The working class-may they always be right, but the working class right or wrong.

AMERICAN

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ERS, MILITARY AND THE COURTS OF LA

AKING for his text the words of the title, Rev. Lewis J. Duncan of the Unitarian Church of Butte, on June 19 at the Jewish synagogue, delivered the remarkable sermon here published. It was delivered from manuscript, and is therefore the cool, calm expression of views held by a trained thinker, whose paramount idea is his duty as a techer of ethics.

Mr. Duncan said:

"For the past two weeks public interest and public attention has been largely centered upon the progress of events in the state of Colorado growing out of the strike of the metallurgic trades laborers. This strike has been in progress for about ten months past, but except occasional and scant reports of minor disorders, and of certain military measures said to be necessary for the preservation of peace, little has been heard from there, until recently, of sufficient moment to stir our sluggish interest. On the 7th of June, however, the whole country was startled and aroused by the intelligence that on the early morning of June 6 a body of non-union men waiting for a train at the deport of Independence, Colo, had been blown up by the explosion of an infernal machine beneath the platform, that as a result a riot had broken out in the Cripple Creek district, especially in the town of Victor, between the strikers and the citizens; that the military was necessary to suppress the riot; that the miners were resisting the military, and things were about as had and warlike as could be. At the same time, a decision of the supreme court of the state in a habeas corpus case concerning the president of the Western Federation of Miners, who was held by the military authorities, was published. The decision, as reported, held:

"First—That the governor has sole power to determine when a state of

"First—That the governor has sole power to determine when a state of insurrection exists in any county in the state, and the courts have no power to interfere with his exercise of this prerogative. I "Second—That the governor has the right to use the military force of the state to suppress insurrection. He also has the power to order the imprisonment and the killing of insurrectionists if in his opinion that extremity

is necessary

"Third That he can detain military prisoners until he decides that the

"Third That he can detain military prisoners until he decides that the insurrection is quelled.

"Fourth—That the courts of the state have no right to interfere with the military authorities and their handling of prisoners. They have no power to attempt to discharge military prisoners.

"Later advices received this past week tell us that the attorneys for the imprisoned miners, having carried the case into the United States court, secured a writ of habeas corpus commanding the governor and the adjutant general of Colorado to have Mr. Moyer, the president of the Western Federation of Miners, brought before a federal judge and to show cause why he is being restrained of his liberty. We are also informed that Moyer had been released before the writ was served upon the state officials, but had been rearrested, presumably on the charge of complicity in the criminal act at Independence already mentioned.

rearrested, presumably on the charge of completty in the criminal act at Independence already mentioned.

"On the face of things, and judging solely by the light of such information as one gets from a casual reading of the press dispatches, it looks as though what had begun as an industrial conflict between the organized miners and the mineral deposit owners of the state of Colorado has, in the course of ten months, developed into an armed conflict between the forces of law and order, represented by the executive and military forces of the state, backed by the public sentiment of the middle-class citizens—the reputable business and professional men composing the so-called Citizens' Alliance—and the forces of lawlessness and anarchy, represented by the

A Butte Minister Calmly Reviews the Tragic Events of the Past Ten Months in the State of Colorado. A Very Remarkable Sermon

strikers and their sympathizers, headed by the Western Federation of Miners and its officials. Anarchy is an ugly name, especially hateful to the average American citizen who has not taken the time and care to study it as a sober theory of social philosophy, but accepts it in the ordinary colloquial sense as a synonym for wanton and criminal destruction of life and property, dark conspiracy, cowardly assassination and diabolical hatred of all rulers and rich people. And when he is told that the labor federation to which the striking miners belong is a socialistic organization and is taught, as he generally is taught by his newspapers, that socialists and socialism are the same as anarchists and ararchism, and when he reads, as he has read, that Adjutant General Bell has declared that the purpose of the use of the military in Colorado is 'to do up' that anarchistic federation of miners; and when on top of that comes news of such violence and disorder as this we have heard, the natural conclusion of the average citizen is that the miners are to blame for all the trouble, and that measures can be too drastic, provided such lawlessness is put down and the principles of justice, of order and of good government are vindicated.

"I do not stop now to show that anarchy, as a social theory, is not what strikers and their sympathizers, headed by the Western Federation of

and of good government are vindicated.

"I do not stop now to show that anarchy, as a social theory, is not what our average citizen takes it to be, nor do I stop to correct the too common allegation that socialism and anarchism are identical; but taking the meaning of those terms in the wrong sense that our average citizen holds them, namely, as synonyms for lawlessness, for murder and rapine, I hold that his judgment is sound so far as it relates to the necessity of the public peace and the preservation of the personal and property rights guaranteed to every man and woman of our land. Lawlessness of all sorts must be put down and good order and the rights of citizens must be maintained. I do not agree that no measures taken to secure these ends can be too drastic. Such a fudgment is too hasty and passionate, and reflects a national impatience that no measures taken to secure these ends can be too drastic. Such a judgment is too hasty and passionate, and reflects a national impatience which it seems to me is becoming too prevalent. No legal measures can be too drastic, I admit, but to resort to measures outside of the law—lynch measures—is not and cannot be either wise or just. Such measures are themselves lawless and should fall under the same condemnation as any other overt violation of the principles of justice, order and good government. Neither do I concur in the offhand judgment that, in this particular instance, the striking miners are to blame. That seems to me too have a conclusion. It is easy enough to give a dog a bad name and then to kick him for it. It is another matter to show that he deserves either the name or the kick. Un-

fortunately, governmental officials are not always infallible, and the fact that a man is a reputable citizen and a more or less prosperous business man is not an absolute insurance that he is always law-abiding, or that his moral judgments are always sound. It is unfortunate, but it is true, and the evidences of its truth are many and obvious, that both the political and the business consciences of men are, and more and more tend to become, commercialized; that human justice is too often sacrifices to business expediency; and that what is right and in the interests of good order is too frequently considered to be merely what will prompte the justicests of one's quently considered to be merely what will promote the interests of one's party or one's business and enable him to utilize the governmental machinery and to direct the administration of public affairs to the accomplishment of

and to direct the administration of public affairs to the accomplishment of selfish or corporate ends.

"A little over two years ago this country was edified by the claim of the president of a coal mining corporation that God in His infinite wisdom had confided the coal fields of this country to the care and administration of a certain class of individuals. That was funny and the country laughed. But not so laughable were the consequences that followed upon the working out of that theory. I doubt not that President Baer was conscientious in his claim, but it was a case of commercialized conscience. The owners of the mineral deposits of Colorado have not made any such ridiculous and blasphemous claims, but it might easily be that their consciences are similarly commercialized and that they are conducting affairs on what is practically the same theory and by measures to ends that are just as socially destructive.

"On the other hand, it is also true that neither are miners and unions and labor leaders infallible. They, too, are under the law of economic determinism which tends to cause a man to form judgments and to act in the line of purely selfish interest. And especially during a strike, where personal and class interests are at stake, when passions are inflamed and feeling runs

and class interests are at stake, when passions are inflamed and feeling runs high, moral judgments are liable to suffer eclipse, and wrong and brutal deeds, always liable to be committed by evil and ignorant men, may even be incited and done by men who under normal conditions are neither evil nor ignorant, and they, also misguided by a commercialized conscience, may feel themselves in a measure justified in resorting to lawless and criminal methods of the committee of a committee of the commit

themselves in a measure justified in resorting to lawless and criminal methods of accomplishing their ends.

"At any rate, before passing judgment as to who is blameworthy, there should be a careful weighing of the facts in evidence. In this particular case, covering, as it does, a long period during a considerable portion of which all the news from the striking district was under military censorship, and involving not only a complexity of facts and interests but also of conflicting statements and prejudices, the task of sifting out what is trustworthy evidence is particularly difficult. Nevertheless, carefully considered, certain facts ought to appear, and it seems to me do appear, which are sufficient on which to base a rational moral judgment upon the issues of this industrial conflict and to direct us where as interested and law-abiding, order-respecting and liberty-loving citizens, our sympathles and our influence should be placed. In this place and occasion our inquiry should be primarily the ethical one and not the political or even the economic ones, save as these shall bear directly upon the other.

"Our study of the facts will carry us back to the Colorado legislative session of 1900-'01, when the miners and other organized laborers secured the passage of an eight-hour law. This law the mine owners disregarded, and when it was brought to test before the supreme court of the state it, was deciared unconstitutional. Thereupon the labor obganizations secured from (Continued on Page Four.)

(Continued on Page Four.)

