

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

With the American Labor Union Journal the interests of the toilers are the first consideration.

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REPORT OF E. H. BEHRENS

President of Missouri Federation of Labor Frames a Remarkable Address. Throws Down the Gauntlet, "We Beg No More, We Petition No More, We Demand". Class Character of Government Handled in a Masterly Style.

The report of President E. T. Behrens to the thirteenth annual convention of the Missouri State Federation of Labor is one of the most masterly documents ever produced by a labor official. Want of space prevents the publication of the entire report. The extracts here given show its character and scope and prove E. T. Behrens to be a close student of political economy and also that he has the courage of his convictions:

What is denominated "the labor problem," is a world problem. It is the problem of life, of human existence. It cannot be partly solved, neither is a solution possible for a part of the workers to the exclusion of all the other members of the working class. It is essentially a working class problem and must be solved upon that basis.

The labor problem is the working class side of a world struggle for industrial and political supremacy. Arranged on the other side in this struggle is the ruling class, which today controls the means of life—the land, machinery, tools and implements of production and distribution. Possession of these by the ruling class gives that class the power of life or death over those who must use them.

Now since wealth can only be produced by applying labor power—human energy—to natural objects, and since all the tools, machinery and implements of production are but the stored up wealth of past labor, the ownership of these, of right, should be vested in those whose labor brought them forth. And again, since the aforesaid method of individual production has been supplanted by social production, ownership of these must necessarily be vested, not in the individual or in a set of individuals, but in the collectivity. A solution of the labor problem, therefore, must be predicated upon the workers, as a class, gaining possession of the things so essential to their very existence.

We have in the Missouri State Federation of Labor a vast machine capable of not only protecting but also of advancing the interest of the organized workers in this state. It must be used, however, by those in whose interest it was created. It must and should not be used as a political machine to advance the political fortunes of any one, even though he be a member of organized labor. The advancement of one of our members to political preferment does not solve the great problem which confronts the laboring masses. It may temporarily solve the problem for him who is thus advanced, but for the rank and file it means only further degradation and renders them ever more helpless in the hands of capitalist politicians.

Disguise it as we will, the great issue now confronting the workers is not so much that of a slight increase in wages or a shorter work day, but the complete overthrow of the system which makes the struggle for these a necessity. Disputes between employer and employes may be temporarily adjusted by arbitration or force of strength of either side, but these do not, cannot end the conflict. The employer may grant an increase in wages today and tomorrow the worker will demand more. He will demand ever more and more until he receives all he produces; and so long as he is deprived of even the smallest possible share of the wealth his labor creates there will be industrial strife. The emancipation of the working class, the ultimate aim of all the trades unions, can never be achieved so long as there is another class which exploits their labor power. Complete emancipation means that labor shall receive and enjoy not merely a larger share, but all it produces. Mastery over one class by another class must cease forever. The complete overthrow of the wage system must be our goal. Though we may be forced by stress of circumstances to sign an occasional protocol or temporary truce, a permanent treaty of peace with our masters, never!

A political party must be either for or against the working class. There can be no equivocation.

In the last two decades we have tried every political expedient known to politics. We have had our legislative committees. We have begged and petitioned the legislature to pass laws in the interest of labor. We have elected members from our ranks on capitalist party tickets only to see them become the political tools of our masters. We have supported this candidate for office and that candidate; this party and that party. We have thrown our balance of power into the political scale to force concessions from the powers that be, but the other fellow always got the power, while labor got only the balance. We have numbers, and numbers count. We have the ballot, and the ballot counts. Why then do we beg? Why petition? Ours is the power, let us use it.

We cannot divorce our economic class interests from our political class interests. They are inseparable. Nor can they be harmonized with the interests of the exploiting class—our masters. It is just as treasonable to his class interests for the worker to align himself politically with the political class as it would be for him to align himself industrially with that class. He would commit no greater crime against his class by joining the Employers' Association than he now does by voting the employers' party ticket.

It is this failure on the part of the workers to distinguish working class interests from capitalist class interests that keeps them divided politically. Once the workers become thoroughly conscious of their class interests, once they realize that there is an irrepressible conflict between their class and the capitalist class, once they awake to a consciousness of their own power, once they comprehend the necessity of simultaneously waging battle with their exploiters upon the political and industrial field, the rule over their class by another class will cease and wage slavery be abolished forever.

Touching on the request of the A. F. of L. that the Missouri State Federation send begging petitions to their congressmen for labor legislation, President Behrens said:

The futility of begging and petitioning a congress whose personnel reflects only the interests of the wealth absorbing class, has long since become apparent. Neither are the other departments of government less hostile to our interests, but all are alike dominated by the employing capitalist class. Whatever laws are enacted in our interest by the legislative branch either become of no effect for lack of enforcement by the administrative branch of government or are declared unconstitutional by the judiciary.

Government as constituted today is distinctly a class government, and no other kind of government is possible so long as one class is economically dependent upon another class. Those who control the means whereby we live—the means of employment—also control the government. Hence our political system but reflects the industrial system and both are dominated by the same class.

