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The Making of an American radical: Bill Dunne in Butte

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THE MAKING OF AN AMERICAN RADICAL:
BILL DUNNE IN BUTTE

By
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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The era of World War I was turbulent for Montana and the nation. Socialists, I.W.W.'s and other political nonconformists experienced harassment and repression, first under the guise of anti-Germanism and later in the name of anti-Bolshevism. Most Montanans--officials and citizens--helped lead the assault, as an irrational wartime burst of patriotic fervor engulfed the state. Following the war and Russian Revolution, Montana continued an almost ritualistic suppression of individuals refusing to adopt prevalent capitalistic and nationalistic beliefs. One of the more outspoken Montana opponents of these reactionary tendencies was Willis Francis Dunne. Dunne tirelessly fought Montanans who considered themselves "patriots"; and a company, the Anaconda Copper Mining Company, which had assumed a patriotic pose to overwhelm its opposition. Dunne's values were antithetical to those of Montana's rulers. The "establishment" sought to get rid of Dunne by prosecution, persecution and even by physical violence. Using every conceivable tactic, they attempted to thwart his political bids. Endless attempts were made by the Company and its political and journalistic backers to discredit Dunne, so he would lose his labor support.

As the Company discovered, Dunne's bark and bite were both painful. This thesis will focus on his confrontations with the supporters of the status quo. As a politician, newspaper man, labor leader and criminal
defendant, Dunne met his tormentors on their terms to exchange blows.

As a subtheme, this thesis attempts to measure Dunne against a model of the "ideal" American radical. The model uses Dunne's actions and ideas to gauge his radicalism. It is incidental to the thesis' main theme, so the paper will not be written expressly to demonstrate how Dunne fits the model. However, when use of the model is convenient within the existing framework, it will be utilized. Dunne need not fit the model to justify or make effective its use.

The "ideal" American radical must meet five criteria. First, the radical envisions a utopia, a humanitarian new society in which liberty, equality, and justice exist. His loyalty is to this utopia, and not to the nation where he resides. Secondly, the American radical must be willing to sacrifice. Living in a hostile capitalistic state, he chances losing friends, employment, and respectability. In extreme cases, life

1The model categories are drawn from the introduction to the American Radicals by Harvey Goldberg and William Appleman Williams, which establishes criteria that they feel distinguish radicals. After referring to additional sources, I have expanded and clarified Williams and Goldberg.

Louis Filler's Crusaders For American Liberalism and George Mowry's The California Progressives have used model structures which are similar to each other. In their models of Progressives and Muckrakers, Filler and Mowry have stressed the individuals' societal and background similarities. This approach is unfeasible for radicals. First, background material on individual radicals is not available. Secondly, it is doubtful that there is a significant similarity in the social origins of radicals. There are numerous radical groups, each with separate appeals. There is also the problem of foreign ideas and individuals becoming involved and influencing American radicalism.

The New Radicalism in America 1889-1963, by Christopher Lasch, uses a model structure similar to the one in this thesis. Lasch studies changes in the American intellectual and social climates which have caused the emergence of the "new radical." Lasch emphasizes the thought and action of individual radicals within the movements, while avoiding the question of each man's social origins.
and freedom are endangered by his enemies. Thirdly, since the radical goal is overthrow of the existing system, he is reluctant to accept compromise solutions. Reformers bolster the "establishment" by lessening popular demand for change. Tenaciously, the radical demands a total, cataclysmic and often violent change, while supporting some "immediate demands," which hopefully will gain his cause popular support. If his "immediate demands" are met, public cry for change might die, thus the radical dilemma--how much reformism?

Fourthly, a radical sees his goals as so desirable that he can justify any means of attaining them. Truth has no intrinsic value, since only his goals matter. Opportunism is viewed as a virtue. Finally, a radical strives to create the impression that he monopolizes facts, common sense and morality. Using this vehicle, he seeks to polarize class against class by destroying middle ground.
CHAPTER II

DUNNE'S BAPTISM BY FIRE

He was short and stocky, with a tremendous barrel-chest, solid as a rock, and had a dark, heavy Irish face. His close-cropped bullet head and thick neck gave him the appearance of great physical power; and his deep, husky voice, pouring out a flood of rhetoric, witty and incisive, revealed a mind that was at once brilliant and fanciful. His whole body shook with repressed laughter when he told an anecdote. Dunne's reading was wide, ranging from Lenin to Joyce. On the platform he thundered in the style of the nineteenth century orators, and his articles were florid, colorful and full of acid.1

Thus fellow leftist Joseph Freeman described Willis Francis Dunne. Freeman had observed Dunne in action, and what can be learned of Dunne's years in Butte confirms this verbal portrait. Surviving photographs bear out Freeman's physical description, while the Bulletin stands as testimony to Dunne's forceful use of language.

Dunne was born on October 15, 1887 at Kansas City, Missouri, one of eight children 2 of an Irish immigrant and his French-Canadian wife.3 When Dunne was four or five, the family moved to Little Falls, Minnesota and then to Minneapolis. Young Dunne attended Roman Catholic schools and the College of St. Thomas in St. Paul,4 until the Panic of 1907 forced

him and later his brother Vincent Raymond to head for Montana to find work.5

In his early years as a worker, Dunne did not tie himself down. He found a job as an apprentice electrician6 for the Northern Pacific Railway, initially at Paradise,7 Montana, but later at Billings, Helena, Laurel and Livingston.8 This first stay in Montana introduced Dunne to unionism—he joined the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers9 (IBEW)—and to Butte—which he visited for the first time in 1908.10 That year he left Montana to ply his trade for the Independent Telephone Company, for which he worked in various part of the Rocky Mountain Region.11 A year later, he returned to Montana in the employ of Rocky Mountain Bell, which hired him to wire buildings in Helena.12 Before departing for Spokane in 1911, Dunne worked building power lines from Sheridan to a dredging operation at Ruby. In Spokane, he was employed by Pacific Telephone and Telegraph.13


7Dunne, The Struggle . . . , p. V.


9Dunne, The Struggle . . . , p. V.


11"Records of Testimonies . . .," p. 1080.


13"Records of Testimonies . . .," p. 1080.
Early in 1912, Dunne tried his hand as a prize fighter on the West Coast. No one who notices his broken nose and cauliflower ears in photos would dispute this. Dunne's fight record is unknown, but after 27 bouts he resumed work as an electrician, this time for an electrical railway in Vancouver, British Columbia. A year and a half later, his leadership was recognized, as members of IBEW local 213 named Dunne their business agent. In 1914, he was appointed district organizer for an area covering Washington, Oregon, British Columbia and northern Idaho. This was also the year he married Marguerite Walsh of Vancouver. The marriage lasted until Dunne's death in 1953. The Dunnes had one son, young Bill, who was killed in an auto accident in the 1930's.

Late in 1916, reportedly at the Canadian government's insistence, Dunne left Vancouver for Seattle. His opposition to World War I, a war in which Canada was fighting, made him persona non grata. In Seattle only briefly, he returned to Montana to work first for the Milwaukee Road and then for W. A. Clark's Timber Butte Mining Company. For most of the rest of his stay in Butte, Dunne made his living as an editorial writer, labor leader and general propagandist.

Dunne's political views upon his arrival in Butte are unknown.

15 "Records of Testimonies . . .," p. 1350.
17 Interview with Vincent R. Dunne by Robert Amick in the fall of 1969.
20 "Records of Testimonies . . .," p. 1080.
Judging from his connection with the Socialist Party, which he joined in 1910, his support of the McNamara brothers, and his participation in the struggling labor movement, it can be surmised that Dunne was moving toward radicalism. There must have been something in the Dunne home which encouraged political non-conformity. Four of the seven Dunne boys joined the American Communist Party and three later became Trotskyites.

World War I pushed Dunne further into the radical camp. After his forced return to America, he found a land about to experience a wave of repression and jingoism of unprecedented proportions. Montana's political climate was such that, unless Dunne kept quiet, the dominant powers would make life difficult for him. However, utilizing what remained of democratic institutions and rights, Dunne proved himself to be a worthy opponent for the Anaconda Copper Mining Company and its judicial and political tools.

Butte's familiarity with labor trouble predates Dunne's arrival. Unionism and labor strife date back to 1866 when miners unsuccessfully sought to form a union. In 1878, reaction to a proposed wage reduction spawned Butte's first fruitful attempt to organize a union. The resulting Butte Workingmen's Union became the Miners' Union of Butte City in 1881. Four years later, the famed Butte Miners Union was organized. Butte was the leading source of support and money for Bill Haywood's Western Federation of Miners, which was formed at Butte in 1893 to help miners combat regionally powerful mining companies.

The "War of the Copper Kings" afforded labor the opportunity

21Dunne, The Struggle . . . , p. V.

22Draper, The Roots of American Communism, p. 316.
to play competing mining companies against each other. Butte became the "Gibraltar of Unionism" or "the strongest union town on earth," as the "kings" courted miners for valuable votes and labor, both of which were sold to the highest bidder. In 1899, Marcus Daly's Anaconda Copper Mining Company was purchased by the Amalgamated Copper Company, a holding company for Rockefeller's Standard Oil. Butte workers faced united mine owners in 1906, when Amalgamated used political muscle to force F. Augustus Heinze to sell out to the Company.

To assure economic dominance in Montana, Amalgamated—which again became the Anaconda Copper Mining Company (ACM) in 1915—had to maintain political hegemony. Company-owned newspapers, purchased during the fight with Heinze, helped speed ascendancy of Company-backed politicians and legislative programs. The paths to business or political success in Montana could be blocked from the sixth floor of the Hennessy Building in Butte, ACM's headquarters. As the Company's grip on Montana tightened, Butte unions became "company unions." The "open shop" reappeared and by 1912 the feeble Butte Miners Union could not forestall institution of the "rustling card" system.*

In 1914, the last symbolic bastion of pre-Company unionism was destroyed. Through actions of the Industrial Workers of the World

23 The open shop is an arrangement by which eligibility for employment and job retention are not determined by membership or non-membership in a labor union, as opposed to a closed shop where all employees must join the union.

24 Under this system a worker had to go to a Company office to obtain a card. Those meeting Company standards, i.e., were not linked to undesirable labor or political groups, were issued cards which permitted a man to look for a job. Without a "rustling card," no miner could find work, so was forced to leave the district.
(I.W.W. or Wobblies) and the Company, the Butte Miners Union was smashed. A riot broke out on June 13, 1914, the union's twenty-ninth anniversary. Reprisals came as the annual parade, celebrating the founding of the Butte Miners Union, was broken up and shots were traded, leaving one dead and several wounded. The final blow came as Union Hall was dynamited and demolished. The State Militia was rushed to Butte to preside over a state of martial law. An I.W.W. strike fizzled and unionism in Butte was dead. From 1914 to 1917, the Company helped keep the bickering unions weak and divided. A 1915 attempt by the Silver Bow Trades and Labor Council to revive miners' unionism collapsed due to factional squabbles.

In 1917, the Speculator disaster provided the fragmented and frustrated miners a focal point on which to reunite. The June 8 fire in the Speculator mine, a property of the North Butte Mining Company, took the lives of 164 miners. The tragedy exemplified the unsafe conditions of the mines, but it went beyond that, as dissatisfaction over wages and other grievances welled up. On June 11, circulars around Butte called for a new miners' union. That day miners at W. A. Clark's Elm Oriel mine struck.

The Metal Mine Workers Union (MMWU) was organized on June 13 under the leadership of Tom Campbell, a Butte dissident. The union's

first move was to call a strike in the mines. Demands were made for union recognition by employers, six dollars a shift for underground workers and formation of a miners' committee to review dismissals of employees. Further, the MMWU insisted on abolition of the "rustling card." The final demand, an outgrowth of the Speculator holocaust, called for manholes in bulkheads, so miners could escape fires. Soon the new union claimed that 3,000 men were off the job. In spite of its promising start, this strike again demonstrated the two basic problems faced by labor in Butte. First, inter-union squabbles made presentation of a united labor front nearly impossible. Secondly, the strike showed the ends to which the Company would go to create dissension within unions and to crush strikes.

The June 8 Speculator fire occurred the same day that the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, local 65 voted to strike against Montana Power. Butte's strike situation became critical on June 18, as the electricians struck the power company, allegedly against the wishes of the Silver Bow Metal Trades Council to which the electricians belonged. This strike brought W. F. Dunne, a member of the IBEW, into the fray. As an experienced labor leader and organizer, Dunne moved swiftly into a leadership position with the striking union. He understood the concept of labor unity, which long had been lost to Butte workers and he was determined to bring his ideas on unity to reality in

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28 Ibid.
29 Ibid., p. 19.
30 Ibid., p. 18.
Butte in spite of the war, Company, or AFL.