TOM LAWSON AND THE AMALGAMATED

THE STORY OF "FRENZIED FINANCE"

HOMAS W. LAWSON, the spectacular Boston broker, has given to the reading publie the first paper of his romised series on the dark and deious ways of the money power of the world, under the title of "Frenzied Finance; the Story of the Amalga-To judge by the disclosures he promises to make and by his confessedly close connection with "the system," as he terms it, which he is decrying, the more appropriate title would have been, "The Methods of Inistrial Buccaneers, By One of Them." Outlining his proposed exposure in his

"My desire in writing 'The Story of Amalgamated, while tinged perhaps with hatred for and revenge against the 'system' as a whole and some of its votaries, is more truly pervaded with a strong conviction that the most eftive way to educate the public to realize the evils of which such affairs as the Amaignmated are the direct result, is to expose before them the brutal facts as to the conception, birth and nursery-breeding of this, the foremost of all the unsavory offspring of the 'system.' * * In doing so I shall describe such parts of the general financial structure as will place my readers, especially those unfamilfar with its more complicated condis, in a mental state to comprehend the methods by which the savings they think are safely guarded in the banks, trust and insurance com-panies, are so manipulated by the vo-taries of frensied finance as to be in constant jeopardy. I will show them that while the press, the books, the stump and our halls of statesmanship are full to overflowing with the whys. wherefores and what-nots of 'tariff,'
currency,' 'silver,' 'gold,' and 'labor;'
while our market systems are perfect
ed educational machines for dissemis accurate statistics about the cosaries and luxuries of life, the ser and land carriers, real estate other material things which the ple have been taught to believe the only things that vitally affect it savings; that while they imaginey understand the system by the speculation and investments are

all times get-at-able by them through their bankers and their brokers; there is a tangible, complicated, yet simple trick of financial legerdemain, operated twenty-four hours in each day in the year, and which the press, the books, the politicians and the statesmen never touch upon-a trick by means of which the savings of the people and the public funds of the government, whether in the national banks savings banks, trust or insurance companies, are always at the absolute service and mercy of the votaries of frenzied finance

"Therefore, in the course of my 'Story of Amalgamated' will come a few kindergarten pictures of how the necessaries and luxuries of the people are 'incorporated;' how the evidences of corporate ownership are manufactured; of the individuals who 'manufacture' them; of the individuals who control and make or unmake their values; of the meeting-place of these individuals, within and without the stock exchanges; of some of the cor-porations and of some of the signs and tokens of corporation ownership; of some of their histories; of some of their doings, and of some of their con-

"In the last few years the public have heard many stories of this Jugnernaut 'system,' which has grown to be the greatest power in our landgreater almost than the power which governs the nation, because it is not only great within itself, but by its peculiar workings is really a part of the power which governs the people. Particularly have they been told the story of Standard Oil by Mr. Henry D. Lloyd in his able work, Wealth Against Commonwealth, and by Miss Ids M. Tarbell in her recent historical sketches, but however thorough these writers may have been in gathering the facts, statistics and evidences, how ever relentiess their pens and vivid their pictures, they dealt but with things that are dead; things that to the present generation are but skeletons whose dry and whitened bones cannot whose dry and whitened bones cannot possibly bring to the hearts, minds and souls of the men and women of to-day that all-consuming passion for revenge, that burning desire for justice, without which no movement to benefit the people can be made successful.

must, tell it fairly, and to make sure of this I pledge myself to keep to the exact facts as they transpired, not allowing myself to be overawed by their greatness into contracting them, nor to be tempted by their littleness into expanding them. In doing this I know, because of the peculiarity of the subct and my intimate relation to it, no other way than to do it in the first person. There will be running through the courts of the land, contemporaneously with my articles, actions at law which will compel me to be unusually alert in hewing to the line of facts.

"In the beginning it will be necesry, for that clear understanding which is one of my principal objects, to treat at sufficient length the Bay State Gas intricacles and trickeries, in which in a certain sense Amalgamated had its being. This will compel me to devote a chapter to one of the most picturesquely notorious characters of the age, John Edward O'Sullivan Addicks, of Delaware, Everywhere and

"The main part of my narrative must of necessity deal with the two feel heads of Standard Oil and Amaigamated, Mr. Henry H. Rogers and Mr. William Rockefeller, and with the biggest financial institution of America, if not of the world, the National City Bank of New York, and its head and dominating spirit, Mr. James Still-

"An important chapter should be that devoted to the conception and formation of the United Metals Selling Company, through which it was, and is, intended to practically control the copper industry of the world with-out coming within the restrictions of the laws for the prevention or regula-

"I shall also deal at length with a notorious character, who, like the spot upon the sun, looms up in all Ameri-can copper affairs whenever they apthe full vision of the public

pear in the full vision of the public eye—Mr. F. Aug. Heinze, of Montans. "There will be a chapter of more or less length devoted to one of the most important episodes in Amalgamated affairs, wherein I shall deal with one of Wall street's most picturesque, able and intensely interesting men, Mr.

shall deal with a bit of the nation's history in which within a few days of the national election of 1896 a hurry-up call for additional funds to the extent of \$5,000,000 was so promptly met as to overturn the people in five states and thereby preserve the destinies of the republican party, of which I am and have always been a member.

"I shall draw a picture of two dress suit cases of money being slipped across the table at the foot of a judge's meh in the courtroom, from its custadian to its new owners, upon the rendering of a court decision; and I shall show how the new owners fruswaylaid and the bags of money recov

"I shall devote some space to pointink out the evils and dangers of the er-day methods of corrupting lawmakers, and show how one entire Massachusetts legislature, with the exception of a few members, were dealt with as openly as the fishmongers proe their stock in trade upon the wharves; how upon the last day of the legislature, because their deferred ash payments were not promptly thcoming, they turned, and made essary the hurried departure for sathered gold, and all evidences of the comes committed and attempted; how after the ship arrived at an island in accurate diagrams of the machinery through which their nefarious trade is unried on.

want should be one of the most inthe string chapters of my story is that which contain the complete list of original subscribers to the Amalgaated flotation, with addre eign seas the great lawyer's dead eretary's was later dropped, with desths; and he wever since the natives whisper among themselves their grue-

andbaggers and blackmallers; show through their agencies they hold orporations and their managers for e sums, which upon being paid t into motion a perfected system

for the false moulding of public opinion for the purpose of making more easy the plundering of the people. I shall photograph the men and draw amounts subscribed for and amounts allotted. This list contains the names of 4,648 investors, situated in all parts of this country and some of Europe, nd the weight of their operation shoul and the weight of their operation should be like the dial on the gauge of a boiler-an accurate indicator of the inside doings of the 'system.'

"My story will carry me down to Wall street, into the Stock Exchange, through its hundred and one or million and one open and hidden passages, and into State street, that ever-hung hammock of financial somnolence, and into the courts of justice of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Massachusetts and Montana, and Into many other interesting abodes of justice and injustice, of trickery, fraud and simple, honest trustfulness.

"When my story is ended and the great American people, whose simple but proud boast is that they cannot be methods and the same instruments | closures he threatens to make.

twice, know as much as I now know of Amalgamated and its relation to the 'system' which has for years as boldly, as coarsely and as cruelly robbed them as the coolie slaves are robbed by their masters, it will be for them to decide whether my story has been, because of the facts which entered into it, so well told that they will not be satisfied with the restitution of the vast sums which the Amalgamated took from them, which United States Steel took from them, and which others took in lesser amounts but by equally flagrant methods; but will demand the overthrow of the 'system' itself. It will be for them to decide; and if their decision should be the latter, I will be amply repaid for the pains and the miseries which must necessarily follow in the wake of a task such as the one I undertook when I decided to tell 'The Story of Amalgamated."