Through chicanery, fraud and deception our masters have ever succeeded in keeping our class, the working class, divided at the polls. They have purposely blinded us with false issues. We have voted for this candidate for office and that candidate. We have supported this party and that party, only to find that ours was not the victory, but the masters'. Hoping against hope we believed that some day, some time, a champion of our cause would arise, but he arose not. The steel trust has its agents and the shipping trust its representative, the sugar trust its tool, the railroad trust its retainers, the money trust its counselors, the canal trust its delegate, the meat trust its abettors, and every other interest

FROM BIRTH TO DEATH

Coal Companies Grip Never Relaxes. Scrip Payment, Forced Trading, Compulsory Assessment and Petty Annoyance, Make the Coal Miners' Life a Veritable Hell. The Grievance and Demands of the Strikers.

Trinidad, Colo.—The grievances of all the mining camps in this district are practically the same, for the miners have to deal with the same masters. These grievances are but repetitions of all that have come to light in previous great coal strikes in other parts of the country, and find but a very moderate expression in the formulated demands which the striking miners have presented to the companies. To take as authority the word of those who have had experience in similar strikes, in no mining camps elsewhere has there been worse slavery than here in Colorado.

The specific demands of the strikers relate only to their work in and around the mines and scarcely touch the hundred and one details of infamous tyranny which surround and intensify the struggle for existence.

The miners ask for an eight-hour day. That eight-hour day is theirs by right, by the expressed will of the majority of the citizens of Colorado, and is denied them because it has been set aside as unconstitutional by a corporation-owned court.

The miners ask also that all wages be paid every two weeks instead of monthly and that all payment in scrip be abolished. Under the present system each workman is paid at the end of the month, if anything is coming to him, with a bank check. During the month if he needs any money for the necessities of life he receives it at the office of the company in the form of scrip notes, for which, if he buys his goods of the Colorado Supply Co. (the company's store) he receives the face value. If he chooses to trade elsewhere the notes are worth 10 or 12 per cent less than their face value. Now, consider that the Colorado Supply Co. charges much higher prices for goods than outside firms, and you will see why the miners refuse to submit any longer to this imposition. The scrip method of payment was formerly the universal system in mining regions all over the country, but has been nearly abolished in the mining states east of the Mississippi through the power that the workers in the mines have gained by their organization.

The 20 per cent increase in wages is little enough to ask, but unless the payment in scrip is done away with at the same time this circle of robbery by which the companies make both ends meet will leave the miner no more in return for his labor than he received before.

The same old system of forced assessments takes place here as in other parts of the country. One dollar a month for medical attendance, 50 cents for blacksmithing, 25 cents for maintaining school advantages, etc., etc., and these assessments the miner finds subtracted from his pay if he has been in the mine not more than half a day during all the month.

According to the legal standard of weight in the United States 2,000 pounds constitute a ton. Heretofore the companies in Colorado have required from the miners 2,500 pounds for a ton, or that each workman shall give to the company 25 per cent of each ton he mines. The miners

(Continued on Page Four.)

THE GREATEST IN HISTORY

Colorado's Struggle Unparalleled in Labor Annals. The Effectiveness of the Industrial Plan. Martial Law Terminated. Authorities are Getting Scared Over Immense Expense of Militia Maintenance.

On Feb. 2nd Peabody declared an end to martial law in Teller county, Colorado. The militia prisoners have accordingly been turned over to the civil authorities and bonds fixed for their release. Ex-Congressman John M. Glover, who has been kept in the bull pen, was brought into court to plead to a charge of "assault with intent to kill a militia man." General Chase attempted to become chummy with Glover and attempted to crack a joke with him.

"How dare you address me, you!" exclaimed Glover, and spat squarely in the officer's face.

Glover and Sherman Parker were released on bond, Parker's being fixed at \$19,000. Charges have been filed against "Generals" Bell, Chase and "Major" Thos. McClelland for criminal interference with the rights and liberties of the bull pen prisoners. A few troops are still on duty at Cripple Creek, but they are entirely subservient to the civil authorities.

The cost incidental to this "getting together of capital and labor" in the Centennial state has been something enormous and undoubtedly has had much to do with the withdrawal of the troops from the district. The figures, mounting skyward, have alarmed the state tools, and they have called a halt. A Denver paper places the total cost for the militia alone at \$440,000. The paper says:

The Peabody War. A conservative estimate of the cost of the military campaign during the Peabody administration as gathered from the figures in the state auditor's office and the outstanding bills, is

which exploits our class has its emissaries, but the twenty-nine million wealth producers of the greatest republic on earth have not a single representative in the national congress to plead their cause.

Others may beg and petition for legislation in the interest of the working class, but such is not our purpose. We beg no longer. We petition no more. We demand the complete overthrow of the industrial system which makes our class dependent upon another class.

\$440,000. This includes the expenses of the military invasions of Colorado City, Cripple Creek and Telluride up to Feb. 1.

On Jan. 15 the books of the auditor showed that the total amount of "war" certificates of indebtedness issued was \$347,498.51. To this must be added about \$75,000 in bills not yet passed upon and \$18,000 contracted during the last half of January and for which no bills have been presented as yet. Therefore the cost up to date is within about \$60,000 of a half million dollars.

