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SYNOPSIS OF PROPOSED CONSTITUTION THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE CONVENTION

Result of Labors of Committee of Fifteen--To Be Submitted to a Referendum Vote of the Membership of the A. L. U. for Adoption or Rejection.

For ten days and nights a committee of fifteen appointed by the convention of the American Labor Union worked over a reconstruction of the constitution of that organization.

We are not yet sufficiently acquainted with the constitution in its entirety to discuss the same, but those who participated in its making declare it to outline a plan of organization which will excel any previously devised by any labor body in the world.

A synopsis of the new constitution is as follows:

The name of the organization is American Labor Union, and its jurisdiction shall extend over North America. It shall consist of national and international, state, territorial, provincial, district, city, local and federal unions.

National and international unions, chartered by the American Labor Union, shall be formed on the industrial union plan and shall admit to membership all eligible persons engaged in one industry, irrespective of the number of crafts required in the operation of such industry.

State, territorial and provincial unions shall comprise central bodies composed of local unions and city and district unions within the state, territory or province, united with such state, territorial or provincial unions.

District and city unions shall comprise central bodies composed of local unions within the jurisdiction of said district or city unions united therewith.

Local unions of the American Labor Union shall comprise (a) local industrial unions, admitting to membership all eligible persons engaged in a particular industry in a locality, provided, no national or international union, having jurisdiction over that particular industry, is chartered by the American Labor Union.

(b) Local federal unions, admitting to membership all eligible persons in a locality, irrespective of industry or industries in which employed, not united with a national or international union, having jurisdiction or a local industrial union in that locality.

(c) Junior unions composed of boys not under eight nor more than sixteen years of age.

Individual members of the American Labor Union may become and remain such, provided they are not eligible to membership in a national or international union, chartered by the American Labor Union, and do not reside within the jurisdiction of a local or federal union of the American Labor Union.

The supreme authority of the American Labor Union shall be vested in its collective membership and shall be expressed through the referendum vote thereof.

A majority of all members voting may, at any time, repeal or amend any or all laws placed before the membership thereof, through national, international or local unions, and may recall or dismiss any general officer thereof; provided such referendum vote has been legally submitted to the entire membership.

Any law may be repealed, amended or enacted in the following manner: A national or international union, or local unions representing not less than six per cent of the membership of the American Labor Union, embraced in local unions thereof, may submit the law to be repealed, amended or enacted, to the referendum vote of the American Labor Union through the general secretary-treasurer thereof, who shall transmit copies thereof to all gen-

eral officers and to all national, international and local unions, and shall publish the same in four successive issues of the American Labor Union Journal, together with all communications received from general officers or members bearing thereon; provided that communications from members bear the seal of and be transmitted through the national or international or local unions wherein their membership is held.

Results of referendum votes shall be published in the Journal.

The general convention shall be composed of: (a) all members of the general executive board; (b) the general president; (c) general vice-president; (d) general secretary-treasurer; (e) one delegate from each national or international union for the first 4,000 members or less and one additional delegate for each additional 4,000 members or major portion thereof; provided that no national or international union shall be chartered with a membership of less than 3,000 members; (f) one delegate from each state, district or city union, chartered by the American Labor Union; (g) one delegate from each local union for the first 100 members or less, and one additional delegate for each additional 100 members or major fraction thereof.

No person is eligible as a delegate except he or she has been a member for six months.

No proxies are allowed in convention, and the convention is to be held biennially on the second Monday in June.

The general convention shall have the power:

(a) To prepare and submit to referendum vote of the American Labor Union such laws or amendments as it may decide upon by a majority vote.

(b) To nominate candidates for general officers in the American Labor Union, such nominations to be submitted to referendum vote and to be made in the following manner: Any duly accredited delegate in the general convention shall have the right to nominate one candidate for each general office except members of the general executive board.

(c) To appropriate funds for the payment of salaries not specified in this constitution and for all other purposes determined by the general convention.

(d) To transact all business and exercise the full authority and power of the American Labor Union except as otherwise provided.

(e) To hear grievances and appeals from decisions of general officers and the general executive board and to impeach any general officer of the American Labor Union, but impeachments can only be effected by a two-thirds majority vote of the general convention assembled in regular or special session.

The officers are to be as follows: General president, general vice-president, general secretary-treasurer. These are to be members of the executive board, which is composed as follows:

One member from each national or international union chartered by the American Labor Union, to be elected in such manner as the national or international union represented may determine.

One member for every 4,000 members or major fraction thereof embraced in local unions and individual membership of the American Labor Union, such member to be nominated only by the representatives of local unions in the general convention, or by local unions direct by resolution properly passed through local unions, and to be elected by referendum vote of the membership in local unions only.

These officers shall serve for two years and are elected by referendum vote.

The general executive board shall have power to approve or sanction a strike of any national or international union, local union or number of local unions, when the same has been

ordered by a two-thirds vote of all members voting on secret ballot, which shall in case of national or international unions be conducted in accordance with their own constitution and regulations, and in case of a local union or unions shall be conducted at a regular meeting if notice has been given in advance that a strike will be considered or at a special meeting called for that purpose, of all resident members of such local union or unions in good standing provided that at least fifteen days' notice has been given the general executive board by the national, international or local union or unions affected, together with full information of the grievances or proposed request, demands or changes in the hours of service, rates of pay, rules or conditions of employment, service or promotion, or of other causes leading up to the strike.

The general executive board shall have power by two-thirds vote to initiate and order local or general strikes of any and all members of the American Labor Union, or any national, international or local union or unions thereof, at any time or place, whenever, in the judgment of the general executive board, such action is necessary for the welfare of the American Labor Union; but such action, to be legal, shall require that the representative on the general executive board for the national or international union or unions, shall vote affirmatively; but the general executive board has the right to appeal from a refusal to vote or a negative vote of such representative to the executive board or board of directors of the national or international union represented by him, and should such appeal result in an affirmative vote, then the vote of such national or international union shall be considered as being affirmative and the strike ordered.

The general president, general vice-president, general secretary-treasurer, regularly salaried members of the general executive board and regularly salaried general officers, general organizers and members of the American Labor Union shall not accept or retain any other office in the American Labor Union or any national, international, state, district, city or local union united with the American Labor Union, or any other labor organization or any political, city, county, state or federal office or position under any government, municipal, state or federal, and shall not represent any political party in any convention, and shall not accept any appointive or elective office of any character from any political party or perform service for compensation for any other person or institution whatsoever. Members of the general executive board, who are not regularly salaried by the American Labor Union shall not represent any political party in convention and shall not accept any appointive or elective office of any character from any political party.

The officers and executive board have powers usually delegated to such officers of organized bodies--power to declare strikes, boycotts and transact general business of the organization.

National and international unions shall pay 5 1/2 cents per member per month.

One-third of a cent per member per month to be turned into the general fund for use in conducting administration and 5 cents per member per month to be turned into the defense fund and used only for the purpose of conducting strikes and paying strike benefits when such strikes have been duly and legally approved by the general executive board.

Local and federal unions pay 20 cents per member per month--11 cents for general fund, 4 cents for Journal fund, and 5 cents for defense fund.

Junior unions pay 5 cents per member per month to general fund.

Twenty dollars shall be original charter and supplies fee for local unions.

Five dollars shall be paid for every charter issued to national, international, state, district or city union.

Dues of state, district or city unions shall be \$3 per quarter.

A defense fund is created for strike purposes.--Colorado Chronicle.

The work of the A. L. U. convention during last week was mostly given up to routine business, though a few resolutions of general importance were adopted.

The prominent features of the proceedings were the decision to keep headquarters of the organization at Butte, and the appointment of a committee of fifteen to revise the constitution.

The work of the constitution committee may develop into the most important step taken in the labor movement, as a new plan of organization and federation will surely be adopted.

A resolution empowering the executive board to invite representatives of all industrial bodies in the country to meet in general conference for the purpose of devising a plan whereby all would unite under one national head for industrial freedom was adopted.

Resolution providing for the better and closer organization of federal labor unions was adopted.

The following resolution was adopted:

"Whereas, There are numerous publications, known as labor papers, which have done the labor movement of this country inestimable good; and

"Whereas, The support given these papers is not commensurate with the work they are doing; be it

"Resolved, That it is the sense of the American Labor Union, in convention assembled, that all merchants and manufacturers who desire the support of union people should advertise their wares in the labor papers, and that union people should give their support to the goods advertised in the columns of the labor press.

Committee on constitution recommended adoption of card system for dues and per capita tax. Moved and seconded that recommendation of committee be adopted. Motion carried.

The ritual was amended by adding after the words "labor union," page 5, line 2, "or any other affiliated organization."

Brief Summary of Work Done During Last Week of Session--Adhesion to Plan of Working-Class Political Action Emphasized--Journal Assessment Changed.

Resolution as follows was adopted: "Whereas, The Boot and Shoe Workers' Union, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, is now and has been for some months past been engaged in a nefarious practice of furnishing strike breakers from its membership to take the place of other labor organizations in the shoe factories in the east when on strike; and

"Whereas, The so-called union stamp of said organization is granted to manufacturers without any change in wages, hours or conditions of employment, contrary to the spirit and principle of true working class unionism; and

"Whereas, Such action is prejudicial to the interest and welfare of the chartered unions of the American Labor Union in the shoe manufacturing districts of the east, as well as to all other progressive unions; therefore, be it

"Resolved, That the members of the American Labor Union be absolved from demanding said stamp on boots and shoes."

The following on the label was adopted:

"We, your committee on resolutions, recommend that the present union label, adopted by the A. L. U., be the only label put out by any local, national or international union or organization, a part of or affiliated with the American Labor Union, and that the only variation allowed in said union label be with respect to size and shape, but not as to design appearing thereon."

The following pertaining to subscription to the Journal was adopted:

"We, your committee on Journal, recommend that 4 cents per month be added to the per capita tax of all members of the American Labor Union, to be turned into a printing fund,

and that every member receive the A. L. U. Journal free of further charge on subscribing to a proper subscription blank."

The following, providing for a complete revision of the constitution, was adopted:

"We, your committee on resolutions, recommend as a substitute for resolutions Nos. 27 and 50, that a constitutional committee of fifteen, comprising the president and secretary of the American Labor Union, and one representative from each national or international organization affiliated with the American Labor Union, be created in the following manner: The president and secretary of the American Labor Union to serve ex-officio; the representative from each affiliated national or international organization to be designated by such organization, and the remainder of the committee to be elected by this convention; the constitution thus formed to supersede all other committees on constitution elected or appointed by this convention, and to proceed at once to the formation of a revised constitution and system of organization, and submit the same to this convention."

The following was adopted and added to the preamble of the constitution:

"Whereas, The American Labor Union has declared for political action, and adopted a platform and program of the Socialist Party of America as its political principles and program; therefore, be it

"Resolved, That no member of the American Labor Union shall in any official capacity represent any political organization which is opposed to unionism or socialism. But this shall not apply to any one who is now holding any such position until the present term shall have expired."

MEXICAN UNION REFUSES CHARTER

The Oxnard Sugar Beet Workers Demand That the Japanese Be Recognized by the A. F. of L.

"Better go to hell with your family than to heaven by yourself," said the speaker whose stirring words decided the member of the Mexican Sugar Beet and Farm Laborers' Union of Oxnard to send back their charter, just received from the American Federation of Labor, and refuse to affiliate with that national body as long as its president, Samuel Gompers, declines to grant a similar charter to the Japanese union. Without the Japanese union the late victory of organized labor in Oxnard, against the Beet Sugar company, would have been impossible. The Japanese were the first to organize. Yamaguchi was the first man to hold a public meeting in Oxnard for the purpose of uniting the field workers and urging them to strike for a fair living wage, for doing which he was promptly arrested by the town authorities. When the hired assassins of the corporate interests fired upon the unarmed union men, killing one and wounding others, Japanese and Mexican blood poured out together, and such a bond can not be lightly broken--not even to gain admittance to the American Federation of Labor--and so the Mexican union has refused to accept its charter unless like rights and privileges are granted to the Japanese.

President Gompers, in his letter to Secretary J. M. Lazzararas, makes the following remarkable statement: "It is further understood that in issuing this charter to your union it will under no circumstances accept membership of any Chinese or Japanese. The laws of our country prohibit Chinese workmen or laborers from entering the United States and propositions for the extension of the exclusion laws to the Japanese have been made on several occasions."

In making such an extraordinary ruling President Gompers has violated the expressed principles of the A. F. of L., which states that race, color, religion or nationality shall be no bar to fellowship in the American Federation of Labor.

It will be impossible, as long as this ruling is sustained, to organize the wage workers of California for the protection of their interests, for there are between forty and fifty thousand Japanese in this state, who hold the balance of power among the field workers, and nothing can be effectually done without their co-operation.

In the recent strike in Los Angeles, upon the Huntington street car lines, our failure to accomplish all that we attempted was principally due to our inability to promise the Japanese, who were at work on the road, admission into the A. F. of L. How could we ask them to come out with their Mexican co-workers when no recognition of their rights as wage workers would be all their reward? It was at the risk of broken heads and starvation that the Mexican Federal Labor Union of Los Angeles was formed--for the police used their clubs on the men who dared to lay down their tools--and in such a warfare to raise race prejudice is unparadiseably folly, a folly for which President Gompers must soon answer to the unions of southern California who are unanimous in de-

manding recognition for their brother wage workers, the Japanese.

The following communication was addressed to President Gompers by the Mexican union of Oxnard:

Oxnard, Cal., June 8, 1903.

Mr. Samuel Gompers, President American Federation of Labor, Washington, D. C.:

Dear Sir--Your letter of May 15th in which you say the admission with us of the Japanese Sugar Beet and Farm Laborers into the American Federation of Labor can not be considered, is received.

"We beg to say in reply that our Japanese brothers here were the first to recognize the importance of co-operating and uniting in demanding a fair wage scale.

"They are composed mostly of men without families, unlike the Mexicans in this respect.

"They were not only just with us, but they were generous. When one of our men was murdered by hired assassins of the oppressors of labor, they gave expression to their sympathy in a very substantial form.

"In the past we have counseled, fought and lived on very short rations with our Japanese brothers, and toiled with them in the fields, and they have been uniformly kind and considerate. We would be false to them and to ourselves and to the cause of unionism if we now accepted privileges for ourselves which are not accorded to them. We are going to stand by men who stood by us in the long, hard fight which ended in a victory over the enemy. We therefore respectfully petition the A. F. of L. to grant us a charter under which we can unite all the sugar beet and field laborers of Oxnard without regard to their color or race. We will refuse any other kind of a charter except one which will wipe out race prejudices and recognize our fellow workers as being as good as ourselves.

"I am ordered by the Mexican union to write this letter to you and they fully approve its words.

J. M. LAZZARARAS.

Secretary S. B. and F. L. Union, Oxnard."--The People.