If Mr. Lawson should keep his promises as given above, there will be a commotion in high places. It is probable, however, that the man from Boston is in a tight place and hopes-to

THE PROTEST MASS MEETING

The Butte Miners' Union on June 20 held a mass meeting in protest against the brutalities practised in Colorado by the authorities and the Citizens' Alliance on the striking miners. There were several thousand persons gathered. The speakers, ran to words in lavish profusion, not one of the carefully picked orators of the occasion daring to do more than to "deplore" and "condemn" the blackest crimes hitherto committed against the perpetuity of the republic. The socialists were carefully excluded from the roster of speakers, because those who had charge of the meeting were anxlous to maintain "conservatism" of utterance, and they succeeded so well that one daily paper advises Mr. Parry to go to school to them. Socialists are given to telling the truth; and as every one knows, the truth is so precious that it is only to be written about but never told. The resolutions adopted by the meeting are to be forwarded to in terms that will give no offense to our benign exar whom the working class must appeal to in their extrem-ity. An unthinking man might express tement that the majority of the mistion (the working class) of a antry which is supposed to be gov-ned by majority rule are not able to right their own wrongs. A politician, on the other hand, might discover a

against a little game of brace, for Teddy will be damned by the capitalist class if he does, and by the working class if he does not. In his choice of two evils the hero of the Miller case will take the latter horn of the dilemma. Talk about keeping politics out of the union! Experience in the Gibraltar of Labor shows that where working-class politics are excluded it opens the door for the rottenest kind of old-party shystering. The more "conservative" the union, the more active the corporation heeler. With these "labor leaders" every question is considered, not from the standpoint of its effect on the working class, but its effect on the two corporations which are quarreling over the ownership of Silver Bow county and the state government. The radical unions are the ones in which the rank and file do their own thinking and the lease-holding patriot and the gold-brick politician be hoped that the various mass meetings of protest which are being held throughout the action will have the effect, not of an appointment of another strike commission, but of waking up the brain cells of the hornless cattle who are packing union cards, to a "He who would be free himself mus strike the blow."

American Labor Union Journal

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TUESDAY, JULY 5, 1904.

The headquarters of the American Labor Union have been removed to Chicago, where there is so vast a work of organization to be done and so much room for the improvement of the condition of the working class. Every sincere worker in the ranks of unionism must applaud the spirit that contemplates the welfare of the working class as a whole rather than the interest of a fraction. The success of industrial unionism depends on the organization of all working men and women, and the American Labor Union is carrying out that purpose. The next number of the Journal will issue from Chicago, and the editorial connection of the writer will cease. During the many months it has been our privilege to direct the expressions of this paper we have responded to but one impulse, have been controlled by one idea. We have stood for the interest of our class, and their interest alone. In this we have had the assistance, encouragement and unswerving support of one whose integrity of purpose and whose loyalty to the working class is the equal of any man who has ever done duty in the thankless employment of serving his fellow men-Clarence Smith, the secretary-treasurer of the American Labor Union and manager of the Journal. To unfaltering devotion to principle falls the lot of tardy recognition or of none, and surely it is not amiss when one is saying adieu to readers whom he has learned to love, to express apprecia-tion of the virtues of a true and faithful servitor in the cause of the proletaire. That the Journal will continue as in the past, one of the best labor papers in America, goes without saying. Yet it will make enemies among union men. It has already done so. It will displease those who imagine that it should, Atlas-like, carry the universe on its back. It will give dire offense to the union man who hopes to use his union as a stepping stone for himself and at the expense of his fellows. It will offend the corporation tool. It will hurt the feelings of the conservative element (another name for a coward), and it will goad the capitalistic press to further fury. All this it has done. All this it will continue to do. We sever our connection with regret. To our friends we express our sincere thanks. To our opponents we extend only pity-pity for the time when their own acts and words will rise up and overwhelm M. G. O'MALLEY. them.

A WIFE, A MOTHER AND A COMRADE GONE.

The death of Mrs. M. G. O'N Mey, which occurred on June 26 at Murray & Freund's hospital, Butte, from blood poisoning, accounts for the lateness of this issue of the Journal. By her death two little children were robbed of a love that can never be equaled on this side of the grave, a husband is left to mourn as patient and true a wife as was ever given to man, and the Socialist cause has lost a modest but an earnest worker.

With the living, tons of philosophy at such a time are powerless against a tiny grain of sentiment. That death is ot of all humanity does not make his visit any the less hard to bear. Time, and time alone, is the doctor. As to the dead, the thought offers that there may, under capitalism, arise conditions which are even worse than death, but it is hard to close the eyes on one's babies forever. It is hard to shut out the bright sun and the clear sky, the music of sight and sound. It is hard to relinquish the hopes and as-pirations which make life; it is hard to yield one's self to the cold embrace of the grave, to cease to have further part or parcel in the affairs of mankind; it is hard to die at 23. And to those who are left behind it seems hard to live.

THE JAPANESE PROLETARIAT.

At the same time that she opened her doors to civilization Japan began the development of her industries. In 1872 the total value of manufactured articles experted from Japan amounted to only 500,000 yen, but in 1901 it was 50,000,000 yea. From 1894 to 1901 the capital invested has increased from 52,000,000 yea to \$250,000, 000 yea. The birth of the great indus-

tries has been accompanied by great suffering on the part of the proletariat, which has been the victim of an exploitation which recalls by its severity the most atrocious facts to be found in the origins of modern English industry. In fact, to-day the greater portion of the proletariat is reduced to a condition of distress comparable to the life of the miserable quarters of the London East End, or the hovels of Pittsburg, Chicago or New York. While the pay of the workmen has increased with the development of trade, at the same time it has remained very small, the workmen who are best paid, for example the mechanics of the railroads, receiving at most 30 cents a day. Statistics of wages published by the Tokio Heimin Shimbun show that workers in cotton factories receive 15 cents a day, in silk factories 12, cotton spinners 9, silk spinners 10, linen spinners 10, and dyers 12. The work-

ing day is from ten to twelve hours.

In the year 1882 we find the first trace of Socialism, or rather of semi-Socialism, in Japan, emigrants to the Unifed States carrying back to their country the agrarian reform preached by Henry George, and a translation of his "Progress and Poverty." The ideas of the American writer did not apply to the condition of the Japanese country, however, and all trace of this first socialistic idea was lost. In proportion, however, as the national industry was developed a proletariat more and more numerous and more and more oppressed was created. Soon the university world held many adherents of Socialism, and in other departments of the national life Socialist tendencies were clearly marked. Further, the Socialist press, which did not exist forty years ago, for the past fifteen years has continually developed, and to-day there are great papers with circulations running into the hundred thousands. A particularly important role has been played by the Yorozu Tchoho, the greatest Tokyo paper so far as circulation and general influence are concerned,

Commencing with 1890 there appeared for the first time in Japan the doctrine of international Socialism, resting on the organization of the working class. The "manifesto" of the communists, by Marx and Engels, was translated into Japanese, and in 1897 there was formed at Tokyo the Socialist Association. The society devoted itself to a profound study of the doctrine of Marx and Engels, the founders of the society being two men who up to the present have been the soul of the Socialist movement in Japan, Joseph Sen Katayama and Professor relations existing from the time of the origin of Socialism between a number of the principal adherents and many Protestant churches in Japan, many of the congregations counting among their number some of the most intense of the Japanese Socialists, while the churches are freely lent to the uses of the Socialist propaganda.

From the start the efforts of the Socialists were directed to the organization of the Japanese proletariat, both in a political and economical sense. Under the old regime and in the precapitalistic stage, the system of guilds was in existence, uniting the emploves and employers. The modern workmen's society, however, is a creation of a period not earlier than 1889. when a union of railroad employes was formed. The following year there was founded at Tokyo a union of typographers, both of these organizations owing their creation to the influence of bourgeois sympathizers, and in particular to a member of the liberal party, M. Oni Kentaro. These organinations placed themselves on the ground of "social peace." The Broth-erly Union of Workmen, formed in 1897, while also advocating co-operation in production, took its stand on the antagonism of interests and not of harmony between labor and capital. Commencing with this period, the labor movement progressed rapidly, the Brotheriy Union increasing from 1,200 members in 1897 to 5,700 in 1899. Particularly notable is the formation at the same time of the Union of Railroad Employes, which succeeded to that formed in 1889. One of the features of this union is the provision onism of interests and not of

for conciliation by the local sections. It is in close connection with the Brotherly Union, and at present numbers 3,000 members.

The most powerful of all the labor organizations of Japan is the Association of Mechanicians of the Company of Railroads of Nippon, the organization of which is chiefly due to the efforts of Katayama. This union was formed in 1898, and in 1900 the union won in a decisive struggle with the company. As a result of this victory the strikers were given a day of eight hours and the increase of salary demanded. In September, 1899, the drivers and conductors of the Tokyo trams organized, and unions were soon formed in other professions. The women also, who are horribly exploited in the various factories, have commenced to take action and to demand that the conditions of their lives be bettered. At the same time co-operative societies have immensely increased; according to Dr. Eckstein there are 314 credit societies, 38 provision societies, 72 of sale, 10 of production and 52 of various other departments. By a law passed in 1899 all incitement to strike because of questions of salary and duration of labor shall be punished by from one to six months in prison, the stipulations of the law being very elastic and allowing the police to exercise their power in an arbitrary manner. Notwithstanding this, however, the unions have continued to multiply. and strikes have taken place from one end of the country to the other.