The cost of the various military expeditions in Colorado during the past ten years, itemized, was as follows: Cripple Creek strike 1894.... \$ 75,000 Leadville strike 1896..... 275,000 Lake City riot 1899..... 25,000 Colorado City strike 1903.... 22,000 Cripple Creek strike 1903-04.. 305,000 Telluride strike 1903-04 115,000

Grand total of expense of maintaining military in the field since 1894..... \$817,000

Collier's Weekly, a capitalist publication, places the total loss of the strike at fifty millions of dollars and admits that so far as the W. F. M. is concerned it stands as firm as ever. The loss estimate is based on the following: Four million working days, wage loss ten millions; thirty millions loss from non-production and damage, and nearly five hundred thousand dollars expense of the national guard. It declares that in tenacity of purpose, in the methods employed and in the enormous cost, the

(Continued on Page Two.)

complete overthrow of the industrial system which makes our class dependent upon another class.

To gain this end we shall try to educate ourselves and our fellow workers in the necessity of united political action, to the end that we may ultimately capture all the powers of government and through them take possession of a world our labor has made.

THOSE COSTLY SCABS

Damage Suits Piling Up Against Owners of Vindicator Mine. Careful Explanation That the Insurance Company Will Have to Stand the Loss. Peabody's Mine Commissioner Attempts to Protect the Mine Owners and Misdemeanor the Coroner's Jury.

Damage suits, each for \$20,000 are to be begun by the families of ten of the victims of the terrible disaster at the Independence mine in Victor, Colo. The suits will probably be directed against the Venture company (limited) of London, England, owners of the mine. The basis of the suits will be the findings of the coroner's jury, which investigated and placed the responsibility for the accident. The verdict found that the mine management had failed to take proper precautions for the safeguarding of the lives of its employes.

The Venture company is protected against loss by damage suits for the death or injury of any of its employes by an insurance concern and will lose nothing directly. This insurance company will foot all of the losses incurred by the killing of miners and will in reality be the defendant. Its own lawyers will fight the suit for the Venture company and all expenses will be paid by it.

It is understood that agents for this insurance company have already called on relatives of the deceased with offers of settlement, but in each case have been turned down. The

amount of damages tendered was so small as to be ridiculous. It is expected that before the cases come to trial, new offers will be made, but they will not nearly approach anything like the sum that will be sued for.

Now comes the report of Mr. White, the commissioner of mines for Colorado, who completely exonerates the mine company and the engineer. Testimony was given at the inquest that the air had refused to work on other occasions, but a little thing like that did not bother Governor Peabody's mine commissioner. He thinks the Western Federation of Miners ought to be blamed for the disaster in some way and he has set out to furnish suggestions at least, all the coroner's verdicts in Christendom to the contrary notwithstanding.

Charges will be filed with Governor Peabody, demanding that White be removed from the position of commissioner of mines, on account of his conduct in criticising of the coroner's jury. He was charged with attempting to influence the jury by announcing the appointment of a special committee to inquire into the causes of the disaster.

COST OF LIVING.

Recently compiled statistics on the cost of living in 14 of the principal cities of the union, show that food stuffs cost less in San Francisco than elsewhere; New York is second lowest and Omaha third. Clothing is cheapest in New York, New Orleans is second and Detroit third. Food stuffs cost most in St. Louis, Denver and New Orleans. Clothing costs most in Denver, St. Louis and San Francisco. The three items, food, clothing and light, are less in New York and Omaha and greater in all the other cities than in San Francisco. The cities included in these figures are: New York, Omaha, San Francisco, Philadelphia, Boston, Milwaukee, Chicago, Pittsburg, Cleveland, Buffalo, Detroit, New Orleans, Denver and St. Louis.

BOYCOTT OFF.

Butcher Workmen's Union of Los Angeles, which has been on strike since Oct. 20, 1903, has today arrived at an amicable adjustment of all the difficulties that caused the strike. In pursuance of this agreement the union and the Los Angeles Council Council of Labor issue this circular and declare the boycott off on the firms involved in the strike. Los Angeles, Cal., Jan. 26, 1904.

MAKING CRIMINALS.

Punishment for Communal Injustices Visited on Innocent Victims' Heads.

A man is condemned to imprisonment. Why? What a silly question! Because he has no money, no work, no shelter. Is it a crime not to have money? No. Is it a crime not to be employed? No. Is it a crime to be shelterless? No. Well, then?

Well, of all these three things which are inoffensive, society has made a unity which is called vagrancy. And vagrancy is an offense. So vagrancy is an offense composed of three inoffensive things, and a punishable offense at that. This is the miraculous work of the legislature.

Do you know what they will tell you? They will tell you that a man who has no money, no work and no shelter, is liable to commit any crime. As you see, society in her prudence punishes crimes which have not been committed yet, which may never be committed. She is preventing. Through what serum? Her serum she calls prisons. But let us see further.

A man is arrested because he has no money, no work, no shelter. He gets a light sentence—only eight

days' imprisonment. During these eight days he is surely unable to provide money, work and shelter for the time when he will leave prison.

He is free again. There he goes. An officer, seeing him, begins to interrogate him. He has no money, no work, no shelter—he is a vagrant; and above all he has been in prison. He is a very dangerous man.

He appears again before the court of "justice." A recidivist this time, and the court condemns him to three months' imprisonment, during which time he is again unable to provide money, work and shelter for the future.