The Anaconda Standard, a Company paper, accused the striking electricians of ignoring the IBEW's national officers and adopting the I.W.W. cause: "The electrical workers of Butte, through their (strike) committee named Monday night (June 19, Chairman Dunne, Clem Burkhart and Ira Steck), yesterday virtually threw discretion to the winds." Under Dunne's leadership, the strike committee called on John Gillie, Anaconda Company general manager, to demand that ACM pressure Montana Power into accepting demands of a one-dollar daily pay increase and better working conditions. The committee also insisted that ACM accept demands of the striking miners or the electricians in the mines would walk out. This demand, linking electricians to the non-AFL Metal Mine Workers, added an important dimension to the strike, since AFL locals usually withheld support to strikes of non-affiliated unions. Gillie rejected the electricians' ultimatums and on June 20, they left the hill.

Butte was a leading supplier of copper to the American war effort, so the walkout in the mines had dire national overtones. To deal with the dispute, a federal mediator, W. H. Rodgers, was dispatched to the district. Upon his arrival, the Standard warned Rodgers that he faced a difficult situation since Dunne, "a comparative stranger in Butte," was seeking to "shut down the mines." Dunne was accused of refusing to accept arbitration and pressuring other unions to strike in sympathy with the electricians. The voice of the strikers, the Miners' and Electricians'...
Joint Strike Bulletin, replied that the Electrical Workers had offered to submit their differences with Montana Power to arbitration. However, they had been informed by the Silver Bow Employer’s Association that no contract changes would be made unless the changes favored the company.

From Dunne’s point of view, the strike situation improved on June 26 when the Silver Bow Metal Trades Council, which included representatives of the blacksmiths, electricians, boilermakers, engineers and machinists, voted to strike in sympathy with the electricians. However, the situation was not one of unity. The Metal Trades Council refused to endorse the MMWU strike, because the MMWU was not affiliated with the AFL. This refusal exemplified the schisms within Butte labor. The AFL feared the competition of a radical union in Butte, and reacted by organizing a local of the International Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers to steal the thunder from the MMWU.

By June 29, 15,000 men were out, largely due to Dunne’s unusual strike strategy. Since the striking electricians were affiliated with the AFL, other AFL locals felt compelled to support their strike. Thus, Dunne had managed to force unions whose orientations were basically conservative to strike, and by doing so these unions were tacitly supporting the much maligned MMWU. These striking AFL locals were bolstering a union whose existence was antithetical to the goals of the AFL’s national

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leadership. Dunne sought unity and he had attained a shaky semblance of it. In the name of labor solidarity he opposed a settlement of the electricians' dispute with Montana Power, because any contract agreement would have been an excuse for the metal trades to return to work. By this strike strategy, Dunne hoped to unify labor and win the miners' demands as well as to obtain company recognition for the MMWU.

ACM spotted Dunne as the strike's prime mover, so the company press began attacking him viciously. Dunne was accused of refusing to negotiate with the power company in order to bring a general tie-up of industry. The press sought to create the impression that a single agitator had duped the unions into striking.39 The "copper press" received further justification for its contentions when electricians met with the Employers Association, which represented Montana Power.40 Dunne objected to dealing with the Employers Association and demanded face-to-face talks with the company. He further insisted upon moving the meeting from company offices to neutral grounds. Finally, Dunne demanded that the conference recognize the MMWU before talks proceed. No progress was made.41

The Metal trades Council threatened to end its sympathy strike if the electricians refused to deal with the company at the next day's meeting.42 Two negotiating sessions later, a power company offer was returned to the union without Dunne's assurance that it would be

40Butte Miner, June 29, 1917, p. 1.
42Butte Miner, June 30, 1917, p. 1.
It was rejected and the "copper press" blamed Dunne, who supposedly had controlled the meeting. Dunne reportedly had denounced the offer as not deserving consideration and urged electricians to stand by the MMWU. The union added two demands, one, that all substation employees be made to join the union and the other requiring dismissal of all scab labor.\textsuperscript{44}

The \textit{Strike Bulletin} took the following view of the rejected settlement:

The companies promised the Electrical Workers a \textbf{SUBSTANTIAL INCREASE} if they would go back to work, and when they inquired what was meant by "substantial", they were told that 25 cents per day was meant. The Electrical Workers feel that the companies should consult Webster, because if Noah is right, the companies are wrong.\textsuperscript{45}

The \textit{Standard and Miner}, W. A. Clark's newspaper, welcomed the July 4 arrival of F. J. McNulty, IBEW president and personal representative of AFL head Samuel Gompers. Basically, McNulty was to serve as a strike breaker. He wanted to get the men back on the job to resume copper production. The AFL had aligned itself with ACM. The press had played up the animosity between Dunne and union leadership, accusing Dunne of ignoring the leadership's advice and principles.\textsuperscript{46} The \textit{Miner} had suggested that the AFL might lift the electricians' charter, since the IWW had allegedly taken over the Butte local.\textsuperscript{47} McNulty reportedly

\textsuperscript{43} \textit{bid.}, July 1, 1917, p. 1.

\textsuperscript{44} \textit{Anaconda Standard}, July 4, 1917, p. 1.

\textsuperscript{45} \textit{Strike Bulletin}, July 4, 1917.


\textsuperscript{47} \textit{Butte Miner}, June 30, 1917, p. 4.
favored the electricians' wage demands, but objected to Dunne's insistence on linking the settlement to recognition of the MMWU, unless the miners first affiliated with the AFL.  

McNulty announced he would attend bargaining sessions.

July 7 negotiations between Montana Power and electricians went smoothly. A company offer, which the union committee deemed acceptable, was to be returned to the union for ratification. Dunne maintained his plea for labor solidarity. He created the meeting's only dissension by insisting that no one should return to work until all Butte's strikers were back on the job. McNulty replied that only after joining the AFL would the miners' strike be recognized. "McNulty has served notice on Dunn that the international will not countenance Dunn's effort to keep the electricians out to save himself in the agreement he had with (Tom) Campbell," said the Standard. Dunne knew that the strike included unions with disparate goals. However, he refused to abandon the striking miners to conform to AFL dictums. Dunne sought to bolster the miners' strike by continuing to agitate to attain a degree of labor unity in Butte.

Dunne saw prospect for unity in F. J. McNulty's demand that the MMWU link up with the AFL. July 7, Dunne addressed a Metal Mine Workers' meeting to urge affiliation. He claimed that this move would increase chances for a labor victory, while failure to affiliate meant division.

51 Ibid., p. 8.
52 Anaconda Standard, July 10, 1917, p. 1. From 1917-1921, Dunne spelled his name without the 'e' for no apparent reason. In 1917 the press did not have his initials correct.
and defeat. Dunne voiced disapproval of the Western Federation of Miners and the new International Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers Union which he called the "same gang under a new name." He reminded the miners of the possibility of defeating president Charles Moyer and his associates in union elections. Dunne may even have seen a place for himself in the new leadership. This attempt to bring about affiliation showed a willingness to work through normal channels to achieve labor unity. It strongly indicated that he was not totally disillusioned with the system and at this point Dunne was not as radical as he came to be later.

When the Metal Mine Workers voted on the proposed affiliation with the AFL, 5,000 miners voting, the measure was defeated by a 15 to 1 margin. "I.W.W. CROWD RULES THE DAY," announced the Standard. But the Strike Bulletin carried a more probable explanation:

All arrangements were completed and everything pointed to affiliation when like lightning out of a clear sky, came the announcement from the AFL that IN CASE WE DID AFFILIATE, WE MUST DO SO AS INDIVIDUALS, AND THAT WE MUST GO BACK TO WORK IMMEDIATELY.

It is not unimaginable that the Company was involved in the AFL's move to discourage the miners from joining the AFL. This decision weakened the MMWU's strike, as many miners who had supported affiliation began trickling back to work.

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53Ibid., July 8, 1917, p. 7. Moyer was a former Western Federation of Miners' leader who had turned conservative and affiliated with the AFL. He was especially unpopular in Butte. See Jensen, pp. 252 and 315.

54Ibid., July 12, 1917, p. 1.

55Strike Bulletin, July 12, 1917.

56Labor and Industry Report, p. 20.
The "copper press" was optimistic over chances of ending the electricians' strike. The only factor working against settlement, the Standard contended, was Dunne's attitude. The press was further cheered when Dunne was "decisively defeated" in a bid to become secretary-treasurer of the Silver Bow Trades and Labor Council. The Miner observed that Butte's organized labor had gone on record as being conservative.

When the electricians voted on the proposed settlement with Montana Power, the results did not please ACM's Standard: "ELECTRICIANS TURN DOWN AGREEMENT DUNN'S CONTROL OF THE BODY IS ABSOLUTE AND WHAT HE SAYS GOES. NO INTENTION TO RATIFY." Every demand supposedly had been met by the company but Dunne was retaining his allegiance to the striking miners.

Another bargaining session between Montana Power and the electricians was held July 12. The proposed contract was revised and an arbitration clause, which Dunne had opposed, was changed. Dunne demanded dismissal of three foremen responsible for keeping downtown Butte lighted during the strike. "Dunn wanted darkness," claimed the Standard. The next day, the Electrical Workers met to vote on the agreement. Dunne's continued opposition to the settlement, according to the Miner, was based

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60 Ibid., July 13, 1917, p. 1.
61 Butte Miner, July 13, 1917, p. 9.
"in a roundabout way [on recognition of the MMWU]," McNulty urged acceptance of the contract, claiming that all demands had been met and that rejection would be unfair to those striking in sympathy with the electricians. The union ratified the contract.\(^{63}\) The following day, the metal trades unions voted to end their sympathy strikes and return to work on July 17.\(^{64}\)

The "copper press" continued to emphasize the friction between McNulty and Dunne. Dunne was accused of authorizing the signature, i.e. endorsement of IBEW #65 to appear on the July 16 Strike Bulletin.\(^{65}\) This issue had exhorted workers not to be "stampeded" back to work until the "rustling card" had been abolished. It also threatened another electricians' strike within 48 hours. In addition, the bulletin called for a government takeover of the mines.\(^{66}\)

The electricians' strike had lasted nearly a month. Dunne demonstrated his ability to manage a strike, but unity, the key to meaningful labor victory in Butte, remained elusive. This strike showed the fruits of solidarity, as well as the ruin of division. The Electrical Workers' demands were won because the union was backed by organized labor. It must have frustrated Dunne to think that the miners too could win if given similar support. However, in the face of Company and AFL opposition, this unity was difficult to achieve.

The settlement with Montana Power did not mean that industrial

\(^{63}\) Butte Miner, July 14, 1917, p. 1.

\(^{64}\) Anaconda Standard, July 16, 1917, p. 1.

\(^{65}\) Ibid.

\(^{66}\) Strike Bulletin, July 16, 1917.
harmony would prevail. It was contract time for ACM employees. The
Company offered its employees a statewide contract basing pay on copper
prices. On July 18, Dunne responded by calling together his faction of
the electricians to form what the Standard labeled a "rump" organization,
which would work for a strike. Dunne organized the strike oriented
"rump" in order to pry more concessions from the Company. He also pro-
moted another strike in the mines to support the MMWU walkout. At the
union's meeting, a strike vote carried. The same gathering elected
Dunne to be business agent for the electricians over the next ninety days.
The Standard said, "With the radical element again in control, the Butte
electricians employed in the mill, mines and smelter last night voted,
67-8, to refuse to accept the suggestion of their state executive board
concerning the agreement." The Company's offer was considered by the
other unions of the Silver Bow Metal Trades Council and all except the
conservative engineers rejected it. However, in Anaconda, the metal trades
voted to accept the Company offer. Following a canvass of its locals
throughout the state, the Montana Metal Trades Council accepted ACM's pro-
posed contract. This meant that IBEW #65 either had to accept the
canvass and return to work or continue its strike and face revocation of
its AFL charter. If the electricians lost their charter, they would have.

67Labor and Industry Report, p. 20.
been in the same position as the striking miners--without recognition by
the Company or support from other unions. The electricians went back to
work, but Dunne was not satisfied. Like a true radical, Dunne began to
look for another way to achieve his goals.

In spite of the settlement and without union authorization, Dunne
and his committee called upon John Gillie of ACM to demand $6,50 a shift
for all electricians and double time for overtime and Sunday. Gillie
rejected the demands.\textsuperscript{73} As a result of Gillie’s refusal, the Electrical
Workers began to pull their men off the hill. However, many refused to
leave their work.\textsuperscript{74} The next day only 34 of 92 electricians struck as
the Dunne-inspired walkout collapsed for lack of support.\textsuperscript{75} The \textit{Standard}
claimed that Dunne’s actions had pushed McNulty to the point where he was
planning to revoke the electricians’ charter.\textsuperscript{76}

Once again the strike situation had temporarily calmed. However,
six staunch Company supporters violently shattered the shaky peace which
had been established a few hours previously. The morning of August 1,
Frank Little, an I.W.W. organizer, was taken out of bed and lynched by six
masked assailants. On Little’s body was pinned a card with the letters
L.C.D.S.S.W.T. The "L" was circled in red chalk. It was thought that
"C" stood for Campbell, "D" for Dunne and "S" for Joe Shannon.\textsuperscript{77} Tom

\textsuperscript{73}ibid., p. 7.
\textsuperscript{74}ibid., p. 1.
\textsuperscript{75}ibid., August 1, 1917, p. 3.
\textsuperscript{76}ibid., July 31, 1917, p. 7.
\textsuperscript{77}Gutfeld, pp. 32-33. The other letters supposedly stood for
Dan Shovlin and Leon Tomich of the Metal Mine Workers and John Williams,
who came to Butte for the I.W.W.
Campbell and Dunne led Little's funeral procession, and Dunne delivered the eulogy. In it he praised the slain leader as "a man," the highest compliment anyone could be paid. Dunne told his audience that he was the next target of the assassins. He closed with an appeal to the miners to continue their strike.