A REPLY TO NORDAU.

The Cosmopolitan in its March edition published an article on "Socialism in Europe," supposed to have been written by Max Nordau. I say sup posed, because the article contains so many misrepresentations of facts, necessarily known to Max Nordau, the famous journalist and politician, that it seems incredible that he can be the author.

The writer tells us that at the last election for parliament in Germany the Socialists polled nearly two million votes, while the officially certified and published accounts gives them three million and eight thousand. He gives them a representation in parliament | lions in 1903, during a period of what

of forty-four, while the actual number is eighty-one,

The writer declares that the Socialists of Germany were opposed to pension and insurance legislation, when Max Nordau knows-or at least he should know-that the opposition of the Socialists was against the inadequacy of the legislation against the low rates proposed.

The average pension for a sixtyyear-old workman is about \$60 a year, with which magnificent sum for old age not even Max Nordau would be

content. This article contains other incongruities and manifest contradictions. From it we find that Socialism has failed, because thirty-five years after the publication of Karl Marx's book, "Canital." Socialism is nowhere practically established. He claims failure, yet affirms that Socialism has influenced the legislation of every civilized country. He claims failure, yet says that in spite of its theoretical absurdity it has already brought more amelioration in thirty years than all the wisdom of philosophers and statesmen in thousands of years. He claims failure, in spite of the fact that to-day the principles proclaimed by Karl Marx are the political shibboleth of over ten millions of men entitled to the ballot in constitutional countries. The ideas of failure given by the real or pretended Max Nordan are strange indeed.

What would have been his verdict if thirty-five years after Christ's death he should have judged the Christian religion?

Strange as it may seem, he declares himself to be a believer in the doctrines of Socialism, though he gravely tells us that Socialism only gains in weakened nations, and that it is indorsed by flabby and indolent men only, and at periods of national decay.

Does the writer not know that Socialism began to spread in Germany, the classical land of its theory, after the successful war with France, when the self-consciousness and self-esteem of the Germans had been raised to a pitch heretofore unknown?

The number of Socialists in Germany increased from seventy-five thousand in 1876 to over three mil-

The Present Crisis

By James Russell Lowell When a deed is done for Freedom, through the broad earth's aching breast Runs a thrill of joy prophetic, trembling on from east to west, And the slave, where'er he cowers, feels the soul within him climb To the awful verge of manhood, as the energy sublime Of a century bursts full-blossomed on the thorny stem of Time.

Once to every man and nation comes the moment to decide In the strife of Truth with Falsehood, for the good or evil side; Some great cause. God's new Messiah, offering each the bloom or blight, Parts the goats upon the left hand, and the sheep upon the right, And the choice goes by forever 'twixt that darkness and that light.

Careless seems the great Avenger; history's pages but record One death-grapple in the darkness 'twixt old systems and the Word; Truth forever on the scaffold, Wrong forever on the throne-Yet that scaffold sways the Future, and, behind the dim unknown, Standeth God within the shadow, keeping watch above His own.

Then to side with Truth is noble when we share her wretched crust Ere her cause bring fame and profit, and 'tis prosperous to be just; Then it is the brave man chooses, while the coward stands aside, Doubting in his abject spirit, till his Lord is crucified, And the multitude make virtue of the faith they had denied.

Count me o'er earth's chosen heroes-they were souls that stood alone, While the men they agonized for hurled the contumellous stone, Stood serene, and down the future saw the golden beam incline To the side of perfect justice, mastered by their faith divine, By one man's plain truth to manhood and to God's supreme design.

By the light of burning heretics Christ's bleeding feet I track Tolling up new Calvaries ever with the cross that turns not back And these mounts of anguish number how each generation learned One new word of that grand Credo which in prophet-hearts hath burned Since the first man stood God-conquered with his face to heaven upturned.

For Humanity sweeps onward; where to-day the martyr stands, Far in front the cross stands ready and the crackling fagots burn, While the hooting mob of yesterday in silent awe return To clean up the scattered ashes into H istory's golden urn.

THE CLOCK IN THE CHAMBER OF THE OMNIPOTENT.

But, says some one, is there any use in our making an effort? Are not all the bankers of this country, all of the trusts and great corporations of this country, all of the powerful forces of this country, is not the fashion of this country, are not the drawing rooms and the clubs of this country now controlled by concentrated and corrupt wealth? Are they not growing stronger every year, and do they not villy and attempt to crush everybody that does not submit? Can anything be accom-plished in the way of curbing this great force and protecting the American people?

My friends, let me cite you a pr lel: George William Curtis and other writers of his day have described the slave power back in the 50's. They tell us that slavery sat in the White tell us that slavery sat in the Wh House and made laws in the capital; that courts of justice were its minis ters; that senators and legislators were its lackeys; that it controlled the professor in the lecture room, the edi-tor in his sanctum, the preacher in his pulpit; that it swaggered in the drawing room; that it ruled at the clubs; that it dominated with froe hand all the affairs of society; that every year enlarged its power, every moon in-creased its dominion; that the men and the women who dared to even question the divinity of that institu-

tion were ostracized, were persecuted, were vilified-aye, were hanged. But the great clock in the Chamber

of the Omnipotent never stands still. It ticked away the years as it had once ticked away the centuries. Finally it struck the hour and the world heard the tread of a million armed men, and slavery vanished from America forever. Note the parallel. To-day the syndicate rules at the White House and makes laws at the capital; courts of justice are its ministers, senators and legislators are its lackeys. It controls the preacher in his pulpit, the professor in his lecture room, the editor in his sanctum; it swaggers in the drawing-room; it rules at the clubs; it dominates with a rod of iron the affairs of society. Every year enlarges its power; and the and women who protest against the crimes that are being committed by organized greed in this country-who talk of protecting the American peoostrucized, are vilified, are hounded and imprisoned. It seems madness to even question the divinity of the American Syndicate. But, my friends, that great clock is still tick-ing-still ticking. Soon it will again strike the hour, and the world will not see one million, but ten million free men rise up, armed not with mus-kets, but with freemen's ballots, and the sway of the syndicate will vanish from America forever.—Extract from speech delivered by John P. Altgo in the Auditorium, Oct. 22, 1909.

capitalistic writers would call unprecedented prosperity. During the same period the wealth of the country was more than trebled, while the population increased 40 per cent, and the nation rose from a fourth or fifth rate commercial nation to a rival of Great Britain and the United States.

Many accusations could be raised against Germany, but that it is a decaying nation not even its most prejudiced enemies would contend; and that its inhabitants are indolent could be refuted by a geometrical demonstration, called demonstratio ad absurdum, by comparing the industrial development of Germany in the last twenty years with that of other countries, not even excepting the United States.

The writer vainly attempts to construct an impassable gulf between revolutionary and evolutionary Socialism. He maintains that to the evolutionary Socialists belong the future. Now he should know, or if he does not know he can easily inform himself, that the socalled evolutionary Socialists do not believe a whit less in Socialism than the so-called revolutionary Socialists. The sole difference between the two is a difference of tactics about the best way to secure their object. And when Max Nordau or any one else maintains that the future belongs to evolutionary Socialists, he practically proclaims himself a follower of Karl Marx, or rather of his idea, which is simply this-that the gradual centralization of capital in the hands of a few by the natural development of economics will lead to society ownership, which is called Socialism.

Karl Mark demonstrated that the centralization of industry will bring the expropriation of the small capitalists, and that the proportion of employes, or hands (the term used to-day for the words servant or slave) will increase every day.

The writer in the Cosmopolitan says Socialism will come by evolution. Let us hope so; but we hold that the logic of events, especially in recent decades, proves that either by evolution or revolution, Socialism is inevitable, Certainly its unprecedented growth cannot be called a failure .- L. F. Strauss, A. M., in The Arena.

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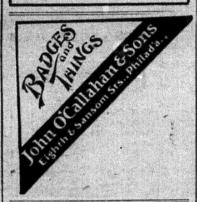
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COMPLAIN OF INJUSTICE

Executive Board of Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance Protest Against a Statement Made by This Paper.

The Journal is in receipt of a demand for substantiation or a retraction of certain statements concerning the S. T. and L. A. in a recent article dealing with the differences between that body and the American Labor Union. The demand, which comes from the secretary of the executive board of the S. T. and L. A., is as follows:

General Executive Board, Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance of the United States and Canada.

New York, May 21, 1904.