He again leaves prison, and an approaching officer again finds that he has no money, no work, no shelter; and he takes him back to the police station. A wise and justice-loving judge will ask this miserable wretch, who is astonished at the stupidity and cruelty of society, "Why don't you better yourself?"

This time he gets one year. It is no wonder, when leaving the prison, the starving man will think: "Because they punished me, though I committed no crime, why should I not do something? I cannot be worse off than before; I may better my condition if I succeed."—Chicago Union Leader.

The Colorado militia have built what they term a "cow pen" for the imprisonment of the ladies who are members of the Woman's Auxiliary, a branch of the Miners' Union.

GROWTH OF CAPITALISM.

The X I T ranch in Texas, owned by Chicago capitalists, would cover twice the size of Rhode Island with Delaware thrown in for good measure. Its area is nearly 5,000 square miles. It was given to the corporation now holding title by the state of Texas in return for the building of the capitol at Austin. The soil is very fertile. The tract is 200 miles long and 25 miles wide, touching and covering nine counties. It is all under barbed wire fence. There are 125,000 cattle and 1,600 horses. The property is valued at \$10,000,000.

WITHDRAWN.

The secretary of the Montana Federation of Labor announces the following withdrawals from the Helena, Mont., Citizens' Alliance: J. H. Urquhart of the Bon Ton restaurant, Finley Urquhart of the Bristol Roming house and the Hub clothing house, Louis Weigel, proprietor. "About all that are now left of the Alliance," says Secretary H. O. Smith, "are those members of the capitalistic class whom we will always have to fight until we recognize our class interests and vote accordingly. The rest of our troubles will then be easily remedied."

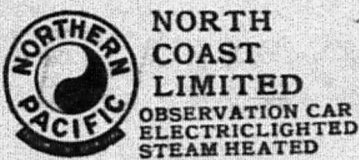


Table with columns: BUTTE SCHEDULE, Arrive, Depart. Rows include WESTBOUND and EASTBOUND train schedules.

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NOTES OF THE AMERICAN LABOR UNION

RESOLUTION OF CONDOLENCE

of Cataldo Federal Labor Union No. 478, A. L. U., in Memory of Our Beloved Brother.

Whereas, the Almighty God in His infinite wisdom has seen fit to remove our beloved brother and co-worker, Roy Brown, and we realize the great loss his death will be to us and his mother, brothers and sisters

Therefore, be it resolved, That we, the members of Cataldo Federal Labor Union No. 478, A. L. U., hereby tender to his mother, brothers and sisters our heartfelt sympathy in their sad bereavement;

And be it further resolved, that a copy of these resolutions be spread on the minutes of this union and that a copy be given to his mother, brothers and sisters and that our charter be draped in mourning as a token of the high regard we hold for our deceased brother;

And be it further resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be sent to the Harrison Searchlight and the 11 JOURNAL cmfwyp hmrd mm American Labor Union Journal for publication.

At last he has found the sunshine and the flowers, the music and the rest.

CHARLES DANA, M. W. CLARK, JOS. E. EELLS, Committee.

PROSTRATE PORTLAND.

City Rich, but Labor Market Bably Overstocked--Specious Lies Increased Congestion.

Edr. American Labor Union Journal. Think of a city like Portland, said to be the most prosperous city on the Pacific coast, with hundreds of idle men walking the streets, many of whom would be glad to obtain employment at almost any price! Yet the promoters of the great world's exposition of 1905 are circulating literature throughout the eastern states advising workers to come to Portland where work is plentiful and wages good.

This is an imposition on the people of this city--an insult to those who are disposed to do right. Why don't the people protest? I don't know. It may be that some of them are afraid they would miss a \$2 a day job at the world's fair grounds by doing so. I think they will pay all of that amount to mechanics and perhaps more.

Last year they paid from \$2 to \$2.25 for concrete for ten hours' work. These were non-union men. Union men were then getting \$2.50 for nine hours on sidewalk work. In the world's fair grounds laborers got \$2 a day, while on the outside union men were getting from \$2.25 to \$2.50 for eight and nine hours. Even then, it takes it all to pay rent and buy provisions.

The idea of the employers is to have a big gang to select from. Then they can say to a fellow who happens to be a little too hungry to "get into the collar" the first day or two, "Get a move on you if you want to hold this job down; there is a big fellow right out there waiting for your place." There are more men in Portland now than could find work at anything, even if the busy season was open.

There is no work in Portland. Hundreds are idle. Reliable workmen of this city will verify this statement. I would advise all workmen to communicate with some of the labor unions of the city before coming here to hunt for work.

Your replies will be from men in positions to know how things are. You will receive the truth. Do not be lured away from your homes by flattering reports in the daily journals. The west is growing old. Good chances to make money are as scarce as hen's teeth. Forty or fifty years ago before the surface mines were worked out, a man could make a stake in a short time. But that day has long since passed. Those easy diggings have all been exhausted and the gold has passed into the hands of a few millionaires who now control the earth. In the winter, the streets are crowded with idle men and hoboes. In summer time, the highways are lined with "wagon tramps," going to and coming from California.

