the clearly defined lines of the class struggle, Socialism will, by law, abolish classes—by abolishing the one thing which makes classes possible, that is, the private ownership of the means and machinery of production and distribution. The government itself will be revolutionized so as to harmonize with the changed economic condi-

tions, and will be for the first time in history "a government of the people, by the people, for the people."

The industries of the world are being organized by corporations and trusts, those tremendous combinations of the capitalist class, for the purpose of exploiting the laboring class. In this process of industrial organization the once-powerful middle class is being crushed, and its members are dropping down by platoons and regiments into the already over-crowded working class. These great combinations of capital are economizing in the production and distribution of labor products, by using the most perfect machinery, and by eliminating the waste of competition, all of which makes the lot of the laboring man harder, and will make it necessarily harder while the capitalist system lasts. The laboring man groaning under the unjust conditions, leads an ear to every demagogue who promises to "control" or "smash" the trusts, hoping vainly for temporary relief; and in his wretchedness failing to see that the trusts are doing more to prepare the way for the triumph of the working class than all other agencies combined. They have already organized the transportation, and the most of the producing industries to the point where the people collectively could manage them without friction; the agricultural industry being the sole exception, and that will be organized as soon as the next financial crisis comes, when the vast army of farmers who are mortgaged will lose their holdings, and accumulated capital, seeking new fields for investment, will trustify the farming industry as it has trustified the transportation, manufacturing and mining industries.

Socialism is a stage of the economic evolution, and cannot come out of its natural evolutionary order. Socialism can come, and it is in the hastening of the ripening period that the trust is doing its mighty work.

Every economic system has in itself the seeds of its own dissolution, and also the germ of the better system which follows. Slavery, in its death, gave birth to barbarism; barbarism in its death gave birth to slavery; slavery in its death gave birth to capitalism, and capitalism in its fast approaching dissolution will give birth to the Social Republic the Federation of the World.

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THURSDAY, MAY 14, 1933.

THE JOURNAL'S CRITICS.

It has come to the attention of the Journal that some of the membership of the American Labor Union are not quite satisfied with the Journal, because it advocates Socialism. President Parry, of the Manufacturers' Association, does not like it, either, and for the same reason. The personal organ of W. A. Clark devoted a great deal of space a short time since to the Journal, but here again the chief—the only—cause for complaint was its Socialistic utterances.

Because of the principles it advocates the Journal claims the following distinction: IT IS THE ONLY PAPER IN THE UNITED STATES OWNED BY THE LABOR UNIONS WHICH ADVOCATES SUCH A LINE OF ACTION ON THE PART OF THE MASSES AS WILL, IF ADHERED TO, ENABLE THEM TO STAND ERECT ON THEIR HIND LEGS, AS NATURE INTENDED THEY SHOULD, BOLDLY DEMANDING THEIR RIGHTS, INSTEAD OF CRAWLING ON THEIR BELLIES IN THE INTEREST OF LABOR LEGISLATION BEFORE THE FEATURES THEY THEMSELVES HAVE MADE, BEGGING FOR CONSIDERATION AT THE HANDS OF THE CAPITALISTIC LACKEYS WHO INFEST THE HALLS OF LEGISLATION AND DOMINATE THE COURTS OF THE LAND, AS WELL AS THE CHURCHES OF CHRISTENDOM.

The Journal has but aim: it is to awaken the toilers to a realization that they are not "brothers to the ox," but MEN, with the same rights and the same inherent privileges as are enjoyed and belong to other men; to instill in the minds of the worker the knowledge that the interests of the laboring class are his interest; that the interest of every capitalist is involved in the interest of the capitalist class AND THAT THE INTERESTS OF THE CAPITALISTS AND LABORERS ARE ANTAGONISTIC TO EACH OTHER INDUSTRIALLY AND POLITICALLY.

No one can lift from the back of labor the burden of the weight of the ages EXCEPT THE TOILER HIMSELF. To accomplish this end the American workingman must have a well-defined program, embodying principles that can be accepted by the workers of every creed and clime to the end that all may unite for the overthrow of a system which has as fundamental principle, the oppression of the laboring class.

In spite of the carping criticism of a few of the unthinking, the good work done in this direction has already begun to bear fruit. The giant of Labor is no longer controlled by a superstitious reverence for precedent or place and is beginning to do his own thinking. But a mighty work yet remains to be done and in its humble way the Journal will try to do its part in spite of the offense it may give to those whom it is trying to serve.

A mighty work remains to be done; the cataclysm is moving toward us with immeasurable speed. The climax cannot long be delayed. The capitalist has, by means of injunctions and Taff-Vale decisions, rendered the pure and simple trades union form of labor organization helpless and useless to protect the toiler in the enjoyment of even a portion of his rights.

Concentration of wealth with its consequent throttling of the workingman is the order of the day. Already ten per cent. of the people own ninety per cent. of this country's wealth, and the major portion was acquired in the last five years. In Roumania the populace is starving and dying in the streets of the towns. The same condition is said to prevail throughout all Europe. If the masses are to be aroused to the impending danger we must know no rest or the crash will catch us unprepared.

HUGHES' SHARPSHOOTERS

Pithy Paragraphs by a Member of the Executive Board.

"It is unfortunate that so many strikes should occur just when the entire country is so prosperous," says a local capitalist paper. Yes, "unfortunate" to disturb the great prosperity of the capitalist class that the workers ought to submit with Chinese humility to a continuance of being robbed of four-fifths of the wealth they produce. Truly, what a shame that the workers refuse to be peaceable, long-suffering slaves!

Laboring men will do well to remember that the men who try to smash the unions and write and speak against them are the same men who are opposed to Socialism. The capitalist class lives off the labor class, therefore what the capitalist class doesn't want is just what the working class does want. See the point?

Dangerously rich and arrogant, and miserably poor and servile, describes the two great classes that have been produced by capitalism. Socialism would end it all by forcing each member of society to do his share of work, thus for all time abolishing classes and class hatred in society. Push forward, brothers, for this glorious day of the Brotherhood of Man!

The man who makes a failure of a "get rich quick" scheme is sometimes sent to jail; the man who makes the same kind of a scheme succeed—that successfully robs the people—is always applauded and received into high society. You are respectable if you manage to save your "reputa-

tion." It was this idea that caused the old colored man to remark after he had successfully escaped the farmer whose chicken house he had robbed: "Ah, lost mah hat and bag, but tank God ah saved mah reputation."

Morgan, Rockefeller, Hill and all that class of men have promoted "get rich quick" schemes galore. They have succeeded and are called "great"—their names are known far and wide. A number of others, not so successful, are filling the jails of the country—their names are not known to the world.

Socialism would give every young man the chance to own a good home and marry the girl of his choice. Many refuse to marry now because their economic condition is so bad that they can feel no assurance of their ability to support wife and children in comfort and plenty. Let us take a practical turn in our efforts to "sanctify the home." Any system other than Socialism, which guarantees economic security under which homes can be maintained, is detrimental to the establishment and maintenance of homes by the many, as we witness under the present capitalist system, where the favored few have good homes, while the many are either homeless or have poor homes. When all can enjoy the refining influences of good homes with plenty and comfort the "sanctity of the home" will come as easy as making a "good thing" out of letting city contracts to yourself while in office. M. L. HUGHES.

May Wood Simons has contributed an article to the Journal on "The Organization of the Workers from Guild to Trades Unions." It will appear in the next issue.

The bishop of London has denounced the marriage of Vanderbilt and Mrs. Rutherford, both of whom had been divorced, as a grave moral scandal, and declares that he will not again enter St. Mark's church where the ceremony was performed, until reparation for the insult to the diocese has been made.

The Journal has received several venomous communications from individuals and organizations in Massachusetts, arguing both in favor of and against the suspension of a comrade from the Socialist party of that state. We consider the columns of this paper too useful for the purpose of fur-

thering the principles and program of the American Labor Union and the Socialist party to allow them to be used in the discussion of personal matters. No individual in the world is big enough to overshadow the great movement that we are striving to advance. Get off the track.

Gompers says: No sane man will believe that the Socialists are honest and without ambition. Are you judging them by yourself, Sammy?

After all the difference between political parties is slight. The success of the capitalistic fusion parties means a soft job for an individual. The success of the anti-capitalistic socialist party means a benefit, not to a favored few, but to all mankind. Merely a question of numbers.

Current Comment

Written for The Journal

By Adam P. Skirving

"Thou shalt not worship any graven image." Is this unconstitutional on the ground that the image on the dollar is not "graven?"

There are some people very much afraid that at present they are getting a little more than the product of their toil. These are the loudest in their cry of "Anarchy" when they hear Socialism mentioned.

It is a living certainty that we brought nothing into this world, and a dead sure thing we will take nothing out. This must be a painful reflection to our capitalistic brethren who have had nothing to live for but their money bags, and nothing to die for but the same.

Yes, we have what might be termed a goodly crop of prosperity, but with our present mode of distributing it, the corn is not chopped into such infinitesimal portions as the husks. Which are you getting, the corn in job lots, or the husks a la handout?