Mr. Clarence Smith, Manager American Labor Journal, Box 1067, Butte,

Dear Sir and Brother: At a regular meeting of the general executive board of the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance held on the 12th of this month I was instructed to write to you and protest on the subject of an article entitled "the A. L. U. and the S. T. & L. A.," which appeared in your issue of last April 14, which contains the following passage:

"The S. T. & L. A. required that its officers should not be members of the old political parties. This rule was not long enforced, however, and politicians from the old parties were elected to a place on the despotic executive board, where they did not overlook the opportunity for carrying on things so as to discredit a body which bore the name of 'Socialist'

The statement that "politicians" from the old political parties were elected to a place on this general executive board is without foundation in fact, and does gross wrong to this body, whose members have never been other than members of the Socialist Labor party.

As we cannot prove a negative, we request that you either substantiate or retract the charges.

By protesting against and calling for a substantiation of this one charge we do not wish to be understood as accepting for correct the other statements in the article. On the contrary, the article contains not a single allegation of fact of any importance that is not a caricature of the S. T. & L. A. and of its general executive board. Neverthe less, seeing that none of these other allegations comes as definitely under the category of slander as does the one objected to, this general executive board cares not to bother about them. Fraternally.

JOHN J. KINNEALLLY, General Secretary Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance.

The information of this paper on the particular point objected to in the letter was obtained from a former member of the S. T. and L. A., and also from the statement of the executive board of Iron and Metal Workers' Trade and Labor Alliance, No. 6, which was published in November of 1901, and which to our best knowledge has never been refuted in any way. This statement referred to by Mr. De Leon as "The Hickey Special," contains the following sentences: "Hickey demanded that the G. E. B. (general executive board, S. T. and L. A.) be called to testify Murphy and Walberg were willing and Walberg appeared, but Katz and Gilhaus, who were tools of De Leon and Kuhn, with a drunken sot named O'Rourke, WHO DOES NOT BELONG TO THE SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY. sent a letter stating that they would not appear." Such is the statement, uncontradicted so far as we know, of the E. B. of the I. and M. W. We a further informed that the O'Rourke referred to trained with what was known as the Fagin democratic machine of Hoboken, N. J. He is a boodbinder. If our information is wrong and we are furnished proof of it, we will gladly made amends. The article complained of was not written with the purpose of injuring any one. A request was made on us for information as to the differ ences between the two bodies. We gave it to the best of our ability, and stated plainly that the S. T. and L. A. never extended into the West, and therefore we had no personal knowl-

If we have done the S. T. and L. A. an injustice, we will gladly rectify it if we are shown wherein we have erred. If O'Rourke was a member of the S. L. P., of what section and branch? Was he or was he not a member of the G. E. B.? Was he or was he not an old party politician? Is he connected with the S. L. P. or the S. T. and L. A.? We await enlightenment on these points.

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SHEARERS WILL MEET

Convention of the Craft Called for July 25 at Butte, Mont., in Miners' Union Hall-Good Attendance Expected.

The call for the third annual convention of the Hand and Machine Sheep Shearers' Union, chartered by the American Labor Union, was prepared and issued in the early part of June. The convention will hold its sessions in Miners' Union Hall, Butte, commencing July 25.

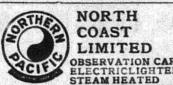
The basis of representation in the convention will be one delegate for every twenty members in good standing. The call states that on the basis of the present membership there will be in the neighborhood of sixty delegates, and if the several organizers continue to do the good work they have done in the past, the list will be increased by from fifteen to twenty.

The organizers everywhere are arousing intense interest among the shearers, and they are rapidly falling into line. Already the effectiveness of the union has been shown, as evidenced by the several victories won in Wyoming and California. This has only been accomplished by the unions having among its membership a majority of the fastest and most experienced traveling shearers on the road, and by a true devotion to union principle on the part of the entire membership. Applications are pouring into the headquarters daily, and from several organizers' reports already received for the month of May, a healthy growth is shown. President Forrest, reports from Southern Idaho that the boys there are all talking unionism, and seem to be anxious to get an opportunity to join the union. Special Organizer H. J. Angle, who is also in Southern Idaho, has sent in quite a number of applications. Special Organizers J. A. Norton and J. C. Carlston have also done some good work in Idaho. Special Organizer Sam Horner sent in a number of applications from Casper, Wyo. Encouraging reports are expected from Special Organizers Evan Ashton, Herb Brown, A. L. Tilford, L. H. Moses and Warren Davis. The above is probably the best corps of organizers that could be gotten together for this particular work. They are all earnest and sincere union men, and are in every way competent to discharge such duties. More than this, they all stand high in the estimation of shearers, which has already proven of tremendous value to the union. With such men devoting all their energies to promote the cause, we can see a very bright future for the Sheep Shearers' Union.

Some time since the Butte Mill and Smeltermen's Union, an organization of real men, who do not get their instructions on union business from the offices of the M. O. P. or the Amalgamated, decided to hold a public protest meeting against Colorado outrages. Accordingly arrangements were made to secure the services of several speakers who were familiar with conditions, but the matter was not given to the press, the committee desiring to wait until they were able to announce who the speakers would be. It is understood now, however, that Mother Jones will be here if possible, and a meeting is assured that will voice the true sentiment of the working class on the little capitalistic pleasantries that are furnishing so much recreation to Mesers. Peabody and Bell that both have forgotten to take a vacation.

The land of Mary MacLane and Jack Munroe has a new claim to distinction. She has among her citizens the inventor of the only furniture drawer in existence that will not stick and will open at either end, one end remaining locked. The name of this inventor is John L. Larson, a member of the Engineers' Union. He has had a dresser made from his drawings, and is daily showing it to crowds. The dresser is fitted with rotary swivel glasses which give one three views of the face at once. Ladies can apprecate what this means. Mr. Larsen's inventions, covering the mirrors, the combination lock and hinge (a marvel of simplicity) and the drawer are patented in the United States, Canada, Great Britain, France and Belgium, and others are pending. He has earned the benedic tions of the fair sex, and decreased the sum total of the profanity of the

In "What Happened to Dan," Kate Richards O'Hare has provided the propaganda committees of the Social-ist movement with a masked battery, a sugar-coated disguised cathartic, one a sugar-coated disguised cathartic, one of the kind "that works while you sleep." We have read the book from cover to cover with the greatest interest. Subjects of the liveliest interest are treated in a most clever fashion and in such a manner as to lead the reader on and on. We have, however, not yet discovered what happened to Dan, nor do we care. Of one thing we are certain, however, and that is that the book will be read and do good work with a class who could not be induced to truth anything dealing with the same subject which betrayed its contents by its title.



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WESTBOUND No. 1, North Coast	7:30 p.m.	
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passengers. No. 6. Burlington Ex-	b45 a.m.	1:55 a.m
press	11:30 p.m.	fi:40 p.m
No. 14. Burlington Ex- press		(2:45 p.m
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connecting at Whitehall with No. 5, arriving at Butte at 4:15 p.m.

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MINERS, MILITARY AND COURTS OF LAW

(Continued from First Page.)

the legislature the submission to the people of a constitutional amendment which made mandatory upon the general assembly the enactment of an eight-hour law applicable to miners and ore workers and any other branch of industry or labor that the general assembly might consider injurious or dangerous to health, life or limb. Submitted to the people, this amendment was adopted in 1902 by a large major-

ity.
"The majority of the legislature chosen in that same election were pledged to enact such a law, but after pledged to enact such a law, but after juggling with the matter for three months the legislature adjourned without taking action upon it. It disregarded the mandate of the people to pass such a law. It is no secret that an agent of the mining companies had access to the floor of the legislature during the entire session. It is also charged, and without contradiction, that bribes were offered and taken to charged, and without contradiction, that bribes were offered and taken to defeat the enactment of the eight-hour law. Here is the first step in lawlessness, the first violation of justice, the first breach of order and good government. Whoever is to blame, it certainly is not the miners.

"The friends of the law then urged

the calling of an extra session for the express purpose of complying with the constitutional requirement. The governor refused to call an extra session upon the ground that it would be uscless, since a majority of the legislature refused to agree in writing in advance. refused to agree in writing in advance to vote for the eight-hour bill. Here is the second violation. It is a governor's duty to enforce the constitution, and the excuse he offers for not doing so looks like an evasion.

looks like an evasion.

"Finding the legislative method futile against the political influence and finesse (if no worse) of the corporations, the miners were compelled to strike in order to enforce a constitutional right which should have been a state law.

a state law.
"The strike began with the ore miners in August last, and was followed by the coal miners' strike in Novem-ber. To strike work is the right of every wage carner, and so is member-ship in a union. The conditions of in-dustry nowadays make both almost a necessity. And certain it is that in the main the union of laborers and the power that there is in the strike have both been agencies which have enabled the laborers as a class to secure and maintain better wages and better con-ditions than would otherwise have been the case.

been the case.