MONTANA TEXT-BOOK COMMISSION

Disregard Petition of Organized Labor and Gave Most of the Work to Non-Union Publishing Houses.

The representatives of the Helena labor organizations who had been endeavoring to induce the adoption of union label school books by the text-book commission are not satisfied with the agreement of the American Book Company to allow an organizer of the Typographical Union to enter its printing plants for the purpose of organizing its employees. Several of the prominent men in union circles state that the agreement is of no value in so far as it deals with the adoption of the union label on the publications of the company.

The letter placed on file with President Welch of the text-book commission is dated Helena, June 16, and

says: "To the honorable text-book commission of the state of Montana: I take pleasure, for the American Book Company, in stating that should President Lynch of the Typographical Union send an organizer to our firm, at either of our printing plants, he will be given the privilege of organizing our employees, the company having no desire to interfere on either side of the question. Assuming that it is customary for firms under such circumstances to pay the initiation fees of their employees in such organizations: I, for the company, agree that we will comply with such custom."

It is signed, "American Book Company, by Frank A. Fitzgerald, manager for New England and agent in charge of our business in Montana."

The claim is made by the union men that the "agreement" is of no value whatever; that the company is not bound by it, and that it does not guarantee that the company will unionize its shops.

In spite of the opposition of the labor unions who sent in a great many petitions asking that their children be not asked to handle scab goods the commission awarded a goodly portion of the work to some of the most pronounced opponents of union labor. One of the commission who owes his present position to union labor's ballots is reported to have said it was none of the business of labor unions what books were adopted. Superintendent Welch put up a determined fight for the label, but was worsted.

When organized labor abandons the petition style of obtaining recognition and adopts the ballot, public servants will have no trouble in seeing the way to comply with just demands; until such time, however, we must accept with proper humility and thankfulness such little favors as are recorded as by our officials--such as staying on the earth and so forth.

BACK FROM CONVENTION.

President McDonald Reports a Very Successful Session and Much Work Done.

President Dan McDonald of the American Labor Union returned to Butte on Thursday from Denver, where he attended the annual convention. He found a great amount of mail had accumulated during his absence and has been very busy answering letters and trying to catch up with his work here. He reports the last as the most successful convention ever held in the history of the A. L. U. and the Western Federation of Miners, the meeting in the Colorado metropolis transacted an immense amount of business.

He will testify at the hearing of the case of the Western Union Telegraph company against the local labor organizations in the federal court Wednesday morning and he will then leave on a trip to Portland.

PROGRESS OF THE C. P. R. STRIKE

Royal Commission Investigating Conditions--Blacklisting by Road Is Admitted--Strikers Have Strong Card in Reserve.

The official paper of the United Brotherhood of Railway Employees in the last issue makes the following statement regarding the C. P. R. strike:

The assistant manager of the C. P. R., Mr. J. W. Leonard, refused to have anything to say to the committee of the Winnipeg Trades Council, which was sent to interview him, and if possible effect a settlement, before they put a boycott on the C. P. R. freight sheds. The Trades Council, according to our latest advices, was arranging a mass meeting of all the unions of the city to finally decide on the boycott.

In Calgary there is a bitter struggle on between the building trades and the contractors, our men are standing firm and undaunted, and the

business of the C. P. R. in that city is at a standstill.

The Royal Labor Commission is taking testimony that is very damaging to the C. P. R. and is winning sympathy of the Commissioners for the U. B. R. E.

Evidence has been given to show the existence of the blacklisting clearance system, a prominent merchant of Vancouver swearing that General Freight Agent Peters told him that none of the strikers could get work on another railway in North America. At the same time the C. P. R. have refused to accept the arbitration of the Commission, which the four striking unions proposed, and by their refusal have still further prejudiced

(Continued on Page Four.)

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New Phases of the Class Struggle

Written Especially for The Journal by Jas. Oncal, of Indiana

In the never ceasing struggle of the working class for better conditions for themselves and their loved ones, the trades union has been the weapon of immediate relief. In the trades union we stand man to man, facing the oppressor. If he refuses our demands we leave the mine, mill or factory, as the case may be. It then becomes a contest of endurance between the master and the workers.

Three conditions are necessary if the workers are to have even the slightest opportunity to win in such a contest. 1. The right to quit in a body. 2. The right to plan our own defense, picketing, etc. 3. Reliance on the aid of fellow workers, donations, relief, etc.

The absence of either one of these three conditions strips the working class of their power and renders them helpless as babes in the hands of the master class. If the right to quit in a body is made impossible, then the strike is at an end.

If being allowed to strike and we are unable to plan our defense by means of the boycott, picketing, etc., then the strike would be useless. If being allowed to strike and having the privilege of choosing our weapons and using them, we were refused the use of relief furnished by fellow workers when that relief was sorely needed, then again the workers would be practically helpless to achieve a triumph through the trades union.

It is thus seen that the absence of either one of these three conditions for success threatens the very life of the labor organizations. The question then arises is there any evidence of a tendency to deprive the workers of the right to strike, to plan their own defense or to receive aid from their fellows, and if so, what is the source of this tendency and how can it be removed?

That this tendency prevails no intelligent union man can deny who keeps abreast with current events. During the past ten years the master class, flushed with their success in beating their fellow exploiters for control of the world markets, have become restless over the pressing and increasing demands of the workers whose long and intense hours of drudgery made possible that triumph. The capitalist class, drunk with the over increasing surplus wealth which their slaves produced, felt annoyed at the continued demands of labor whom they considered a pest to be shot into submission. Homestead, Pullman and Pana are monuments to this era.

Not that the guns have ceased to belch their hail of death since that, but that it was almost the sole reliance of the ruling class at that time. But after every volley that was fired and the field was cleared of its dead the workers rose again and again in the name of their class, demanding better conditions. These demands increased in numbers and intensity. Capitalism could not shoot them fast enough, for if the slaughter increased it might precipitate a revolt and that would not do—for capitalism.

Some new weapon was needed, and it was found. A man was found—in fact, many have been found since the first one was discovered—who wrote some lines on a sheet of paper, placed a peculiar seal upon it and then called the slaves of capital before him and read it to them. The reading had a remarkable effect on those to whom it was addressed. They trembled, turned pale and then walked out, meek and to all appearances, crushed. The document was called an injunction. It told the strikers that it was illegal to picket and unlawful to boycott, and numerous other unpleasant things.

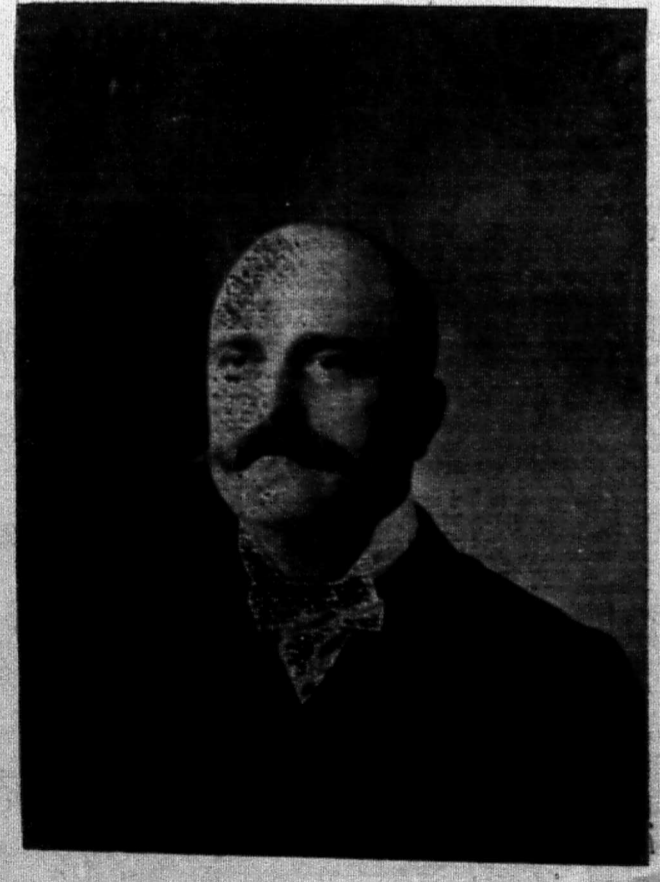
Somehow or other when these injunctions were issued these strikers have found that it always took from them some weapon on which they relied. First, the right to picket and then the boycott. State and federal troops are then used to escort in safety strike breakers to the vacated positions, and thus the "law" was vindicated. In other words, the right to plan their own defense is taken away by the judge, who assumes it himself, and then cuts out picketing and the boycott.

The next step is to cut off the strikers' base of supplies. In Kentucky and West Virginia this has already been accomplished in two strikes by injunctions, which denied to the strikers relief funds donated by other workers. To feed a starving miner was to break the "law." It was "unlawful" to voluntarily give to another if he was a striker. The judge again dictates the line of defense and cuts out all assistance from friends! Further, the injunction of Judge Adams during the time it was effective practically declared the strike unlawful, thus chaining the workers to the car of capitalism and rendering organization useless on the industrial field. That this injunction will serve as a precedent for some legal watch dog of capitalism is certain should occasion arise for immediate action.

Here the right of defense is abolished entirely and the "law" again is "vindicated!" Again, the capitalist class ever on the alert for means to bind and gag its protesting slaves, took its cue from their fellow exploiters in England, and already they have begun to plunder the funds of the unions and personal property of its members, as in one strike in Vermont.

These facts and tendencies are a manifestation of the desire of the ruling capitalist class to render the union impotent as a protective agency of the working class. They wish to "Americanize the trades union," as Mark Hanna, a successful exploiter, has already declared. In the light of these facts, what should be the attitude of the intelligent and aggressive trades unionist, and especially those who are entrusted with leadership? The sturdy trades unionism of the west as expressed in the American Labor Union and the Western Federation of Miners have given the answer. No longer shall we crawl before legislative bodies and beg for redress of our wrongs. We have found that the beggar receives what a beggar deserves, and always gets—contempt. No longer shall we be inspired and impelled by the same courageous and undaunted spirit and holiest of purposes. The memory of the just is blessed, and the name of Frederick O. MacCartney will go ringing down the ages and re-echoing through the corridors of time as one of the makers of human history, and as one who loved his fellowmen. "Peace to his ashes." "Rest to the toiler."

GEORGE A. SWEETLAND



Connecticut Socialist Nominee for Congressman at Large.

his loss, though better for his having lived in it. His life work and labors in the cause of humanity and justice is a monument in the memory of his comrades, more enduring than any tablet or graven stone. We mourn our loss and may fittingly exclaim: "How have the mighty fallen." May his mantle, like the Prophet Elijah of ancient Scripture, fall on the shoulders of some able and worthy suc-

Finished his protest 'gainst error and wrong. Ended his labors so loving and long— Silent his voice is, in speech and in song. Past the world's rancor, derision and scorn, Past of indifference and harshness, the thorn; Dropped is his burden for all the for-

er shall we in the name of millions of able-bodied voters beg for what we have the power to take. Our answer has always been the injunction and the riot bullet. Henceforth we shall marshal our hosts on the political field and walk into the council chambers and the state capitols, and planting our standards there, assume in the name of our outraged class the control of government. And having secured these outposts of the enemy we shall send the spokesmen of our class to Washington and the voice of labor will for the first time sound defiance in that committee room of capitalism. That is the answer that comes to us from over the Rockies and nothing short of will successfully cope with the tendencies which I have portrayed.

What a contrast is this with the policy of the alleged leaders of the east. Our brothers are shot to death by the armed forces of capitalism; our children are forced by economic necessity to enter the factories and mines at an early age; all this and yet we are counseled reliance on the oppressor by our leaders. They still beg, cringe and crawl before legislatures and seek advice from Hanna through the Civic Federation. "No politics in the union" is their advice to the rank and file while they are petted and dined by notorious grafters and capitalist politicians. How easy and comfortable to advise the outraged multitudes to be "conservative" and patient with your feet under the oppressors' table and drinking his wine as red as the blood of our martyrs who fell at Homestead, Latimer and a hundred other battle fields!

Such criminal stupidity is worthy of a Judas' purse. It harters our self reliance and independence for the oppressors' approving smile. It makes the labor movement the toy of every vulgar politician looking for a job. The Western labor movement is the only economic organization that can successfully deal with the evils of which I write. It says if we are brothers in the workshop or mine we can not be enemies at the ballot box without giving the lie to our professions. We can not fight capitalism with the strike and boycott and then give it our political power. Division at the ballot box means riot bullets and injunctions when on strike; unity means their extinction.

There can be no compromise in the class struggle. The working class must organize, maintain and control its own party and vote it in power, and when obtained, must and will in the name of that class proceed to transform the privately owned machinery of wealth production into the common property of mankind, to be administered for the common good and welfare of all. Nothing more can we ever get; nothing less should we ever be satisfied with. Capitalism and class rule must go or the working class must surrender. He who surrenders is unworthy of life, though he lives; he who spurns it, though he fall in the struggle, will ever live in the cause of his class. The twentieth century shall be the century of the workers. Speed the day! Terre Haute, Ind., June 8, 1903.

A Tribute to MacCartney

Written Especially for The Journal by George A. Sweetland

As a Tribute to a Life Well Spent. We drop a tear to the memory of a devoted comrade who died on the skirmish line bearing the colors of Socialism, true and steadfast to the end. His loss to the Socialist cause and to humanity is more than tongue or pen can describe. Our beloved comrade, Frederick O. MacCartney, statesman and patriot, member of the state legislature of Massachusetts; the world is poorer through

cessors, who will be inspired and impelled by the same courageous and undaunted spirit and holiest of purposes. The memory of the just is blessed, and the name of Frederick O. MacCartney will go ringing down the ages and re-echoing through the corridors of time as one of the makers of human history, and as one who loved his fellowmen. "Peace to his ashes." "Rest to the toiler."

Heart that with pity for sorrow was sore. Woes of humanity trouble no more. Heart of the hero, and heart of the dove Laid on the altar of freedom and love. Arrows have pierced it—ingratiates pay— It is beyond them, love shields it today. Sleep, then, dear comrade, your right is to rest! Weep on, ye weepers, your tears shall be blest!

Socialist Banner, droop ye, nor float! None did more worship thee, near or remote; Thou didst command him; he answered the word, Raising his voice for the cause he so loved. Ended the watch, he so faithfully kept— Never on duty this sentinel slept; Who will come forward the guard to relieve which of our comrades his loss can retrieve? Ye whom he wrought for, 'tis time ye begun—

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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 112-114 East Broadway. E. Gallick will continue to be the distributor of all the leading brands of Wines, Whiskies, Val Blatz Beer, Idanha Mineral Water and other agencies controlled and handled by the Frank Commercial Co.