The editor of the Butte Miner refers to Father Hagerty as "that bewhiskered Socialist." We infer from this that the editor of the Miner has not reached the whisker-growing stage of life. The same inference can be drawn from his other opinions.

Socialism will not mow people down to a common level; on the contrary, it will uplift to a common level as far as the opportunities of life are concerned. The inequalities of the mental and physical powers in man will still give him an advantage or

disadvantage, as the case may be, and he will fill his niche in life accordingly. Under our present system ability has too often to give way to arrogance, cruelty, craft and cunning, simply because dollars stand behind these vices.

Accuse any great inventor, author, artist, musician, or theologian of attaining the height of his ambition through his love of the almighty dollar—or, in other words, that the accumulation of money was his sole incentive to success—and he will emphatically deny it. Yet, according to some of the antagonists of Socialism, such men will fall into a sort of comatose state or ennu and their ambitions will lapse into innocuous desuetude under Socialism, simply because they will have nothing to handicap them in the pursuit of their callings. To quote Bishop Spalding in his recent interview in the New York Herald: "There is an immense difference between the idea of a general welfare in society and the dream of the Socialist of the time when a man shall exist on flat levels of sloven ease, devoid of ideals and insensate to the finer impulses of his nature." Does Bishop Spalding admit that he, like the rest, will fall into these ways of "sloven ease" under Socialism, or that "the finer impulses of his nature" are brought out under a capitalistic system where three fourths, and perhaps more, of his congregations—if he has any—have no time to divert from the "dollar race" to consider the welfare of their souls?

'Tis said: "It isn't what you earn, it's what you save." With the pres-

ent proportion of wages to the cost of living, the workingman is in a similar fix to the Irishman in the following old joke: "Pat, don't you want to buy a trunk?" "What for, bedad?" "To put your clothes in." "And me go naked?"

Like other things, the modern Shylock is a great change from the old species. Today he is all too keen in his mad scramble for the almighty dollar to be satisfied with a mere pound of flesh. Of course, if there is a little flesh and blood adhering to the dollar, as there often is, it is pocketed with no less avidity on that account.

Even if Father Hagerty's face possessed the power to "stop a clock," as Comrade Keith says, it will scarcely be admitted it will stop the blatant howlings of a hireling on the capitalist press. The only face that has ever been known to do this is the one on the dollar, and it has to appear very often to have much effect.

There are a few people coming from the common walks of life that are idlers by choice. By nature, man is a busy and ambitious animal. Some seem to think that the only idler we have is the one that visits the back door and asks for a handout. This species is the most harmless. The real thing runs around in an automobile. He doesn't stoop to beg, but demands that the working class provide for his wants which are often of a character that would not look well in print.

VICE PRESIDENT'S RESIGNATION.

Reasons Given by Journal for Its Acceptance Stir Up Local No. 19.

The Journal of April 2d contained a statement to the effect that Vice President O'Shea, having permitted his name to go before a Democratic convention, his resignation was immediately accepted. Further, that the time was coming when scabbing at the polls would be regarded as worse than scabbing on the job. This statement and comment has aroused the ire of the Cripple Creek local, as is shown by the following resolutions which are sent us for publication:

Cripple Creek, Colo., April 9, 1933.

"To All Members of the A. L. U.: "In the issue of April 2d of the A. L. U. Journal there appeared an article stating that the resignation of First Vice President D. F. O'Shea, a member of this local, had been accepted by the executive board of the A. L. U., and for no other reason than that he had accepted the nomination for a city office on the Democratic ticket, and as we believe there is nothing in the action of any convention, or in there anything in the present constitution of the A. L. U. that was ever intended or interpreted to even imply that members or officers of the A. L. U. should forfeit their rights of franchise and vote any particular party ticket or be debarred from any official position in the A. L. U.; therefore, be it

"Resolved by F. L. U. No. 19, That we regard this action on the part of the managers of the A. L. U. Journal as being unwarranted, uncalled for and not justified by any part of our constitutional laws, an assatotic rescission of authority on the part of the ex-board, which is created by the A. L. U., and at once endeavor, by such action, to become greater than its creator; and, be it further

"Resolved, That we instruct our delegates to the next convention to do their utmost to pass a resolution, or constitutional amendment, that can not be misunderstood, declaring that the right of free and independent political action shall be granted each and every member of the A. L. U. And we instruct our recording secretary to forward a copy of this resolution to Clarence Smith, secretary of the A. L. U., and demand that it be published in the A. L. U. Journal.

"Adopted by F. L. U. No. 19, on April 28, 1933.

"G. R. McGUIRE, Secretary."

Secretary Smith on receipt of the foregoing mailed Brother McGuire the following reply:

"Butte, Mont., May 5, 1933. "Mr. G. R. McGuire, Secretary Federal Labor Union No. 19, Box 371, Cripple Creek, Colo.:

"Dear Sir and Brother—In view of the straightforward declaration of principles of the American Labor Union in favor of the Socialist party of America, I consider it my duty as an officer of the American Labor Union, to support that party uncompromisingly at all times. I would consider treachery to that principle as much an evidence of scabbing on my part as to take the place of a member of our

How Atheists Are Made.

The fortunate present possessors Of riches and power and place, Now high in estate—the oppressors And foes of their race— With palaces such as Aladdin Might raise with his magical ring, And treasure sufficient to gladden The heart of a king: Men holding such pleasant positions Consider—I deem it not odd— Our prevalent social conditions Appointed of God.

union who is on a strike for higher wages.

If the Socialist declaration of the American Labor Union means anything, it means that this is the platform of our organization. Any member who accepts an office in the American Labor Union, through the acceptance alone, obligates himself to support the platform of the American Labor Union. When he fails, refuses or neglects to do this, he should at once tender his resignation as an officer of the organization.

"I consider that Brother O'Shea adopted a correct course when he tendered his resignation. And I am equally certain that the prompt acceptance of the resignation by the executive board was strictly in accordance with the principles and program of our organization.

"It may be a mistake on my part, but I have an idea in my head that a straightforward declaration in favor of Socialism and the Socialist party means what it says. If I am mistaken in this, I am willing to be corrected. It will take something more than a mere statement by an interested party to convince me that such a declaration means just the opposite from what it says.

"Personally, I have a high regard for Brother O'Shea; politically, I am convinced that he has violated his oath of office when he obligated himself to support the principles and program of the American Labor Union. The mere fact that he tendered his resignation under the existing circumstances proves that he, himself, considered that he was no longer in a position to retain the office of vice president.

"Were it not for the independent political program of the American Labor Union it could not have lived during the past twelve months. Independently of that, it had no excuse for existence, as the American Federation of Labor offers all of the 'pure and simple' trades unionism that anybody could wish. Because of the uncompromising attitude of the American Labor Union in favor of working class political action we have won hosts of friends and thousands of loyal supporters during the past twelve months. The slightest reaction on the part of our organization at any time would cut this support from us, and would mean swift and sure decay and destruction.

"Labor unions must depend for their strength upon the incorruptible character of the working class. Any other policy than this, which would consider, even in the slightest degree, the influence of capitalists' tools and political grafters, would make our organization as useless to the worker as the American Federation of Labor has become.

"So long as I am an officer of the American Labor Union I shall maintain with all my strength the independent, uncompromising working class political character of the organization, regardless of the wishes of any corporation, capitalist or politician.

"Yours fraternally, "CLARENCE SMITH, Secretary-Treasurer American Labor Union."

But those who reap only disaster

Although they have faithfully toiled For some sordid and mercenary master, Despised and despised: The Millions who have vainly striven To rise from the status of slaves; The children of want that are driven To premature graves: Who at last have despaired altogether Of justice—I deem it not odd, That they should have come to doubt whether

There be any God! —J. L. McCreery.

Ancient Fables Modernized

No. 13

Written for The Journal by Marcus W. Robbins

THE OXEN AND THE AXLE TREES

A heavy wagon was being dragged along a country lane by a team of oxen. The axle-trees groaned and creaked terribly; when the oxen turning round thus addressed the wheels: "Hallo, there! Why do you make so much noise? We bear all the labor, and we, not you, ought to cry out." Those who suffer most cry out the least.

As the human family drags itself

through life, many of the ruling and middle class are wont to exclaim: "Life is not worth the living, it is a bore. The sooner we pass into oblivion, the better." The workers of the world could well turn around and say to the bourgeois: "Hello, there! Why do you make so many complaints. We bear all the burdens, and we, not you, ought to cry out." Those who suffer most cry out the least. MARCUS W. ROBBINS.

THE BABY LAW.

South Carolina Prohibits the Employment of Infants.