"But to work when others will not and for less wages than unions prescribe, and to refuse to join the labor union, are also the rights of every wage earner. It may be very foolish—think it is—and it may tend to the degredation of the laboring class—I am convinced that it does—but still it is his right. When these two rights clash, as they generally do when a clash, as they generally do when a strike occurs, there is apt to be trouble, and as the rights of society as trouble, and as the rights of society as a whole are paramount over those of any individual or class of individuals, it is the plain duty of the government to preserve the peace and to prevent as far as possible interference with the rights of either the laborer or the employer, the union or the non-union man. Just where the line of governmental interference should be drawn has never been, and perhaps cannot be, actually determined. But it is pretty clearly determined by public opinion clearly determined by public opinion that the measures of unions to prevent non-union men from working shall not be allowed to run into physical violence or the wanton destruction of property. Experience has shown that the unions themselves can, if they are so disnosed do more to proved such so disposed, do more to prevent and to punish such violators of the peace than can the officers of the law. Too often, however, the ethical standards of the unions respecting "scab" labor are low, and brutal assaults upon the offending non-union men, and even

are low, and brutal assaults upon the offending non-union men and even murder, have not been uncommon.

"In the Colprado strike, however, the leaders of the Federation seem to have tried to prevent such occurrences. The men were ordered to keep away from the mines and mills, and under penalty of dismissal from the union to refrain from violence and disorder. In spite of this several cases of assault, one or two of them flagrant and brutal, did occur. The union officials claim to have tried to assist in the apprehension of the assailants. I do not know of any instance where they succeeded. These assaults were wrong—in every way wrong—and if, as is alleged by the mine owners and other citizens, the way wrong—and if, as is alleged by the mine owners and other citizens, the wrongdoers were satelded by the strik-ers and by the county officials, then they were doubly wrong; wrong in con-niving at lawlessness and wrong in violating the official action of their unions.

niving at lawlessness and wrong in violating the official action of their unions.

"Still, on the whole, the strike was quite orderly as strikes go; but after it had been in progress about a month, the mine owners in Teller county applied to the governor for troops. The sheriff denied the necessity of such a step, advising the governor that the only violence reported had been assaults upon two men by unknown persons. The governor, however, sent a commission consisting of General Chase, Lieutenant McCleiland and Attorney General Miller, to investigate. Arriving at Victor, the commission was received by representatives of the Mine Owners' Association, with whom they consulted. Proceeding to Cripple Creek, they again were met by and they consulted with representatives of the mine owners. At neither place did the monowners, at neither place did the commission meet with or consult representatives of the strikers. They did call in the sheriff, who repeated his assurances to the governor. The whole time taken by the commission occupied but a few hours, and most of that time they were in close conference with the agents of the mine owners. Such was the nature of the investigation upon which they advised the governor to send troops into Teller county. Can any fair-minded man call that sort of procedure just and in accord with democratic principles?

"As soon as the troops were ordered out, the county commissioners of Teller county unanimously denounced the so-called investigation as a mere pretense, the object of which was to cause the people of the state to think the county was in a state of disorder beyond the power of the county officially stated that there had been no unusual assembly of men and no more violence than at other times. And this statement has a other times.

was advanced by the Mine Owners' Association, they accepting certificates for the same, which they later expect to have taken up with bonds. Ostensibly the troops were sent merely for police duty. Practically they were used to breas the strike. Adjutant General Bell himself said to Ray Stannard Baker—who writes it for McClure's Magazine—that it was 'to do up this anarchistic federation,' meaning the W. F. of M., and last month in an open letter published in some castern newswas advanced by the Mine Owners' letter published in some eastern news paper, in which he announced his in-tention of resigning his office, that same military official says 'the corporations used the militia for their pur pose, and instead of the militia being used to protect the people and upholo the law, that force was actually de-graded to the use of the local corpora-tions, who connived at the breaking of the law."

That is an illuminating confession coming from the ranking officer in command, and throws a significant light on the subsequent military do-ings. At first martial law was not de-clared, nor was the writ of habeas corsuspended-that came three months later—nevertheless, from the first the military acted as though all civil authority had been suspended. They arrested union men without warrants. They made armed demonstra-tions in and about the civil court tions in and about the civil court rooms when aabeas corpus proceedings were being heard. They refused to obey the orders of civil courts when the discharge of unlawfully imprisoned persons was ordered. And they-tried to suppress the official organ of the local union at Victor by arresting the editor and printers and pressmen at midnight.

Of course, disorder increased under such high-handed and lawless intimida tion. Still it was nearly three months after the troops arrived before any criminal violence occurred. Then an explosion in the Vindic stor mine took place. The mine had been opened with non-union labor under military protection. While the superintendent and a tion. While the superintendent and a shift boss were being lowered an in-fernal machine was exploded, which wrecked the cage and killed both men. Several union men accused of com-plicity in this outrageously criminal act were arrested, but no evidence to convict them was produced. Dispatches this last week say that prominent offi-cials of the local union have been arrested on a warrant charging them with complicity in this affair, and that Mr. Moyer, the president of the Western Federation, will be held on the charge of alding and abeting the murder. These arrests may be based on evidence, and they may be mere excuses for helding these men in durance until for holding these men in durance until the strike is over. The judicious will withhold his judgment pending further developments. But in the event of the worst, supposing these parties to be the guilty ones, the crime is one of individuals and not one of a class. It is simply inconceivable that all of the thousands of union men in the Cripple Creek and Telluride districts were guilty, even as accessories either be-fore or after the crime, and it is ob-viously and grossly unjust to punish or even to condemn all of the strikers; and to retaliate upon them as a class because some of their members have committed criminal acts, is simply to inflame still more the already excited passions and prejudices and to invite and even to incite still further lawlessness and to drive desperate men to des perate measures in their efforts to ob-

Men are always in danger of allowing their class sympathies and class interests to obscure and override their ethical standards and judgments, and in times of industrial disturbance like this that danger is greatly accentu-ated. Two wrongs never did and never can make a right, and two acts of incan make a right, and two acts of injustice simply make one more than a single act. The social folly and the moral wrong of trying to mend matters and to bring about a righteous peace by retailating upon wrong and injustice with still other wrong and injustice is exemplified, and the unreason of class judgments is shown by the doings of the Citizens' Alliance in the Telluride district.

"To get at the animus of this movement it is necessary to know that, because they were unable to obtain credit in the stores, or even, in some in-

in the stores, or even, in some in-stances, to purchase the necessaries of life for cash, the strikers were com-pelled to establish co-operative stores in the strike centers. These stores ex-tended credit and furnished supplies at prices that merely covered the cost. Not only the strikers, but the imported non-union men and many of the disin-terested citizens who were glad to ob-tain goods so cheaply patronized these co-operative stores. The other business co-operative stores. The other business houses suffered enormously, and several were obliged to close their doors because of the loss of trade. The cooperative stores thus became an influential factor in turning the sympathies of the business interests to the side of the corporations. Other factors, such as dislike of unionism, or social and business affiliations with the mine owners, or deference to the commanding influence of the corporations, or because the Western Federation of Miners is strongly socialistic, also combined to unite the middle-class interests against the strikers. Out of

combined to unite the middle-class interests against the strikers. Out of such elements was formed the Citizens' Alliance.

"Now, these were the people who, when the strikers interfered with the personal rights of non-union laborers by assaulting them, by threatening and otherwise intimidating them, and by chasing them out of the camps, were the most indignant and voluble in their denunciation of such brutality and such violations of law and order. The defense that the necessity of making a living for themselves and families justified the strikers in such measures against the scab workers, and lies justified the strikers in such measures against the scab workers, and that in the final analysis self-preservation and self-interest constitute the paramount ethical consideration, the members of the Citizens' Alliance would not allow. The doctrine that the existing system of industry and social organization subjected the wage-earners to such a degree of exploitation as rendered-it inevitable and even measurably justifiable that they should hold self-preservation and self-interest as the paramount considerations, these others denounced as economically unsound, socially dangerous and morally wrong. Very well, let'it stand so. Their judgment is at any rate the accepted social standard of to-day. But now, accepting their judgment, let us inquire how truly their own actions conform to their accepted economic

and moral standard:
"As soon as business interests began to suffer from the effects of the strike, the Citizens' Alliance was formed. And this is what they did in the interests of law and order. They instituted the summary measures of a vigitance com-mittee. Members of the Federation, against whom no charges were pre-ferred except that they were union men, strikers and obnoxious to the Cit-izens' Alliance, were selzed in their homes, sometimes dragged from their beds, their wives and children were maltreated, their homes searched, their furniture broken and their prop-erty stolen. They were herded like cattle and forcibly expelled from the county and threatened with harsher treatment should they venture to re-

The officials of the Federation applied to the courts for injunctions against the leaders of the Citizens' Al-liance restraining them from such violence. Then troops were sent in to preserve the peace. Their captain was one Bulkeley Wells, a manager of one of the local mines.