Take up his warfare, a thousand to one On the rough way he has traveled so long. Never preferment, or plaudit, or palm Sought he—his quest was for sickness a balm— Joy for the people and justice and calm. Somewhere once more shall the dawn break for him. O'er some fair hill-crest, and never grow dim; Where the black shadows of bondage and blight, Hide not the beauty of day from his sight.

The New York Newsboys. Mr. Ernest Poole, writing in McClure's Magazine of "Waifs of the Street," gives a glimpse into the world of the newsboy and the other waifs that recruit the juvenile asylums. He makes the uncomfortable discovery that the worst classes of the street workers, 80 per cent have terrible diseases by 15, and a horrible proportion of them become messengers and servants for the dives in Chinatown. In the narrow streets near Newspaper Row, one will find a hundred of these ragged little chaps sleeping on the streets between 12 and 2 o'clock at night; that is, after the last edition of the evening papers are sold, and before the morning papers have come out. "They lie in tangles heaps of twos and threes over gratings, down steps, and under benches. Their faces are white, cold, and unconscious—like the faces of dead children." ANYTHING WRONG WITH A CIVILIZATION OF WHICH SUCH HORRORS CAN BE WRITTEN? —American Co-operator.

They Are Sticking Together. "If they would only stick together, what wonderful results they could accomplish in the betterment of all governments, but they won't and more's the pity." So remarked an estimable lady to this writer, referring to the working producers of all capital. The latter merely a synonym for labor in a crystallized form. Bless your dear heart, lady. They are sticking together. Misrepresentation by tricksters in newspapers controlled by the money trust to create dissensions, traitors in their own camp—who advise against going into politics by instruction of this money-changing trust, whose creatures they are, mislead you into such pessimistic utterances. All these are "spotted" and are being overwhelmed to be cast out one by one. Labor is a unit for the right and will control its own.—Colorado."

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Palace for Money Lord; Gutter for Worker

By Dr. Henry B. Fay

A running debate has been going on in Minnesota between T. B. Walker, a lumber baron of great wealth, and the Socialist comrades. The following reply to Mr. Walker is from the pen of Dr. Henry B. Fay, and is in answer to the statement that "Without brother capital there would be nothing whatever making life worth living."

A personal illness last week turned my thoughts to the ills of society under despotic capital. But you deny my figures proving labor is deprived of 4-fifths the wealth it creates. Reckless man, to doubt a logical conclusion entirely based on figures of your capitalistic government report! (*). Reckless, to have no broader foundation than a few isolated figures of the boot, shoe and cotton manufactures' (*1) on which to base your denial followed by a flowery statement that "without brother capital there would be nothing whatever making life worth living!" That is what southern slave owners before the war used to say of themselves. Your denial is also reckless because made in the teeth of growing multi-millionaires, not one dollar of whose billions, is due to their capitalist operations, "robbing Peter to pay Paul;" but, as even Prof. Fowell admits, comes out of what is withheld from laborers, our wages paid. Then too you are reckless in stating that I have no foundation for talk about oppression, when in the same breath you admit that 49 out of 50 fall; to say nothing of panics, which mean that the masses are starving for what they have created, but are not, by "the law, order and church" of capital, allowed to touch it.

Capitalism kills. It kills the bodies of doctors by slow degrees through confinement for life to offices out of a competitive fear of want. Socialism would save their lives, as also, the life of society by a competent government board, backed by the wealth of the nation, for the co-operative distribution of thoroughly scientific medical and surgical attendance at cost, without a cent's profit as a private rake-off to anyone. Capitalism kills the minds of "the lumber jacks" by exiling them to the woods, where, excluded like Siberian convicts from all civilization they are forced to cut from 4:45 a. m. till sunset far more feet of lumber than equals their wages. For this service they are insulted by nick names. If they get sick from eating the adulterated food, they are driven back to Minneapolis, there to be excluded as tramps from the city hospital, run not so much to save lives as to save taxpayers. If they don't get sick, the few dollars they are allowed to bring back with them barely suffices to pay their expenses till they get other labor. Here is where the sanctimonious argument of capitalists comes handy. "They waste their wages in drinking and extravagant living."

"Extravagance!" How "extravagant," Mr. Walker could you be, were your wages \$1.15 per day at odd jobs? This "extravagant" gas may refer to the Columbia theater. "Yes," as one of the so-called "hoboes" said to me, "we do spend a few nights there. The cold outside world has so frozen us that we think it's worth the price to get warmed up just to see if we are really alive or not."

When capitalists get sick, why don't they pay stop? On a gilded bed, over-arched by a gilded crown, in an Italian castle, lies the lord of that castle, sick. His jet black hair is in striking contrast to the snowy white pillows. His name is Sodini, for the old proprietor of the Columbia theater has just purchased that castle. To such places capitalists go when under the weather of this wintry climate. Do you really imagine, Mr. Walker, that if "lumber jacks" could not sell their lives for wages, lumber could not be obtained to build American palaces? Or if the women of the Columbia theater were not compelled for commission to sell their lives, the castle in Italy could not be built? I tell you, sir, that if it was necessary, when you were a boy, to buy men, women and children as chattels or for wages, it is necessary no longer. You are wrong in thinking that without property investments wringing profits out of human lives there would be no incentive. Who, in justice, should receive the incentive of support in palatial castles? I say the "hoboes" who cut the trees, carpenters, masons, glass workers, plumbers, machinists, architects, teachers, painters, heads of departments, musicians, factory operatives, actors. As the machines today build a large part of the castles, the inventors and makers of the machines should own them for the exclusive use of labor. No capitalist ever invented a single machine. Those also who devise useful methods are laborers and should have access to palaces. (*2) In short, palaces should be for all who make palaces/possible; not for the few who, taking four-fifths of labor's wealth, limit the number of palaces to a few select localities, whereas they might and should be generally distributed. Palaces should be for all who do the useful and necessary work of society, but never for a capitalist, or a capitalist's lap dog.

True, the masses have no time to study figures which prove (contrary to your statement) that labor is getting even less of its own product than in the census of 1890. But there are other ways of driving home the truths which awaken the world of labor to new needs; not the least of which, like getting the old city hall for a labor temple, can be obtained until labor itself becomes "the government." Strange as it may seem, the antagonism, prejudice, ill-feeling of discontented laborers," to quote you, are but instinctive shadows of the palaces they build—then pick up their tools and are never allowed to enter again. As if from fear lest people like yourself would be blind to figures, capitalists are giving daily object lessons of the truth of my side of the debate. To quote Carl Kautsky, in his new book, "The Social Revolution": "In the same degree that the MASS of profit rises, the standard of living of the capitalists rises also. That the standard of living of the capitalists

grows faster than that of wage-earners, is self-evident. The laborer's dwelling has not been greatly improved in the last 50 years. But the dwelling places of the capitalists are gorgeous in comparison with the average capitalist's house of 50 years ago. The third class railroad carriage of today and the one of 50 years ago differ but little. But when we compare the first class carriage of the middle of the nineteenth century with the palace car of the modern train! I do not believe that the sailors in the trans-Atlantic ships are much better cared for today than 50 years ago, while the luxuries to be found in the saloon of the modern passenger steamer would have been unheard of 50 years ago even in a royal pleasure yacht."

The time was not ripe for Socialism, until, as now (1903), industrial conditions justify and demand it. On the one hand there must be no less of a national systemization of the leading industries than what we now witness in the trust. On the other hand, to prevent panics, loss of employment, checks to production, etc., the great majority of the people must feel the necessity of Socialism, i. e., they must collectively manage, own and use the trusts at cost, with profits, interest and rent eliminated. This time has arrived. Mr. Walker with his colony notion is looking backward over the dead past, when small instead of big trust capitalists used to compete for unpaid labor. Mr. Walker hates to be eaten by the trust. The ideals of labor ever lie in front, not behind them, and they also are going to refuse to be eaten.

Socialism says that when labor produces 5 x \$437 annually, labor shall retain that full amount, which is \$2,185. Today capital forces the average laborer who does produce that much "to divide up," and capital takes takes four-fifths. I believe that capital deducts less than 1 per cent of itself to replace worn out machinery. Suppose we rate this with all other sums to be set aside by the Socialist republic for public expenses high as 10 per cent. Even then, all other things remaining equal, each average laborer would have to deduct but \$218.50, leaving him a net annual income of \$1,966.50. But as already implied, all other things would not remain equal. Great indeed would be other changes, increasing the productivity and wealth of the nation, and bringing easy answers to questions about pensions for deserving workers, educational purposes, etc., that appeal us today, but which will be science, literature, art and religious forms of a future race. What these will be when humanity is freed from its present capitalistic chains no one can say. But it is sure that all useful necessary workers must manage their own industries instead of being themselves managed as now by stockholders. For instance the workers can then vote if they are to work the same average number of ten hours as now, retaining the whole net income of \$1,966.50 (other things being equal), or one-fifth of ten or two hours, receiving therefor one-fifth of the above amount—the old dinner pail prosperity of 1903 with a two-hour day however. Or they could vote to work four hours, doubling that prosperity, etc.

Then millions of boys and girls, now tramps crowded into vile city lodging houses, can easily acquire homes of their own. Sitting at their breakfast tables as free men and women, because to obtain them they had not as now to first sell their brains or muscles, they could become rejuvenated as the first prerequisite to the culture that will naturally follow. As they read news of industrial progress they would say, "this is no dream." But that black past of capitalism, was the night-mare of all who did the necessary useful work of those barbarous days.

In such a happy home of the not distant future, some child who has been reading the history of Minneapolis, cries "Papa, was T. B. Walker considered a leading light of this city in 1903?" "Yes, child." "Then, why didn't he tell those ministers he used to speak to how the 5,000,000 little children of the United States who used to work for a living, and thousands of others who used to sell newspapers, might have gone to school like me?" "Because that was not what they called being great then. In those days to be a leading light was to conserve private property. And so capitalists had only tales of pity for themselves that they laid before their church idols to be dished out by their subsidized press. But other papers like The Union were not "bigoted" (*3) and presented the views of both labor and capital and not the view of capital exclusively, like The Journal. So when the people, who greatly outnumbered the capitalists, finally learned the real difference, they quickly voted to make the world happy."

P. S.—As Mr. Walker's purpose is obviously to convey the idea that owing to the apparent reduction in the value of the net product in 1900, as compared with 1890, the individual firms or companies existing in 1900 had a less net product, and therefore less profit, than those existing in 1890, the share of the individual worker and of the individual "boss" or firm or company in that net product for each of those years is submitted as follows:

Table with 2 columns: Year (1890, 1900) and Amount. Rows include 'For the worker' and 'For the boss'.

capitalists. It is a clear rake-off except what these gentry are forced to pay in taxes, etc., and for their valets of church, state or army, to conserve so unnatural a division of wealth. Mr. Walker brushed these figures aside with his capitalistic dictum that he could not understand them, etc. However he attempted to show the figures wrong, by selecting the boot and shoe industry (in which he got bit), as proof, as he thinks, that capital as a whole throughout the United States, does not get anywhere near five times what labor does. I will now prove by his own illustration what before I proved by ALL industries.

Granted that census of 1900 shows capitalists manufacturing boots and shoes netted (factory price) ten and one-half millions less than in 1890; also (because of "miscellaneous expenses" as salaries to officials, rents, taxes, contributions to political parties etc.), but 14 per cent of capital invested! Granted that this net profit bears the ratio of 1 to 4 of wages paid! This is Mr. Walker's stronghold. But does that prove that labor even in the shoe industry gets four times more than capital? By no means. Why? Because Mr. Walker takes but a cog or two out of the whole capitalist machine which he thinks runs differently from the rest of the machine, and dodges or evades other factors equally necessary before boots and shoes can be put on the feet. Among such other factors are wage earners and capitalists manufacturing the raw material (hides) as well as those engaged in transportation, the wholesalers, and still others in the retail stores. When the boot and shoe industry is thus as a whole fairly considered, it (Mr. Walker's chosen illustration) proves itself as bad as the capitalist machine as a whole. I add that these and previous figures are not Sanial as Mr. Walker would infer, but census figures which Sanial (see his Socialist Almanac) analyzes to give their real meaning. Such an analysis I now summarize for Mr. Walker to put in his pipe and smoke.

(1) The population of the United States increased 22 per cent from 1890 to 1900; yet the operatives in boot and shoe factories increased less than 7 per cent. If this fact be supplemented by the declaration of a great manufacturer at the last convention of the shoe trade, viz., "the mills need run only five consecutive months to supply the whole demand including export"—we may form an idea of the growing power of machinery which Socialists claim must be owned by labor instead of being used as now as an instrument of working class degradation. For now such machinery owned by private capital implies that less than 150,000 operatives, working five months a year and therefore starving the other seven months, is sufficient to manufacture the footwear of 80,000,000 people for the whole year. (2) The earnings of the average manufacturing boot and shoe worker fell from \$454 in 1890 to \$414 in 1900. At the same time the salaries paid managing stockholders increased \$1,540,000. The decrease of wages was within \$40,000 sufficient to cover the salary increase of personal servants to capital.

(3) Census of 1900 proves that manufacturing capitalists were not the stronger body; that the higher profits went to other capitalists, as those engaged in manufacturing the raw material. But whatever division of profits was obtained by different capitalists does not reduce the total amount of profit created alone by labor, but appropriated by the capitalist class. Furthermore, the reduction of wages above referred to in the shoe mills, gave capitalists manufacturing the hides of animals a plausible excuse for reducing the wages of their operatives also, although they were enjoying increased profits out of the skins of their employees. Thus, profits as a whole were greater than ever, for they reduced the wage of \$501 (1890) to \$433 (1900). (Lastly). From census of 1900 we learn that the total number of operatives engaged in shoe mills, in producing raw material, transportation and retail stores was 192,000 men, women and CHILDREN. This working force produced a value which at factory prices was set down in the census at \$261,000,000, but which on the retail markets was over 50 per cent further evidence. Granting to about 192,000 workers an average wage of \$414 per year (more than they get) we find their total wage to have been about seventy-nine and one-half millions. This is not quite one-fifth of the above mentioned retail value of \$400,000,000. In other words, for every five pairs of shoes which they turned out from the skin of the animal to the feet of the wearers, they received in money wages the value of one. Now Mr. Walker will you be good?

(*3) As Mr. Walker confuses the useful functions of laborers with the only function of the capitalist, I challenge him to give the true definition of capital. Mr. Walker asserts that civilization equals manual labor plus capital. As under the one word capital, he indiscriminately bunches brains, machinery, industrial methods, etc., his childish conclusion follows that, if you take away capital (capital as he understands it) nothing is left to civilization. Socialists hold the view that if you take the fleas from a dog, the dog remains. If you take the sickness from a man, his health remains. Rob a slave of his chain, his liberty remains. Take the share-holders away from the flour mills, the mills and mental and physical labor remain. The earth remains without the landlord. When you vote the industrial despots away, the United States will remain.