South Carolina has found it necessary to pass a law prohibiting the employment of children under ten years of age in the factories of the state. The lawmakers, it is understood, pride themselves a great deal on the regard which they have shown for labor in the enactment of this law. Brilliant statement! Would any father, except the most degraded wretch, send his little one at that tender age into the factory to work the sunshine out of its little life running the ever-present risk of having it brought home one day all maimed and mangled, if it were not for the pressure of want and misery? Do men put babies to work except when confronted by the alternative of seeing them slowly starve to death before their very eyes? In the Southland of song and story a father's chances of obtaining employment are dependent on his ability to furnish the manufacturer cheap labor in the form of the tiny infant of 8 or 9 years of age, who are paid at the rate of a penny an hour. Southern legislators are aware of this, yet not one of them has had the manhood to lift his voice in protest against a system which is responsible for it. No one who can rightfully claim the title, Man, would give his consent, understandingly, to a continuance of these abuses. Though one had no more blood than an oyster he would still rebel. The lawmakers not alone of the Southland but of the entire country, are either devoid of reason or they are fiends.

You must wake up your neighbor and point out to him the rising sun of Socialism, bid him not despair, but join the rapidly growing army of class conscious workers pressing forward to industrial freedom.

A Shot at Madden.

In the recent investigation of fraudulent companies in St. Louis, it came to light that one of the concerns had been making effective use for advertising purposes of a letter received from an influential postoffice official at Washington, notwithstanding that a fraud order had been recommended against this same concern. This disclosure suggests the thought that if the postoffice department would exercise as much care and promptness in stopping this wholesale defrauding of the people through the mails as it does in collecting and enforcing petty and needless restrictions upon legitimate publications, it would be serving the public interest in a far larger way than it does now.—Leslie's Weekly.

Truth is the summit of being; justice is the application of it to affairs. —Emerson.

Set it down to thyself as well to create good precedents as to follow them.—Bacon.

A Wonderful Invention.

It is interesting to note that fortunes are frequently made by the invention of articles of minor importance. Many of the most popular devices are those designed to benefit the people and meet popular conditions, and one of the most interesting of these that has even been patented is the Dr. White Electric Comb, patented Jan. 1, '99. These wonderful combs positively cure dandruff, hair falling out, sick and nervous headaches, and when used in connection with Dr. White's Electric Hair Brush are positively guaranteed to make straight hair curly in 25 days' time. Thousands of these electric combs have been sold in the various cities of the Union, and the demand is constantly increasing. Our agents are rapidly becoming rich selling these combs. They positively sell on sight. Send for samples. Men's size 35c, ladies 50c—half price while we are introducing them. See want column of this paper. The Dr. White Electric Comb Co., Decatur, Ill.

A Delightful Summer Trip.

If you are going East this summer, why not see Salt Lake City and Denver and the elegant scenery through Colorado along the lines of the Rio Grande system?

You can't beat it for excellent service and good accommodations. Only one change between Butte and Chicago and Saint Louis. Write for rates and a copy of "With Nature in Colorado."

G. W. FITZGERALD, General Agent.

WANTED—Live agents to sell Dr. White's Electric Combs, patented Jan. 1, '99. Cure dandruff, hair falling out, sick and nervous headaches, yet cost no more than an ordinary comb. Sells on sight. Agents are wild with success. Send 50c for sample (half price). Write quick. The Dr. White Electric Comb Co., Decatur, Ill.

Duluth messenger boys are out for a raise of \$5 per month. They will organize a co-operative company if the demand is not granted.

If thou sustain injustice, console thyself; the true unhappiness is in doing it.—Democrates.

To forgive a fault in another is more sublime than to be faultless one's self.—George Sand.

Selfwill is so ardent and active that it will break a world to pieces to make a stool to sit on.—Cecil.

The greatest man living may stand in need of the meekest as much as the meekest does of him.—Fuller.

The firm of J. P. Morgan & Co. has during the last five years floated trust securities amounting to more than four hundred million pounds, English money.

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Silver Spray for invalids. Montana Brewing Co.

The Western Union linemen are on strike at New Haven, Conn.

All union men will be employed on the work of the city at Sheridan, Wyo.

All coal miners are warned away from Deltz, Wyo., until the strike is settled.

Two thousand employes of the Deering Harvester works are on strike for the privilege of organizing.

The Clerks' association of Lynn, Mass., has just concluded a very successful bazaar of four days' duration.

The barbers' license bill has passed the Wisconsin legislature, and only awaits the governor's signature.

Machinists are warned to stay away from St. Albans, Vt., and Birmingham, Ala.

The strike is still on in Texas at all points on the International & Great Northern railroad.

Structural steel and bridge workers to the number of two hundred and fifty are on strike at Pueblo.

The carpenters' strike at Lincoln, Neb., which has been on since the first of January, is at last settled.

A twenty per cent advance was demanded by the electricians of Los Angeles; a strike followed the refusal of the employers to grant the demand.

The Carriage and Wagon Makers' association of Chicago is charged with keeping a blacklist. It is a branch of the Employers' association.

New York boiler makers' strike is ended. Men are to receive \$3 per day and helpers are to have an increase of 20 per cent.

The demand of the rock men employed on the New York subway for \$2 per day has not been granted and 30,000 men are still out.

They are after them all. A \$25,000,000 dollar corporation to control the electric railways of northern New Jersey has just been formed.

Guy Miller has assumed an editorial position with the Pueblo Courier. He is a bright and forceful writer of unusual ability.

The question of jurisdiction between the engineers and the brewers still occupies the attention of those crafts at Zanesville, Ohio.

A lively contest is on in Anaconda for election of a delegate to represent the Typographical Union at its annual convention at Washington, D. C.

The strike situation in Omaha is becoming serious. Suspension of business is general. The mayor has ordered all saloons closed at midnight during the strike.

The threatened strike of the Lynn, Mass., plumbers has been averted, the union conceding the employers the right to use "tin knockers" in case of an emergency.

The Panhandle miners are insisting on the Ohio rate, and the strike will continue indefinitely. The report that they were ordered back by the Ohio board is denied.

Eighty machinists at Topeka, Kan., are on strike because of the employment of one George Bull, an alleged "spotter." They were employed by the Rock Island.

The general officers of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees have issued a circular to their craftsmen asking them to take steps toward the establishment of an eight-hour day.

The Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers have adopted a wage scale for the year beginning June 1st. It is practically the same as the one now in force.

The United Mine Workers will observe May 15th as "Injunction Day" with appropriate demonstrations. The membership of this body has increased from 148,000 in 1898 to 264,439 in 1903.

The strike of Boston harbor engineers has not yet resulted in tying up all the tow boat business, as was expected, owing to the independents not having been notified. This will shortly be attended to and a complete shutdown will result.

Butte plumbers have filed a complaint with the school board against competition from outside the state. It

was called forth by a Minneapolis firm sending in for the plans and specifications for heating and plumbing the New McKinley school building.

Judge Munger, of the federal court, has enjoined the Team Drivers' International Union No. 17 from interfering in any way with the employers. Luckily, the strikers are not enjoined from breathing, but nearly everything else seems to be prohibited.

In order to enable the unions of Missoula to discourage patronage of Chinese restaurants the business men of that city have banded together and are paying the salary of the walking delegate, who will devote his time to those who patronize the Mongolians.

Portland's board of trade will endeavor to affect a settlement of the present labor difficulties in that city. They are endeavoring to persuade the unions to rescind the resolution condemning the Lewis and Clarke fair. They are also urging the sawmill proprietors to reconsider their refusal to sell lumber in the Portland market.

The Ship Owners' association and the Seamen's union have finally reached an agreement on the basis of \$45 per month on all outside trading vessels for an eight-hour day and 50 cents per hour for all overtime; inside trading vessels will pay \$40 per month and 40 cents per hour for overtime.

While no definite action has yet been taken, there is a strong probability that a National Carpenters' Home will shortly be established, probably at Colorado Springs, Colo. Sidney J. Kent, the national organizer, is in that city at present, and his visit is thought to have a peculiar significance at this time.

The bricklayers and plasterers of Lynn, Mass., made a demand for an increase of 5 cents per hour, with an understanding that a contract should be signed for one year. Later the union refused to sign for any stated time, and the employers refused the increase, although they had been willing to grant it on a contract. Rather than bind themselves, the men have gone back to work at the old scale.

The Chinese are leaving San Francisco in large numbers for Chicago, because of the Laundry Workers' strike. Just now in the Windy City conditions are bad for those who like to smother themselves in starched linen. Walters

have discarded the conventional attire and now serve their customers in costumes which do not soil so easily. There are already several thousand Chinamen in town engaged in laundry work, but their methods are so crude that they are wholly unable to handle the business.

Missoula farmers are trying to work a "heads I win, tails you lose on the Missoula Federal Labor Union. First, they propose the nine-hour day. Next, they deny the union's right to say what they shall charge for board. Should their contention be accepted they would doubtless cheerfully pay any scale of wages because they could meet every advance of wages with a corresponding increase in board charges and the farm hand would be in great luck if he did finish the year in debt to his employer.

Governor Nash, of Ohio, urges the union men of Ohio to join the militia to enforce the law. Laws, to be entitled to respect and reverence, must be founded on justice. If Governor Nash and his party would turn their attention to a study of the causes of the economic discontent which lead to violation of the laws, they would learn how easy it is to establish a code of statutes which would not require the bayonet and rifle to enforce their observance. The man who thinks that a people will tamely submit to being legislated out of existence has little idea how deep the instinct of self-preservation is implanted in every human breast.