People come here to hunt homes and continue to hunt. Men come to hunt work, get broke and are "jugged" or ordered out of town. Some fail to see the benefit derived from organized labor, while unorganized labor receives from 25c to 50c

per day less than organized labor receives.

Unorganized laboring men are unable to trust each other, while organized men are bound by fraternal ties an dtrue friendship which dispels all unfriendly feeling.

If you are not organized get to work and organize under the banner of the American Labor Union.

Are you going to keep voting with that millionaire who says to you the day before election, "If Mr. So and So is not elected, you need not return to these shops to work?" Are you going to wave aloft the stars and stripes today and trample them beneath your feet tomorrow or are you going to keep them in the heavens?

Are you going to continue to be slaves and continue to curse that millionaire for permitting you to be? He will allow you to be a slave as long as you want to be. It is to his interest, you know. Just vote as he says, parade the streets on election day, bearing upon your manly breast your enemy's badge. All of that is good for you. It helps to rivet a collar around your neck and shackles upon your limbs. You men in non-union shops and other non-union places, do not dare raise your voices in defense of a down-trodden brother. Why? Because you would get what is known in the labor circle as the "G. B."

We have set aside every third Monday in each month for open meeting night. Last Monday was our first open meeting. We had an able speech by Bro. Welch, a number of applications for membership and a very pleasant time.

We expect to be heard from in a very loud tone later on.

WES MAYFIELD.

THEY PROTEST.

Industrial Council of Portland, Ore., Is Opposed to Arbitration Treaty With England.

A copy of the following set of resolutions have been forwarded to the Journal for publication: To the International Peace Conference:

Gentlemen--By authority and under the seal of Industrial Council No. 452 of Portland, Ore., we, the undersigned, are instructed to respectfully protest against the proposed treaty of arbitration between this country and England. While this council heartily favors any peace convention that is open to all the nations to participate, it is opposed to singling out one nation alone in this matter, and most especially now, when war seems imminent in the far east and any special treaty with one of the nations involved, may reasonably be taken as a veiled threat to other friendly powers.

We believe that whatever sentiment is back of these efforts to place this nation in a false light, is un-American and does not represent the views of our people at large. Respectfully submitted,

N. RODOLF, W. NOFFKE, M. W. O'SHEA, Committee.

CHANGE IN OFFICERS.

Edr. American Labor Union Journal.

At the meeting of the Butte Workingmen's union on Jan. 29, Bro. Geo. Abbot was elected vice-president of the organization to fill the unexpired term of Bro. Walter Broom, who has transferred to the ill and Smeltermen's Union. Bro. John Taylor was elected as guide to fill the unexpired term of Bro. W. R. Koscoe, who is visiting his old home in the east. Both these officers are old-time members of our organization and every one seems to be highly pleased that we should succeed in getting in two such efficient and conscientious officers. Bro. Beebe, janitor of the Grant school, was appointed to serve on the sick committee to fill a vacancy. Bro. Jones of Centerville and Bro. Seigel are on the sick list.

CHAS. W. DEMPSTER, Pres. and Cor. Workingmen's Union No. 5, A. L. U. Butte, Jan. 29, 1904.

Quartz Labor Union will probably combine the office of financial secretary and treasurer.

Bear Creek Union No. 356 has been compelled to take drastic measures against one Paul Martin because of his antagonism to labor unions. Martin left camp and took another man's blanket with him, it is said.

Cleveland musicians subscribed for 25 copies of the Journal.

Butte Office Employees are taking an aggressive position with regard to building up the membership of their union. The Trades and Labor Assembly will assist them in the work.

A MONSTER MASS MEETING.

A. L. U. Locals of San Francisco Hold Monster Protest Meeting on the Colorado Troubles.

The American Labor Union organizations of San Francisco have taken the Alhambra theater, the largest hall in the city, for a monster protest meeting against military despotism in Colorado.

The meeting will be held next Sunday, Feb. 7, and A. L. U. Musicians' Union No. 435 will provide a uniformed band of 25 men to take part.

The speakers will be W. H. Leonard of Cripple Creek Inners' Union, James A. Smith, president A. L. U. Council; C. M. Huribut, assistant to president U. B. of R. E.; Mrs. Lena Morrow Lewis and Arthur M. Lewis of S. F. Federal Union No. 347 (the pioneer A. L. U. body in San Francisco); Thomas Watson of the S. F. branch, Amalgamated Society of Engineers, and F. J. Whitney of the Street Carriers' Union.

A collection will be taken in aid of the strike fund and resolutions will be presented condemning the course of the governor and legislature of Colorado.

The A. F. of L. organizations of San Francisco have already given a large amount to the strike fund and have shown by their actions that, in spite of the influence of Sammy and Johnny, the universal union of workers has already been born and that while we may differ temporarily on questions of policy and affiliation, no such questions can prevent us from helping each other at a crisis like the present one.

Great Falls, Mont., Laundry Workers gave a well attended ball on February 2nd.

Federal Union No. 347, A. L. U., of San Francisco, held a monster protest meeting on Feb. 7, denouncing the capitalist class of Colorado in the struggle with the W. F. M. The A. L. U. musicians furnished the music.