There was truth in his prediction, as Mike Mulholland, a miner who resembled Dunne, discovered. Mulholland was severely beaten on the head and face by thugs who mistook him for Dunne. The Miner reported, "The fact that his assailants found that he was not Dunn . . . saved him from more terrific injuries if not certain death." One week later it was reported in the Standard that Dunne had been issued a permit to carry a pistol as a result of Little's murder.

Like a typical radical, the possibility of being a vigilante target did not cause Dunne to curb his labor activities, as the Miner showed: "DUNN TRIES TO PUT ANOTHER ONE OVER." Dunne reportedly visited several independent mining companies, repeating earlier demands, the rejection of which had precipitated a one day strike. The companies insisted that the electricians already had signed a one year contract. Dunne maintained that as individuals the electricians had the right to walk out, but he was turned down. The next day Dunne headed a committee to call upon Messrs. Con Kelley and Gillie of ACM. Again he received a negative

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79 Butte Miner, August 6, 1917, p. 1.
80 ibid., August 8, 1917, p. 6.
81 Anaconda Standard, August 15, 1917, p. 3.
82 Butte Miner, August 7, 1917, p. 3.
The disgruntled Metal Trades Council of Butte next resurrected an issue which supposedly had been closed. The Butte Council, led by Dunne, notified the Montana Trades Council of its intention to protest the canvassing of the state's locals in Butte, Anaconda and Great Falls. The results of the canvass had forced the Butte locals to sign a contract with ACM, which they deemed unacceptable. The protest was based on the contention that two Great Falls locals had failed to vote on the proposed contract, so the contract had been forced on Butte locals by a minority.

Butte was a tense city, with federal troops patrolling the streets, when Dunne returned from Great Falls where he had been agitating for a strike. At a mass meeting, he spoke optimistically about the possibility for a walkout against ACM. The Silver Bow Metal Trades Council accepted Dunne's report and placed him in charge of a committee to act if the two abstaining Great Falls locals voted to strike. To this end, Dunne returned to Great Falls to promote a walkout. The August 24 Standard carried an interesting report about Dunne's trip: "Friends of R. L. Dunn say they fear he has met with foul play. They said he started for Great Falls on Wednesday afternoon and has not been heard from." Dunne's version of what happened differed:

84 Ibid., August 10, 1917, p. 1.
85 Butte Miner, August 13, 1917, p. 7.
86 Ibid., August 19, 1917, p. 9.
In Great Falls I was returning from a meeting of the boilermakers where I had been urging a sympathetic strike. Contrary to my usual custom I was returning to the hotel alone and while I was passing a rather dark alley, three men sprang out at me. I had a .32 Colt in my coat pocket—with my hand on it—and I shot twice. Two of the men dropped and the third ran. I ran down the same alley they came out of and went to my hotel by the quickest route.

I expected to see headlines about the affair the next morning, but there were headlines announcing that W. F. Dunne had disappeared and that it was believed he had been taken off a train between Great Falls and Helena. I immediately left for Butte and was met at Helena by one of my "bodyguards" who gave me an envelope which contained one of the 'Vigilante' notices written with red chalk. This notice gave me until August 12th to live. . . .

The discrepancy in dates is cleared up by the Strike Bulletin which reported that Dunne, Campbell and Joe Shannon each had received warning notices on August 23. Dunne was given until noon August 25 to live. As for Dunne's "friends" being unable to contact him, the Miner claimed that he had registered at his hotel under the name of W. F. Donovan.

It seems strange that Dunne would assume a name on the morning

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89Sidney Howard, The Labor Spy, (New York: Republic Publishing Co., 1929), pp. 192-193. That was not the only story of this type Dunne had to tell: "Another time when a party of us was going to Anaconda—twenty-six miles from Butte—there is also a smelter there—on a lonely stretch of road where there are no houses for six or seven miles, an automobile load of men pulled up behind us and began shooting when about seventy-five yards away. I was in the back seat of our machine with another electrician, who is a remarkable shot. We had, in addition to revolvers, a high-powered rifle apiece. The gunmen had only revolvers and we promptly shot off their tires. We did not try to hit any of them but it was amusing to see them trying to get cover behind a piece of sage brush as thick as a man's thumb. We left and went on to Anaconda and needless to say there was nothing carried by the local press."


or afternoon of August 23 without telling his compatriots in Butte. If he had expected to receive any communications from them, certainly he would not have arranged for this. Maybe they did not even try to contact him. For whatever reason, the Company press showed more concern over his whereabouts than did the Strike Bulletin which said nothing of the alleged disappearance. Maybe the "copper press" expected Dunne to disappear.

While Dunne struggled to bring about a Metal Trades strike, Tom Campbell and Joe Shannon had helped convince the workers at ACM's smelter in Anaconda to vote for a walkout. The attention of the press switched so abruptly from Dunne and the Great Falls Metal Trades to the Anaconda situation that voting results of the Great Falls locals were not reported. The smelter men, who were affiliated with the AFL's Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers Union, struck August 24. They demanded an end to the "rustling card," higher wages and better working conditions. "The general shutdown (of all ACM's mining, milling and smelting operations employing 15,000 men) follows the walkout of smeltermen under the leadership of Campbell, Shannon and Dunn of Butte..." said the Miner. The Standard portrayed the smelter workers' strike as the dying gasp of the MMWU. At a meeting a few days later the Butte Metal Trades Council voted ACM "fair," i.e. they announced an end to their dispute with the Company. Even Dunne favored the vote, as it was agreed there was little chance of winning the

demands. The smeltermen also voted to return to work. Dunne visited Anaconda and stated that he would continue to "agitate against a general return to work." The Miner alleged that Dunne's stay in Anaconda was brief due to his unpopularity there. This may have been true. The Butte district had seen an entire summer of conflict and labor might have tired of wage losses and strife. However, judging from union support for the newspaper that Dunne was to form and the Butte electricians a year later, it appears that any popular dislike for Dunne was either ephemeral or a "copper press" lie. In truth, the strikes of 1917 had given labor a spokesman.

Dunne had made a definite attempt to work within the system, using accepted labor tactics, but his efforts were frustrated. In order to keep up wartime production, the AFL leadership wanted to end the strikes before labor's demands were met. Dunne could not have disagreed more. His position, simply stated, was that he did not care what the United States was fighting for, he was struggling for labor solidarity.

The Company press refused to admit that any of the strikers had legitimate demands, blaming instead "unpatriotic agitators" for fomenting trouble. In spite of Company contentions, no "agitator" could induce satisfied workers to strike. The "copper press" was too willing to hear and quote "radical" rhetoric, yet unwilling to acknowledge meaningful grievances. Mines were undeniably dangerous places and wartime inflation devoured what wage gains employees had made. Meanwhile, the Company.

97 Ibid., September 9, 1917, p. 19.
98 Ibid., September 12, 1917, p. 1.
99 Ibid., p. 8.
raked in huge profits from copper sales to the government. But, this side of the story went untold as long as ACM had a monopoly on the news.

The "copper press" ability to dominate the strike news demonstrated to labor leaders the need for a pro-labor organ. Without newspaper support, labor unity in Butte was but a sterile dream. On August 18, 1917, Dunne drew a favorable response from a crowd at Columbia Gardens, when he asked for its feelings about a labor daily. Dunne informed the gathering that its support for the venture would be expected. Five days later the Strike Bulletin announced:

The working people of Butte have decided that, in order to protect our best interests, we must have a daily paper. ... Think of a daily newspaper owned and printed by the working class.

A LABOR DAILY WILL DEVELOP WHICH WILL DRIVE THE ROTTEN KEPT PRESS INTO BANKRUPTCY.

One month later the Strike Bulletin reported that the Butte Daily Bulletin had been incorporated and the sale of stock had begun. Dunne later explained that he had received instructions from the Metal Trades Council to organize the labor paper. Burton K. Wheeler claimed a group of young Butte lawyers, including Louis Donovan, Tim Nolan and Arthur B. Melzer had met in his office to discuss the possibility of a paper. Each attorney nursed a vendetta against ACM, so willingly contributed to make the Bulletin a reality. They also secured a loan from mine owner-banker James A. Murray. Although Wheeler's story differs from Dunne's it does

100 Butte Miner, August 19, 1917, p. 9.
102 Ibid., p. 8.
103 Butte Daily Bulletin, February 27, 1919, p. 4. As cited by Amick.
104 Robert Amick, thesis in progress, Chapter 1, p. 3. This thesis is on the Butte Bulletin and is being done in Journalism at the University of Montana.
show that labor was not the only element in favor of an opposition newspaper. Both of these reports clash with Helena Independent editor Will A. Campbell's contention that the Bulletin descended directly from the Strike Bulletin.105

The Company made vigorous attempts to prevent establishment of the Bulletin. Louis Donovan reported that workers were discouraged from subscribing or contributing and unions were urged not to support the Bulletin. Business men were informed that they were not to advertise in it.106 In view of Company opposition, financial and equipment difficulties, it became obvious that a daily paper in the immediate future was impossible. The backers decided that temporary weekly publication was preferable to no publication. On Friday, December 15, 1917, the first edition of the Butte Weekly Bulletin came off the press.107

Until August 20, 1918, the Bulletin remained a weekly. In March of 1918, Larry Duggan, a local undertaker, purchased an abandoned church on Idaho Street, the present site of Dolan's Mortuary. The Bulletin occupied the first floor and basement, while the upper floor was rented to the Metal Mine Workers Union.108 As pictures of Marx, Lenin and Karl Leibknecht appeared on the walls of the Bulletin offices, it became clear that the original backers had lost control of the venture. Gun racks replaced pews, while revolution supplanted reform in the Bulletin's

105 Helena Independent, February 27, 1919, p. 4. As cited by Amick.
108 Ibid., pp. 51-52.
columns. Before the Bulletin began daily publication, R. B. Smith, the former publisher, replaced Dunne as editor. Dunne remained on as an editorial writer, but his outside political and labor activities would not allow him to be a full time journalist.

Dunne's first year as a labor leader in Butte proved fruitful. During the 1917 strikes, he showed unity to be the key to labor success. However, this success threatened the status quo's conservative beneficiaries, ACM and AFL, so both organizations tried to sabotage progress toward unity. In view of this active opposition, Dunne realized the necessity for laying the groundwork for unity. Largely through his efforts, a newspaper, which would serve as a forum for labor as well as a media to promote Dunne's ideas and schemes, was founded.

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109 New York Times, January 11, 1920, Sec. 8; p. 1. (By Charles A. Selden).
110 Halverson, p. 45.
Dunne's editorials on national and international affairs reflected a strongly revolutionary viewpoint. He carefully picked issues that helped confirm his prejudices and allowed him to mount stinging ideological attacks on capitalism. These editorials provided a good forum for Dunne's dreams of revolution and permitted him to retain a semblance of uncompromising revolutionary purity. This chapter endeavors to clarify his view of the nature of revolution in America and abroad by examining what he wrote and by suggesting the importance of items he failed to discuss.

Because Dunne lived in an unstable and confusing time for revolutionary thought, changes as well as consistencies in his views will be discernible.

Beyond the confines of the Bulletin's editorial page, Dunne was forced by political reality to compromise, as his election campaigns and legislative career will demonstrate. However, with the exception of local issues, where he made demands for change, Dunne had little difficulty dealing editorially with the radical dilemma of reform vs. revolution. The editorial section served Dunne as a semi-theoretical organ where he could reject reformism off-handedly while clarifying his views on what should be.

In the day to day grind of local politics, it was often expedient for Dunne to neglect the revolution, since his approach to national and international affairs was not easily applied to local issues. For instance, the Bulletin depended on circulation for its existence, so it would have
been suicidal for Dunne to reject reform of the rustling card; mine safety or increased pay scales. Although Dunne could generalize on national matters, he was forced to be specific on local issues. Bulletin readership probably was not well informed on problems of national importance. However, sweeping statements on local affairs were dangerous, because the readership had some familiarity with the subject and in response to over-generalizations could point to obvious exceptions. The contradiction between these two types of editorials constituted Dunne's dilemma. It was a dilemma not confined to Dunne, as radicals generally had to cope with it during and after World War I.

Dunne did not reject the established order totally. The problem, as he saw it, was "to dispense with the useless and to save the useful in the system." Dunne accepted the idea of political action within the normal political framework. In the "conquest of power," he exhorted the laboring class to seek every available political office. In this sense he set a good example by standing for office three times.