Mark Hanna and President Roosevelt are having a merry time in their competition for the negro vote and the labor vote. Teddy has Booker T. Washington to dinner and Mark straightway introduces a bill in the senate to pension the ex-slaves. Teddy appoints a coal strike commission and Mark throws several large and sweet-scented bouquets at John Mitchell. Teddy sends Carroll D. Wright to look after the proper interests at New Orleans, and Mark, to keep even, roasts Perry. But with all the friendliness that these brainy gentlemen profess to have, one has not yet heard either of them say anything about the workingman being entitled to the fruits of his own labor. They are willing to do anything for us except to get off our backs.

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"Haverhill comrades are pleased with the Journal," writes Comrade Morrill.

"The Journal is one of the best on my list," writes Comrade Lovett, of South Dakota.

Comrade Rod, of Pinon, Colo., is delighted with the Journal, and subscribes for a year.

Socialist local at Springfield, Ohio, sends for a dozen subscription cards.

Ten copies for thirteen weeks are ordered by Comrade McDowell, of New Berlin, Fla.

"Fifty cents is enclosed. Send your valuable paper for a year," writes

Comrade Mangus, of Blossburg, New Mexico.

Comrade Brookhart, of Drain, Oregon, sends 25 two-cent stamps, and says: "Send your excellent Labor Journal for a year."

Twelve yearly cards are ordered by Comrade Brodkey, of Sioux City, Iowa, who says he has no trouble in taking subscriptions for the Journal.

Comrade Lyon, of Fort Scott, Kan., is distributing the sample copies to advantage and expects to get a number of subscribers.

"Enclosed find one dollar, for which send the 'best ever' to the following subscribers," is the way Comrade Ben-

ton, of Springfield, Mo., writes.

Fifty copies for five weeks are ordered by Comrade Cummings, of Leominster, Mass. He says this is the ammunition he uses to shoot the unconverted-trades unionist.

Comrade Perry, of Erie, Pa., says the aggressive unionists of his city want to know all about our movement. He says he must have the Journal, and sends a subscription for it.

Comrade Steen, of Long Beach, Cal., sends one dollar for two subscriptions. He says the paper is so good that he keeps his going from one person to another as fast as it is read.

Comrade Warmholz, of Kansas City, Mo., uses a National Economic League

coin envelope in sending a subscription to the Journal. He writes that this is the best use he could make of plutocracy's ammunition.

A Journal worker at West Superior, Wis., who does not want his name made known at present, sends four yearly subscriptions and says he will get many more. "It's just the medicine for the pure and simple trades unionist," he writes.

J. B. Palmer, a boycotted and blacklisted engineer, writes to the Journal that the course of the American Labor Union is highly appreciated in his part of the country. He sends four subscriptions and closes by urging us to "keep up the good work."

NOTES OF THE AMERICAN LABOR UNION

New Westminster, B. C., Lumbermen's Union is increasing rapidly in membership.

Organizer Latimer is still doing good work in that state. Several new locals are in process of formation.

Clarkston, Wash., Labor Union is another local that is fast coming to the front in the matter of membership.

By an almost unanimous vote the Cumberland miners of Victoria have gone on a strike for recognition of the Western Federation of Miners.

Walter Thomas Mills, Father McGrady, Eugene V. Debs and Edward Boyce will probably be among the speakers at Denver during the conventions of the American Labor Union and Western Federation of Miners.

The U. B. of R. E. has established a strong union in Great Falls. Some of the hardest workers in the new union are old members of the A. R. U. An ice cream social was given on the West Side, where the aims and objects of the new union were explained to the railway men.

Union carpenters at Eau Claire, Wis., are on strike for a nine-hour day, 27 1-2 cents per hour, time and a half for overtime and double time for holidays.

Denver employers have formed a union to fight the labor organizations. It is known as the Protective Alliance. The action of the business element certainly ought to swell the membership of the labor unions.

In addition to a daily letter, the B. of R. E. is sending out a tri-weekly four-page paper, containing all the strike news. This action was made necessary by the muzzling of the daily press by the railroads.

Denver Trades and Labor Assembly has endorsed the candidacy of W. S. Wandry for the position of United States commissioner of labor. They also appointed a committee to arrange for the entertainment of the delegates to the convention of the A. L. U. and the W. F. of M.

Headquarters of the American Labor Union at Denver during the coming convention will probably be at the St. Nicholas hotel. Very reasonable rates are offered to delegates. Definite announcement will be mailed to each delegate personally about the 15th.

Organizer Ware has been working in the sugar pine lumber district of California the last few weeks. Several big unions are being organized. It is expected that the lumbering industry in California will soon be as thoroughly organized into the American Labor Union as the industry is in Montana.

Twenty sheep shearers at Clearmont, Wyo., joined the American Labor union the other day. One hundred more are reported to have joined at Rawlins, but the membership fees have not yet been received at headquarters. It is estimated that there are 2,000 sheep shearers in the Rocky mountain states who will join the A. L. U. this season. A. L. Tilford is general organizer for that craft.

Through the efforts of Member of the Executive Board H. L. Hughes the Spokane stablesmen have won their demand for an increase of wages. The increase amounts to from \$40 to \$60 for some, and from \$50 to \$75 a month for others. Spokane brewers have also succeeded in having a new contract with employers signed for another year.

President McDonald is at present at Crescent City, Cal., where he is in charge of the big lumbermen's strike. He is supposed to have arrived at the scene of the trouble Saturday, but up to time of going to press there has not been time to have received a report from him as to the situation. The latest advice from the union is that the men are firm.

Heel Workers' Union No. 283, A. L. U., are initiating a large number of new members at every meeting. A committee from the heel workers and one from the grain counter workers have been appointed to visit Stoneham for the purpose of organizing a union in that city. Organizer Foster, of the A. L. U., addressed the heel workers at some length. The spirit of the unions is favorable to the establishment of A. L. U. local unions throughout the entire length of New England.

A big victory has been won by the Western Federation of Miners in Amador county, California, where the local miners have been on strike. In spite of the opposition of the newly organized California Mine Owners' association a settlement was at last forced, in which the strikers secured reinstatement of all men discharged reduced the hours from ten to eight and one-half, and recognition of the union. This victory will probably result in the complete organization of the mining industry of that state under the Western Federation of Miners.

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Wastes of Capitalism

From The Standpoint of
A Chicago University Professor

If we are to understand social questions aright, it is essential that we put ourselves in position to take the national point of view. It is true that we are accustomed to approach these subjects from the standpoint of our class interests, but in dealing with social economies we must lay aside the personal and class prejudices that bias our judgments and be willing to see things from the broad standpoint of humanity. So considering the question of individual waste, we have all observed that every individual has a different line of demarcation between what is necessary and what is wasteful. In considering social waste however there is no room for difference of opinion, for whatever expenditure of the individual that does not minister to social welfare is a drain upon the vital forces of society and must be classed as social waste. When a society woman spends \$2,000 to bury a pet dog or a New York millionaire invests a million dollars in a yacht, it may seem necessary to those who make the expenditure, but there can be no doubt that it is a clear waste to society at large. And when we consider the fact that there are many who have no homes, such waste becomes criminal. Wherever there is useless luxury, there is waste of the grossest kind, for it is not only wealth that is wasted, but the energy and power of that life that should be expended for the welfare of society.

There is a subtle fallacy at work among the people of this country and that is the belief that the millionaire does good by spending his money for needless luxuries. It is considered that in this way he gives work to many men. But the people who say these things do not understand that it is not work that men want, but the chance to live and develop their powers. If we were to accept the philosophy of these people, a fire that destroys the heart of a great city is a good thing, for it makes work and the bigger the fire the greater the blessing to the world. Work is desirable only when it produces useful things, things that men need in everyday life or in enjoying their share of comfort and happiness. Work is worship, work is divine, but there is a difference between work and drudgery. All work should be of such a nature that it enables the worker and the product of labor should always express the individuality of the man that produces. Such work is art, and all other work is brutality. "This life of which our nerves are scant," "its life and fuller that we want."

Social waste results whenever there is an expenditure of energy that does not bring the greatest results possible, for it is a fact that society engages in nothing that does not bring some return. Indeed it is one of the first lessons of history that every act results in some good and if we were to justify deeds by their final results

war and pestilence would be blessings. For war and pestilence have a beneficial effect in destroying the lower types and so helping in the progress of the race! But who would think of justifying war or cholera or the bubonic plague on such grounds? No student will deny that war has been a factor in human development, perhaps the greatest factor. But all will agree that if the same amount of money and energy had been expended in some other way, far greater results would have been accomplished. England spent \$1,250,000,000 and 75,000 men to conquer the Boer republics of South Africa. No doubt the historian of the future will see some social advantages that this war brought about, but was it the highest advantage that could have been secured with this immense expenditure? Had the English government spent this money in bettering the condition of the people of England how immeasurably greater would have been the result? Compared with this amount Pericles had an inconsiderable sum to expend, but with it he made Athens the glory of the world. We spent a vast sum in subjecting the Filipinos. If we had used this money in enlightening them, how much greater would have been the advantage and how much smaller the harvest of hate. In the year 1902, the appropriation for war was \$116,000,000. If we had acted as sensible people we would have used this vast sum, not upon instruments of destruction but in improving the land and erecting public buildings. This amount would have built a library in every city and village that has none, or it would have erected homes for 116,000 homeless families of this country. It is not good that civilization should move forward on a powder cart. War is hell, it is unintelligent and unbecomical.