(*2) If you will reread the third sentence of my article, Mr. Walker, you will see that you irritably fitted a cap to yourself not so intended by me. What I said was to compliment the editor of The Union for printing your article for capital, even in a labor paper.

The laundry workers of Portland who have been locked out are being backed by the San Francisco union, which has a membership of 3,100. It is believed the union will win.

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4,078 PRIZES TOTAL, \$11,323 Large Four-Seated Long Distance Tonneau Automobile, \$1,600 Upright Grand Piano, \$600 each Upright Grand Piano, \$350 Piano Player, \$275 Self-Playing Organ, \$250 each Large Billiard Tables Typewriter Large Columbia Phonographs Large Expansive Cameras Dinner and Tea Sets Bicycles, Gold Watches TWO LARGE FRUIT FARMS Thousands of other Valuable Presents EVERYONE GUARANTEED A PRIZE We have recently distributed many valuable prizes to workers and will send a list of prizes and names of winners to all answering this advertisement. We want our friends to help us reach a circulation of 250,000 copies a month. We propose to pay every worker well for the work. Some will receive bonuses. Think what you can do with the \$1,000 automobile loaning through the country. The piano, piano players and self-playing organs will add greatly to the interest of public meetings or the enjoyment of the home, and kind you, every worker is guaranteed a prize. Do you want more than that? The price of Whitler's Magazine is now one dollar a year—cannot be produced for less. We will yearly subscription cards to workers at 50 cents each. Sell the cards at a profit if you can, but sell them. Our magazine can be sold to many who will not buy other Socialist literature and now is the time for workers to "sign" for all they are worth; the result will count heavily in the coming presidential campaign. The prizes will be given to those selling the largest number of yearly subscription cards or sending us the largest number of yearly subscriptions before December 1st, 1906. Get busy and get a prize. Every one sending ten yearly subscriptions or more is guaranteed a prize. You surely do not want more. Four cards for \$1.00 sends a five and ten cards incurs a prize. How many? Your move! When in New York see me. H. Gaylord Wilshire, 125 East 23rd St., New York

AN INDEPENDENT UNION ORGAN.

American Labor Union Journal

Published Weekly by the American Labor Union.

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THURSDAY, JUNE 25, 1903.

ANOTHER JUDAS.

In every country under the sun the charlatan, the political trickster has with more or less success, attempted to take advantage of the credulity of the masses and ride into prominence and power as the "friend of labor," or as an advocate of the interests of "the great common people."

On attaining the aim of their ambitions the efforts of such men have invariably been to betray the cause of those who trusted, elevated and rendered them powerful. Yet the workers of the world, with asinine stupidity have continued year after year to strengthen the bonds for their own enslavement by dragging some schemer from obscurity and setting him up on a pedestal, from which height he can to advantage injure and blacken his creators. It has been a long and bitter lesson, but laboring men are beginning to appreciate the truth of Hugo's declaration that "when the people are ready to be saved, they will save themselves," and organized labor is taking steps to save itself. It will be extremely frigid for "friends of labor" and other fakirs henceforth.

The latest betrayal of the friendship of the masses comes from a prominent citizen of Colorado. His action only differs from those of his class in degree. It is just a little more infamous than the ordinary, because it implies a betrayal of a trust, but the breaking of a pledged word as well.

If there is a man in public life in the west who has reason to feel grateful to organized labor, that man is Tom Patterson, of Denver. Since his entrance into public life the miners and smelters of the Centennial state have carried him on their shoulders to honors and wealth.

To the miners and workers he owes the seat in the United States senate which he enjoys; to them he owes it that he is the owner of two thriving newspapers. At times he has shown friendliness to his creators, and thus good men were misled, but the leopard can not change his spots, nor the capitalist his nature, and Patterson is a capitalist at heart with all that it implies; in him is combined the cunning of the fox, the venom of the snake and the rapacity of the beasts of prey. To serve his ends he has pretended a friendship for the masses from which he himself sprung, but it was only a mock friendship to serve an end. He feared them and he wished to use them. The charter election disposed of his need for caution and the Citizens' Alliance strengthened his backbone, and this man who but for the workings of Colorado, would have filled no higher position than that of police court lawyer, has turned on those for whom he professed the highest regard. Three months ago Patterson solemnly pledged his word to organized labor that not a pound of paper from the Denver mills should enter his offices until the plant was unionized. Today, backed by the Citizens' Alliance of which he is a member, he is negotiating with that mill for scab paper on which to print the News and Times for union men's perusal. When the organized labor of Colorado and the west get through with this Judas it will be an easy matter for him to run off the circulation of his papers on a Washington hand press.

The action of this man should teach the workingmen that they should depend on no one save themselves. They have released too many gentils to be destroyed by them. A limit most certainly has been reached.

When laboring men understand the nature of the class struggle, militia men will be at a premium.

Again we wish to remind our readers that the labor leader or labor organization that wins capitalistic approval is not serving the interests of labor.

The "arguments" against Socialism having been answered again and the objectors silenced, the next task is acquainting the worker with the class nature of Socialism and the identity of his interest with that of every other worker.

In Japan the Socialists were thrown into prison for holding a meeting, but the Socialist congress at Osaka was nevertheless held on the date originally set; several hundred delegates were present and the convention lasted five hours. The people show an intense interest.

The health officers have been uncovering a lot of putrid meat that was being doctored up for sale by the use of formaldehyde and kindred injurious preparations. We must have profit, you know, even though we poison an entire community to get it. Is it not a lovely civilization that places a premium on such acts as this.

A scarlet fever infected household was found to be peddling milk to the neighbors and spreading infection throughout a large portion of the town, not because they disliked the populace, but because they needed the money which they earned by selling milk. In other words, they had an incentive. This is one incentive, we are glad to confess, that would be abolished under Socialism.

The Russian government has begun a persecution of the Socialists. A meeting at Baku was suppressed by force and many of the five thousand or more Socialists who were present were killed. Similar assaults by the government have taken place at Romania, Saboniba and Balakhana. The blood of the martyrs is the seed of the church and persecution only makes the cause grow.

Christian America professes to be very much shocked by the Russian, but cherishes. Pluck the bean from thine own eye neighbor. There are more

HOW IT WORKS. Five meat packing concerns in Missouri were recently fined for "oppressing the people" in violation of the Missouri anti-trust law. The packers paid the fine, and raised the wholesale price of meat \$2 per hundred pounds. The retailers put up prices an average of three cents a pound for the consumers to pay. So the judgment of the court was "set aside" by the trust, and the "oppressed" people paid the fine, and now Missourians are asking each other: "What good is there in an anti-trust law?" "Of what use is it for a judge to fine a trust if the fine can be collected from the people in whose behalf it is imposed?" "What is the use of legislatures and courts, if corporations can defy laws and

overrule judgments?" And the answer is, "Not much." But Socialists have an effective remedy for all such "irregularities." Under Socialism all business will be controlled by the people. Everything will be furnished to the consumer at cost, being produced for use—not for profit. The labors of legislators under Socialism will be greatly lessened—the people being practically the lawmakers. Nine-tenths of the courts (all excepting a few criminal courts and courts of arbitration) will be abolished, and the lawyers, judges, bailiffs, etc., will find other and more useful employment. But "Socialism is impracticable," so the lawyers say. Yes, impracticable for the purpose of robbery under cover of law, but not impracticable for the administration of justice.—Los Angeles Socialist.

Strenuous efforts have been made recently to secure the services of the American Labor Union Journal in the Montana state political fight in which multi-millionaires and Amalgamated copper are the dominating influences.

The honest Journal has withstood the blandishments of the millionaires and the glamor of the copper stock baits.

The rival interests, in their despair of swerving the paper from its line of duty as a union labor organ and its refusal to be seduced to the support of either side in local politics have commenced a campaign of lies.

The Butte Reveille has been induced to publish the false statement that President McDonald of the A. L. U. has been accepting money for the expenses of the Journal in return for a promise to help out the Amalgamated Copper company in its political fight in Montana.

President McDonald promptly denied the lie and branded the Reveille as a liar.

And it is a fact crowded with satisfaction for the A. L. U. members to know that the Journal does not have to accept bribes or pay from politicians or political parties.

The Journal is a paying institution from the fact that it is taken by all the members of the organization. It is thus made absolutely independent of office seekers, and the fact that it has such a big cash circulation makes its valuable advertising medium of which the merchants show their appreciation by liberal patronage.

The Journal can neither be bought nor bullied to desert its raison d'être—the able and fearless championship of organized labor.

The only business proposition for the maintenance of a union labor organ is for all the membership of the interested unions to become direct subscribers through their unions.

The advertisers will at once see the point and do the rest. The unions will thus have at all times a self-supporting and independent newspaper ever ready to fight for the good of organized labor.

In both conventions the reaffirmation of Socialism was made by decisive votes, although the Federation did not follow the A. L. U. in prohibiting members accepting nominations or public office from either of the old parties.

The A. L. U. proposed amendment to levy a standing per capita assessment of 5 cents a month for a general defense fund to be under the control of the executive committee is one of the wisest provisions in the new constitution.

This plan will make each local union vitally interested not only in the protection of its own members, but as well in the welfare of every member of all affiliated unions.—Cripple Creek Daily Press.

THE CONSTITUTION OUTGROWN.

It is strange that we Americans, who are so progressive in other matters, are so conservative in regard to our political institutions. But this seems to have been the tendency from the start, for our United States constitution was made as immutable as the laws of the Medes and Persians.

Of course our ruling class is well satisfied with the constitution as it is. It has allowed our profit-making fellow citizens to go to any extreme, and if they can preserve that antiquated document as the fundamental law of our country there will be no end to their "enterprise."

That they will try to preserve it, there can be no doubt. Even so insignificant a change as the election of United States senators by direct vote of the people is bitterly opposed by all our "patriotic" class, let alone any real reform, like the abolition of the senate.

On every occasion, and especially when a labor strike is on, we hear from the judges the solemn declaration, "The labor organizations must not endanger the constitution of our country." And the capitalist press all over the country and without difference of party, applauds this sentiment as very wise and very patriotic.

But what is this constitution really? Strictly and soberly speaking, it is our political garment—the cloak of our body politic—and nothing else. The labor organizations, on the other hand, are the natural element of our organic development—just like all other industrial institutions.

Now let us suppose a federal judge should say to his son: "My boy, you must not grow so tall, or so broad-shouldered, for if you do, you will surely endanger your clothes." This would of course be considered nonsensical, since the boy can not help growing, no matter what happens to his garments; yet this advice would in truth be as sensible as the judge's admonition to labor organizations.

And now we have grown in our short national career! When the constitution was framed and adopted, this nation was an infant in the cradle. Is it then good sense to expect that a garment which fitted us in swaddling clothes will still serve us when we have grown to manhood?

As a plain matter of fact, a considerable rent was made in this political garment, the constitution, some time ago, by our civil war, but this is ignored by the capitalistic judges and our capitalistic press.

But just let us stop and reflect a little. The framers of our constitution, no matter how wise they were, could not possibly have guessed what tremendous changes a century would bring about, socially and economically. And as we all know, they did NOT guess.

No one of them imagined that fruit grown in California would be sent to New York to be eaten during the same week; that cattle raised in Texas would be turned into meat in Chicago and consumed in Maine. The ablest mind living a hundred years ago could not possibly have conceived that a citizen sitting in his office in Boston would be able to converse, aye, actually to talk with his partner at that moment sitting in what is now Chicago. These economic and social changes have made us what we now are. They are the impelling energies that compel us to grow. And we give our ruling class fair warning that the political garment—the constitution—will have somehow to adjust itself to the new grown body, or it will be torn to pieces and discarded entirely in the very near future.

It is the duty of the Socialists to train and educate the present generation in such a manner as to spare our people unnecessary and painful experiments and to make them ripe politically for the changes that are imperative by our rapid economic development.—Victor L. Berger, in "Social Democratic Herald," Milwaukee.

POLITICS IN MONTANA.

In the west it seems to be the ambition of every mining company of any proportions to own a bank and a newspaper, particularly the latter.

The larger companies have several daily papers scattered throughout the state, which are being maintained regardless of the fact that the business offices of these publications have shown a continuous loss, running into thousands of dollars.

Corporations have been truly said to "have neither a body to kick nor a soul to damn." Business is business with them; no money is ever invested by the hard-headed business men who control corporation affairs unless it promises a substantial return and their continuance in the newspaper field under existing conditions would seem to show they had discovered a way to make an apparently losing venture profitable.

One of the latest additions to the ranks of those who seek to mold other people's thoughts and handle other people's money is the Montana Ore Purchasing Company. Not being as well supplied with the essence of contamination as are the others this last has contented itself with a weekly or semi-weekly "molder," only breaking into a daily during a political campaign.

The destinies of this company and its "organ" are presided over by a young man who belongs to the millionaire capitalist class, who drifted into Butte several years ago and with true capitalistic instinct proceeded to grab everything out of doors.

The capitalists already on the field were as kind to him as they are to the average workingman. They were entirely willing that he should have anything they did not want. As a result of his grabbing and the labors of the working class, together with the economy which he practiced by proxy, he has attained a condition of prosperity which enables him to lie abed to one o'clock p. m., hire a French cook from Hong Kong, run up a fifteen hundred dollar wine bill whenever he is disposed, in addition to doing numerous other amusing and expensive things which do not look well in print.

He likes his present position; in spite of his rating he is yet but a small fish in the capitalistic world, and the logic of the present industrial trend, the concentration of capital into the hands of the few, is crushing him as between the upper and nether millstone. Unlike the laboring masses, he appreciates the might of united political action on the part of the workers, and so great is his anxiety to gain their aid in his battles that when the pinch comes he

will gladly promise anything except to get their backs.

In politics he has been successful, which means he has been able to use the powers of government to increase the size of his bank roll; this success has not been due to any particular sagacity on his part, but to the blunderings of his opponents. (It should be borne in mind that the rights and interests of the great common people have never cut any figure in the political affairs of this state; it has always been one mine baron against another; a baron and a corporation; latterly it has been one corporation against another. So long has this condition continued that many folks have entirely forgotten that the people have any rights in the premises.)

Like the Wars of the Roses, the rights and privileges of chieftains are the only points involved in the dispute. No one has ever troubled himself about such an abstract thing as the liberties of the people. The question as to who should be the industrial king was deemed more important than the interests of the masses; no one has ever stopped to consider that no matter which corporation won the people lost.

Some men are so constituted that idol worship is a part of their very nature; they are never so happy as when hugging some little tin god to their bosoms. To expose the clay feet of their image only brings forth the statement that at any rate the clay is a better quality than that of any other idol in the universe.