Dunne contended that the time to save the dying capitalist system had passed. "In their blindness," he wrote, "they (capitalists) fail to see that no petty reform will stay the growing demand of the workers for an equal voice in the management of industrial and government affairs." Abolition of the "insane system of capitalist production" was the only action that would get to the crux of the problem, since reform failed to cure "the

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3 Ibid., June 12, 1920, p. 4.

4 Ibid., September 24, 1918, p. 4.
Dunne believed the workers' interests forbade assisting the capitalists in repairing a system which had caused so much misery.

During a 1918 strike in Butte, a cry went up for governmental take-over of the mines. Dunne denounced this scheme as a half-way measure which did not go far enough to attain "collective ownership and democratic control by the producers." He pointed to Britain where the government controlled certain industries. Government ownership in that case, he asserted, had led only to concentration of wealth and oligarchy, neither of which represented industrial democracy.

To justify revolution, Dunne had to discredit the existing capitalist system, an editorial task he obviously relished. He sought to portray governmental and economic institutions as so unresponsive to the public welfare that revolution would appear the obvious course. In his attempts to alienate workers from the "establishment" Dunne used every conceivable argument.

Dunne blamed capitalism directly for many evils and attributed many problems indirectly to the system. Capitalism was accused of causing the miserable living conditions in which crime bred and thrived. Since most crime was against property, he reasoned, its genesis was inequality in wealth or faulty distribution of income. Dunne said that prisons and executions could not prevent the crime spawned by society.

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5 Ibid., December 16, 1918, p. 4.
6 Ibid., December 18, 1920, p. 2.
7 Ibid., September 28, 1918, p. 4.
8 Ibid., February 7, 1920, p. 2.
was labeled a threat to the home. Dunne insisted that traditional family-owned dwellings were disappearing as underpaid workers were forced onto rent rolls of rapacious landlords. No laborers could afford to buy a house on his poor wages. Furthermore, Dunne contended that in many industrial centers the home provided only a place to breed children to work as "factory slaves." To gratify its (capitalism's) brutal lust for pelf and power, the march of its conquest is stained with the blood of infants and paved with the puny bones of little children.

Dunne believed that the wealthy controlled all levels of government to the detriment of the masses. Consequently, government put its agencies at the employers' disposal for use in putting down workers' demands. "And we are the teeming millions and they are the few," he warned. Aware of this, the government did not rely on laws, but stationed troops near every city to forcefully break strikes. Dunne declared that while "the thugs of capitalism" could kill striking workers with impunity, counter violence by labor, which resulted in deaths, was labeled murder.

Dunne accused business of plotting against the workers. He quoted the "Bache Review," a confidential bulletin put out by J. S. Bache and Company, which called on large employers to curtail operations to

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9 Ibid., March 11, 1920, p. 2.
10 Ibid., November 29, 1920, p. 2.
11 Ibid., September 2, 1920, p. 1.
12 Ibid., June 23, 1920, p. 4.
13 Ibid., April 15, 1920, p. 4.
14 Ibid., August 12, 1920, p. 4.
15 Ibid., February 18, 1920, p. 2.
silence labor's demands. "The best interests of all may soon demand a serious industrial depression," said the report. Dunne suggested the possibility that capitalists literally might seek to enslave labor, since capitalism had inherited the slavery tradition, a tradition which considered the slave system a "peace-maker between labor and capital." Dunne waged an especially bitter vendetta against the capitalist-controlled press. On national and state levels, he blasted the press for lying about labor to further the goals of its masters. This was cited as the necessity for founding a labor newspaper. Since the "kept press" could not be counted upon to report the facts, the Bulletin entered the field to "fight all agencies of capitalism."

Dunne treated the leaders of the reform-minded American Federation of Labor with harshness surpassed only by his attacks on capitalism. To Dunne, the national trade union leadership exemplified what was wrong with traditional unionism's solution to labor's problems. He strove to impress upon labor the futility of dealing with management through such a conservative media as the AF of L. Members of the international leadership—Samuel Gompers and his cohorts—were assailed as "well paid leeches who live on labor." Dunne added that they had "allied themselves with the exploiting class." These leaders were likened to Judas, but, unlike Judas, they could not be counted on to commit suicide. Dunne urged labor to remove the "poisonous fangs" of these treasonous reactionaries.

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16 Ibid., December 17, 1919, p. 4.
17 Ibid., February 9, 1920, p. 4.
18 Ibid., June 22, 1920, p. 4.
19 Ibid., May 29, 1920, p. 4.
20 Ibid., July 2, 1919, p. 4.
He claimed that the high salaries commanded by labor leaders demonstrated unwillingness to sacrifice and lack of dedication to the goals of labor.\textsuperscript{21} Dunne did not hesitate to rebuke Gompers by name. Commenting upon "Sammie's" early return from an international labor convention, Dunne said that Gompers' stated "regrets" about his hurried departure from Amsterdam could not compare with the regret felt by American labor to have him back, "Gompers' history shows that his solutions of labor difficulties are always the solution of the bosses," he wrote.\textsuperscript{22}

Craft or trade unionism was rejected by Dunne, who insisted that industrial unions more truly would represent the spirit of the working class struggle to attain "economic freedom."\textsuperscript{23} Only through better organization could labor institute a program of "direct action" which would achieve its goals. As a starter Dunne suggested that workers run their own candidates for office.\textsuperscript{24} Young workers were not satisfied with old conservative union programs, according to Dunne. He predicted radical change among the workers as they realized that as things stood labor could gain little.\textsuperscript{25}

During the early period of the \textit{Butte Daily Bulletin}, Dunne was a strong advocate of peaceful revolution. He asserted that education of the public would enlighten the populace, making peaceful change possible. The labor press was to play an important role in this revolution: "The printing press, not the machine gun, will bring the change," Dunne assured

\textsuperscript{21}\textit{Ibid.}, December 22, 1919, p. 2.
\textsuperscript{22}\textit{Ibid.}, August 18, 1919, p. 4.
\textsuperscript{23}\textit{Ibid.}, December 3, 1920, p. 2.
\textsuperscript{24}\textit{Ibid.}, June 8, 1920, p. 4.
\textsuperscript{25}\textit{Ibid.}, June 26, 1920, p. 4.
capitalists that the revolution would not be violent or vengeful, because workers were far more tolerant than employers.26

The possibility of a bloody upheaval was left open by Dunne who claimed that it was up to capitalism to choose between "ballots or bullets." If the "employing class" did not tamper with elections, change would occur peacefully as injustice gradually was righted. However, labor was willing and able to take up arms to carry out a revolution, should capitalists precipitate violence. Dunne's editorials expressed confidence in labor's ability to win either type of confrontation.27

By late 1919, Dunne seemed more prone to accept the idea of violence, but only in response to capitalist provocation. Referring to an alleged slaughter of fifteen strikers and the wounding of thirty-six others by gunmen trying to break a Pennsylvania steel strike, he proposed that each union member obtain "a Springfield rifle and 1,000 rounds of ammunition" for protection. "We recommend the serious consideration of this proposition to laborers and labor leaders everywhere," he said.28 He exhorted labor to follow the employers' example by organizing a united front to face the foe.29 The struggle was too crucial to allow schisms to divide the working class.30

Editorially, Dunne expressed the conviction that capitalism was near collapse. Adopting popular revolutionary theory of the day,31 he

26 Ibid., September 24, 1918, p. 4.
27 Ibid., January 21, 1919, p. 4.
28 Ibid., October 2, 1919, p. 4.
29 Ibid., October 16, 1920, p. 4.
30 Ibid., April 16, 1920, p. 4.
31 Draper, The Roots . . ., p. 277. Belief that revolution would soon break out was killed officially by Lenin in 1921 at the Third Party Congress in Moscow. The Americans were informed that before a revolution could occur, they must first form a revolutionary nucleus and tie it to the working class.
pointed to government suppression of left-wing opposition as certain indication of capitalism's imminent demise. To back his contention, he explained that governments use violence at two points: first, in gaining power, and again during the desperate period immediately prior to their collapse.\textsuperscript{32} Using this reasoning, Dunne was cheered by the Red Raids, which to him personified the final desperate gasp of capitalism.\textsuperscript{33} This logic was useful to Dunne since he believed the workers were in the process of seizing power, i.e. violence would be necessary, as well as historically preceded, to form a new government.

Conversely and probably for propaganda reasons, Dunne decreed government curbs on civil rights in peacetime as tantamount to a capitalistic declaration of war on organized labor.\textsuperscript{34} The issue of imprisoned labor leaders like Eugene Debs was used by Dunne to emphasize the need for labor solidarity and organization. To clarify his point, Dunne warned that others would be incarcerated unless labor acted collectively to end suppression.\textsuperscript{35}

By 1920, Dunne had increased the alternatives by which revolution could be achieved. He still maintained his plea for education, a united front, and organization along class lines to attain the goal of termination of the wage system,\textsuperscript{36} but Dunne added the nebulous prospect of economic action, a concept he never bothered to define precisely.\textsuperscript{37}

\textsuperscript{32}Butte Daily Bulletin, September 18, 1920, p. 4.
\textsuperscript{33}Ibid., January 24, 1920, p. 2.
\textsuperscript{34}Ibid., February 12, 1920, p. 2.
\textsuperscript{35}Ibid., September 5, 1919, p. 4.
\textsuperscript{36}Ibid., April 16, 1920, p. 4; December 10, 1920, p. 2; December 13, 1920; p. 2.
\textsuperscript{37}Ibid., July 24, 1920, p. 2.
threatening tone, he suggested that labor would be forced to "act for itself" if officialdom remained the employers' bailiwick. This vaguely menacing proposal, which resembled Wobbly dogma, was not followed by a call for any concrete action.  

Dunne's abandonment of the idea of a decidedly democratic and peaceful revolution was distinct. This switch from peaceful to violent rhetoric had two possible origins. First, it could have been that Dunne's ideas on revolution had changed and that he now felt that violence was a necessity. His Butte experiences were probably the final disillusioning factor which made Bill Dunne into a radical revolutionary. A second and more likely possibility was that Dunne intentionally toned down his language during and immediately after World War I. As wartime hysteria faded, he became more willing to express views which he had held all along but had been reluctant to express because it would have invited more repression for the Bulletin and for himself. "Peaceful penetration of capitalist parliaments will not be allowed... and if it were it would accomplish nothing but mild reforms," wrote Dunne. While it was possible for capitalists to manage legislative affairs without labor, he pointed out that industry could not operate without employees. The economic sphere was where Dunne thought the workers should apply pressure. He noted that the wealthy were using harsh tactics and their refusal to compromise gave "little ground for hope of a peaceful solution." The oppression of anyone daring to criticize "those in positions of power" caused Dunne's pessimism. Even in his disenchantment with peaceful change, Dunne urged no violent action. His

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38 Ibid., March 26, 1920, p. 2.
40 Ibid., May 12, 1920, p. 2.
ambivalence was evident in his statement insisting that the system of production would be changed "after a period of struggle." He did not elaborate on the "struggle" but both violent and peaceful inferences were possible.41

Dunne was sure of only one thing about the revolution; its inevitability. He predicted confidently a bright future for labor and a gloomy one for the free enterprise system and its beneficiaries.42 "... capitalism will ... lay on the burdens until the veriest slave-of-slaves cries out in anger and discontent."43 In the belief that the government's use of violence was a manifestation of its shaky political base, he forecast the downfall of the American government.44 He asserted that constitutional government gave the appearance of having collapsed. The only possibility he foresaw of rescuing the nation "from ultimate revolution" was total revamping of the economy.45 "It is a wonderful day that is approaching--fast approaching," he stated.46

The revolution foreseen by Dunne entailed both destructive and positive goals. Dunne preferred to play down the inevitable destruction of institutions or property that accompanies massive uprisings while vigorously stressing his constructive proposals. Before significant change could occur, the wage system and capitalist production system had to be.

41 Ibid., December 18, 1920, p. 2.
42 Ibid., May 22, 1920, p. 4.
43 Ibid., March 28, 1919, p. 2.
44 Ibid., September 18, 1920, p. 4.
46 Ibid., August 20, 1920, p. 4.
demolished. Dunne insisted that private individuals would be forced to relinquish ownership of natural resources being exploited for profit. 47

Also to be terminated was private ownership of the "means of production," and the "social order," which granted legal and political authority to a privileged group bent on ravaging the masses. 48 To substantiate his contention that private property should be utilized for betterment of society, Dunne quoted Benjamin Franklin's principle of the greatest good for the most people. This was to be the workers' basic consideration when they obtained power. 49 Dunne presented the destructive part of his program in the vein of casting off the parasites which lived on the body of labor. He neglected to mention the possibility of adverse effects revolution might have on labor. The existing economic system was portrayed as so unjust that it would be difficult not to improve it.