In the second place, social waste arises from the failure of society to use all the factors of progress to their full limit. These factors are land, labor and capital, and we will consider them separately. There are in the United States 3,000,000 square miles of land surface, of which about half is arable. According to some authorities, only one-seventh of this arable amount is under cultivation, while others say that only one-tenth is in use. And while we will admit that the most productive land should be put under cultivation, the opposite is often the case. It is a well recognized fact that every plant has its particular soil in which it will do better than in any other, but instead of having a corps of trained men to attend to this selection, we permit every farmer to follow his own ignorance and plant whatever his fancy may dictate upon his particular spot of ground. It is one of the greatest curses of modern times that large amounts of land are withheld from cultivation by speculators, while the

land that is cultivated is farmed so unintelligently that it produces only a fraction of what it should.

The waste that characterizes farming is as general in the lumbering industry. All over this country forests have been ruthlessly destroyed and only a small amount of their aggregate wealth has been of any use to society. Many parts of Northern Michigan, Wisconsin and Minnesota are dead and blackened wildernesses, whereas they might far better have continued to produce lumber and fuel for many generations.

There is not a single trust that does not offer an example for idle capital. Every place we go we see mills dismantled and factories standing idle, not because society does not need the product, but because the trust can make more money by restricting the market. In New England dozens of cotton factories thus stand idle and every manufacturing center in the country furnishes at least one example of this waste of capital.

But while society loses through the mismanagement of land and capital, its loss because of the mismanagement of labor is so great as to make the others seem insignificant in comparison. And by labor in this connection we mean both physical and mental power to do things. There is a waste wherever and whenever society is unable to discover and develop the latent capacities of individuals. All around you on every hand are thousands unable to achieve the heights of which they are capable. More than half the people of the world are conscious of unfulfilled destinies. There are Edisons in all the factories of the land, and it is because they are not able to develop their latent genius that the world cripples along with so few of the comforts of life. Poets, sculptors, artists and philosophers are being continually born in poverty and raised in squalor, and because of this condition society loses all they otherwise would become and do. We are making almost no effort to discover geniuses. It is true that the schools of the country try, but their efforts amount to little, so hedged in are they by the conditions of the day. In spite of the efforts of the school, it might truthfully be said of every backwoods cemetery that—

In this neglected spot there lays
Some heart once pregnant with
Celestial fire,
Some hand the rod of empire might
Have swayed
Or waked to ecstasy the living lyre.

And why not? Because—
Chill penury repressed their noble
rage
And froze the genial currents of the
soul.

PROF. IRA HOWERTH.

Socialist Standards of Morals

Written for The Journal
By Chas. H. Kerr

In the Journal of April 23 I outlined the standard of morals which will apply to the future collectivist society. This task was comparatively easy in a society of equals, and by this is meant not people who all resemble each other, but merely people without the opportunity to rule each other. In a society of equals, the question of ethics is not troublesome. There are savage races today who find it difficult to grasp what the missionaries tell them about the sinfulness of the human heart, and the final triumph of the working class will soon re-establish equality and the delightfully simple ethics of equality.

But here we are in a tangled labyrinth of contradictions and paradoxes. The moral code that nominally prevails is that of Christianity, but anyone who attempts to live up to that code is regarded as insane. Tolstoy's is a case in point. In Catholic countries the morality of any given action is tested by the attitude of the church toward it, but in the more developed Catholic countries, like Belgium, France and Italy, most educated people look on the church with cynical contempt, and public morals are in chaos.

In protestant countries the Bible is the nominally accepted standard. England and America are still strongly influenced by the traditions of the seventeenth century, when the newly acquired English version of the Bible, acquired just as feudalism was giving way to capitalism, played so important a part in molding the opinions of the people. But the discovery of the law of evolution has destroyed the authority of the Bible as something superior to human reason, and the ruling classes have no more use for Christian ethics, except as a means for keeping certain sections of the working class contented with the present lot in life, consoled by the prospect of some day walking the golden streets of the New Jerusalem.

Moral chaos reigns here, as in every capitalist country on earth. Appeals are made daily and hourly to moral sentiments, but in a vague and uncertain way. No good and sufficient reason is offered the persons addressed to show why they should respond to the appeal instead of acting as they feel inclined.

BEWARE OF UPRISING.

John Burns Declares Terrible Revolt Is Coming in America.

"There will be a terrible uprising among the workers in America against the barbarous industrial conditions unless the employers grant shorter hours, place child labor under proper restriction and provide proper sanitary workshops," said John Burns, M. P., to a New York World correspondent recently.

Mr. Burns was not disposed to modify the startling assertion he

The clue to the difficulty is, of course, as every Socialist knows, the fact that society is divided into two classes, a ruling class of capitalists who, as such, do no useful work, and a subject class of laborers who do all the useful work and are robbed of a large part of what they produce. Now the subject class is, physically the stronger and can only be kept in subjection by the aid of false moral standards which shall make them contented and restrain them from rebelling. Hence the need of preaching the beauties of industry, temperance, economy and self-denial, and of holding out the hope of rewards in a life beyond the grave. But the very existence of a capitalist class in a democracy depends on the working people remaining in ignorance of the fact that society is divided into classes. It thus becomes necessary for the capitalists to seem to accept for themselves the same moral standards they try to impose upon the worker. This they do, and the result is the universal hypocrisy which is the most distinctive feature of public morals under capitalism.

Nominally, the so-called respectable man of today shapes his life by the precepts of the Bible; actually, he is guided by his own material interests and the interests of the capitalist class to which he belongs.

We now reach the important practical question of the rational moral standard by which the Socialist should be guided under the present capitalist system in these opening years of the twentieth century.

Here, as in the ideal conditions discussed in the last chapter, we assume at the outset that the happiness of the individual is the end to be sought, and which every human being must inevitably seek, consciously or unconsciously. The whole question is in what way it shall be sought. People of a low mental development seek it directly, by performing such acts as tend to immediate gratification; others see that their happiness is bound up in the happiness of those about them, while those whose vision is clearest have reached the truth which will be plain to all under the coming social order, that the surest way to secure happiness for one's self is to act in such a way as to promote the happiness of all.

made in the house of commons this week, that "industrial America is hell with the lid off." In explaining his remark, he said:

"I spoke from personal knowledge and from reading everything available on the subject, including the report of the Mowley commission. Industrial America is a slaughterhouse, a Golgotha.

"American employers play Napoleon's game. Napoleon told every soldier he had a marshal's baton in his knapsack, knowing that there were only 15 marshals and that vain, futile ambition would lead the men to sacrifice themselves in the hope of achieving the unattainable.

But the moment we try to apply this principle in our present society we find this difficulty, that there is a line of cleavage between the interests of the ruling class, the capitalists, and the subject class, the proletarians. What seems good for the one seems bad for the other. How, then, shall we act?

Let us drop philosophy and plunge into the conflict, fighting for our own side, the side of the disinherited workers. How long the battle will last we do not know. Whether any one of us will survive or fall is no concern of ours. All we know is what we must do each day at whatever station in the great conflict we may find ourselves. Sometime the battle will end, and we shall be the victors.

The battle is won, and joy and freedom are won for the workers. But what of the former rulers and their willing dupes? Joy and freedom are won for them also, although they struggled in vain to protect what they could not understand. And so the philosophy of life that we dropped in the heat of the struggle is with us still and justifies our instinctive choice. It shows that in throwing ourselves heart and soul into the fight for Socialism we have been true to the universal principle of right.

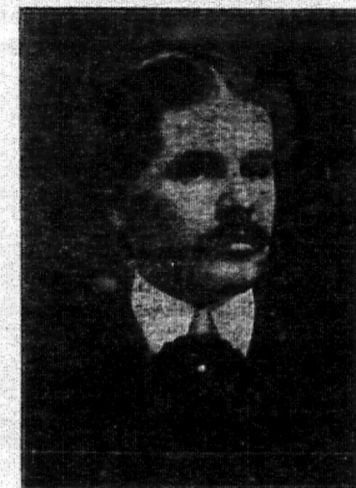
Thus we find the clue to the complex problems of today. Our own personal happiness is not an unworthy end, and indeed it is an end we cannot avoid seeking. But if we have evolved beyond the brute, the direct pursuit of personal happiness is the surest way to miss it. A normally developed man or woman cannot be happy in the presence of sorrow and the intensest happiness possible is in the consciousness of making others happy. The supreme test of the reasonableness or rightness of an act is in its effect on the happiness of all. And in this transitional period of world history, when class is arrayed against class, and the immediate interests of capitalists and workers are directly opposed, the right and reasonable course is to act in such a way as to hasten the triumph of the working class, because that triumph will, for the first time in the history of the civilized world, put happiness within the reach of all.