They are one of the types of men who have made tyrants possible. There is another whose opinion on every public question is governed by the amount of spoils. To such personalities the idea that devotion to principle control may many men's acts is to quote Carlyle, "Transcendental Moonshine." It is through such as these that corporations have prospered and the rights of the common people set at naught, but the species is becoming very scarce, and in a little while will be extinct. The masses have been fooled many years, but the limit has been reached. They are sick of fighting the battles of others and now propose to look after their own interests. Of course, the magnates do not take kindly to the "desertion" (who can blame them), but take it as they may, the fact remains that corporation rule in Montana is almost over.

The Amalgamated was bearded in his very nest, Anaconda, by the Socialist party. Another election and the corporation politicians in the state will be headed down the toboggan slide, talking to themselves: "Speed the day."

Ancient Fables Modernized

No. 19

Written for The Journal by Marcus W. Robbins

THE WOLVES AND THE SHEEP.

"Why should there always be this internecine and implacable warfare between us?" said the German Emperor to the Workmen. "Those evil-disposed Socialists have much to answer for. They always make a great fuss whenever we try to be friendly with you and they attack us before we have done you any harm. If you would only refuse to listen to them and send a plain and simple laboring man to the reichstag, we would extend to him the 'glad hand' and work in peace and harmony." The Workmen were easily beguiled, and refusing to listen to the Socialists, elected a "plain and simple" laboring man to office. The Emperor was then able to further exploit the workers. (NIT.)

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"Why should there always be this

MARCUS W. ROBBINS.

Official Department

AND NOTES OF THE AMERICAN LABOR UNION

Denver, Colo., June 12. Mr. Clarence Smith, Secretary-Treasurer, American Labor Union:

Dear Sir and Brother—I herewith tender my resignation of nomination for president of the American Labor Union for the general election to be held June 29, 1903. This action has been made necessary by a change in my plans for the future, which would preclude any possibility of my accepting the office if elected, and I feel that my resignation at this time

is due my friends and supporters in this union who so highly honored me by the nomination.

With best wishes for the future of the American Labor Union and all of its individual members, and with a firm belief in the ultimate triumph of its noble principles, which stand for complete economic freedom through the establishment of the cooperative commonwealth, I remain, Yours in the cause of labor. H. L. HUGHES.

COMING NATIONALISMS.

The Socialists' "immediate demands"—two million votes for Socialism in 1904.

The world is one great big insane asylum, and all the inmates are crying for "money."

The only majority rule the capitalists believe in is that which works to their interests.

If you want to measure the economic ignorance of a country take a census of its millionaires.

Every American born citizen has a chance to be president. What will you take for your chance?

Unionism without Socialism is like a defective steam boiler—liable to blow to pieces most any minute.

When the worker understands the close relationship between his vote and his bread he'll get more bread.

How the capitalists do love we working mules(?) They ought to—no matter how heavy the load, we cry for more.

The world is divided into two nations—the rich and the poor. The past and the present belong to the former; the future belongs to the latter.

If half the energy spent in passing resolutions condemning somebody or something was spent in teaching Socialism there would be more Socialist voters.

The rich got the ice in the summer and the poor get it in the winter. That's the "divide up" system as it works under capitalism. How do you like it?

A news dispatch states 3,000 miners are on strike Morenci, Ariz. United States troops have been ordered to the scene and the town has been placed under martial law. Oh no, there is no class struggle in this country, certainly not!

The employers of labor are all fully agreed that politics should be kept out of the unions. And of course you always agree with your employers! Because you know he lays awake nights scheming how to advance your interests!

Demand Eight Hours. Butte, Mont., June 17, 1903. American Labor Union Journal:

Dear Sir and Brother—This is to notify all members of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees' Union, Local No. 2, that on and after July 1, 1903, eight (8) hours will constitute a day's work at the present scale of wages. (Seal) CHAS. L. HILDITCH.

The Butte city council has as yet taken no action on the impeachment proceedings instituted against the mayor by Socialist Alderman George Ambrose. In the meantime the "sure thing" places are multiplying in the city and one can get knocked down and dragged out in the most approved "Soapy" Smith style.

Benjamin F. Wilson has arrived in Kallispell on his tour through Montana and will deliver three lectures in that city, beginning June 26th.

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.

Land Seeker's Excursion. June 24th and 27th the Short Line will sell tickets, Butte to Shoshone, Idaho and return, one fare for the round trip—\$14.85, good to return ten days. The above excursion account 60,000 acres below Twin Falls on Snake river, near Shoshone, prepared for settlement and entry on July 1st, under the Carey act. See circular in window of Short Line City Ticket Office, 105 North Main street, Butte, Montana. H. O. WILSON, General Agent.

PROGRESS OF THE C. P. R. STRIKE

(Continued from Page One.)

their case before the Commission. Mr. Davis, the C. P. R. lawyer, said they proposed to bring some strong evidence against the U. B. R. E.; whereupon Rev. Mr. Rowe, one of the Commissioners, remarked, "It will have to be very strong indeed."

On our part, we have enough evidence now in hand to make the C. P. R. officials cry quits when it is presented.

The Associated Press gave out the report in the Pacific Coast afternoon papers of June 12th that the C. P. R. strike had been declared off by the U. B. R. E., under conditions which, had the statement been true, would be exceedingly disadvantageous to the organization. The statement is premature and untrue, although the publication or circulation of some such report has not been unexpected. The sending out of false or misleading reports of settlements of labor disputes is getting to be a common practice among railroad managements, as by suppressing the truth and publishing instead statements indicating the defeat or serious compromise of labor disputes, the organization concerned is thereby deprived of much of the credit it deserves and the advantage it should gain.

As a result of the proceedings of the Royal Commission, a number of conferences have been held between the joint committee and the management of the C. P. R., and these in turn have led to a proposition by the company which has been entertained by the committee, and will be submitted to the members for their acceptance or rejection. The result of the vote will not be known for several days, but we will probably be able to give the full text of the proposition and the vote in the next issue of the Journal. It can be safely stated, however, that no such terms as those given in the Associated Press report referred to will be accepted by our members.

The man has been beneath the dollar too long. It is time the positions were reversed.

Cheap Rates East. The Oregon Short Line will sell the following excursion tickets:

Boston, Mass., and return, June 28th to July 1st, inclusive, \$72.50. Denver, Colo., and return, July 7th and 8th, \$32.50.

Tickets good via Salt Lake and Denver, and are good on the Overland Limited, the finest train in the world. Only one change of cars between Butte and Chicago. For sleeper reservations and further particulars call on or address Short Line City Ticket Office, 105 North Main street, Butte, Mont.

H. O. WILSON, General Agent.

SCREENDOORS— windows, strong framed; best wire screens; windows made to order. BEE HIVE—33 West Park

25 Cups of Tea

A trial package (makes 25 cups) of our finest tea, mailed for 10c, stamps or coin. Mention kind used and name American Labor Union Journal.

LUTEY BROS., Butte

COME AND EAT WITH ME J. F. FOX Proprietor

Open Day and Night FOX'S CAFE

Everything of the best at popular prices 71 EAST PARK ST. BUTTE, MONTANA

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77, 79 AND 81 WEST BROADWAY

PHONE 630-M BUTTE, MONT.

News Notes from the Field of Labor

TOLD BY CORRESPONDENTS

BUTTE WORKINGMEN.

A Word From One of Butte's Pioneer Unions. Editor A. L. U. Journal. As acting secretary for the union, it again becomes my pleasant duty to report as of old, the proceedings of the Workingmen's union, Brother George Charlesworth having been unavoidably prevented from attending. I am indeed sorry to inform you that our worthy and popular president, Tom King, has taken his departure, and it is our misfortune to lose one of the fairest, firmest and best presiding officers who ever held a gavel in any labor organization. Tom (for that is everybody's name for him, as he never cared to be "Mistered") is a very honest, conscientious man, and in every respect deserving of that high title, Union Man. As a president he knew no such thing as partiality. Nothing too good can be said of him. We very much regret that we will have him in our midst no more, and wherever he goes, he has the respect and best wishes of every member of Butte Workingmen's Union. Though it has been but a couple of weeks since we purchased a few hundred dollars worth of Labor temple stock, we invested in some more this evening. We all look forward to the time in the not far distant future when union men can meet and worship, as it were, at the shrine of Labor, in a temple erected by labor, for labor. Prominent capitalists not only in our own state, but from other states, have offered to take any amount of stock they would be allowed, but their offers have been contemptuously "declined with thanks."

As this is to be a labor temple in reality, as well as in name, and not one dollar will be accepted from any but men who carry a union card. We are glad to be informed that many of our union boys are investing their spare change in the Labor temple this spring, instead of the "stock" for sale in the Brewery, and the fund is said to be coming along very nicely. It's a good thing and we should help it on. As usual, a number of candidates were initiated: Sometimes we wonder where they all come from, but still they keep pouring in and we are reminded that there are still a few. At least Scott seems to keep catching new ones. He is what might be termed "A fisher of men." The union gets larger and more prosperous every day. As I have written as much as can

perhaps be spared one local at a time, and have nothing of material importance to write anyway, I will close with best wishes to all other unions. I remain yours in unity. CHAS. W. DEMPSTER, Acting Secretary Workingmen's Union No. 5.

Death Claims a Brother. Editor A. L. U. Journal. Brother George Hauf of this local, No. 287, died at his home near Woodside, Montana, of spotted fever, Wednesday, June 10. Deceased was a native of Germany, 31 years of age and has been in this valley for about five years. He leaves a wife, one brother and many friends. Funeral was conducted by A. L. U. J. E. DAVID, Blodgett Creek Union, A. L. U.

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, Butte, Mont. General Agent.

Summer Excursion Rates, via "The Scenic Route." On June 6, 7, 12, 13 and 15, the Denver & Rio Grande system will sell excursion tickets from Butte as follows: Kansas City, Omaha, St. Joe and all Missouri river points and return, \$42. St. Louis and return, \$49.50. Chicago and return, \$53.50. Tickets will be limited to September 15th, and will be good to stop over at Salt Lake, Greenwood Springs, Colorado Springs, a Glen of the Gods, Denver and other points of interest. This is the most delightful summer trip in America. Call or write for further information. Ticket office, 51 East Broadway, Butte. G. W. FITZGERALD, General Agent.

Our Propaganda Brigade

"The A. R. U. Journal has the right ring. Hurrah for Socialism," says Comrade Gagley, of Canyonville, Ore. Amen, say we. Hurrah for equal industrial rights. Members are taking great interest in the Journal, writes Sister Miss May Vivian, of the Factory Workers' union of Vancouver, B. C. A proof of an intelligent membership. Comrade White, of Cincinnati, sent in one yearly, and thus we grow, and our field of usefulness is extended. Comrade Irvin says he does not understand why laboring men do not

read more labor papers. There are a number of reasons and not the least of them is the inane insipid character of the "pure and simple labor" papers which held the boards for years but are now rapidly disappearing. Comrade Uffner, of New Rochelle, N. Y., sends in for six yearlies and orders 25 copies for five weeks on the side. He says the Journal is O. K. and shows there is no "hot air" in his compliment. \$1.00 for two yearlies, says Comrade Stark, of Lyndale, Wash. Let the good work go on. Comrade Kraus, of Bozeman, says we have no time to lose and wants to be put on the list at once. An interesting letter from him will be published next week. Comrade Paryski, of Toledo, O., is down for one yearly. We hope we may be useful to the comrade in his work. Comrade Rechor, who works for "Yem Hill," puts his name down for a subscription for the advocate of a universal and infallible strike remedy. Comrade Ford, of Joplin, sends in

two subs. If this sort of thing on the part of Missouri comrades keeps up then God help that democratic majority. Bro. Reimer, of New York, sends in five subs. It will afford us much pleasure to poke holes in Tammany, whose leaders have fattened on the gullibility of the masses. Brother Kohlatt of Phoenix, B. C., sends in the names of ten subscribers for the Journal. The government of Ottawa should look into this. Comrade Hall, of Korbball, Cal., will take our prescription for a year.

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LABOR EVENTS OF THE PAST WEEK

The shearers at Chinook are initiating a number of members into the union. Keep it up, boys. New York Coffinmakers are on a strike for a nine and one-half hour day and a three-hour work day on Saturday. Twenty-three sheep shearers from southern points passed through Butte Friday on their way north. The men employed on the roads and water mains at Bozeman have gone on strike for an increase in wages from \$2.25 to \$3.50. A committee from the Helena Typographical union waited on the text book commission to ask for a strict observance of union laws. The Omaha packing house employees have won their strike for an increase of a cent and a half per hour. Small favors thankfully received. Benjamin P. Wilson is speaking in Victoria, B. C. The Western Clarion says he is one of the "best foreign agitators that has ever come into that country."

The "best labor president" has decided that it is necessary to keep a few troop of federal cavalry at Moredoc, Ariz., to cow the striking miners into submission. The canvassmen of the Barnum & Bailey show are on strike for an advance from \$30 to \$50 per month. Their places have not been filled. New men could not do the work. Helena, Mont., has established a free employment bureau on the plan of that in Butte; the police will act as agent and for so doing, receives the sum of \$12.50 in addition to his regular salary. As a result of the building strike in New York, there are, according to the Associated Press, nearly 150,000 men out of work. They have been served with an ultimatum by the Employers' association. The threatened strike of the anthracite coal miners over the right of their district presidents to sit on the conciliation board has been averted temporarily on the advice of

President Mitchell. It is again up to the operators to act. The Lynn Item says the Brockton shoe strike, which has been on for ten weeks, has been finally settled by the firms granting concessions in some instances and in others agreeing to submit to the decision of the state board of arbitration. Complications have arisen in the Chicago cooks' and waiters' strike, and the situation may grow worse as a result. The employers want to arbitrate the recognition of the union. The employees say it is not a fit subject for arbitration, and demand unconditional recognition. Indications point to a speedy settlement of the Chicago Hotel and Restaurant Employees strike. For the last few days the business men of that city have been forced to bring their lunches from their homes. Report does not say what those who had no homes did for theirs. Resolutions endorsing District Presidents Nicholls, Fahy and Def-

they, as anthracite coal miners' representatives on the board of conciliation, were adopted separately by the three Scranton districts. There was not a dissenting vote. The coal operators and President Baer have accepted the district presidents on the board of conciliation. There will be no strike. On Wednesday of last week the American Book Company, through its representative, Frank Fitzpatrick, agreed to unionize its plant if given a contract for any of the books which are used in the Montana schools. Fitzpatrick further agreed that President Lynch, of the Typographical Union, should be permitted to enter the plant for the purpose of organizing unions if the contract for books were signed with the Montana text book commission. The convention of the International Pressmen's Union adjourned June 20th to meet next year in St. Louis. Among the resolutions adopted was one for a committee of 25 to communicate to all labor organizations "that the masses shall have a proper champion in the next presidential campaign." The daily papers declare this to be a significant resolution.

NON-UNION UTOPIA.