D. J. Smith, president of the Butte Barbers' Union, who conducts a shop in the rotunda of the Pennsylvania block on West Park, has formed a partnership with Fred Kraft, Bro. Kraft was formerly employed at the corner of Renshaw and Park. They extend a hearty invitation to old and new friends to visit them at their cosy quarters.

Building work in Alamogonda, N. M., is dull just at this time, but the A. L. U. locals of that town are the right sort and are in line in support of the Colorado strikers.

The Chicago House Movers' Union, which was chartered by the A. L. U. some time since, are predicting a prosperous summer.

The A. L. U. locals in Chicago have formed a central body for the promotion of the interests of trades and labor unionism.

St. Louis Heel Workers Union No. 467, A. L. U., by a unanimous vote expelled William Smith on the charge of scabbing. This odiferous character threw up a position in an open shop to take one in a scab factory, though the union had supported him for some time out of the strike benefit fund. 'Tis a pity that severer penalties than mere expulsion cannot be visited on such a malodorous character.

The A. L. U. Central body of Chicago is experiencing a considerable degree of prosperity. There were 75 delegates in attendance at the last meeting. The capitalistic press have assailed the body in a most vicious manner. Belshazzar swearing at the handwriting on the wall.

Everything looks bright and prosperous for 1904, writes a member of the New York A. L. U. Garment Workers. He gives the names of a number of New York unions that are becoming interested in the A. L. U.

The House Movers' Union, A. L. U., of Chicago, are an energetic set of men who are quick to see their own interest and zealous in maintaining it, according to the report of T. S. Mahoney, who is looking after the interests of up-to-date unionism in the Windy city.

"You are to be congratulated on your St. Louis unions," writes a member of the International Brewers. "Some of the best union men in this city," he continues, "are members of the American Labor Union." He particularly mentions Business Agent Lawrence of the Boot and Shoe Workers as an exceptionally conscientious and able worker.

The A. L. U. Boot and Shoe Workers of St. Louis have adopted a label. When buying shoes ask for the A. L. U. label.

The mines of West Virginia have had their wages reduced 10 per cent.

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ECONOMIC DETERMINISM

BY CARL D. THOMPSON.

The socialists contemplate a very decided change in the social order. We have at present a certain social system, in which the means of production and distribution are owned by a few private individuals. The socialists advocate a very different system, in which these things shall be owned collectively, etc. The question immediately arises, how is this change to be brought about? The scientific socialist knows that it can only be by discovering the inherent forces already existing and at work in human society, and by working in harmony with them. He therefore undertakes to discover what the forces are that produce social changes and especially what, if any, are at work in present society that are making for collectives.

The result of a careful analysis of all the social forces reveals the economic interests of social classes as, in the last analysis, the fundamental determining force in social changes. It is found that in every epoch of history the way that the people have of making their living, the manner of producing their wealth, gives rise to certain economic institutions which become the basis of all other institutions and determine their form. Roughly speaking, and as a general rule, the economic interests of the dominant class at any period of history determines the form which political, legal and even moral institutions shall take.

If, for example, the dominant class is the king and his supporters then the government is a monarchy, laws are made accordingly, and the king rules by "divine right." Foreign wars are undertaken for the economic advantages of the victors. Of 288 wars Loria says in his "Economic Foundations of Society," page 266, all but 28 can be directly traced to economic causes. And very often, no matter how mercenary these wars may be, they are nevertheless "religious wars," as, for example, the Crusades. (See Loria, page 262.)

Whenever, now, in the course of social evolution a class arises whose economic interests are hostile to those of the dominant class, then the interests of the suppressed class demand a change. And necessarily the change, if it comes, involves a transformation of the political, legal and social institutions which have grown out of the economic conditions which the dominant class established and in which and by which their special privileges were entrenched.

The slave revolts of ancient Rome; the peasants' wars; the modern labor movement, are illustrations of the oppressed classes organizing their forces to bring about a change advantageous to their class.

That social changes thus take their rise in the economic relations of society, and in the antagonism of classes constitutes the substance of the doctrine of economic determinism.

The February number of the American Federationist, the paper edited by Sam Gompers, is as silent as usual in regard to the outrages in Colorado. The members of the United Mine Workers, which is affiliated with the A. F. of L., must be tickled to death at the support they get from headquarters. By the way, what do the United Mine Workers get in return for the per capita tax which they pay into the A. F. of L.? What benefit does any union get from the A. F. of L. plan of organization? Don't all speak at once.

Ed Butler, who was found guilty of having bribed the St. Louis health officer in the garbage contract and sentenced to the penitentiary, but saved by the Supreme court on the ground

trine of economic determinism or the materialistic interpretation of history as it is called.

The ideas of social progress which this doctrine undertakes to supercede are various. One is that all historical changes are due to the influence of "great men." Another is that historical conditions and movements are to be explained in the geographical conditions of location, climate, soil, etc. And still another is that progress is the result of religious ideals and agitation.

It is plain to be seen that these are all one-sided views of history. The socialist undertakes to press the analysis farther. He does not deny that all these things may influence social progress, but he does deny that these are fundamental or final. He holds that these are the effects of a deeper cause. This doctrine, like the evolutionary theory, has had to win its way slowly and laboriously. It is of too vivid a nature, involving too great a change in the ways of viewing history to be stated offhand, or to be readily understood. Here it is quite as Labriola says in his "Essays on the Materialistic Conception of History," "We must become fully conscious of the difficulties of the problem we are setting ourselves, because we have here, not merely to open our eyes and behold, but to make a supreme effort of thought."