Although the specifics were lacking, Dunne had vague notions of what should be done when capitalism had tumbled. He proposed a system of collective ownership and democratic control to be instituted in its place. However, he never clearly defined these concepts. 50 The new system, contended Dunne, would bring forth a more efficient production arrangement and a more equitable scheme for distribution of wealth. 51 Under the new organization, production for exchange and sale, i.e., private profit would cease as "production for use" filled the void. 52

48 Ibid., March 25, 1919, p. 4.
50 Ibid., September 28, 1919, p. 4.
51 Ibid., February 11, 1920, p. 2.
52 Ibid., April 20, 1920, p. 2.
One major goal which motivated Dunne was the desire to achieve for labor the full value of the wealth workers produced. He deemed both capital and natural resources worthless without labor and reasoned that workers were entitled to all they produced. Dunne did not consider the proposition that labor was without employment when capital was unavailable. He explained that profit, interest and rent were derived "from the difference in the value of labor's product and the amount paid labor in wages." Although not recommending total elimination of the three capitalistic phenomena, he implied that deductions from wealth created by labor actually belonged to the workers. In a similar appeal to farmers, Dunne held up the prospect of ending "the day of the exploiter, speculator and middleman." After a workers' state had been instituted, Dunne predicted, the worker's basic physical needs would be met. Adequate food, shelter and clothing would be made available in exchange for productive labor, not through charity. Unemployment was to be nonexistent and workers would have sufficient leisure time to enjoy the benefits of their productivity. Dunne admitted that the crux of his revolutionary scheme was nothing more than a naked struggle to gain power. However, both the

53 Ibid., July 14, 1920, p. 2.
54 Ibid., September 8, 1919, p. 4.
55 Ibid., October 16, 1920, p. 4.
56 Ibid., December 13, 1920, p. 2.
57 Ibid., December 16, 1918, p. 4; December 17, 1920, p. 4.
58 Ibid., January 22, 1919, p. 4.
59 Ibid., September 8, 1919, p. 4.
motivating factors and ultimate ends justified this struggle: "The revolution we are aiming to achieve is for humanity, not theory; to vindicate the rights of man, not to vindicate Karl Marx... or any other socialist theoreticism." Explaining that men were born equal but capitalism had enslaved and degraded man, Dunne said that the socialist goal was to restore the fundamental equality among men. He warned that unless revolutionaries realized that it was humanity and not theory they were working for, they would become ineffective "hacks." 60

Dunne expressed himself freely, on matters of international significance. His editorials fell into three general categories. First, he acted as a defender and promoter of Soviet Russia, which he saw as the model workers' state. Secondly, Dunne sought to expose and condemn the intrigues of imperialists allegedly bent on world domination. Finally, he believed that labor the world over would follow the Russian example by overthrowing capitalism.

Dunne defended Russia against the notion that the revolution was an expression of pro-German sentiment and had prolonged the war. In his opinion, the opposite was true. History would show that the Russian Revolution was more of a menace to Prussian autocracy than 50 divisions. 61 The reprisals taken against Soviet Russia and the general hostility of capitalist states were targets of Dunne's attacks. He blamed the capitalist press for giving Russia bad and misleading publicity. Examples of these "brazen lies" were given; e.g. Bolsheviks killed the intelligent, educated and those wearing white collars. 62 A report alleging that some Russians committed

60 Ibid., June 24, 1919, p. 4.
61 Ibid., November 16, 1918, p. 4.
62 Ibid., August 13, 1920, p. 4.
suicide rather than live under communism was assailed. Dunne surmised that they had taken their own lives rather than be captured by armies of imperialism operating in Russia, thus the suicides occurred in spite of Bolshevism, not because of it. 63

The presence of U. S. troops on Russian soil was a source of great indignation to Dunne. He insisted intervention was strictly unconstitutional since Congress had not declared war. Furthermore, it was contrary to the American tradition to support forces seeking to re-instate the Russian monarchy. 64 He demanded that America lift its economic blockade of Russia. American families were going hungry because there was no work and he reasoned that, if the blockade were ended, business would improve, as would the availability of jobs. 65

In defense of the chaotic state of Russia's domestic affairs, Dunne said that no new system of government ever had gained permanent status without some form of revolutionary struggle. To buttress his contention, he pointed to the Whiskey Rebellion and Civil War in America. In Russia's case violence was blamed on remnants of tsarist aristocracy and foreign capitalists, who feared a Soviet success would endanger their autocracy at home. Russia's use of capitalist economic devices was justified by Dunne. When workers achieved a higher level of education, control of the economy was to revert to them. 66 He praised the new system for giving workers self respect, so long denied U. S. labor by capitalism. 67

63 Ibid., October 6, 1919, p. 2.
64 Ibid., April 12, 1919, p. 4.
65 Ibid., April 14, 1921, p. 4.
66 Ibid., June 10, 1920, p. 4.
67 Ibid., January 4, 1921, p. 2.
The Bulletin carried extensive reports on the war between Russia and Poland, a struggle Dunne claimed was fomented by French militarists. Although he viewed the war as unfortunate, Dunne found one redeeming feature; it had shown that Russia could not be invaded. The workers were willing to fight in defense of their new government.

Dunne devoted extensive energy to condemnation of an alleged group of scheming imperialists who sought to turn the world into a private plantation for profit. There was nothing so heinous that the imperialists would not be accused of doing it, or at least considering it. The accused were mainly American and British financiers, but many others belonged to the evil brotherhood which Dunne portrayed. During World War I, Dunne carefully avoided attacking the war or America's involvement per se. However he had freely attacked imperialism, which he claimed was a major cause of this and other wars. Imperialists were accused of planning a "war after the war" as they extended "industrial absolutism," a form of autocracy no better than the German variety. He specifically warned that Japanese and American imperialists were planning joint ventures into Siberia.

Dunne claimed that the Versailles conference was simply an imperialist parley to reapportion the world to suit the exploiters. He blamed American imperialists for bringing about conditions which had caused war and of seeking "to dominate the world's commerce," using American labor as

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68 Ibid., August 24, 1920, p. 4.
69 Ibid., October 7, 1920, p. 4.
70 Ibid., September 3, 1918, p. 2.
71 Ibid., September 5, 1918, p. 2.
72 Ibid., April 17, 1919, p. 2.
cannon fodder. The League of Nations was denounced as an "international organization of financial bandits." It was Dunne's hope that Congress would recall the troops, reject the League and re-establish George Washington's ideal of "no entangling alliances." The ultimate aim was to have the U.S. tend its own affairs. Dunne strongly opposed sending American troops "to the four corners of the world to interfere in the affairs of other people, and . . . to enforce upon them governments selected by imperialists. . . ." The sole crime of these nations was their desire to choose their own type of government. Mexico, he claimed was the next target of American imperialists who sought intervention to topple the Carranza government. Dunne concluded that imperialists were laying ground for a far worse war.

After the war, Dunne did what he could to make America's European allies look greedy and ungrateful. According to his account, England and France were on the brink of disaster when "2,000,000 of the world's finest fighting men" arrived from America. Following the armistice, our ungrateful allies wanted to have the billions in American loans turned into a gift. Dunne's inconsistency is especially apparent on this issue. Previously, he had accused American imperialists of forcing bankrupt European nations to

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73 Ibid., July 17, 1919, p. 2.
74 Ibid., March 9, 1920, p. 2.
75 Ibid., May 13, 1919, p. 4.
76 Ibid.
77 Ibid., April 22, 1919, p. 4.
78 Ibid., April 29, 1919, p. 4.
79 Ibid., January 14, 1920, p. 2.
mortgage themselves to America. The action which supposedly betrayed the allies' true attitudes toward the U.S. happened when Germany's merchant fleet was parcelled out among the victors and America received only two percent of the ships.

In an attempt to arouse labor, Dunne claimed that England had intentionally prolonged the war. England had done this allegedly to insure that the U.S. would send to Paris a peace envoy favorable to her imperialistic goals. The resultant treaty established an international financial organization, the League of Nations, which Dunne said would seek to crush labor unions.

Dunne accused Britain of ruthlessly oppressing hundreds of millions of people throughout her empire. He reported that the British had wantonly dynamited Indian women and children to tighten her grip on that colonial possession. According to Dunne, there were two internationals, one for the worker and another made up of imperialist "buzzards and jackals" who "drench the world in blood." To counter these highly organized imperialists, who were organized along class lines, labor had to think and organize as a class.

Dunne surveyed the post World War I international situation with the

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80 Ibid., July 17, 1919, p. 2.
81 Ibid., January 14, 1920, p. 2.
82 Ibid., March 9, 1920, p. 2.
83 Ibid., July 23, 1920, p. 2.
84 Ibid., October 28, 1919, p. 4.
85 Ibid., July 8, 1920, p. 4.
86 Ibid., December 7, 1920, p. 2.
anxious anticipation of a revolutionary awaiting a social explosion. He predicted confidently the seizure of power by labor as capitalism was replaced by a raft of workers' republics. But with the passage of time, it became apparent that revolution was not around the corner and Dunne began to back off from the imminency concept of revolution. It is interesting to note that in discussing these matters Dunne totally avoided the word "revolution" and the subject of violence.

In 1918, Dunne believed that disillusionment and destruction caused by war were catalysts hastening an imminent workers' millenium. "Above the thunder of the cannon on the western front rises the crashing sound made by the capitalist system as it totters to its fall," Dunne wrote. In eight Central European countries, including Russia, Poland and Hungary, workers' republics supposedly were being established and Germany would soon follow. Dunne was encouraged by what he called "labor's new view." The "new view" was supposedly demonstrated in Italy and England where workers refused to allow ships carrying munitions destined for anti-revolutionary forces to clear port. Dunne forecast that doom was "written across the reddening sky of capitalism. It is finished."88

Dunne was still painting a hopelessly bleak picture of the imperialist position in 1920. "They breathe the air, heavy with the horrid odor of decaying human flesh. They see a sky black with buzzards feasting on the fruits of imperialism," he wrote. However, the future need not be so miserable as he explained: "Perhaps we are not fit to rule, but surely we can do no worse than this."89 It was the duty of workers to replace chaos

87 Ibid., November 4, 1919, p. 4.
88 Ibid., October 14, 1919, p. 4.
89 Ibid., March 4, 1920, p. 2.
with workers' republics. By late 1920, the immediacy of the revolu-
tionary situation had lessened. Although Dunne maintained his insistence
upon the inevitability of a working class victory, the tone of his rhetoric
was milder. The old call stressing necessity of working class organization
before seizing power remained. However, the revolutionary call was more
low keyed: "We are hopeful that the great mass of the common people will
come together and usher in the social order." The word "hopeful" expressed
much more of what had become of the revolution than anything else Dunne had
written to that point.

There were no hobbles on Dunne when he wrote about the revolution-
ary macrocosm. These freewheeling editorials revealed his overview of the
situation and they definitely were revolutionary—in the realm of theory,
at least. His local reformist editorials were designed to placate Bulletin
supporters and probably did not express the writer's true feelings. These
editorials on local affairs reveal a highly practical man who supported
temporary reform with the ultimate aim of putting across revolutionary
ideas.

Dunne's desire to make revolution was temporarily cooled by Red
reverses. Even though the use of repression indicated the American gov-
ernment was frightened, the capitalist system retained more vigor than had
been suspected. On the international scene the defeats suffered by revo-
lutionaries in Poland and Hungary undermined left wing enthusiasm. By 1921,
Dunne, like many of his revolutionary peers, saw that the time was not
right and joined the strategic retreat from revolutionary immediacy.

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90 Ibid., July 21, 1919, p. 4.
91 Ibid., December 20, 1920, p. 2.
CHAPTER IV

THE LABORITE POLITICO

Dunne involved himself in partisan politics at state and local levels. Twice he ran as a Democrat for the state House of Representatives, winning once. In one of Montana's most dishonest and abusive election battles, Dunne made an unsuccessful bid to become mayor of Butte. No matter who Dunne's formal opponents were, each campaign revealed that his actual adversary was the Anaconda Company. This powerful corporation controlled two daily newspapers in Silver Bow County and many public officials both in Butte and Helena. It held power over the economic livelihoods of a majority of Silver Bow County's electorate. The Company unhesitatingly used any threat, lie, or unscrupulous tactic to repulse Dunne's assaults on ACM's hegemony over Montana. A successful revolt might have prompted others, so it was important for ACM to defeat Dunne's political bids.