Union Smashers Can Find Ideal Condition in Celestial Empire. Let the builder who dislikes unions go to China and build his apartment houses. He will find patient workmen at 10 cents a day. He will find laws that suppress the unions and laws that suppress the newspaper that takes the side of the poor. He will find a non-union Utopia. But he will not find tenants for his buildings, because in a land where men don't get high wages they can't pay high rents, and when the few Li Hung Changs have built their palaces the building boom is over. Let the great merchant who deplores labor unions start a department store in China. He will never see a walking delegate; he will never be bothered by the dark cloud of unionism. He will find a perfect heaven in the way of low wages. But he will not be able to sell goods. His department store will dwindle into a store for selling rice and while his velvets, silks, hats and muslins mold he will get very sick of a hundred million women who don't spend 40 cents in a year. In the land where men are not well paid they can't spend money. The best friend of the American merchant, builder, lawyer, doctor, property owner, banker and general business man is the individual or the newspaper that helps the people to get high wages, and thus gives them money to spend.—Chicago American.

AN OPEN LETTER TO ARCHBISHOP IRELAND

Trusts Lead to a Single Industrial Organization Capable of Performing the Work of the Nation—It Is Folly to Oppose Them:

It is almost superfluous to offer proof in support of this statement. However, the testimony of Chas. T. Yerkes, the traction magnate of Chicago and London, will not be amiss. In the Record-Herald, Jan. 10, 1903, discussing trusts, he said: "They discharge several superintendents of subsidiary companies, pay one president a large salary instead of paying several presidents large salaries, and so on." By "so on" he means one secretary, one treasurer and other officers instead of several; the discharge of traveling men, the office force of subsidiary companies and workmen necessary under the old but unnecessary under the new plan. He shows very clearly, although this was not his intention, that a trust can perform a certain branch of the nation's work with fewer men than it can be done by the independent companies. Since this is indisputably so, you must admit that it would be absurd to discard the trust plan and go back to the old plan requiring more men to do the same work as it would be to discard the twin binder and go back to the sickle. Now, it is obvious that a combination of the separate trusts will eliminate labor in the same manner as the formation of the original trust. That they are so combining is a matter of daily news. The logical conclusion of the process is that the goal towards which we are irresistibly approaching is a single industrial organization capable of performing the entire work of the nation with a minimum amount of labor. Deny this and

you deny the value of labor saving devices. Deny that and you condemn civilization. Socialists recognize the folly of attempting to prevent the formation of this final organization—hence their desire to make it a democratic instead of an autocratic one. Their plan is the correct one, and should be adopted, because it is in harmony not only with our industrial advance, but also with science and common sense. However, the plan of the Catholic Socialists, namely, the formation of numerous independent co-operative societies of production, is doomed in advance to failure, because it would require a great many more workmen for its operation than the organization mentioned. It is, therefore, unworthy of success, being simply an obstacle in the path of progress toward our ultimate goal; an obstacle which must eventually be swept aside, and justly, too. Instead of stubbornly looking to the past as if old ways only were perfect, let us look to the future. It has better methods. We know capitalism is surely dying because its basis, competition, has been repudiated by both capital and labor. Competition was good in its day, but like the sickle its time is forever past. Let it die in peace, then, and instead of foolishly trying to prolong its life, let us turn our attention, like intelligent and sensible beings, toward ushering in the new and better way, the co-operative commonwealth. Very truly, R. L. GREEN.

PLEASE TAKE NOTICE.

The White Cooks and Waiters' Union No. 10, of the United Hotel and Restaurant Employees' Association of America, have declared the following Leadville, Colo., hotels and restaurants unfair to organized labor: The Hotel Vendome. The Hotel Cottingham. The Modern Restaurant. We respectfully request that our friends patronize only such houses as conspicuously display the union cards in plain view. Members of the T. P. A., take particular notice: The above mentioned houses will not be declared as fair to organized labor until they are so advertised over the seal and signatures of the president and secretary of White Cooks and Waiters' Union No. 10, in the Leadville News-Dispatch and the Leadville Herald-Democrat. We, the members of the White Cooks and Waiters' Union of this city, as wage earners, are only asking what is considered fair and right and just, and in behalf of organized labor we request the public to give up patronizing these places.

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The Serpent, pleased, now gazed out of sight. Contended that a curse as lasting as The Universe, and with a power that held Jehovah naught, he'd given to mankind. And thus were jewels and gold.—Chester E. Crosby in the Barbarian, Vol. 1, No. 1. Will Play a Man's Part. Our "friend, the enemy" will be delighted to learn that the International Association of Machinists has seen fit to declare that there is a CLASS STRUGGLE in existence and that it proposes to play a man's part in the conflict. We are making haste by moving slowly.—Machinists' Monthly Journal.

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DIAMONDS

One often hears that certain colored precious stones are in vogue, and that in consequence of the demand, and also of the limited supply, the price has rapidly advanced. That is especially true of the emerald and ruby. But that advance affects very few people. The average buyer, here or elsewhere, of precious stones prefers a diamond to any and all others. We certainly sell fifty diamonds to one colored stone. Diamonds have advanced, and are still on the rise, but it does not seem to affect the demand. In fact, our trade in them has been unusually good lately, due possibly to the grade of stones we carry, variety we have to show and the prices we can make. We have a good stock of unmounted stones. Some people prefer to buy them that way.

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Yellow Back Literature

Written for The Journal By Jno. Kerrigan, of Texas

In memories of boyhood most of us find a place made lurid by Beadles' Dimey Library and its tales of blood curdling adventure by land and sea. How cautiously we had to read them! Down behind the big geography in school or away in a secluded fence corner at other times, or perhaps being child slaves in or life's beginning and our education restricted to what irregular attendance at night school could give, we became acquainted with "Wild Bill" and "Ned Buntline" in factory hours when we could dodge the eye of the boss. It was pleasant reading, and we could not understand the advice given us when apprehended in it that such "stuff" was "trash." Now and then one of us would run away to become a pirate chief or a great scarp hunter. Such departures served as the evidence that the novel was bad for youths. How ridiculously unreal it all was we can now understand, yet it seemed all real enough in those days.

I have been told by commercial travelers who represented American publishers in England, that the most popular novels among the masses of the English people are Cooper's tales, and that the average untraveled Englishman thinks that buffalo can yet be hunted in a wild state just outside of Buffalo, N. Y. Some years ago I lived in a little town out on the Texas plains. A more God forsaken, sun parched spot could not well be imagined. The only events that broke the sleepy monotony was the passing of one train a day each way on the line of railroad. "Train time" was the signal for all the inhabitants of the town to assemble at the depot for the sake of staring at the passengers in a sort of open-mouthed lazy way. I doubt if there was life enough in the town to give a jack rabbit a chase if he appeared on the main street. Imagine the astonishment of the natives

when one day a party of about a dozen people alighted from the train followed by such an unloading of rifles, pistols, ammunition belts and such, that the train was delayed 10 minutes longer than usual. The party turned out to be a lot of Englishmen on their way to pay a visit to the Earl of Alysford, who at that time, owing to a nasty London divorce suit, was living on a ranch not far from town. The way these people prepared themselves then and there for the continuance of their journey left no doubt that they expected to meet with most desperate encounters from deadly opponents. I am satisfied the only living things they met between the town and the ranch was a few sawawny cattle and prairie dogs. These people had been deceived in the actual conditions. There had been a day when it would have been dangerous to travel out on the Texas plains without proper protection, but conditions had changed.

I was seated at my table the other evening and overheard a little girl reading a story to her smaller brother from a paper which I learned was given her at Sunday school. It related how a poor widow's son had arisen to wealth and influence through the strict practice of honesty and truth.

I had in my hand a copy of McClure's Magazine, and the article I was reading, Miss Tarbell's "History of the Standard Oil Company," which tells the story of the most successful man in the business world today. What a contrast between the actual facts of commercial practice and the fiction! What an injustice it is to teach a child that honesty, truthfulness and fair dealing win the prizes in the world of today!

A boy entering life with the standards as set forth in the story of the widow's son will be in precisely the same position as would a novice sitting in with professional gamblers in a skin poker game. Examine the literature placed in public libraries

for childish reading, and find if you can that a single writer of them all have been fair with the children and present a true reflection of life as it is. Yet they dare not do it. Yet it is because of this that the yellow-back novel was condemned. In this city there is a firm of merchants rated in the millions, who began in this state less than 40 years ago by selling merchandise from a pack. The success of these men is held up to the youth of this day as an example of what it is possible for them to accomplish. How stupid! How criminal! There would be just as much sense in pointing to an old frontiersman and say: "He killed deer, antelope and buffalo; you can do the same." Think of a young man starting out with a pack on his back and competing with this firm, and its millions, which did not exist when they began.

Such magazines as Success, Such weeklies as the Saturday Evening Post, make a feature of dispensing this criminal dope. The sad part of it is that the average man whose brain is thoroughly saturated must have reached his 40th year before he realizes he has been deceived, and by that time the knowledge has no value for him, for in the majority of cases, he has given hostage to fortune in the way of wife, children and home, and he is close to the line when his services will not be in demand at any price.

There is at least the part of a truth, in this commercial yellow-back literature, and it is contained in that oft-repeated staple: "There is just as good chance now as ever there was for the young man." Yes, there is, and for the old as well, and I can add a far greater. But it is not the chances they have in mind. It is the Socialist chance. To win young men, you must remember you belong to the future and not to the past, so turn about my boy and face the dawn, your coat tails are good enough for the past.

What Is Socialism?

Written Especially for The Journal by Dr. Geo. A. Willet, of Helena, Mont.

Socialism, pure and simple, means co-operative commonwealth; public ownership of all means of production and distribution. That is to say, the government, the people, will own, control and operate coal mines enough to supply all the people; oil fields enough to supply all the people; iron and copper mines enough to supply all the people; railroads enough to supply all the wants of the people, and enough of every other kind of industry necessary for the wants and comforts of the people. In this there is nothing to prevent any individual company or trust to operate on their own hook, the same as now.

These various industries are each a department in itself, the same as the postoffice department, the land department, the navy department and so on. The officers of these various departments will be elected by the people employed in that particular department, and all will receive the same pay. A brakeman on the railroad will receive the same pay as a superintendent, and why shouldn't he? He has to pay just as much for the necessities and comforts of life as the superintendent, and is the superintendent's family better than the brakeman's, and entitled to more and better things, than the brakeman? But you say it takes years of experience to become a superintendent and only a few days to become a brakeman, and the superintendent should be paid for his experience, under the present system. I agree with you, but please bear in mind that under Socialism the people paid him just as much while he was a brakeman and getting his experience as they paid the superintendent, and therefore they owe him nothing for experience except promotion. If he has the ability—ability is paid with honor and promotion and not with dollars and cents.

His salary already provides him and his family with all the wants and comforts of life, and what use could he make of more? Socialism insures every man who is willing to work the best and plenty of everything the country produces. If he will not work he should not eat. You want to know what we will do with those who will not work, like the tramp. I'll tell you. Today you allow the man who will not work to run at large; you drive him from one place to another; he certainly lives and he lives on the products of the man who works. The blind, the lame,

the old and the infirm you send to the pen, a place called the poor house. It is a poor house, poor even for a dog. Socialism will reverse this. It will put those who will not work in the pen, on bread and water, and it will give the blind, the lame and infirm the best the country produces.

The tramp will not stay in the pen long, because he would rather work a few hours a day and live like a man than stay in the pen on bread and water. Socialism will insure every boy and girl the benefits of all the best schools in the country; after that, or perhaps during their school days, they will choose the vocation for which they are best suited.

Everybody will, under Socialism, have an opportunity to develop that for which they are best fitted. If they have genius or ability, they will be rewarded for it, not in dollars and cents, but by promotion and honor from their fellowmen.

Those opposed to Socialism are almost invariably filled with the delusion that Socialism means the equality of man in every respect. Disabuse yourselves of this. It only means economic equality. In other respects you can soar as high over your neighbor as your ability in truth and honor will carry you. A favorite expression with some is "You can't change human nature." We say to these we don't want to change human nature; we want to change the environments and destroy the incentives for wrong doing and greed. This done, true nature will assert itself, and ambition will take the place of greed.

Do any of you non-socialists really believe it is human nature to accumulate all you can, though your neighbors starve to death?

I admit that these are the conditions at present; but what made them so? The system of individual capital is every man for himself and the devil take the hindmost. Socialism will destroy individual master and servant. The government, the people, will be masters, and every individual will feel honored to be a servant of the people. We will then be able to follow the teachings of the lowly Nazarene—namely, the brotherhood of man. Some want to know what will become of the property they have saved up during many years of hard work and privations. To these I have this to say: If under Socialism you find the property a burden or detriment to you, get rid of it. If necessary, burn it or dump it into the ocean. If, on the other hand, you find it useful or

profitable, then keep it, by all means.

Socialism demands that labor shall have its full reward. That is to say, if on an average, it takes one day's labor to make a pair of shoes, and it takes the same average time to make a vest, the man who makes the shoes can buy the vest for his day's labor and the man who made the vest can buy the shoes for his day's labor. Do you see any injustice in this? If so, point it out.

We read of prosperity and full dinner pails in the newspapers controlled by the capitalists, and we hear declared from the housetops and at the same time and in the same papers we read of what the charitable societies are doing to relieve the suffering of the poor.

These conditions do not harmonize. Think of a country with two billions of dollars, with over production, and its people suffering from want of the necessities of life. We read daily in the newspapers of some bank failing and of thousands of people losing the little they had; of merchants failing; of some poor devil investing all that he can get hold of in some slick gambling scheme; then losing all, going crazy, commits suicide or is sent to the penitentiary. All these things happen daily, and yet you say we have the best system of government that can be devised.

Some anti-trust man, and there are some governors of states among them, are making an effort to tell Hill, Morgan and others how they shall conduct their enterprises and in the same breath say: "Every man shall have the privilege to exercise his free will and ambition in matters of business." If any sane man can find out the logic in this or solve the problems on this line, I will guarantee him the degree of M. D.

Something must be done for the struggling masses; history only repeats itself.

This problem must be solved, and the groaning masses relieved. We do not want another Paris Commune or a bloody revolution, and there is no need of either. All we want is the support of the masses and laboring man at the ballot, and we will soon usher in Socialism if we stand shoulder to shoulder.

Men, get up and acknowledge your manhood; come out and take a firm class conscious stand, and be a blessing to your neighbor, instead of a curse to yourself and the world at large.

As Comrade Woolridge says, "Let us leave the world better for our having lived in it."

Does Socialism Stand for Confiscation?

Written for The Journal By I. Tarkoff, Montrose, Colo.