"One might naturally suppose that if the troops were used at all it would be against the aggressors upon the personal and property rights of the wronged miners. Not so, it was the strikers who were arrested. "They were charged with vagrancy,

although many of them had long been residents of the city and taxpayers, and were able, had opportunity been given, to show that they had property and even cash. As in Teller county, so here, these arrests were without warrant. When the strikers finally were goaded to resistance, martial law was declared, military censorship was established over the press, the tele-graph and the telephone, and the union officials and leaders, including the counsel for the Miners' Union—the men who had been fighting the crimmen who had been fighting the criminal aggressions of the Citizens' Alliance through the civil courts—were arrested and held in the bull pen. Martial law continued in force until about the first of March. When it was sus-pended, the deported strikers returned to their homes. They were promptly arrested at the instigation of the Alliance, haled before a justice of the peace on the charge of vagrancy, and were so sentenced. Some paid lines of \$25, others were compelled to work in their pages on the streets or serious companions. chain gangs on the streets as crim inals, and one man who refused to fill a cesspool was chained to a telephone pole. The county court declared the men illegally held and ordered their men illegally held and ordered their discharge. One night last April an armed mob, led by some of the so-called respectable citizens, members of the Alliance, vsiited the homes of 62 of these returned strikers, using violence and committing depredations as before, forced them on board a special train and again deported them. Other strikers were ordered under threats to leave the camp and did so. When the miners ers were ordered under threats to leave the camp and did so. When the miners in adjoining camps protested and agreed to furnish an escort to return the deported men to their homes by force if necessary, the governor again sent troops to Telluride to prevent such action. It was on this occasion that the president of the Western Federation of Miners was excepted. that the president of the Western Fed-eration of Miners was arrested upon no charge whatever except that he was the president of that organization. A writ of habeas corpus from the civil court was ignored by the military offi-cials, and when the court instituted contempt proceedings, General Bell threatened to shoot any civil officer who should venture to execute the court's mandate. It was not executed, and, as we know, the supreme court of and, as we know, the supreme court of the state has sustained the military,

the state has sustained the military.

"This last fact, however, does not justify the action of the Citizens' Alliance, which was wholly outside of the law. According to their own standards, they were the violators of law and order. If they were right in their procedures against the strikers, then the union men were right in their procedures against the non-union men. If they were justified because of the injury which the strike and the cooperative stores inflicted upon their business, then the union men were justified because of the injury which the non-union men inflicted upon their business. On the other hand, if the striking miners, if their federation, and business. On the other hand, if the striking miners, if their federation, and the economic and ethical standards in-dorsed by them sanction or encourage the violent and lawless methods which some of them, at least, have used against non-union men, then it is equally plain that they are logically and morally estopped from deswests and morally estopped from denuncia-tion and from pleading for the preser-vation of law and order when such methods are turned against them. But it does not appear and it has never been shown that such is the case. Granted that some of them have re-corted to lawless violence the fact resorted to lawless violence, the fact remains that the vast majority of them have been peaceable and law-abiding, and that in the face of provocations and tyrannies which might well have provoked to rebellion men less accustomed to suffer and to endure and to obey; provocations which men of the obey; provocations which men of the obey; provocations which men of the original state of the suffer and the original state of the suffer and the tomed to suffer and to endure and to obey; provocations which men of even higher intelligence, broader culture, targer resources and perchance more refined ethical standards might justifiably and even more bitterly and destructively have resented. Not only so, but, as we have seen, the stand of the Federation and the counsels of the leaders have uniformly been against violence and in favor of the legal channels of redress for injuries, and lawful measures for securing the ends for which the strike was inaugurated, it is with clein hands, therefore, that they come clein hands, therefore, that they come before the bar of public opinion. When the last tragedy, the dastardly deed at before the bar of public opinion. When the last tragedy, the dastardly deed at Independence, occurred, it was the Federation of Miners who offered a \$5.600 reward for the discovery of the perpetrators of the crime, while it was the secretary of the Mine Owners' Association who made an incendiary speech to incite feeling against the strikers and to advocate lynch law in dealing with the perpetrators. It was the armed members of the Citizens' Alliance, and not strikers, who fired the shots that started the rict. It was the Citizens' Alliance and the Mine Owners' Association that organized the vigilance committee that exacted, under threats of lynching, resignations of the officials whom the people had chosen and vested with the powers of overnment. And it was the same Citizens' Alliance which raided the cooperative stores, driving those in charge out of the foun and strewing the merchandise all over the streets of Victor. country that, because of the lawless-ness of the strikers, the state of Colo-rado is practically in a condition of anarchy. In view of such facts as I bave given—facts, let me say, which have not been gleaned from socialistic or even trades union sources, but from quite independent journals, free alike from class prejudice and from capitalistic control—in view of such facts I ask, do you think the responsibility for the conditions existing in Colorado can justly be laid at the door of the strik-'If this be anarchy, if the lawless

the mine owners, the Citizens' Alliance

have denounced the Western Federa tion of Miners as an anarchistic organ

izaton. The word has gone all over the

ones be the anarchists, if those who have most flagrantly violated at once the laws of the land, the principles of justice between man and man, the respect for constituted authority, be the enemies of law and order and the principles of good government, and if the representations I have made be true (and I believe them to be), then does not ordinary fair-mindedness require that, for this time at any rate, we transcend our class prejudices and our class sympathies fasten the responsibility upon and throw our influence upon public opinion against the mine owners and the Citizens Alliances?

"I ask these questions—they show which way I lean—but I do not pre-sume to answer for you. I do not forget I am your minister, but neither must I forget that I am a man and a citizen. I am speaking not as your spokesman, but as a teacher of ethics who has conscientiously tried to be

"Speaking solely for myself, and not as a minister, not as the representative of any church or any denomination, I venture to say that anarchy is too re-spectable a name for what is going on

in Colorado.
"Anarchy is the apotheosis of democracy. It contemplates a state of so-ciety in which no one will be obliged to do anything—not even to be a member of society. Anarchy is not opposed to order, but only to enforced order; not to rule, but only to obligatory rule. A person living under such a system would not be compelled by an extrane-ous force to do anything; the only bonds uniting him to his fellows would be moral bonds—i. e., such relations as would inevitably obtain simply by the matural laws of human association un-der such conditions of perfect liberty. Anarchy believes that such moral bonds would be sufficient to hold men together in social peace and harmony and to form a strong and beautiful soli-darity, not milliant but industrial in its character and moral in its purpose.

"I am not an anarchist. I recognize beauty of the ideal but I cannot that it is practical. But as an ideal, the most sweet and beautiful that ever glowed in the mind and soul of man, it is too respectable, too human, too full of the spirit of love and good will and brotherhood, to be applied to the con-

brotherhood, to be applied to the conditions in Colorado.

"What, then, shall we call those conditions? Again speaking solely for myself, I call them Plutarchy, government under the rule of the rich, who exercise the ruling power by virtue of their riches. Does not that describe the conditions exactly? By reason of their monopoly of the mineral deposits of Colorado, the mining corporations have acquired vast influence and power have acquired vast influence and power over the governmental machinery of that state. They have been able to control the legislature so as to defeat the mandate of the people to enact an eight-hour law. They have caused the governor to declare martial law in eight-hour law. They have caused the governor to declare martial law in counties where no violence had occurred with which the civil authorities leould not and did not cope. They have been able to dictate the policy of the military arm thus called into service. At their behest the civil authorities, including the courts, have been ignored and held in contempt, and the troops and military officials have administered civil affairs in obedience to the orders of the corporations who placed them there and supported them while in service. Under their direction the rights of free speech and a free press have been suppressed and a military censorship exercised over news reports, over the telegraph and the telephone facilities. They have used the troops to imprison men for their opinatons, and the wives and children of men for criticising such high-handed tyranny. They have deported citizens coming from other states and have extled established residents. At their instigation men have been arrested without warrant and without cause and stigation men have be en arrested with out warrant and without cause and held in prison in defiance of the orders of the civil courts.

of the civil courts.