"A great deal of American emigration to Canada is due to discontent among the American workmen. This frightful condition of affairs prevails not only because of the senate and the house of representatives, but also the state legislatures, are in the hands of combines, trusts and Pierpont Morgan. Here we won't stand the creation of such a state of affairs.

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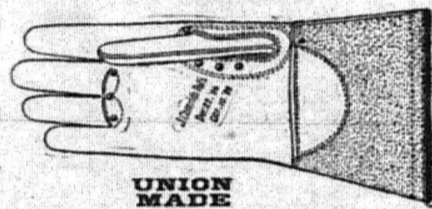
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JUNK AND RIDS

Economic Discontent

By Father Thos. J. Hagerty PART TWELVE

If there are atheists and infidels in the Socialist party, it is not the fault of Socialism. They have as much right to membership there as in any of the other political parties under a free government. August Bebel's "Die Frau" is not a part of Socialism any more than Huxley's "Hebrew Essays" is a part of biology. The Republican party have never incorporated Ambassador White's "Conflict of Science and Religion in any of their shifty platforms; and no one would dream of censuring the Democratic party because the founder of that party, Thomas Jefferson, was an infidel in the ecclesiastical sense of the term. There are many physicians who do not believe in God, yet no one is so ignorant as to condemn the science of therapeutics on that account. One does not enquire into the religion of the architect before admiring some Corinthian structure which he has designed, nor the particular church affiliations of the bricklayer who built the walls of the house which one is about to buy or rent. From the data of his experiments in the laboratory, the chemist neither denies nor affirms the efficacy of the Atonement of the Christ; for the evident reason that the limits of his science forbid him to draw conclusions beyond the reaction and combination of his materials. The carpenter is not warranted in judging the grandeur and sublimity of Michael Angelo's gigantic statue of Moses by his rule and square; nor is the weaver justified in passing criticism upon the technique of a Botticelli merely by classifying the texture of the artist's canvas. No one science is the measure of all knowledge. The archaeologist is not to be taken to task, therefore, because his science does not set forth the full technical details for the operation of laparomyotomy; and the surgeon who would find fault with archaeology because it did not formally teach the proper process for an abdominal excision of a myoma would be just as unreasonable as the churchman who cries out against Socialism because it does not explicitly propound the dogmas of the existence of God and the immortality of the soul. The platform of Socialism calls for no ordaine! ministry just as the teachings of anatomy require no con-

secrated priesthood for their exposition. Wherefore, those churchmen who forbid their people to join the Socialist party exceed their authority in the same measure that they would exceed their authority if they commanded the members of their flock not to enter the Republican or Democratic party or to take up the study of physics and chemistry. Socialism has nothing to say against their preaching of future reward and punishment in another world, but it does insist from the economic point of view that

Socialism desires only the highest industrial welfare of the masses, confident that economic well-being will contribute to the best intellectual and moral advancement of society. Socialism would abolish profit, usury, interest and rent—the means whereby a few men now live in luxury upon the sweat and toll of their fellowmen—and it would throw open the earth and the fullness thereof with equal opportunity to every son of Adam who is willing to work for the comforts and joys of life in unison with the cosmic efforts of humanity. So-

transportation of the people and the orderly distribution of the products of their toil. It would sanctify labor, even as the Nazarene made holy the carpenter's bench, so that the humblest worker might stand as high in the esteem of his fellowmen as the most exalted genius whom society nowadays lionizes. It would glorify the simplest toil and beautify with every resource of art the repellent ugliness of mill and factory. It would win for humanity the high resolve and the lofty inspiration which make work a pleasure, life a gladness and heaven a mere transition from mortality to immortality. Envy and hate and scorn—the outcome of competition in the fight for bread—would

"Fold their tents like Arabs And as silently steal away."

Socialism is the answer to the wall of discontent which has troubled the centuries through all the forward struggling of the race. Men are still battling in the gloom against poverty and pain, against the hopelessness of unending toil, against the tyranny of capitalism which holds their lives always in the prison clasp of mine and shop' and tenement, against the wretchedness and disease which lock them out from the glad sunlight and blitheness of body and soul, but Socialism

"Will send a cry upon these weary men,

A cry to make the heart grow young again, A cry to comrades scattered and afar, Be constellated, star by star; Give to all mortals justice and forgive—

License must die that Liberty may live.

Let Love shine through the fabric of the state—

Love deathless, Love whose other name is Fate.

Fear not, we cannot fail— The Vision will prevail,

Truth is the Oath of God, and sure and fast,

Though death and Hell hold onward to the last."

FATHER T. J. HAGERTY,



Author of "Economic Discontent."

"It cannot be that all the years Of toil and care and grief we live Shall find no recompense but tears, No sweet return that earth can give; That all that leads us to aspire And struggle onward to achieve, With every unattained desire Was given only to deceive."

cialism would end all war, murder, and rapine by the establishment of that Brotherhood of Man whose dominant spirit is love and peace unto all the world. It would build huge iron-clad ships, not for the restriction of commerce, and the tearing apart of human flesh, but for the

Making His Own Terms

Written for The Journal By M. E. Shore

"No, sir; I won't join no labor union. I believe in workin' anywhere I can git work and makin' my own terms with the boss. I don't want no walkin' delegate, nor no set of fellers to tell me what wages I must have before I work, nor when I shall quit my job. I believe in bein' free, I do; free to do as I please. You cranks and agitators are just raisin' hell all the time, makin' us workers discontented and strikin' for shorter hours and more wages. And then it costs a lot of money to belong to your darn'd ole labor union, and so you don't need to ask me to join 'em."

Now my friend, I though you was opposed to anarchy, and now you are advocating its doctrine. "Don't you tell me I'm an anarchist or I'll punch your head for you!" Hold on, my friend; don't be too hasty. Did you not just say that you 'believed in being free to do as you pleased'; and is not that just what the anarchists teach?

Is not all government a restriction of individuals doing just as they please, when they please to do something that is thought to be injurious or detrimental to the interests of society? Would I be allowed to erect a slaughter house in the business part of the city, or near the residence portion? Would I be allowed to dump garbage into some of the water supply for the city? Would I be permitted to use profane and obscene language in public places? Would I be allowed to travel about the streets of the city, or even on my own premises, in a nude condition? If I pleased to do all these things am I free to do them? You know I would be arrested at once if I tried to do the things mentioned, and you no doubt can name many more things I would not be allowed to do, because they are detrimental to the welfare of society; and I have no moral right to infringe on the rights of others.

"Oh, well, these things are different from me being free to take any job I can get at any wage I can get." Now, do not be so fast, my friend. I want to ask you a few questions. Can you tell me who made the earth? "Well, I suppose God did, or, as some people say, Nature."

Very well. You admit that it was not made by man. Now, what made all the improvements, such as clear-

ing the land, mining and smelting the ores, manufacturing all the things that we use, built the factories, dwellings, railroads, tills the soil, etc.?"

"I reckon it has been by labor." Right again. Now I want you to tell me, if labor has produced all these things, from the natural resources, why the laborers should not have it all.

"Well—ahem—why—you see, the capitalist must have something for the use of his capital, or he would not invest it and give us fellers work."

Look here, my friend; you have just admitted that all things have been produced from the natural resources by labor; now is it not evident to you that this capital, that the capitalist uses, is but the portion of the product of labor that the laborer did not get? Can you see any reason or justice in one man holding possession of the natural resources, and the accumulated products of labor, and compelling his fellow man to support him in luxurious and profligate idleness, while they have barely sufficient to satisfy hunger?

Don't you want some man to be free to injure your neighbor, by taking away his means of making a living? Do you want to be free to force him to lower his standard of living, to that of a beast of burden? Do you want to be free to force his children and your own out of school, into the sweatshops, the factories and mines? Do you want to be free to force his daughters into houses of prostitution and sell their virtue for a crust of bread? Do you wish to be free to force your brother to tramp the highways in search of employment?

"Oh, well, every man for himself and the devil take the hindmost." There you are again, with more of your anarchy. If that saying had been lived up to where would you have been when you scabbed on the men who struck at Skinsmen's factory? Had it not been for the protection of the police some hot-headed striker with more muscle than brains would have made short work of you.

"Well, I don't believe we have any right to dictate to the boss who he shall hire, nor who he shall discharge." You may not believe we should have that right, but let me ask you one question: Suppose you were working in a powder mill, with a lot

of other men, and two or three, either not realizing the danger, or through pure carelessness, insisted on their right to smoke their pipes, would the rest of you not have the right to demand that those men be discharged? You may say that you could quit your job, but suppose you had bought a home near by, and there was no other work that you knew how to do well enough to command living wages, would not these men be infringing on your rights? This is, of course, an extreme case, but the principle holds good through all gradations. We have a right to say whom we shall work with, and this right is recognized in national affairs when we pass laws restricting or regulating the admission of foreign peoples into this country.