By some standards the 1918 state elections in Silver Bow County were bitter. However, considering that Bill Dunne was a legislative candidate, the affair was mild in comparison to his later political bids. Dunne was among the candidates endorsed by the Silver Bow Non-Partisan League, seeking Democratic nominations. The League candidates were all union members running on anti-special interest platforms.¹

The Butte Miner began the anti-Dunne campaign on August 22, 1918. It warned voters to mark their ballots carefully, since there were "some

¹Butte Daily Bulletin, August 21, 1918, p. 4.
very bad candidates who sought office only to further the interests of the I.W.W.2 The Standard noted that many good candidates were running, but Dunne was not among them. Supposedly his only qualification was that "he has made more trouble in Butte in recent years than any other man."3 According to the Standard, Dunne did not represent respectable labor; in fact, his I.W.W. tendencies were demonstrated by his frequent clashes with Samuel Gompers, head of the American Federation of Labor.4 Dunne was sarcastically accused of trying to win the war with Germany by shutting down the mines. A special effort was made to remind voters that Dunne had testified in defense of Bill Haywood and his fellow I.W.W.'s, who were convicted in Chicago federal court for attempting to obstruct war preparedness. The Standard said that Butte was too patriotic to elect a man who had defied a State Council of Defense order banning establishment of new daily newspapers. A legislative seat would only give Dunne a chance to cause more trouble, in the Standard's opinion.5

As the primary campaign heated up, the Miner objected to the fact that the "worst" kind of "red socialist" could seek office as a Democrat. It suggested that there should be a law prohibiting "the commission of political crimes such as this." The honor of the Democratic Party was at stake in the Miner's view.6

Dunne replied to his attackers by contending that he was vilified

2Butte Miner, August 22, 1918, p. 4.
3Anaconda Standard, August 25, 1918, p. 4.
4Ibid., August 24, 1918, p. 4.
5Ibid., August 25, 1918, p. 4.
6Butte Miner, August 24, 1918, p. 4.
simply for being a "capable representative of the working people" who were tired of the autocratic control exercised by Montana's special interests. His primary objective was to improve working conditions and reduce the power of large employers. Corporation bosses, especially ACM's, Dunne labeled "war profiteers." The capitalists grew rich from war spending, but workers' wage gains were more than obliterated by inflation. Labor's standard of living was actually dropping. However, Dunne's criticisms always stopped short of attacking the war effort.7

During the primary campaign, Dunne noted that he had stood up to the Employers Association when it announced that there would be no contract changes unless they benefitted the employers. According to Dunne, actions like these were the reasons ACM executive, Roy Alley, labeled Dunne "the most dangerous man in Montana." Dunne blamed capitalists, not I.W.W.'s, for labor unrest.8 He accused the "copper press" of passing through "the mental counterpart of orgasm" when their "master's candidates" were elected.9 Before the election, Dunne warned voters to "stand guard against foul tactics." Since labor's victory was assured, the opposition was desperate and might be tempted to steal the election.10

When August 28 primary results were known, Dunne had been nominated for the House. The Standard sought to minimize his victory: "Except for one or two minor offices the anarchistic candidates were overwhelmingly beaten. Those whom the Democrats did not succeed in disposing of in the

8 Ibid., p. 8.
9 Ibid., August 28, 1918, p. 1.
10 Ibid., August 27, 1918, p. 1.
primary can be disposed of in the general election." The Bulletin claimed Dunne's victory demonstrated that Company control of Montana politics had been broken and the Company was "on the run."

Surprisingly, the newspapers paid little notice to the primary results. Perhaps, because Dunne was just one of twenty-four candidates for the House, he did not appear to be a big threat. Also, with Dunne one of twenty-four nominees, he did not provide a very good target. The Company probably figured that it would be best to ignore Dunne, unless given an especially good chance to blast him.

During September, Dunne reappeared before the Montana Council of Defense. It was in this month that Dunne, Leo Daly, the circulation manager, and R. B. Smith, the managing editor, were arrested and charged with sedition in Helena. The Miner said the "unpatriotic agitators" were playing into Germany's hands by their anti-government activities.

In a speech that called for the federal government to operate the copper mines, Dunne replied to the accusations of disloyalty. He reported having three brothers "at the front." "Would anyone among you think that I would add more sorrow to my dear old mother, who waits patiently for their return, by uttering a word that is disloyal?" Dunne asked. Understandably, this refutation did not placate his enemies. In the editorial "Foreign to Our Soil," the Standard said that programs supported by I.W.W.'s, Bolsheviks and Non-Partisan Leaguers "have no place on American

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11Anaconda Standard, August 29, 1918, p. 4.
13Butte Miner, September 19, 1918, p. 4.
"This is America, land of the free. It is a democracy, ruled by all the people, not by a class. Candidates for office with the Bolshevik taint must surely be beaten."

Dunne denied membership in the I.W.W. or the Socialist party. By linking Dunne to undesirable causes the "copper press" obviously hoped to alienate as many voters as possible from him. The Bulletin laughed off such accusations: "This epidemic (the Spanish Flu) looks to an unbiased observer like the work of Agitator Dunne."

The Miner, on October 21, demonstrated a typical and subtle attack on Dunne. Democratic candidates were listed, but an asterisk appeared by Dunne's name. At the bottom of the list, by another asterisk, was the word "Socialist." The Bulletin responded, "DUNN VINDICATED." Dunne had been "formally excommunicated and branded as a heretic" by the Democratic Central Committee of Silver Bow County, i.e. party backing for his Democratic candidacy had been withheld. The Bulletin claimed that the Company had insisted on this "inquisitorial" action. Allegedly the Democratic Party had acted reluctantly, since Dunne had "lent so much strength to the ticket." Dunne was quoted as saying, "... you can say for me in the columns of your valuable paper that my feeling at present is one of deepest gratitude toward the representatives of A.C.M. on the central committee."

15Anaconda Standard, October. 15, 1918, p. 4.
16Butte Daily Bulletin, October 16, 1918, p. 4.
17Butte Miner, October 21, 1918, p. 4.
was mentioned as a good alternative candidate to Dunne.\textsuperscript{19}

Immediately before the general election, press attacks on Dunne remained comparatively mild. On November 3, 1918, the \textit{Miner} said that Dunne's election would be a disgrace to the county.\textsuperscript{20} The \textit{Standard} commented that in eleven cases out of twelve the Democratic ticket was good; the exception was Dunne who "is not a Democrat anyway."\textsuperscript{21} The \textit{Bulletin} was more interested in attacking Senator Walsh than supporting Dunne. When the results were known, Dunne had run fourth among twenty-four candidates, but neither side dwelled on his election. The \textit{Standard} was pleased with the Democratic victory at the polls.\textsuperscript{22} The election showed that Dunne had a large following in Butte. The Company had yet to learn how to defeat Dunne at the polls; ignoring him was not the answer.

Dunne had won a seat in the Legislature, but his tenure in Helena was characterized by his ineffectiveness and lack of dedication to legislative goals. The most outstanding feature of Dunne's record was his frequent absenteeism; he missed twenty-three of the forty-nine working sessions. In radical terms Dunne had compromised himself by appearing in such a bourgeois institution as the Legislature. However, he displayed a radical's characteristic lack of compromise on measures he introduced. Dunne wanted legislation his way or not at all.

January 6, 1919, when the Legislature met; the \textit{Bulletin} said that Dunne was one of the two legislators who stood out. The \textit{Bulletin} praised

\textsuperscript{19}\textit{Butte Miner}, October 25, 1918, p. 1
\textsuperscript{20}ibid., November 3, 1918, p. 4.
\textsuperscript{21}\textit{Anaconda Standard}, November 4, 1918, p. 4.
\textsuperscript{22}ibid., November 7, 1918, p. 4.
Dunne, claiming it was commonly held "that Dunne is here to help along legislation that is of benefit to the vast majority... the working people." Dunne was proclaimed a friend of organized farmers and workers, who looked to him to lead the fight "against the parasite, the A.C.M." which was reported to be much in evidence in Helena.23

Dunne received committee assignments to the State Institutions and Printing Committees.24 On January 8, he introduced two memorials and a bill. The first memorial called for continuing and extending the federal employment service. The second memorial, typically Dunne's, was the only legislative first he could claim. It was a memorial:

...protesting against the making of war upon the Russian people by the forces of the United States without a declaration of war by Congress, and requesting Congress to take steps looking toward the immediate withdrawal of the armed forces of the United States from all Russian territory, and the cessation of the blockade of Russian ports.25

The bill introduced by Dunne called for an act creating a commission to compensate workers hurt in industrial accidents.26 None of his measures passed.

January 13, 1919, the Labor Congress or Mooney Convention convened in Chicago and Dunne attended.27 He missed five working meetings of the

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25Ibid., p. 44.

26Ibid.

Legislature. This was the beginning of his absenteeism.  

Dunne occasionally used the House floor to express his personal philosophy. An example of this practice was reported in the Bulletin:

"W. F. DUNN FLAYS MONTANA OCTOPUS." The speech began as Dunne introduced a resolution calling for "the gigantic bloodsucking corporation which has its fingers on the throats of practically every man, woman and child in the state of Montana," and which had "accumulated millions upon millions of dollars while our boys tendered their lives and sacrificed their all on the bloodsoaked fields of Europe, that now this same company be asked to open up its mines in Butte and give work to the returning soldiers and workers."

Dunne insisted that the mines were closed to restrict copper production, thus keeping prices up. He accused ACM of supplying copper to the Central Powers both before and after America declared war. Dunne claimed that both the Russian Revolution and the American war effort deserved credit for hurrying the war's conclusion. "The American capitalists were prepared for at least five more years of war, [but] the Russian revolt weakened Germany and she had to quit," he insisted. In closing, Dunne, whom the Bulletin called "the silver-tongued orator from Silver Bow," said, "there are different kinds of revolution and there is no need of confusing revolution with rivers of blood."

The Bulletin claimed that Dunne's audience was attentive and approving for the hour and a half speech, but was too cowed to applaud. It was reported that "paid tools" of the Company listened in "silent gloom" as:

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28House Journal, daily roll calls. One of the days while he was in Chicago at the Mooney convention, Dunne was listed as present at the Legislature.
they realized that Dunne represented the people. The *Butte Miner*’s report of hisses and jeers marring Dunne’s speech was called "a pure lie."

Dunne’s resolution died for want of a second and the *Bulletin* concluded, "The A.C.M. is in control."29

The February 3, 1919 *Bulletin* reprinted another vitriolic address by Dunne to the Legislature, against a bill already signed into law, forbidding display of the red flag; the measure had passed in Dunne’s absence, although its sponsor, Representative Ronald Higgins of Missoula, had promised to hold off action until Dunne could attend. Dunne asserted that the measure reflected the Legislature’s ignorance, since in ten years of working with labor he had never seen a red flag. "What, then, gentlemen, are you afraid of?" Dunne asked. Dunne recounted Governor Stewart’s speech urging legislation to suppress "the red flag of anarchy." "As usual the Governor is mistaken in his ideas of revolution, because red is not the color of anarchy. The flag of anarchy is black and... it is flaunted by the commercial and financial powers." He accused ACM of flying the black flag; anarchy was never caused by workers.

Turning to the war, which allegedly resulted from the inability of capitalists to control the system they created, he asked, "What sane man would crook his little finger to save and perpetuate a system of society that can only save millions from starvation by slaughtering millions in battle." More revolutions like those in Russia and Germany would result from the war, as workers overthrew new oppressors. While professing distaste for revolution, Dunne insisted it was being forced upon workers by

imperialists who ignored majority will. "Revolution is wrong in a country 
that has the ballot... it is unnecessary, always, providing that the 
ruling classes are willing to abide by the mandate of the people."

Dunne told the legislators not to believe what the controlled press 
said about revolution. He lauded the overthrow of Russian capitalism and 
the development of new ideas on industrial democracy. He quoted Raymond 
Robins, 1904 Republican Convention chairman, who had worked for the Red 
Cross in Russia, as saying, "Lenin is the greatest man in the world and 
Trotsky is next." Dunne praised Russia's great progress under the soviets. 
"Gentlemen, instead of villifying the red flag of Russia and the revolu­
tionary Russian people, we should thank them for what they have done." He 
asserted that Russian propaganda was responsible for the German revolution 
which helped end hostilities.

Dunne reminded the legislators that the red flag was "the first 
flag carried by the revolutionary colonists." Early Christians and Crus­
saders had also carried it. At this point the House Speaker interrupted 
Dunne to ask what motion Dunne was speaking on. Dunne replied:

I move that the House of Representatives urge upon 
the State Council of Defense, in view of the extra­
ordinary powers said to have been conferred upon 
that body, that they immediately compel the Anaconda 
Copper Mining Company to resume capacity production 
at the rate of wages paid before the shut-down.

Dunne recalled the war period when anyone working to better labor's lot 
was labeled pro-German. However, following the armistice, mining companies 
had cut production to maintain high prices, causing suffering among miners. 
Dunne likened the Company's power to the Kaiser's autocracy.