It is doubtless the lack of this intellectual thoroughness and honesty that leads some writers and speakers into error upon this doctrine. Neither Marx nor Engels who first stated this doctrine for the socialists ever claimed that the economic interests were the only determining factor (See Feuerbach's "Roots of the Socialist Philosophy," by Engels, especially the introduction by Lewis.) Nor does this doctrine undertake to deny idealism. (See Labriola, page 104.) And, above all, it would be the greatest error to suppose that this doctrine requires that the appeal to the sentimental, the aesthetic or even the religious must be abandoned by the propagandist.

He who would thus misinterpret the doctrine of economic determinism, would hold up to the people a caricature of the truth as held and taught by such men as Marx, Engels, Ferri, Loria or Labriola. Here, as everywhere, "a little learning is a dangerous thing."

(The best single book on this subject is Loria's "Economic Foundations of Society." Loria is not a socialist. The most recent book in English is Labriola's "Materialistic Conception of History." The doctrine is stated in the introduction to the communistic manifesto, and defended in Engels' "Socialism, Utopian and Scientific." And a good discussion will be found in Feuerbach's "Roots of the Socialist Philosophy," by Engels.)
Janesville, Wis., January, 1904.

that the health officer did not have a legal right to do what Butler had bribed them for, is now on trial at Fulton, Mo., for bribery on an electric light contract. Butler is a blacksmith by trade. He came to America at an early age and by "thrift, economy" and a variety of other "virtues" has amassed a million. Should he be convicted at the present trial Missouri's Supreme court will have a chance to show its resourcefulness in saving him from the penitentiary a second time.

The Socialist Local at Luzerne, Pa., has had its charter revoked for permitting one of its nominees to accept the endorsement of other political parties.

AGAINST THEMSELVES

General Officers of the Amalgamated Waiters Organize a Dual Union Because Organizer was not Permitted to Run Things. The General Officers Charged With Wrecking Unions in Other Cities From Mere Malice.

The Amalgamated Waiters of New York are out with a printed statement concerning the methods of the officers of the Bartenders' "International" League, a loose organization of waiters and bartenders who have a scattering membership. The waiters requested the national office to send them an organizer. A Mr. Bauman was sent. He attended a waiters' meeting. He sat silent in the meeting, but at its close declared all business illegal because of "irregularities," and said he would prefer charges against them. The "charges" were: Permitting a man who could not speak English to speak German, admitting members without demanding the password, etc. To show his own regard for proper procedure he, at his office, initiated members in defiance of the constitution, which says the union must vote on applicants. It is presumed that Mr. Bauman pocketed the initiation fees, though this is not specifically stated. He had been carrying on his private initiatives for some time before the union discovered it. When it came to their knowledge they put a summary stop to the plan. Then Mr. Bauman enlisted the services of the president, whose name is Callahan, and who came to New York to help his friend Bauman out. Together with Bauman he attended a union meeting, where Bauman delivered a tirade against the members, reciting the charges mentioned above, and furthermore that they had stopped his "private initiatives."

Callahan then took the floor and declared that the organization would be suspended for four weeks, although there had been no investigation of any charges. He said further that Bauman, the president and the

secretary of the union would act as a committee to handle the affairs during the suspension of four weeks. His attention was called to the unconstitutional nature of his behavior and he was reminded that the union had not been given a hearing in accordance with the constitutional provisions. All this he ignored. The union refused to submit to his high handed methods and Callahan jerked the gavel from the chairman and declared the meeting adjourned. Bauman now had full play. He continued his private initiatives and elected himself delegate to the central body and ran things with a high hand. When the period of suspension had passed the union resumed business. They withdrew Bauman from the central body, where he never had a right to a seat and they preferred charges against him. He refused to appear for trial and organized a dual union.

It was turned down by the Central Federated Trades Council. The waiters declare that since that time President Callahan of the International Bartenders' League has done all he could to wreck their union, which is 20 years old and has given thousands of dollars to the progressive labor movement. He supports Bauman in his dual union. He has, according to the waiters' manifesto, done the same thing in other cities, wrecking unions from mere malice. The Amalgamated Waiters stand ready to prove the statements given above. The Callahan organization is the one which attempted to split the Butte Bartenders' Union No. 127, A. L. U., and has succeeded in establishing a dual union only to be repudiated by the Trades Assembly, the Butte Miners, the Smelters and numerous other large organizations of the city.

FROM BIRTH TO DEATH

(Continued From Page One.)

now demand that the companies comply with the law. The last on the list of the strikers' demands is perhaps the most vital. It is that the company take adequate measures to insure a plentiful supply of fresh air. There are laws in every mining state requiring precautions in regard to ventilating fans, the storing of dynamite, etc., and yet the mine disasters, which no daily newspaper is without, show the ruthlessness of mine owners in breaking laws which are contrary to their interests and disregard for human life.