"Well, I hear that some of your unions demand an eight-hour day, and half-holiday Saturday, with full pay. Now, I don't believe that it is right to ask for pay for time they don't work."

See here, my friend, the money-lender draws interest on his money whether he works or not; he can take seven whole holidays in a week and at full pay. Why should not the laborer have a half-holiday each week at full wages? I will not say full pay, for full pay would be the entire product of his labor.

"Oh, well, I don't blame the capitalists if they are smart enough to make lots of money and do nothing; I guess there are lots more of us that would do the same thing if we had the brains to do it."

All right, my friend; I am not laying the blame on the capitalists, but on the stupidity of the workers, and, according to your own arguments, if the labor unions can compel the capitalists to grant them a shorter work day and a half-holiday and also larger wages, it is all right, provided they are smart enough. Now, another thing: We are opposed to working-men scabbing at the ballot box as well as in the workshop. We propose to be smart enough to get the full product of our labor, and not have to divide with the capitalists, as we have been doing in the past.

So, hoping you will have made up your mind to join the A. L. U. by the next time I see you I will bid you good day. M. E. SHORE.

Arcaata, Calif.

These Men Are Our Brothers. Field laborers in Spain rarely get more than ten cents a day. Their sole food is a soup made of oil, water, garlic and bread. Many cannot endure twelve to fourteen hours of hard work in the fields and broiling sun on such fare, and faint while at work. About five per cent of them die annually.

Christianity has been tried for more than eighteen hundred years; perhaps it is time to try the religion of Jesus.—Dean Milman.

FATHER McGRADY AT LOWELL.

Pours Hot Shot Into the Enemy— Says Man Should Not Work for Bread Alone.

Twenty thousand mill workers are on strike for higher wages at Lowell, Mass., and the whole state is aroused. On Monday, April 13, the strikers held the largest parade seen for years, also holding enormous mass meetings. The principal speakers at the meeting were Representatives James F. Carey and Frederick O. McCartney; Father McGrady and Louis B. Talbot, Socialists. In the report of the speeches given, McCartney is quoted as saying: "I do not think God intended men and women to work for bread alone. The averages wages of mill operatives are said to be \$6.02 a week. That is not enough for men and women of your intelligence. On the basis of four years ago, owing to the increased cost of living, you operatives were receiving in value only \$3.60 a week. Under these circumstances you have a right to strike and you would be cowards not to do so. "Your strike means that you desire to participate in the benefits of the higher civilization of your times. You desire to educate your children, and that cannot be done at the prevailing rate of wages. "The present system is destroying the family life. I saw today in the parade children who undoubtedly, when the mills are open, work in some of the rooms. Father McGrady said in part: "Labor will live if all capitalists die or leave the country, but capitalists cannot live without laborers being willing to work. Today in the United States, taking into account the cost of living, the laborer is receiving less pay than in any country in the world. Considering the purchasing power of money, laborers receive today 400 per cent less than 50 years ago. "I do not agree with all the remarks of a previous speaker. From my observation the union man has to bear the burden in every way of securing shorter hours and higher pay, and the selfish non-union man comes in and reaps the benefit. Non-union men, by refusing to join a union aid the capitalists in keeping down wages. By so doing they are aiding in taking the bread from the mouths of children, and preventing union men and women from getting the full benefit of their labor and skill. "The development of the soul should be considered in connection with the labor movement. God never intended that men should forever labor in the ditch. He did not intend that millions of operatives should remain forever working in factories assisting to create millions and billions. "Operatives as well as other people should have time and money to aid in their mental development. This struggle today in Lowell is only one many against those who believe they are the ruling class. I beg of you in this struggle to remember that your success means better conditions for your wives and children. I say again that in the effort to win you should resist until you are almost starved by the ditchside. If you win you are bettering the condition of your country and advancing civilization."

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BUSINESS CHANGE
 The Frank Commercial Co., Wholesale Liquor and Cigar Dealers, successors to Henry L. Frank, has sold its entire stock of goods to E. Gallick, Wholesale Liquor Dealer, 53 E. Park street. The consolidation of these two well-known firms will make one of the largest liquor houses in the Northwest. The two stocks have been consolidated, the E. Gallick stock being removed to the Frank Commercial building at 222-224 East Broadway. E. Gallick will continue to be the distributor of all the leading brands of Whiskey, White and Val Blauz Beer, Idaho Mineral Water and other agencies controlled and handled by the Frank Commercial Co.
 Key West Temptation Cigars. Union made.

News of the World of Socialism

RUSKIN UNIVERSITY.

A Thorough Correspondence Course in Political Economy by the Simons.

A. M. Wood and May Wood Simons are in charge of the correspondence department of the Ruskin University. Socialism and political economy are taught by the latter, and American economic history is taught by the former. It is the purpose of these able comrades to give the student individual instructions so that he will receive all the benefits of personal attention that he would receive in one of the best universities. They do not require that these lectures be kept private, but, on the contrary, they will publish them in the different Socialist papers.

Below is given an outline of the course on Socialism as taught by May Wood Simons.

Socialism.
 The aim of this course is to give a thorough foundation in the history of the evolution of Socialist thought and a comprehensive understanding of modern scientific Socialism. Since modern Socialism had its roots in Utopianism the course opens with a treatment of the great Utopian writers. This lesson summarizes the various doctrines set forth, shows their relation to current economic development and the part they were destined to play in modern Socialism.

Scientific Socialism is treated as rising out of the economic revolution which came at the close of the 18th and first of the 19th centuries. The contributions of Robertus, Marx and Engels to Socialist doctrine are thoroughly dealt with.

The essential principles of Socialism are then taken up one by one and elaborated upon, beginning with the economic interpretation of history. In this the previous attempts at the unification of history are discussed and compared with historical materialism, and then a full statement of the theory as accepted today is set forth. Two lessons are devoted to the economics of Socialism, taking up the theory of value, surplus value, crisis, and with each of these the contributions made by various writers are pointed out.

The course next proceeds to a discussion of Socialism and the organized labor movement, the modern trade union, continental, English and American and its relation to the Socialist movement is shown. The process of industrial concentration through the various stages of corporation, trade agreements, and trusts forms the subject matter of another lesson. Slavery, serfdom and the wage system are treated with their relations to each other, followed with the growth of the circle of the market from domestic to town and national economy, showing the importance of trade routes and colonial possessions and the final growth of the two great "world powers," labor and capital.

The foundation having been laid, a series of lectures is then devoted to Socialism and the state; science, with special reference to the theory of evolution; education, showing how the system of education is affected by capitalism, and how modern pedagogy is in accord with the philosophy of Socialism; ethics, including comparisons of various economic theories; art, its relation to the people.

the doctrines of Ruskin and Morris and the possibilities of art under Socialism.

The assigned work closes with a history of the Socialist movement in Europe and America, giving the strength and position of the Socialist parties all over the world at the present time.

In this, as in the other courses, there will then be an opportunity for the individual to select any one of the various phases treated and specialize in it through three or four more lessons.

Headquarters of the University are in the Schiller Building, Chicago.

H. L. Hughes, Socialist candidate for mayor of Spokane, polled 14 per cent of the votes cast for the successful candidate, Boyd, Republican. It is the first campaign.

The American Socialist college has been established at Wichita, Kansas, by Thomas Elmer Will. It will train speakers to fight for Socialism. The faculty will include some of the best talent of the nation.

Ida Crouch-Hazlett, Socialist party organizer for Colorado, is working in the Pueblo field at present. She reports the Socialist situation worse there than in any part of the state, and states the need of a resident agitator.

When the workmen of Haverhill, Mass., organized a working class party they polled 16 votes at the first election. At a recent election they polled 3,500 votes. They were fighting for a principle, not for the spoils of office.

William Mailly, national secretary of the Socialist party, has issued a call for nominations for one delegate and one alternate to attend the International Socialist Congress, to be held at Amsterdam, Holland, August, 1903. Each local is entitled to one candidate for each office. Nominations close June 1st. Nominations must be filed with the national secretary before June 5th, except unorganized states, which have until June 10th. The national secretary requests that locals act promptly in this matter.

The official report of the Socialist party of Ohio shows an expenditure of \$408.84. The regular call for the state convention has been issued, and appearances indicate a larger attendance than at any previous convention. Efforts to get delinquent locals back into good standing is meeting with success. The referendum vote on changing national committee was favorable to W. G. Critchlow, the present incumbent. An open air circuit has been established and speakers are furnished every two weeks. The report shows such an aggressive spirit that there can be no question about Ohio taking the front place in the ranks of Socialist states. Energy, enthusiasm and good business judgment are the characteristics of the Buckeye comrades.

In writing of his tour through Texas, Comrade Chase says: "The task of converting the Texans to Socialism is a big one, and seems almost appalling to the comrades here. It is growing fast, however, and with organization she will fall in line. The crying need is organizers and speakers, and to

have them in sufficient numbers to make any impression, help must be had from other states. It is nearly as far across the state of Texas as Chicago is from Boston. When we think of this we can realize what a task the local Socialists have to reach the people."