In closing, Dunne could not refrain from attacking the Montana 
Council of Defense, "The State Council of Defense has great powers conferred
upon them: I have been a victim of some of the power." He accused the body of persecuting the Bulletin staff and of working for ACM. Dunne's motion was not passed.\(^\text{30}\)

Later in February, Dunne introduced two bills. The first dealt with the hours and working conditions of master car-builders. The other was a bill "to alleviate unemployment and provide homes for returned soldiers and others." The latter was an obvious outgrowth of Dunne's January 28 resolution calling for ACM to provide jobs for veterans. Apparently neither proposal had enough support to receive a number or reach the floor.\(^\text{31}\)

Dunne put forth another bill on February 7 entitled, "An Act to declare the civil rights of citizens of the State, and providing penalties for interference therewith and methods for trial for infringement thereof."\(^\text{32}\) The following day the bill was numbered and referred to the Judiciary Committee which gave the bill a "do not pass" recommendation on February 13.\(^\text{33}\)

Dunne's proposal which called for compensating victims of industrial accidents was referred to the Committee Public Utilities and State Commissions on February 3.\(^\text{34}\) This committee gave bill No. 195 a "do not pass" recommendation on February 14. The committee substituted its own bill, which was less worker-oriented than Dunne's measure. This bill proposed

\(^{30}\)Ibid., February 3, 1919, p. 1, 7.

\(^{31}\)House Journal, p. 238.

\(^{32}\)Ibid., p. 270.

\(^{33}\)Ibid., p. 361.

\(^{34}\)Ibid., p. 213.
a $12.50 maximum weekly compensation for injured workers, their beneficiaries or dependents. The committee gave a unanimous "do pass" recommendation to substitute House Bill No. 321. On February 22, when the measure came up for final vote, it passed the House 69 to 7 with Dunne among the dissenting. Apparently he resented what the committee had done to weaken his proposal.

Dunne's absenteeism immediately prior to and during his sedition trial increased sharply. This situation worsened when Dunne became seriously ill with a throat abscess which necessitated three operations in a two day period. In the fifteen legislative days between February 13, when Dunne became ill, until March 1, when he began his appeal to the Supreme Court he missed twelve days. It is noteworthy that fifteen of Dunne's twenty-three absences were excused.

On February 28, after Dunne had been convicted and fined $5,000 for sedition, Representative Higgins of Missoula moved that a committee of House members be appointed to study the records of the Dunne case. The committee was to make recommendations to the House on Dunne's status as a representative in view of this felony conviction. On the sixtieth day of the Legislature, the five man committee, which included Higgins, reported back to the House. It recommended that no action be taken against Dunne until the Supreme Court acted on the case. If the court upheld the conviction,

36 Ibid., p. 539.
37 Butte Daily Bulletin, February 14, 1919, p. 3.
38 House Journal.
39 Ibid., p. 649.
the recommendation was that Dunne be expelled. However, until the court action was taken, Dunne was to retain the privileges of his elected office.\(^4^0\) The sedition conviction was reversed May 3, 1920.

Company control of the Legislature, together with the hostility which the legislators felt for this unorthodox representative, helped to minimize Dunne's effect in the Legislature. There was no chance that any of Dunne's proposals would get past Company watch dogs in the Legislature or the Governor's office. In this sense his legislative tenure was a failure. However, his mere presence in Helena reminded the Company to beware. Dunne was not allowed to win another office.

After Dunne announced his intention to run for the position of mayor of Butte, the Company did not use the tactics which had made possible his election to the House of Representatives. ACM was aware of the threat Dunne posed; his earlier speeches in the Legislature and those delivered during the mayoralty campaign prompted its vigorous reaction. This election showed ACM's ability to change election outcomes even after the polls had closed.

On February 28, 1919, four days after Lewis and Clark County district court had found Dunne guilty of sedition, a Bulletin editorial hinted that he would seek to become mayor of Butte. The Bulletin explained that the "next mayor" had yet to file his nominating petition, but he was a man who "will meet with disfavor from the sixth floor of the Hennessy Building and their kept press." Another editorial praised Dunne as an incorruptible fighter who challenged autocratic forces on the worker's behalf.\(^4^1\)

Dunne filed as a Democrat in the Butte mayoralty race early in

\(^4^0\)Ibid., p. 761.

March. The Bulletin's headline announced; "FIGHT FOR DEMOCRACY IS ON: PEOPLE AGAINST THE PROFITEERS." The Bulletin stated that it would not remain impartial, since a dispassionate discussion of this election would not bring out the truth. Dunne's rival for the Democratic nomination, William Cutts, was denounced as a Company tool, representing the "black flag of industrial piracy." The Bulletin labeled Captain Cutts "a chocolate soldier" and "spruce warrior," since his wartime service consisted of logging spruce in Montana for the construction of airplanes. The Bulletin did not choose to refer to Dunne's war record.

Dunne realized the necessity of being more than the anti-Company candidate. To win, he needed to attract voters with conventional vote-getting promises for reform. Dunne promised "clean, honest, efficient, and just administration." He called for public "comfort stations" to relieve citizens who formerly had access to saloon facilities. He also urged construction of a public market where farmers could sell produce directly to the public.

Dunne's appeal was aimed at "workers" as he proclaimed himself to be "the people's candidate." He promised to put the police department to work enforcing laws to protect lives and property, instead of harassing workers and demanding bribes from "prostitutes and petty gamblers." Dunne claimed his candidacy had made a wage cut by ACM temporarily impossible. Had the Company reduced wages, miners would have elected Dunne in

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42 Ibid., March 6, 1919, p. 1.
43 Ibid., March 10, 1919, pp. 1, 3.
44 Ibid., March 17, 1919, p. 1.
Dunne won endorsement from the Silver Bow Trades and Labor Assembly and the Non-Partisan League. After release of "On Guard," a vicious anti-Dunne pamphlet, Dunne challenged Cutts to a debate. Dunne's challenge answered "On Guard":

This hope (for a campaign fought on the issues of corporate domination of city affairs) has been shattered by the filthy campaign methods employed by the opposition, who have at their command and are using without scruple, the entire staff of mental prostitutes employed by the copper press of this city.

Not wanting to give Dunne added publicity, Cutts refused to debate. The Bulletin labeled Cutts "a coward as well as a liar." Dunne noted that every Company newspaper in Montana supported Cutts. Dunne understood vitriolic politics, but his resources were meager compared to Cutts'. Three local newspapers, the formal political establishment and vast sums of ACM money supported Cutts. Dunne's backing included the Bulletin, divided labor unions and individual workers, union and unorganized, who were attracted by his personal charisma and his defiance of Company authority.

The Miner set the tone of Cutts' campaign by announcing that the contest was between "Americanism" and "Bolshevism." Company concern about the possibility of a Dunne victory was demonstrated when one Mr. Nerny withdrew from the Democratic race in favor of Cutts. A split ticket

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49 Ibid., March 14, 1919, p. 1.
50 Ibid., March 17, 1919, p. 1.
51 Ibid.
52 Butte Miner, March 9, 1919, p. 4.
would have insured Dunne's nomination. The Miner's anti-Dunne campaign was designed to shame Butte into defeating Dunne. Montana's attention was supposedly focused on Butte; if Dunne were elected, Montanans would wash "their hands of Butte and give this city up as hopeless and beyond salvation." The Miner put the matter simply—did Butte endorse sedition? M. M. Donoghue, president of the Montana Federation of Labor, member of the Montana Council of Defense, and Dunne's arch-rival, made headlines, when he assented that "The only place for Dunn is Russia." He accused Dunne of voting against a bill to increase workmen's compensation, as well as opposing other labor legislation. Representative William Meyer of Butte joined Donoghue to castigate Dunne for missing forty of sixty days the Legislature met, a pure lie. Meyer reported that Dunne had defended the red flag and soviet form of government, in addition to praising Lenin as "the greatest man" in the world. Each accusation was a gross misrepresentation.

The Patriotic Citizens of America compared the war records of Dunne and Cutts. It concluded that Cutts had volunteered and served well, while Dunne fomented trouble. The Miner published a speech by Charles Armstrong, of the carpenters' union. Armstrong claimed that Dunne carried a pistol to protect himself from workers who supposedly would endanger

53 Ibid., p. 1.
54 Ibid., March 16, 1919, p. 1.
55 Ibid., March 17, 1919, p. 4.
56 Ibid., March 18, 1919, p. 1.
57 Ibid., March 21, 1919, p. 1.
his life if they ever learned the truth. "While Dunne and his cohorts are living in ease," Armstrong contended that Butte's unions were bankrupt from supporting the Bulletin.58

During the campaign, the Anaconda Standard was not as outspoken as the Miner. Dunne was largely ignored by the Standard, apparently to avoid giving him publicity and because the Standard was not a Butte newspaper. It did suggest that Republicans vote a Democratic ticket to help defeat Dunne, since it was in everyone's interest to defeat the "bolsheviks."59

The Butte primary was held on March 24, 1919. The following day's Bulletin claimed victory: "W. F. DUNN, PEOPLE'S CHOICE. W. F. Dunn, Running on a Clean Government Platform Defeated Wm. Cutts, Backed by the Flag Waving Profiteers and the Gunmen, Thugs, Crooks and Grafters."60 Grudgingly, the copper press admitted Dunne's victory. The Miner's bitter editorial entitled "Butte's Disgrace" contended that Dunne had won because he had been convicted of sedition.61

On March 27, the Miner suggested that an error, which deprived Cutts of one hundred votes, had been uncovered. Using what the Bulletin called "doctored" tally sheets, the election results were canvassed that night by the mayor and city council.62 Cutts emerged with a majority of 108 as the Standard announced, "AMERICANISM TRIUMPHS IN BUTTE OVER DUNN, DISASTER, SEDITION AND SOVIET. . . Patriots trim Bolshevik."63 Larry

58 Ibid., March 23, 1919, p. 1
60 Butte Daily Bulletin, March 25, 1919, p. 1
61 Butte Miner, March 26, 1919, p. 4.
62 Ibid., March 27, 1919, p. 1.
63 Anaconda Standard, March 27, 1919, p. 1.
Duggan, a long time Dunne supporter, informed a disappointed crowd, which had gathered to watch the canvass, that Dunne would run for mayor as an independent. According to the Bulletin this announcement "brought cheers from the crowds... and gloom to Cutts and his thug supporters."  

However, the Miner showed no gloom as it announced that Dunne was not eligible to run as an independent, since he had lost as a party nominee. On March 29, upon Dunne's request, Attorney General Ford sent I. W. Choate to investigate the election. The Bulletin alleged that Dunne's observers at the Finlen Hotel had been "ejected" as 215 pro-Cutts ballots were stuffed.  

While Dunne took his case to the courts, the Democratic Party and copper press launched a scurrilously abusive campaign against Dunne. The Standard and Miner each ran a half-page political ad at the Silver Bow Democratic Central Committee's expense. The ad assailed Dunne, "the bolshevist candidate," for riding around Butte on election day with "stuttering Alec McLain, one of Butte's notorious offenders of law and order" and "one of the Rogers brothers," another alleged undesirable. Supposedly, Dunne had demonstrated contempt for decent citizens, to show "the pimps and rounders, the bootleggers and the blackguards" that if he were mayor times would be good "for the leeches of the underworld." Dunne and company reportedly disrupted vote counting and sought to intimidate citizens and police. The ad maintained that this reprehensible conduct was condemned "at thousands

64Butte Daily Bulletin, March 27, 1919, p. 1
65Butte Miner, March 27, 1919, p. 1.
67Butte Daily Bulletin, March 29, 1919, p. 1
of tea tables in Butte that night."

Brazenly this fellow Dunn has declared his enmity to this country's flag, beastfully he has taken his stand with the avowed enemies of this government, times without number he has proclaimed himself in the press and on the platform disloyal to our institutions and venomously antagonistic to the doctrines of domestic decency and the statutes governing social order.

In God's good name, what manner of man is this that Butte speaks of in connection with her highest office?68

According to the Miner, Dunne's platform consisted of: "free love, free dynamite, lots of loot, no work and plenty of pay." Dunne was smeared as an "agnostic" whose paper "sneers at Christianity."69 A cartoon in the April 6 Miner showed Dunn carrying the torch of Bolshevism to city hall while the ghost of a dead American soldier pointed an accusing finger at him. The caption read, "I fell at Chateau-Thierry, fighting to save my home and city from demons like you."70 The Standard called him a "hissing young serpent of sedition."71

Meantime, the court fight raged. The Bulletin reported testimony of election judges and observers in one precinct, who claimed that, after tally sheets were sent to city hall, Dunne lost 26 votes and Cutts gained 31. The ballot box in question was opened to settle the dispute, but it was empty.72 The Miner flippantly portrayed this shocking disclosure. It was pointed out how ridiculous Dunne's supporters, who had purportedly sat on

68Anaconda Standard, April 1, 1919, p. 4; Butte Miner, April 1, 1919, p. 11.
69Butte Miner, April 4, 1919, p. 1.
70Ibid., April 6, 1919, p. 13.
71Anaconda Standard, April 2, 1919, p. 7.
the ballot boxes all night to prevent their theft, must have felt. At a mass meeting to protest the election fraud, Elizabeth Rooney, an election judge, testified that her tally sheets had been forged.

When Dunne attempted to file for mayor as an independent, the county clerk refused his petition. Dunne departed immediately for Helena to secure a writ of mandate from the Supreme Court, to allow his name to be placed on the ballot. In Butte, Dunne's attorneys attempted to have the investigation of voting irregularities stopped. If Judge Lamb had terminated the hearings at this point, Dunne might have been able to file as an independent. However, since he had protested the election outcome, Dunne was forced to accept both the primary and hearing results.