"And while such practices were being exercised against the men who were unfriendly to them, these same powerful corporations, having the virtual command of the military, have suffered the citizens friendly to them to exercise lynch law and compel the resignation of civil officers and to practice assaults upon and to despoil the

suffered the citizens friendly to them to exercise lynch law and compel the resignation of civil officers and to practice assaults upon and to despoil the property of peaceable citizens, whose only offense was the holding and expressing of opinions obnoxious to the corporations and of aiding and abetting a strike infinical to their business.

"That' is not anarchy—it is plutarchy. And, speaking again solely for myself, if I were compelled to choose between the two, the form of government under which I would live, I should not lose one instant in choosing anarchy, for there at least would be preedom; the other is only tyranny, and tyranny in its most degraded form. But fortunately none of us are yet reduced to the necessity of such a choice. I believe, and I know you believe, that the ideals and the powers of a democracy are still sufficient to cope with such oppression and to establish a state of order and justice.

"But here is the significant point, that the same interests and ideals and methods which yonder in Colorado we discover red-handed in the act of trampling upon the most sacred rights of citizens and desecrating the most cherished ideals and traditions of American democracy, are making their way silently and insidiously into the places of power and authority in every state of the Union. They have already shown their presence and their power in the conventions of both of the dominant political parties in several of the states. They will do the same in this state unless we, the sovereign citizens, by the conscientious and intelligent exercise of our sovereignty, prevent it. We may homestly and intelligent exercise of our sovereignty, prevent it. We may homestly and intelligent exercise of our sovereignty, prevent it.



IT MAKES Light Wholesome Bread

patriotic resolve that, so far as in us lies, government of the people, by the peaple, and for the people' shall not perish from the earth. Our safety lies in the fidelity and the vigor by which we hold to that moral ideal and act upon it, not suffering our business in-terests or our business are our terests or our business sympathies, our party allegiance or the luster of party leaders, or any other consideration to blind us to the truth that the good of humanity is superior to the good of any individual or class of individuals, or to woo us by specious promises into the support of men or of measures that have for their end anything less than that ideal goal of democracy, the fullest and freest equality of rights and of opportunities for every citizen —the poorest and the humblest, as well

any man whilst one is enslaved. There can be no genuine equality whilst one man has the power over the subsist-ence of another. And there can be no genuine love, nor the peace and the loys of fraternal society, whilst condi-tions are suffered to exist under which one man or a class of men are able to dictate the terms of life to others. We may differ as to how these desirable conditions shall be brought about; but let us not differ in our faith that they can be established. If we hug that faith close to our hearts, if we nourish tenderly and well the glowing moral ideal of American democracy, if we religiously dedicate to that our hearts and minds and wills, there is no doubt but ere long the exercise of our sov-ereignty will follow whither the ideal as the richest and most powerful. leads as surely and as invincibly as the There can be no genuine freedom for constitution follows the flag.

FAIR STORES AT HELENA, MONT.

The Helena merchants and business men whose names appear on this list do not belong to any organization opposed to labor unions:

Wholesale Liquors and Cigars. Goodkind Bros. Oppenheimer and Ash.

Clothing Stores. Bell Clothing Co., Main street. Gans & Klein, Main street. Anderson Bros., Main street. Capital Clothing Co., Main street, Joseph Davis Co., Main street.

The Hub Clothing Company. Jewelry and Clothing. Jacob A. Yund. J. Fish.

S. Abrahamson, Loan Office, 7 Main street.

Dairymen. C. A. Lagerquist, Unionville. Hotels.

Grandon Hotel, Grand Central. Cosmopolitan. Helena Hotel. Bristol Lodging House. International Lodging House. Restaurants,

Gleason Bros., Broller. Colorado Restaurant. White's, 138 South Main street. Frank Wise, North Main street. Gem Restaurant, North Main street. Thomas Nixon. Helena Brewing Company's Restau-

rant. Central Beer Hall. H. S. Johnson, Atlantic Beer Hall. J. H. Urqubart, Bon Ton Restaurant. Groceries, Grain and Feed.

James Walker, Broadway. Rodney Street Grocery Co., Dr. Mil-Benj. Pizer & Son, Rodney street.

Keeler & Bourne, Sixth avenue. Stubbs & Co., Northern Pacific depot. J. Gordon, Northern Pacific depot. Anthony & Reeder, 357 North Main street. Connor Co.

Fred Bolinger, Rodney street. Pat Campbell, depot. L. H. Schaefer, Rodney street. Hardware.

Helena Hardware Co. Shoe Stores. Louis Arnold. Sam Alexander Shoe Co., 26 North

Harry B. Walker. Crockery.

F. J. Edwards, Park avenue. Ladies' Furnishings. J. M. Alexander. Dry Goods.

John A. Simon & Co., Main street. Moon Yuen & Co., Broadway. Wholesale Butchers. Moran & Leibsch. Soap Factory.

Perry's Soap Company. Wall Paper. Helena Art & Wall Paper Co.

Cigar Stores. Fred Sass, Main street. Jake Post, Main street.

Gleason Bros., Main street. Carlson, Main street. Smoke House, Main street. Goodman's, Main street. Ernest Jarvis, Broadway. R. C. Charless, 107 Sixth avenue.

Morgan's, Broadway. Wm. Elzner, Broadway. Mrs. C. H. McKinney, 407 N. Main street.

Theo. Walcome, 1428 Helena avenue.

C. T. Matthews, 1402 Helena avenue.

Olaf Johnson, 136 S. Main. Meat Markets.

Albert Nordstrom, Northern Pacific depot.

Duncan & Co., People's Market, Rodney street. C. H. Hageman.

S. R. Nevil, Hoback street. W. H. Moran, East Helena. JJ. H. Rabb, East Side Meat Market.

Laundry. Union Laundry Co., Broadway. Drug Stores. John Schonborn.

Eugene Meyer, Eagle Pharmacy. Barber Shops. C. H. McKinney, 401 North Main

street. Joe Bowers, 310 North Main street. The Grandon Hotel Barber Shop. Grissons', 9 South Main street.

Wm. Laurimore, 331/2 South Main street. Charles Hellig, 37 South Main street J. M. Reid, 49 South Main street.

Helena Hotel Barber Shop. Grand Central Hotel Barber Shop. Granks', 22 North Main street. Kreitz's, 28 North Main street. Montgomery & Son, Northern Pacific

J. Clouting, 114 South Main street. International Hotel Barber Shop. F. B. Christianson, 31 South Main street. People's Barber Shop.

G. H. Michky, East Helena; W. I. Manlove, East Helena. Books and Stationery. Mrs. Blanchard.

Furniture. Herrmann & Co., Broadway.

Bakery. Charles Cram, Warren Street Bak-

Photographer. W. H. Taylor. Sproule.

Undertakers. E. L. Flaherty. Hermann & Co.

Tailor and Draper. G. F. Brown. Dealer in Wood.

J. H. Korb, 1506 Euclid avenue. Business houses inadvertently omit-

ted from the foregoing list will be added to revised lists upon notifying Helena Trades and Labor Assembly, P. O. Box 483.

the rights of the workers and one

OIL AND WATER CANNOT MIX

The American Federation of Labor | had a committee in attendance at the convention of Western Federation of Miners asking them to affiliate. But the W. F. M. is an industrial organization, while the A. F. of L. is a trade autonomy body. The miners claim jurisdiction over the engineers. The A. F. of L has just ordered the brewery workers to give up the engineers. The miners hold jurisdiction over smeltermen. Under the A. F. of L. plan these must go to the blast furnace workers. The miners have indorsed Socialism. The A. F. of L. president said of a Socialist. "I am a trade unionist; he thinks he is." The miners, being an industrial body, put in force what the capitalists call the sympathetic strike. This is antagonistic to A. F. of L. ideas. Oil and water cannot mix. It is idle to expect affiliation between a major which believes is standing for

which seems to exist by petition. Either the Western Federation of Miners or the A. F. of L. must make a reversal of policy before they can come very close together. The miners have proved that the industrial plan of organization is absolutely essential to the existence of western unionism. Should they abandon it, they sound the death knell of advancement. They were not likely to do so. Should the A. F. of L. accept the industrial plan, then an explanation must be forthcoming to the various organizations whom they have dismembered under the plea of trade autonomy. The committee, while asking the miners to join the A. F. of L., admitted they could not give them financial support in time of strike. Since the miners withdrew for this very cason, it was folly to ask them to eturn under the same conditions as before