At Beaumont, Texas, one year ago a Socialist was arrested and jailed and later taken out and flogged almost to death. Chase spoke before the Trades Assembly to a good meeting. The flogging did not discourage the comrades, as there are many Socialists in Beaumont now. In every town that boasted of a Trades Assembly he seems to have been invited to address the body, but crop failures which have driven the masses out of the country to look for work, and the sparsely settled nature of the state, are hindrances to the spread of the movement that can only be overcome by dint of hard work.

The Socialist Vote.

In a good many instances, the city of Anaconda, having passed under the municipal control of the Socialists, is pointed at as the "terrible example." To be sure the Socialists scored successes in Anaconda; they would have carried Butte if they had known as much the day before election as they knew the day after election. But in this matter Anaconda does not stand alone.

Here are election figures for ten towns in Massachusetts, the returns showing the Socialist vote cast at recent elections compared with that party's vote for governor in 1901 and 1902:

| | | | |
|-------------|------|------|------|
| | 1901 | 1902 | 1903 |
| Abington | 125 | 205 | 243 |
| Amesbury | 140 | 222 | 983 |
| Avon | 26 | 83 | 129 |
| Pridgewater | 31 | 52 | 105 |
| Holbrook | 23 | 84 | 97 |
| Hyde Park | 89 | 273 | 530 |
| Leominster | 104 | 279 | 746 |
| Norwood | 25 | 194 | 524 |
| Stroughton | 20 | 66 | 388 |
| Wakefield | 28 | 165 | 387 |

Last November there were two Socialist candidates in Massachusetts for the office of governor. They polled 39,708 votes, and that was nearly four times as many votes as the Socialists had polled at any former state election in Massachusetts. In last December's city elections in that state the Socialists, having candidates in eighteen cities, polled 11,729 votes as against 7,831 votes in fifteen cities the previous year.—Anaconda Standard (Democratic).

Professor Walter Thomas Mills will open the campaign for 1904 at Omaha on May 17th and will speak for a week at Washington Hall.

The Socialist party of Los Angeles is the first body in California to send money in aid of the strikers on the Mexican Railway.

An eastern paper contains the following: "A Montana hotel has a no-taken by the day, week or month. Those who do not pay will be promptly taken by the neck."

Edgar H. Helfenstein, of California, who was attempting to carry on the work of state secretary and also edit the Los Angeles Socialist, has been compelled by pressure of work to resign the latter, as the state secretary's work now occupies all his time.

The Socialist Standard, a bright, well edited eight-page paper, published monthly, has made its appearance at Pittsburgh, Pa. It is published by the temporary executive committee of the S. L. P. of the state and is in harmony with De Leonism. Lucien Saniel has been selected to define the editorial position with regard to matters tactical.

Charles M. Schwab has been re-elected president of the United States Steel company. This man will continue to make thieves and criminals out of American manhood and womanhood through his appropriation of their labor product, in order to pay himself the million-dollar salary the creeping things who masquerade as men point to as an example of the chances for success which are open to even the poorest of men "if they will but devote themselves to business."

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A lot of men's suits, nicely made, of fancy gray and brown mixed chevots, blue serges and black and blue chevots, cut in correct style and well trimmed. Values up to \$15.00, for \$10.00 suit.

Men's Suits at \$12.50 Each

A new lot of men's dark gray and brown mixed chevots, dark, fancy worsteds and black and blue chevots, well and strongly made, new and nobby. Values up to \$18.00, for \$12.50 suit.

Men's Suits at \$15.00 Each

A new lot of men's nobby suits, stylishly made of black and blue serges and chevots and fancy mixed chevots and worsteds, trimmed and finished in best possible manner. Values from \$20.00 to \$30.00. Going at \$15.00 suit. See them to-day. The assortment is a good one and the styles new and most becoming.

Men's Trousers at \$3.00 Pair

A fine lot of men's fancy striped worsted and cassimere trousers; new and seasonable colorings and designs. Values \$4.00 to \$5.00, for \$3.00 pair.

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So much misapprehension exists as to just what the Keeley treatment is for the cure of Drunkenness, Drug Addictions and Nerve-ness that a brief statement will be of general interest.

The continued use of alcoholic liquors or drugs brings a diseased condition of the nervous system and there is a continuously growing craving for the stimulant or narcotic with a continually lessened will power to break off.

Dr. Leslie E. Keeley discovered a remedy and a method of treatment for this condition that has now been in successful use for about 23 years. There have been treated in Keeley Institutes since that time about 300,000 people. By far the greater number of those were using liquors to excess, many were addicted to the use of some drug. They came from all walks of life—senators, congressmen, lawyers, physicians, clergymen, merchants and men of all occupations. Many of these came as physical wrecks and departed as sound men and women, the "craving" for stimulants gone, the health excellent, the eyes brighter, complexion clear, and best of all—a better view of life, a revelation for the past and a determination for a better future.

The Keeley Institute for Montana is placed at

The Boulder Hot Springs
 And is therefore more favorably located than any other like institute in the country. The treatment being supplemented by the medicinal qualities of the mineral waters of the Springs, together with excellent accommodations and pleasant surroundings.

One common error is that there is restraint and confinement of patients; such is not the case. They are guests at the hotel; the Keeley remedies are administered in the best and most approved form by experienced physicians who have made a study of the work. There is no sickness attendant upon the treatment and the physical condition improves from the treatment, and the patient is able to resume his normal life.

The Keeley treatment is not a "cure" in the ordinary sense of the word, but it is a "cure" in the sense that it restores the patient to a normal state of health and enables him to live a normal life.

The success of the Keeley remedies and treatment has of course brought imitations with various spurious remedies and establishments, "quick-cure schemes," "wet-pocket remedies" and "to be administered without knowledge of the patient," etc. These are all of doubtful value and some are injurious.

The Keeley remedies and methods are tried by years and proved by good results.

The course of treatment for liquor cases is four weeks, and the cost for the treatment, remedies, etc., is \$100. For drug addictions the treatment for four weeks costs \$100, and for each additional week, if necessary, \$25. For neurasthenia the cost of treatment is \$25 per week. For tobacco addiction the treatment and remedies at \$25 per week. For board and accommodations at the Boulder Hot Springs hotel the price is \$12.50 per week. Payment is expected to be made at the beginning of treatment.

Any further information will be gladly furnished. Correspondence confidential. Address
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CLASS CONSCIOUS WORKERS.

Union Men of Southeast Kootenai Drop Name of Labor Party and Join Socialist Movement.

The union men of the district of Southeast Kootenai, Province of B. C., who went into politics under the name of the Labor party, have reconsidered their action and at an adjourned meeting of their convention decided that the interests of all demanded their entrance into the Socialist party. The following recommendations were unanimously adopted:

"To the Officers and Members of the Labor and Socialist Organizations of the Electoral District of Southeast Kootenai, in the Province of British Columbia:

"We, your delegates assembled in adjourned meeting of the first political convention of the wage earners of this district, in the town of Fernie, B. C., this 3d day of May, 1903; the political

"Silver Spray" case beer, pints and quarts.

platform which you have acted upon and which is largely Socialistic, and as many amendments were submitted by the delegates which would make the platform more Socialistic than ever, and as the platform and title as it was drawn up would make us a local political party, and as we believe in unionism there is strength; therefore, a local party would be contrary to the principles we advocate. Therefore, we, your delegates, have resolved to affiliate with the Socialist party of British Columbia, and adopt their platform in its entirety.

"The other platform was a Socialist platform under another name. By adopting it we would be fighting under false colors; by being affiliated with the Socialist party of British Columbia we unite ourselves with that most advanced labor movement in the world.

"The British Columbia branch has been organized for some time and has considerable numerical strength and moral prestige. Then we will be working hand in hand with our fellow wage earners. We will also be strengthening the hands of Comrade Hawthornwait, M. P., the only labor representative in the British Columbia legislature. We will also have the support of the two labor papers in British Columbia, namely, the Nantiamo Clarion and the Western Socialist; as well we will be placing ourselves shoulder to shoulder with the following most advanced international labor organization on this continent, namely, the American Labor Union, the International Hotel and Restaurant Employees' association, the United Brotherhood of Railway Employees, the Western Federation of Miners, the United Brewery Workers' Union of America.

"The American Federation of Labor in twenty-second annual convention cast 4,244 votes for Socialism. The delegates of the coal miners of the anthracite coal regions had between eighteen and nineteen hundred votes at that convention, and they cast every one for Socialism.

"From the year 1900 to 1902 the Socialists increased at the rate of 400 per cent in the United States, and during the last five months Socialism has increased at the rate of 213 per cent. So you can clearly see the advisability of us men adopting the Socialist platform; it would be suicidal to organize locals when we can unite with this already advanced organization.

"Hoping this will meet with your approval, we remain
 Fraternally yours,
 "C. M. O'BRIEN,
 "For Committee."
 Fernie, B. C., May 3, 1903."