Such are the demands of the striking miners. And yet they give voice to only a few of the wrongs the miners and their families are forced to endure. I have been unable to find any activity uncontrolled by the companies: from the birth of the child, for which the services of the company doctor must be employed, oftentimes unwillingly, through school and church and daily labor, through sickness and death the grip of the company is never relaxed.

The companies own almost entirely the miserable houses. They own the land upon which the houses stand. Instances have been told me where their agents have ordered tenants not to set pails or anything on the ground outside of the tiny huts, saying that the rent was paid for the houses, but not for the land.

The companies own, as well, the school system. Out of the school assessment of 25 cents from each miner they generously build school houses, in which they place teachers chosen by school boards composed of superintendents and mine bosses, which perhaps a moderate proportion of members of the Citizens' Alliance, the Anti-Union organization. The teachers teach from books prescribed (and changed each year) by the school board, and paid for by the miners. This custom of changing text books yearly is one of the innumerable grafts of the companies. Another one that pays well is the saloon business. In four different camps under control of the Victor Fuel Co. two saloons pay each, as license to the company, 20 cents for every man on the payrolls, about \$600 per month for the company.

The company store is a sore grievance. The owners, a group consisting of members from each of the mining companies, claim that no one is forced to buy there. Does not the system of scrip payment seem a pretty effective means of forcing? Competition is not permitted to grow very lively, for if an outside man comes into camp and attempts to sell anything he is taken before the local justice, also owned by the company, and promptly fined from \$1 to \$50. One incident will serve to illustrate the non-forcing process:

A woman who had been ill wanted some broth and ventured to buy a chicken of a neighbor who had a little vegetable patch and raised a few chickens. A company agent saw her carrying it home and asked her roughly what she had.

"Just a bit of chicken I got of John because I was sick."
"Why didn't you go to the company store?" he demanded.
"They haven't any chicken," she answered timidly.

"You can get all the meat you need at the company store—you. You can tell your man to come and get his time."

Let me mention incidentally that Rockefeller controls 70 per cent of the stock of the Colorado Fuel & Iron Co., and that the miners' families pay 25 cents a gallon for Rockefeller's oil at the stores of the Colorado Supply Co. The United States postoffice in each camp is always located in the company store. The manager of the store is always the postmaster, receiving a salary therefor, and the work of the postoffice is done by the cashier of the store, who is an overworked drudge and whose services thus cost the manager nothing.

There seems to be no question that mails have been tampered with during this strike in some of the most closely guarded camps. I have been told on direct authority of letters sent to persons in one of the most inaccessible camps which were never received. Labor papers sent through the mails scarcely ever reach those for whom intended.

The climax of all this robbery and perhaps its most hateful form is in the medical department. Each man working in and around the mines is taxed \$1 per month for service for himself and family. Some estimate of the company's income from this source may be made from the following figures, which are authentic:

Total hospital fees collected at Hastings, Gray Creek, Delagua and Chandler (Victor Fuel Company) each month about	\$2,300.00
Monthly cost of medical attendance, etc.	850.00
Excess of collections monthly	1,450.00
Multiplied by	12
Excess of collections yearly	\$17,400.00

There is said to be more than \$60,000 hospital fund not accounted for in these four camps.

The company hospital is at Pueblo and is claimed by its owners to be the finest in the country. It ought to be when the cost to the miners is considered. It is a journey of from 150 to 200 miles from many of the camps to Pueblo and after being brought there the sick and injured men are often

left lying in the railroad station for hours before being taken to the hospital. It is a sufficient commentary upon this subject to report that the women of the camps universally hate both company doctors and the company hospital. I have heard more than one woman say:
"I'd rather have my man die at home than take the chances on sending him to the company's hospital."

It is impossible to do more than suggest a few of the wrongs of the workers who live in these isolated and pitifully dreary camps. Their lives are all one vast wrong and even a hasty glimpse caught in a few days' visit in the region makes you feel the desperate struggle before them. But not hopeless, as you realize the great growth that is taking place in the comprehension of their class wrongs and in the knowledge that the remedy for these must come through class loyalty and class organization.

BERTHA HOWELL MAILLY.

SOCIALIST CONVENTION.

The Butte Socialists held their city convention on Thursday last and nominated a full list of aldermanic candidates. Among the resolutions adopted was the formal recognition of the socialist local as the representative of the Socialist party, the regulation requirement of the resignation of nominees, so that such resignation may be dated and filed, by a majority vote at any time the nominee, if elected, departed from the platform or tactics of the Socialist party. Any nominee who accepts or permits the endorsement of him by any other political party forfeits his nomination by so doing. To prevent committee tampering, it was decided that in the event of a vacancy occurring on the ticket, the convention should reassemble for the purpose of filling such

vacancy. After adjournment a mass meeting was called for the purpose of putting a school trustees ticket in the field. The platform of the mass meeting, among other things, declared against contract labor, in favor of teachers' unions and manual training and denounced the methods of the present board which require "that a child must show criminal tendencies before being admitted to the manual training school."

Chas. A. Born, mayor of Sheboygan, Wis., was expelled from the Socialist party of that city for having granted a trolley franchise against the wishes of his party, reducing the assessment on the water works company and also appointing a scab newspaper proprietor and an old party politician as members of the library board. His defense was that it was a Carnegie library.

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