Turn on the light on the latest capitalist howl that Socialism in its finality leads to confiscation, for not only does Socialism not aim to confiscate, but contrary to it. It aims to repossess labor to its own and keep him in such possession by abolishing confiscation of any and all characters. Now let us examine the main aim and basis of capitalism and private ownership of the means of production and distribution. What do they mainly rest on? Do they not rest on the men made laws which legalize confiscation through profit, rent, interest—and for short called dividends or income. What individual cares to own anything he can not use himself, and which does not bring in dividends or income? Such things can not help but become a burden and a nuisance, and finally bankrupt such owners. Now, then, suppose we reverse that law which legalizes confiscation through dividends or income, and declare that such means of confiscation are illegal, what is then left for capitalism and private ownership? (To things one can not use himself.) We have no right to confiscate, but we surely have the right to stop others from confiscating what values will there be left to such property? The

facts are that the only value to private property (not held for individual use) lies in the privilege such ownership confers to the right of confiscating things or products for which such owner has not tolled himself—called dividends or income. The property is simply used as the means, the dividends are the aim, and when the aim is illegalized of what use or value can be the property for private ownership? (Of anything one can not use) must become null and void just as soon as the workers who alone can use such property decide to stop capitalism from confiscating labor's toll through profit, rent, interest or dividends. I am sure the inhabitants of the moon and stars are not worried whether Morgan or Rockefeller claims their ownership as long as they don't have to hand over any dividends to them. The same will hold good on this planet. Let Morgan, Rockefeller or any one else claim the whole globe—and we want them to do so to keep hands off the products of our toil, and I am pretty sure that the first time they get hungry they will understand the philosophy of Socialism and apply for a job like honorable, decent people. Thus will labor come to its own,

and be retained in such possession by stopping confiscation instead of resorting to it.

Who will run an industry which does not bring in any income? Hush! Capitalism without an unearned income is a bankrupt! Elect a competent receiver at once and keep him there, but for God's sake don't elect capitalism as your receiver. Place in that position Socialism, and capitalism will die a bankrupt in short order.

Returns from Douglas county, Oregon, the special election held for the purpose of electing a congressman to fill an unexpired term resulted as follows: Pop., 59; Rep., 1726; Soc., 188; Fus., 1227. In a number of precincts the Socialists made a decided gain.

By a referendum vote the Socialist party of Montana has transferred the state headquarters from Helena to Butte and decided that the local quorum shall consist of two members from Silver Bow county, two from the adjoining city of Anaconda, and one from the next nearest local.

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McGrady Replies to Brondel

The Journal office has received so many more orders for the McGrady article than we were able to fill that it was found necessary to publish it again in order to meet the demand.
BISHOP ARRANGED AS A CAPITALIST TOOL

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

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 haes 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 wel-

fare 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 baptised the cause of capitalism in the blood of the laborer, the

REV. FATHER McGRADY.



Who Will shortly tour the Western States.

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 scrutinize he 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 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 once to accomplish his political purpose, he lied all the way through his discourse, and a professional liar is worthy of utmost contempt, and infamy. 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 intelligence with the curse of despotism, that takes the right of citizenship from its clergy and 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 culminated 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 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 the men of his ilk are worse than the faithless apostle, for they daily sacrifice their Savior on the altar of a 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 in-

quiry, 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 encouraged free love among the clergy, and grew wealthy on the imposition of taxes paid for the privilege of sacerdotal concubinage. (During the period extending from the 6th to the 16th century the church reproached clerical immorality, but bishops dispensed from the enactments of the councils, in consideration of a pecuniary fine called "culogium.") 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 Walsber, 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 the Judases in the church, stigmatising 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 human 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 gives 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 heliocentric theory under the ban of the church.
Fraternally,
T. McGRADY.

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No. 5, Burlington Express	11:50 p.m.	2:00 p.m.
No. 7, Bitter Root Local	3:30 p.m.
No. 13, Twin City Local
EASTBOUND			
No. 2, North Coast Limited	.....	12:40 a.m.	12:50 a.m.
No. 6, Burlington Express	.....	11:25 p.m.	11:35 p.m.
No. 8, Bitter Root Local	.....	.....	11:45 p.m.
No. 14, Twin City Express	.....	.....	12:30 p.m.

*Daily except Sunday.

No. 1, North Coast Limited, from St. Paul and Eastern points to the Pacific Coast.
No. 2, North Coast Limited, from the Pacific Coast to St. Paul, Duluth and principal Eastern points.
No. 3, Burlington Express, from Kansas City and all B. & M. R. R. points and all N. P. points west of Billings to Seattle and Tacoma.
No. 6, Burlington Express, from Seattle and Tacoma to Billings and all B. & M. R. R. points.
No. 7, Bitter Root Local, starts from Butte for Missoula, Hamilton and all intermediate points.
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The Royal Labor Inquisition

Evidence of David M. Halliday

Q.—You are a coal miner?
A.—Yes.
Q.—How long have you been here?
A.—Since January 10th.
Q.—Where were you before that?
A.—Texada Island.
Q.—How long were you there?
A.—Six months.
Q.—Before that?
A.—Extension, B. C.
Q.—How long were you there?
A.—One year.
Q.—Before that?
A.—Hamilton, Scotland.
Q.—You are nearly two years in this country?
A.—Yes.
Q.—You are a Scotch miner?
A.—Yes.
Q.—What office do you hold in Local Union?
A.—Treasurer and member of executive board.
Q.—Tell us briefly what were conditions in Cumberland before the union was formed?
A.—A man could not express his thoughts or he was in danger of forfeiting his employment. No man could say anything about union or working class politics.
Q.—Can you name any man who was discharged for this reason?
A.—Yes. Walter White was discharged for exercising the right of freedom of speech.
Q.—What allusion did you mean as to freedom of speech?
A.—I mean that no man could say anything that would conflict with the interests of the Wellington Colliery Company.
Q.—Tell us how the union came to be started?
A.—Witness then related all he knew about how the union started, which was published in the Clarion of two weeks ago.
Q.—Were you in favor of joining the W. F. M.?
A.—Yes.
Q.—You know of course that the

central authority was in the United States?
A.—Yes.
Q.—Did you stop to think about surrendering your freedom to those people?
A.—No.
Q.—Tell us shortly what would be the benefit of joining the W. F. M.?
A.—Well, it is a means of education, as the working men get together and discuss their economic position in human society.
Q.—Can you tell us any other advantages of joining the W. F. M.?
A.—Because of its political policy as defined at its tenth annual convention in Denver last year.
Q.—Tell us what political policy?
A.—The delegates in that convention decided by a good majority, to support politically the only working class, political party, viz., the Socialist party.
Q.—Can you tell us what is the leading feature of the policy of the Socialist party?
A.—The object of the Socialist party, is the complete annihilation of the capitalist system of economic production, with all that it promotes, and the establishment upon its ruins, the co-operative commonwealth.
Q.—What is the mode to accomplish that?
A.—Through the ballot box, by the working people using their votes to further their interests as a class.
Q.—Does that mean that the government will be a committee?
A.—It means that the people will then be the government.
Q.—What is the text-book which most Socialists are in favor of?
A.—The ground work of modern Socialism is laid out by a master hand in "Capital," a critical analysis of capitalist production, which is written by Karl Marx.
Q.—Was the original work written in German?
A.—Yes. "Das Kapital."

Q.—Have you read the book?
A.—Well, I have read the student's Marx by Dr. Edward Aveling, which is a simplification of the original work.
Q.—One object of the W. F. M. is to take an active part in politics?
A.—Yes. They recognize the utility of pure and simple trades unionism and while fighting the capitalists on the economic field, they recognize that the ultimate goal lies in the field of politics.
Q.—What is the view of the W. F. M. towards religious matters?
A.—They discuss their material conditions. Their motto is "Labor produces all wealth, and it belongs to the producer thereof."
Q.—Would you consider it sufficient to have a union in B. C., without having an international organization?
A.—The interests of the workers of all countries are identical and as capitalism is international and it is only by the workers having organizations on equally broad lines, that their efforts can be made effective.
Q.—Has the W. F. M. power to call out local unions on sympathetic strike?
A.—No.
Q.—Do you think sympathetic strikes ought to be resorted to?
A.—I do not believe in strikes at all; the only effective place to strike is at the ballot box.
Q.—Do you believe the boycott is a fair weapon?
A.—It is no weapon at all.
Q.—Do you think an employer has a right to employ non-union men?
A.—Yes, as long as the workers give him that right.
Q.—Speaking of international workings. Would that involve the destruction of present political government?
A.—Certainly, by all means.
Q.—Are they loyal to their country?
A.—They have no country.

Q.—Could a good Britisher be loyal and join the W. F. M.?
A.—I suppose he could.
Q.—There is nothing in your doctrine to prevent you being a law-abiding citizen?
A.—The Socialist is the most law-abiding there is, for the simple reason that he understands the proposition.
Q.—You mean that he should obey the law while trying to change it?
A.—That is what I mean.
Q.—You regard the trade union as an imperfect weapon?
A.—I do. It is only by the use of the political machinery that the working class will ever emancipate itself.
Q.—Do you believe in conciliation?
A.—There is nothing to conciliate.
Q.—The employer is the natural enemy?
A.—Well, not exactly that. We have no animosity for any individual employer, but the interests of the employers as a class are diametrically opposed to the interests of working class.
Q.—Do you believe in arbitration?
A.—There is nothing which can be arbitrated.
Q.—Did you not vote for a strike?
A.—I voted for the right to organize a local of the W. F. M.
Q.—I suppose there has been considerable discussion regarding the situation?
A.—I suppose so.
Q.—Would you confiscate or compensate the present owners?
A.—We would do neither.
Q.—How is that?
A.—The capitalists have already confiscated the mines, factories, railways, etc., from the working class who made and built them, and when that class takes possession of them they will only take what is their own.
Q.—Do you mean by the working-class, all those who work for wages?
A.—Yes, something like that.—Western Clarion.

UNIONISM AGAIN TRIUMPHS.
Engineers and Butchers Win Victories at Los Angeles.
(Special Correspondence)
Los Angeles, Cal., June 15.—Notwithstanding the existence of a ring, having for its avowed purpose the disruption of all labor organizations in Los Angeles, the unions of this city have won two notable victories during the past week. At the request of the Engineers' Union, the Council of Labor levied a boycott on the leading brewery of the city. Within three days the establishment was unroofed from top to bottom. The other two breweries, which also had employed non-union engineers, immediately fell in line.
There are four packing houses in the vicinity of Los Angeles, all thoroughly union. The men employed at one place refused to work with an expelled member. H. G. Otis, proprietor of the notorious scab Los Angeles Times, urged the boss butchers to lock out all the union men, and for a day or two it looked as if a widespread

industrial disturbance were at hand. Finding that the cooks, waiters and teamsters were backing the butchers, and that they would not handle meat coming from non-union packing houses, the boss butchers promptly threw Otis overboard and came to a settlement with the unions. As a result of these victories there is much enthusiasm among the unionists of southern California.
The Anheuser-Busch Brewing Association of St. Louis is the latest concern to withdraw its advertisement from the scab Times. The constant bombardment of letters from union men and women is getting in its deadly work, as ad after ad is dropping out.
The following is a revised list of advertisers in the Times:
Phily-Hay Specialties Co., Newark, N. J.
American Brewing Co., St. Louis, Mo.
Castoria, The Centaur Co., 77 Murray St., New York City.
Caticars, Potter Drug and Chemical Co., Boston, Mass.

Postum, Postum Cereal Co., Battle Creek, Mich.
Peruna, Peruna Medical Co., Columbus, Ohio.
Lydio E. Pinkham Medicine Co., Lynn, Mass.
Scott's Emulsion, Scott & Brown, 498 Pearl St., New York City.
Wright's Indian Vegetable Pill Co., New York City.
Ghirardelli's Ground Chocolate, D. Ghirardelli, San Francisco, Cal.
Write a letter to each of the above, protesting against the ad in the scab Los Angeles Times.
Garment Workers for Socialism.
The following resolution was adopted by the Garment Workers at their convention at Cleveland, Ohio:
Resolution introduced by B. Schlesinger, local No. 5, Chicago, and P. Drees, local No. 37, Boston.
Whereas, The object of the wide spread movement of organization among the employers, climaxed by the recent organization of the National Employers' Association, is

avowedly to antagonize the trade union movement of this country in their efforts to better their conditions, and whereas, such organization command on the industrial arena the political power, they constantly employ in carrying out their object; therefore, be it
Resolved, That the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union urges its members to study the Socialist movement and resort to the same political power through the Socialist party, in order that they may in their battle for human rights, not only strike as a unit, but also vote as a unit, to the end that they may usher in as soon as possible the ideal of the co-operative commonwealth.
The strike of the Philadelphia textile workers for a 53-hour week is steadily gaining ground, no fewer than sixty houses having granted the demand. Over 90,000 workers were involved at the beginning and 8,000 more joined within the first days. Prospects for a speedy and a satisfactory settlement are very bright.

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News of the World of Socialism

THEY VOTED "RED."

Immense Socialist Gains in Germany. Twelve More Seats Cut into All Parties.

Berlin, June 17.—The leading feature in the reichstag election which was held yesterday was the success of the socialist democrats, who have probably increased their representation in the reichstag by fifteen seats and their total vote to more than 2,500, or 100,000 more than in 1888. All the parties concede the success of the Socialists, which has been at the expense of them all.

The Socialists gained one seat and 63,000 votes in Berlin and seats in Dresden, Solingen, Pirano, Plauen, Sitten, Loebel, Altonburg, Dunstadt, Schwartzburg, Belfeld, Beyrath and Bremen. They lost seats in Soan and Bernburg. The Socialist gains in Saxony caused Bebel last night to call Saxony the Red Kingdom.

The most pronounced success was in Essen, Krupp's town, where the Socialists increased their vote from 4,460 to 7,600. The centrist party also increased its vote considerably.

In the city district where the Socialists are strong the returns are nearly all in, and in the rural districts the returns cannot change results. The Richter wing of the radicals seems to have suffered most, losing eight members or nearly a third of its whole representation. The Barth wing of the radicals lost three members, and the nationalists and conservatives have lost Saxony.

Herr Richter, sometimes called the "Mirbeau of the House," will probably have to submit to a second test as he has only a plurality and not a majority as the law requires. Herr Barth, Prof. Mommsen and Herr Basser must also try a second time. Bremen is lost to the liberals, Herr Frese being defeated by a saloon keeper named Schmalfeldt.

A confusing factor in fixing the relative position of parties in the new parliament is the number of second elections which must be held June 25, in all constituencies where no candidate received a majority. The number of second elections in 1892 was 192 out of 322.

The position of the parties based on returns up to 5 a. m., from 235 districts is: Total members elected, 117; requiring second election, 118. The elected are socialists, 49; centrists, 43; (the centrists are the Roman Catholic party), conservatives, 11; Alsatiens, 6; nationalists, liberals, 4; free conservatives, 4; independents, 3; Poles, 2; Danes, 1; agrarian leader, 1.

In the foregoing the Socialists have gained 12 seats and lost 2. An extraordinary feature of the polling in Berlin was the part taken by the Socialists women. Hundreds went from house to house, bringing out laggard voters waiting at the factories and mills and accompanying the different electors to the polls. While the other parties had paid workers, the Socialists employed 7,000 canvassers who were unpaid and alone of the parties voted their strength. They had bought up space on the municipal advertising pillars and placarded doors and windows with party legends. Fifty thousand copies of a poem entitled "Vote Red" were circulated.

The most aristocratic voting place was opposite the residence of the imperial chancellor, where were four Socialist watchers and many distributors smartly dressed in frock coats and silk hats.

Crowds of Socialists had jubilation meetings all night which were addressed by Herr Bebel, Herr Singer and other favorite orators, who said they had reason to hope for close to 2,000,000 votes.

MILLS PROTESTS.

Declines to Permit Use of His Name. Would Impair His Usefulness.

Denver, Colo., June 10, 1903.

Dear Comrades—My attention has just been called to an article in a recent number of the New York Worker in which I am told I am spoken of as a possible candidate for the presidency on the Socialist ticket in the next election.

Will you give me space in your columns to say that I am not nor have I been nor will I be a party to any such proposal in any way whatever.

May I further urge any one who in any way entertains such a thought not to urge any such proposal which would surely interfere with my usefulness to the cause of Socialism as a teacher and lecturer and at the same time suggests a task which I have neither the wish nor the qualifications to undertake.

Yours fraternally, WALTER THOMAS MILLS.

Catholic Congress of Socialism.

Paris, May 30.—At present there is being held at Chalons an unprecedented congress. It is composed of the representative Catholic youth of France and is under the presidency of Cardinal Perraud. It is in brief a Catholic congress of Socialism—the first one ever held. Equally noteworthy is it to find a cardinal who is at the same time one of the forty immortals presiding over its sessions.

Cardinal Perraud thinks that the workmen who follow Millerand and Jaures are led to unbelief. His eminance, so far from attacking Socialism, simply upholds it and sounds a bugle blast to recall the men of toll to Christian Socialism.

Thus Socialism is gaining apostles from the most unexpected sources, and the cardinal archdeacon and the black-handed typesetter at Chalons are equally intense in its favor.

At this congress no one has made an effort to attack the Socialistic teachings of Millerand and Jaures. Rather would this significant gathering uphold and Christianize them. Count de Muth has preached Christian Socialism. But few listened to him, and he had no council or cardinal or congress to back him up. If Socialism can find apostles among men so widely apart as Jaures and Cardinal Perraud, then it is apparent its class is won in France.—N. Y. American.

National Organizer John M. Ray has been introduced to the methods the democratic party uses to maintain the "solid south." He was not permitted to speak on the streets of Atlanta, Ga., Saturday, June 6. A comrade writes that the "Salvationists" and "Holiness" people block the streets and howl to their herats content, but a Socialist cannot make a decent address to workmen on the street corners. The officers were frank and told Comrade Ray that political meetings would not be held on the streets without a permit from the chief of police. And that official referred the matter to the mayor and council, which could not be seen until Monday. The comrades will increase their organization and then defy the democratic party's interference with free speech. The rights of our private property constitution do not permit of a Socialist who advocates the sacredness of human life, especially, when that is applied exclusively to the working class.

Quite a number of locals are making regular contributions to the special organizing fund. We acknowledge the second contribution from Cincinnati this week. The central branch local, Seattle, Wash., has voted to make a regular contribution to this fund of \$2 a month for the next six months.

The work of National Lecturer John C. Chase has been so hampered by the floods that we have no report for this week. State Secretary Dial of Kentucky is arranging a tour for him in that state, but the details of the trip have not yet been received at the national office.

BEN F. WILSON.



Who will give a course of three lectures at Kalispell, Mont., beginning Friday, June 26.

WHY WORKING GIRLS FALL.

Plain Statement of Causes Which Lead to the Sale of Their Virtue.

In the report of Miss Veronien McLaughlin, special agent of the Ohio department of labor, regarding the conditions of the working women of Hamilton and Dayton, some very interesting figures are presented. In Hamilton working girls employed in making tin cans average 18 years of age, and had steady employment 40 weeks in the year. Their average wage was \$4 per week; living expense, \$2.40; clothing average expense per week, 96 cents; other necessities, 98 cents; total, \$4.34, an excess of expense over income of 34 cents, with no provision for 12 weeks of idleness, the report, however, stating that most of the girls lived at home.

Girls employed in making men's clothing averaged 22 years of age; average wage, \$4.21; cost of board and lodging, \$2.13; clothing and other necessities, 84 cents; total, \$2.87; excess of earnings over expenses, \$1.24.

In knit goods the average age was 18; average wage, \$3.60; board and lodging, \$2.31; other necessities, \$1.80; total, \$4.11; excess of expense over earnings, 71 cents.

Laundresses, average age, 21; average wage, \$4.52; board and lodging, \$1.07; other necessities, \$2.42; total, \$5.21; excess of expense over earnings, 69 cents.

Making mattresses and bedding, average age, 22; average wage, \$5.26; board and lodging, \$2.81; other necessities, \$2.42; total, \$5.05; excess of earnings over expenses, 21 cents.

In the paper mills, average age, 22; average wage, \$4.34; board and lodging, \$2.66; other necessities, \$1.07; total, \$4.63; excess of expenses over earnings, 29 cents.

In other lines and in other cities the result of Miss McLaughlin's investigations were practically the same, showing a margin of only a few pennies between the earnings and expenses of the girls employed. And supposing Ohio to be a fair sample to follow, the condition of the working girls of the land, and especially those without homes and compelled to support themselves entirely, is held up in unpleasant reality. Commenting on this same report, the Terre Haute Toller says it is not surprising that many of these girls are induced to seek a "friend" in order to make up the balance in order to enable them to live. Some one has well said that "the price of virtue rises and falls with the price of bread," which contains a world of truth. If the wages received by the working girls are not sufficient to meet living expenses, recourse must be had to other means. They are thus driven from the factory doors to the streets. This is not so much a disgrace to the present system as is the natural consequence of it. Given a condition whereby the jobs go to the weakest and lowest bidder, the workings girls of America are those who are "favored." They have the least power of resistance, and are less inclined to rebel against low wages than men, and in the eyes of the employing class they are "model workers." They thus displace the fathers and brothers, who are in a measure responsible for these conditions by supporting the system which gives rise to them.—The Labor Journal.

The city council of Great Falls, Mont., is considering bids for the construction of a public bath house, 50x150 feet in size.

SOAP BOX CAMPAIGN.

Michigan Comrades Pushing Things —P. J. Cooney to Stump the State on His Way Home.

Geo. E. Bigelow began at Pentwater May 20, and has been making things hum. Fortunately for Michigan, he is extending his stay with us a month, and so will be in the state until August 1st. The O'Hares, Frank and Kate, are, according to the enthusiastic reports of the comrades, having excellent meetings. Mrs. O'Hare has spoken in churches four times recently, on the pastor's invitation, besides running down to Toledo to speak for the Machinists' union. The O'Hares are being routed until August 1. Comrade Simonton, of Iowa, has been at work since June 1. Coulter is plugging 'cross state, and O. P. Bard, of Texas, is wanking things up in the western part of the state.

There are thus six speakers at work in the state, and the number will soon be increased to ten, as P. J. Cooney, of Montana, starts in June 21st. Wm. E. Walters gets started July 4th, to agitate all summer and fall, and the wagon, manned by Clark and McFarlin, starts out June 29.

It is surprising how the Socialists are coming out of their holes and helping to boom things in the old state. We now have more stations than our corps of speakers can get around to, so we shall have to increase the number of agitators from time to time. Battle Creek seems to want a speaker every night, and a number of other towns are doing almost as well. The state organizer wants to hear from every point that can furnish a street corner, a soap box, a day's entertainment, and guarantee the railroad fare of the agitator who is headed that way.

C. J. LAMB, State Organizer. Dryden, Mich., June 12, 1903.

SPECIAL ORGANIZING FUND.

National Headquarters Socialist Party. Omaha, Neb., June 6.—The following contributions have been made to the special organizing fund since last report:

Local Livingston, Mont.....	\$ 2.90
Local Patton, Ala.....	3.25
Local Tulare, Cal.....	3.59
E. V. Fleury, San Francisco, Cal.....	1.00
R. S. Price, Austin, Tex.....	5.00
David Phillips, Perry, Mont., third purchaser of one of the 25 shares in the Chas. H. Kerr Co-operative Publishing Association, donated to the special organizing fund by Wm. English Walling.....	10.00
Local Beverly, Mass.....	1.40
Local Troy, Ariz.....	2.00
Henry Kohl, Chicago.....	1.00
Paul Gutman, Cedar Rapids Iowa.....	5.00
Local Birmingham, Ala.....	1.00
Local Puyallup, Wash.....	3.00
Thirty-third Ward Branch Local Philadelphia, Pa.....	5.00
Thos. Birtmistle, Philadelphia, Pa.....	1.75
C. C. Hitchcock, Ware, Mass.....	1.00
Local Washington, D. C.....	1.00
Comrade Koos, Yorkville, Ill.....	.25
Total to noon June 6th.....	\$ 47.15
Previously reported.....	\$383.36
Total.....	\$430.51

Resolutions from Local Ashton, Neb. National Headquarters Socialist Party, Omaha, Neb., June 10, 1903.

The Ashton local Socialist party, state of Nebraska, at its meeting of June 6, 1903, adopted the following resolutions:

Whereas, the state local quorum submitted to us its endorsements of resolutions passed by local Omaha, condemning Comrade Walter Thomas Mills for lecturing on Socialism in Omaha under the auspices other than that of local Omaha; and

Whereas, we can not see any reason for any comrade to refuse to propagate Socialism under any and all circumstances, even under the auspices of any capitalist party; and

Whereas, it has been the custom of many prominent Socialist speakers to speak on different occasions under the auspices other than that of Socialist organizations, Comrade Eugene V. Debs having spoken in Omaha July 4, 1902, under similar auspices.

Resolved, That we consider the action of local Omaha as unsocialistic, showing narrow mindedness and petty jealousy and as a hindrance to Socialist progress; and be it further

Resolved, That we regret and protest against the action of our state local quorum in endorsing the resolutions of local Omaha, condemning Comrade Walter Thomas Mills; and be it further

Resolved, That copies of these resolutions be sent to local Omaha, our state local quorum, Comrade Walter Thomas Mills, the national committee, the state committee of Kansas and the Socialist press.

LOUIS I. BOGEN, GEORGE MUELLER, Committee on Resolutions.

National Lecturer John W. Slayton will close the present engagement at Michigan City, Ind. June 23. His work at New Castle will require his presence for some time to come, after which he hopes to be able to take up the lecture work under the national office again. Many letters of commendation have been received endorsing the work of the comrades who are working under direction of this office. Secretary Nick of the Columbus, Ohio, local, writes to the national secretary, saying: "The Columbus comrades wish to extend to you their heartfelt thanks for sending them such an able speaker as J. W. Slayton proved to be. The delegates to the state convention were pleased with his clear exposition of class conscious Socialism. I think personally that Comrade Slayton is one of the best speakers on the platform. Keep him on the road."

Iowa and Nebraska will hold their state convention July 4th. The Iowa comrades will meet in Des Moines and the Nebraska comrades at their state headquarters, Omaha.

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- CUSPIDORS, full size, in assorted colorings; 40c value for 25c.
- CUP AND SAUCER, large size, blue decoration; 20c value for 10c.
- NICKEL PLATED SCISSORS, all sizes; worth 50c for 25c.
- FEATHER DUSTERS, full size; 35c quality for 15c.
- EXTRA HANDLES for Mrs. Pott's sardins; 20c value for 10c.
- SILVER PLATED MUGS for children; 50c value for 25c.
- CLOTHESPINS of best wardwood; 75 for 10c.
- OIL STOVE, best grade, one burner; \$1.00 stove for 50c.
- WASHBOWLS, large size, of heavy tin; worth 20c, for 10c.
- BREAD KNIFE, with steel blade; 25c value for 10c.
- TEAPOTS, best grade granite iron; worth 50c, for 30c.
- SAUCEPANS of granite iron; 40c quality for 25c.
- PAINTED FOOT BATH TUB, with handles; 60c quality for 35c.
- MRS. POTT'S SARDINS, best grade; \$1.75 set for \$1.25.
- EXPRESS WAGON, large size, of iron, for boys; was \$2.00, now only \$1.50.
- ROLLING PINS of best hardwood; were 20c, now 10c.
- POCKET KNIVES, good 50c quality for 25c.
- ALARM CLOCKS, nickel plated; were \$1.35, now 75c.
- BUTCHER KNIFE, best steel; 45c quality for 25c.
- RAZOR HONE, full size; good 50c grade for 25c.
- COBBLER SETS, all ready, contain everything; were \$2.00; now only \$1.00 each.
- BLUE DECORATED BOWLS, only 5c each.
- CHILD'S 3-PIECE SETS, knife, fork and spoon; were 50c, now only 25c set.
- NIGHT LAMPS, decorated, all complete for 15c; were 25c each.
- CLOTHES WRINGERS, wood frames; \$3.25 value for \$2.25.
- MOP STICKS, patented, long handle; 10c; worth double.
- EGG BEATERS, genuine Dover; worth 25c, for 10c.
- WIRE TEA STRAINER, full size; worth 10c, for 5c.
- DECORATED SOUP PLATES, 10c each; worth double.
- MOUSE TRAPS, "sure catch;" best 10c grade for 5c.
- TACK HAMMERS, with hardwood handles, 10c; worth double.
- DINNER PLATES, large size and decorated, 10c each; worth double.
- WATER PITCHERS, 2-quart size, of imitation cut glass; were 45c, now only 25c each.
- TWO-FOOT RULES, of boxwood, 10c each; worth double.
- LUNCH BOXES, of fiber, with strap handles; were 25c, now only 10c each.
- COFFEE MILLS, well made, fast grinder; 50c mills for 25c.
- CHOPPING KNIVES, with steel blades, 5c each; were 15c.
- TABLE SET, four pieces of imitation cut glass; was 60c, now only 35c each.

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- 50 pairs reversible Tapestry Portieres, fringed top and bottom, assorted colorings; \$2.50 values for pair... **\$1.75**
- 35 pairs Damask Portieres, fringed top and bottom, full width, all over patterns; \$3.50 values for pair... **\$2.50**
- 25 pairs Roman Striped Portieres in new colorings, full width, plaited and tassel fringe top and bottom; newest in portieres; \$6.00 values for pair... **\$3.75**
- Couch Covers.
- 25 Couch Covers, in Roman and Bagdad stripes; in all new, bright colors; fringed all around; \$2.75 values, for... **\$1.95**
- 30 Couch Covers, in Oriental colors; extra heavy, full length and width; heavy fringe all around; \$4.50 values, for... **\$3.15**

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