On April 6, 1919, the Miner reported that the Montana Supreme Court had refused to issue a writ of mandate, because Dunne had tried to file as an independent while contesting election results. Had Dunne filed as an independent before calling for the investigation, he might have gotten on the ballot. The court reportedly ruled that Dunne, a convicted felon, was not eligible for public office. Finally, the Miner quoted the court as ruling that Dunne did not "possess the statutory qualifications" for the office. The report was a blatant and deliberate lie by the Miner. The story's only truth was that fault lay with Dunne's legal advice.

The Supreme Court had ruled not to issue the writ of mandate at

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73Butte Miner, April 5, 1919, p. 11.
75Ibid., April 4, 1919, p. 1.
76Butte Miner, April 4, 1919, p. 1.
77Ibid., April 6, 1919, pp. 1, 4.
4:30 P.M., Saturday, April 5. It argued that the elections were scheduled for Monday: "being of the opinion that within the intervening hour of submission and the day of election, it could not intelligently examine and determine the important question presented by the counsel." The Court added that the question would be moot by the time a ruling was made, so Dunne's case was dismissed. The Miner announced that either Cutts or the Republican nominee Stodden would make an acceptable mayor.

On April 6, the day before the general election, Dunne called for an election boycott to protest the unfair manner in which he had been treated. The Miner replied, "It is the privilege of any American citizen not to exercise his franchise if he does not value that priceless gift." The boycott showed significant sympathy for Dunne, since the tally was down nearly three thousand from the primary. Since the boycotters were mainly laborers; i.e. Democrats, Stodden, a Republican benefitted. He won the office by a large margin.

A final protest meeting was held on April 7. To the delight of "copper press," Dunne said, "There are hundreds in American jails and penitentiaries for saying less than I have said this afternoon... They deride us who preach revolution. If this continues what recourse have we?"

Wheeler also spoke:

You cannot expect justice in the district court or in the Supreme Court. You might as well throw your law books away and use them for

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79 Butte Miner, April 6, 1919, p. 1.
81 Butte Miner, April 7, 1919, p. 4.
fuel, they are no longer of any use in Montana.  

This election showed that democracy in Butte was a farce. It also illustrated the hypocrisy that converted Dunne to Communism. Only democratic rhetoric remained of Jefferson's market place of ideas. Office holders needed ACM's stamp of approval. It helped buttress Dunne's contention that capitalism was so corrupt that only a revolution could make life bearable in America.

America's postwar economic condition was to have a decisive effect on the 1920 elections in Butte. Copper prices and production plummeted as the war time demand ended. The average price per pound for copper in 1917 was 29 cents; by 1920, it was 17 cents and dropping to 12 cents in 1921. ACM did not choose to continue high copper production for little profit. Aware of the danger of further depressing copper prices by bloating the market, the Company reduced production. In 1917, ACM mined 3,906,901 tons of ore in Butte; three years later only 1,828,379 tons were mined, a decrease of more than 50 percent. This production cutback meant the elimination of at least half the jobs in the Butte district.

In 1920, Butte was suffering a recession, but the Company did not want to accept responsibility for it. ACM made good political use of this cut back by blaming Dunne and threatening that things would get worse if he were returned to the Legislature.

On July 2, 1920, the Standard reported "Radical Group In Smallest Convention Ever." A group of radicals masquerading under the title of the non-partisan league held the smallest convention that has ever been held in

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82 Ibid., April 8, 1919, pp. 1 and 3.
84 Ibid., p. 100.
Silver Bow county since the days the populists used to meet in Barney Shanahan's shack. The story told of Dunne's nomination for the Legislature. The Miner said that Dunne had made a strong effort in the Non-Partisan League convention to secure the gubernatorial nomination for Wheeler.

Will Campbell's Helena Independent actively condemned Dunne and Wheeler following the League convention. Dunne's sedition conviction, for which Campbell was largely responsible, had been reversed in May 1920, much to Campbell's fury. Campbell hit the stride of the 1920 elections earlier than the rest of the copper press. In July he began to discredit Wheeler by linking him to Dunne, e.g., "Wheeler went into a combination with Dunn to clean up financially by preying on . . . class consciousness."

The Standard began its election coverage on August 15 with a front page editorial blast at Dunne. "The Rise and Fall of the Red" said that voting for "red pirates" was the best way to destroy the Democratic Party. The Standard insisted that Non-Partisan League candidates supported "No other purpose than the destruction of society and the overthrow of American institutions and ideals." It concluded that a vote for Dunne would wreck industry and invite chaos.

One week later, the Standard reminisced about Butte's supposed days of industrial peace, which had been shattered by the arrival of the "red, radical" and the Wobblies. Butte was fondly remembered as a prosperous

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85Anaconda Standard, July 2, 1920, p. 3.
86Butte Miner, June 23, 1920, p. 7.
87Helena Independent, July 3, 1920, p. 4.
community, but the trouble makers had put the city's economy on skids. "Many of the better element" allegedly deserted Butte because of frequent shut-downs in the mines. The presence of these radicals also explained why new business had not chosen to locate in Butte. Citizens of Butte could vote for the "scoundrels" whose election meant "idleness" and "strife" but in doing so the voters were bringing on their own misery. On election day, the Standard added that a vote for the radicals was a vote in favor of lowered property values.

In the primaries, the Bulletin did not campaign actively for Dunne. The Bulletin was more interested in defeating Sheriff O'Rourke, a suspected "Company tool," who was blamed for the Anaconda Road slaughter. Two picketing strikers had been killed and a dozen wounded when O'Rourke's deputies had opened fire on the defenseless and fleeing miners. The Bulletin's attention also focused on the war between Russia and Poland. The labor paper did warn voters to watch for cheating at the polls. When the votes were counted, Dunne was the top vote getter with 4,647 votes. He was followed by Jeff Driscoll, another Non-Partisan League candidate, with a total of 4,094.

The Standard saw the election results as evidence of need for reform in the state's primary laws, since 10 per cent of the voters could dictate nominations in a party they did not normally support. The crux

89 Ibid., August 22, 1920, pp. 1 and 12.
91 Butte Daily Bulletin, August 18, 1920, p. 4.
92 Ibid., August 20, 1920, p. 8.
93 Butte Miner, August 29, 1920, pp. 1 and 6.
94 Anaconda Standard, August 26, 1920, p. 4.
of the Standard's complaint was that "radicals" had bothered to vote, specifically, the farmer-labor coalition had nominated many of its candidates.

On October 17, 1920, the Standard renewed its attacks on Dunne, accusing him of having tied up industry with no goal in mind other than destruction. The Standard claimed, "... he can earn a living without working and swagger around as a kind of popular idol, by reason of his audacious preaching, his unpunished defiance of the law and the heresies he disseminates in his poison sheets."95

One new twist in the 1920 elections became apparent as the Company made Dunne a state-wide issue in an attempt to discredit the Non-Partisan League and Wheeler. Senator Henry Myers demonstrated this by making a speaking tour through Montana blasting what he called the "Dunn-Townley combination."96 "Can anyone call it a Democratic ticket and speak the truth?" Myers asked. "I call it a bolshevik ticket, there is nothing democratic about it except the name."97

At a rally which the Standard called "the greatest political demonstration ever seen in Gallatin County," Myers berated Dunne for favoring the soviet form of government. "He is for revolution and for the overthrow of our splendid American institutions ...," said Myers.98 The following day, in Butte, Myers attacked Wheeler and Dunne "as admirers and supporters

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95 Ibid., October 17, 1920, p. 1.
96 Townley was head of the Non Partisan League in North Dakota.
97 Anaconda Standard, October 21, 1920, pp. 1 and 5.
98 Ibid., October 22, 1920, pp. 1 and 5.
of Haywood, Debs, Trotsky and Mooney. In Anaconda on October 22, Myers predicted "riots, insurrection and murder in every industrial town in Montana if the "Dunn-Townley" ticket won.

"What Can Dunn Give To Butte If You Give Butte To Dunn?" asked the Standard's October 26th front page editorial. "Anarchists and self-seeking politicians" were accused of trying to abolish 10,000 jobs in local industry. Meanwhile Butte is daily nauseated by the mouthings of these agitators and the filth emanating from their vile plant on Idaho Street." This "villainous bunch of wobblies" supposedly sought to gain power "by wreck, riot and ruin," since their only program was revolution. Allegedly, this "gang" wanted to make Butte a gathering place for "undesirables" who had failed in their attempts to set up soviets in places like Seattle.

He (Dunne) has already established the odious reputation of being a traitor to his country and a treason-monger, the foulest blackest thing that can be said of any man living in a land of liberty.

Of the citizens who had voted for Dunne the Standard said only one in five at the primaries was "vicious or deluded or ignorant enough to follow the bloody emblem the traitorous Dunn has hoisted."

Stripped of all its vilification, falsehood, chicanery and buncombe, the Dunne program is to destroy Butte, to make a graveyard out of this hive of industry, to bankrupt merchants, to throw thousands out of employment, to render property valueless, to make the specter of hunger and suffering stalk through our streets and ultimately to hoist over our temples of government the bloody emblem that brought ruin.

100 Anaconda Standard, October 24, 1920, p. 1.
102 ibid.
starvation and death to ill-fated Russia.\textsuperscript{103}

The \textit{Bulletin} replied by asking, "What Have The Exploiters Ever Given You?" The editorial praised Dunne for standing up to Company detectives when they were threatening to stir up labor troubles to discredit the unions. The \textit{Bulletin} claimed that Dunne was part of the reason that the Company was fighting so desperately to maintain its political hold on Montana. ACM was blamed for the depressed character of the Butte district's economy. The editorial blasted the Company press and John McIntosh of the Employers' Association, who allegedly told local businessmen who to hire. It was asserted that Dunne's only interest in running for office was to clean up the corrupt system and end Company domination of Montana politics.\textsuperscript{104}

Although the \textit{Miner} focused on national politics, the Silver Bow Republican Party bought six full page ads to blast Dunne and Wheeler. On October 25, 1920, the Republicans announced, "THE REDS SAY 'INDIVIDUALS MUST SUFFER,' THAT MEANS YOU!" The Republicans claimed that the "reds" would have no qualms about breaking up a few thousand Butte homes.\textsuperscript{105} The other political advertisements in the \textit{Miner} had similar tones as the headlines read, "SILVER BOW COUNTY, HEADING FOR BANKRUPTCY!" and "AGITATOR IS ON THE RUN HASTEN HIS PACE."\textsuperscript{106} The final Republican ad showed a desperate attempt to polarize the electorate, "ARE YOU WHITE OR RED? Do you want more shut downs caused the the red non-laboring element?" asked the Republicans.\textsuperscript{107}

\textsuperscript{103}Ibid., p. 5.
\textsuperscript{104}Butte Daily Bulletin, October 26, 1920, p. 1.
\textsuperscript{105}Butte Miner, October 25, 1920, p. 7.
\textsuperscript{106}Ibid., October 30, 1920, p. 13.
\textsuperscript{107}Ibid., October 31, 1920, p. 22.
The Standard tried to link Wheeler to Dunne by saying, "... he (Wheeler) subscribes to the vicious program of his arch-seditionist and treason-monger (Dunne), who flaunts in the face of his fellow citizens the red flag of anarchy..." The Standard also made a special appeal to the women of Butte who were voting for the first time. "No intelligent woman," said the Standard, "would vote for a man who helped turn out the lights in 3,500 homes." in this once prosperous and beautiful city."108

On October 29, the Standard said that whether you called Dunne "a non partisan leaguer, labor leader, I.W.W., parlor bolshevist or plain anarchist" he was "nothing but a scoundrel who desires to make a living without working for it." The Standard also attacked Larry Duggan, the Democratic candidate for sheriff, as "a confirmed malcontent" and like a brother to Dunne.109 The election day issue of the Standard claimed that "Dunne and his crew" had been under Justice Department surveillance for years. Attorney General Mitchell Palmer, an avowed enemy of the radicals, had supposedly watched the Dunne case.110

The Bulletin did not defend Dunne as actively as it had in previous elections. Its final assault said that whether Republicans or Democrats had controlled Montana government, ACM was the power behind the throne. Through its legion of gunmen, the Company could "commit murder on a song" and get off free. In the Bulletin's estimation, these gunmen, Company lawyers and stool pigeons, preferred to sell themselves into Company service, rather than earn an honest living.111

110 Ibid., November 2, 1920, p. 1.
When the election results were known, Dunne had been decisively beaten. The *Standard* claimed the impressive aspect of the race was that Dunne had run "near the tail of the entire ticket." The *Bulletin* promised a better fight next time, but it took some solace in Larry Duggan's election as sheriff. Given Dunne's meager effort to retain his legislative seat, it appears that he really did not care if he won. He probably ran in 1920 just to taunt ACM and to keep up appearances for his labor supporters. By this stage, Dunne no longer believed legislation could change America, but felt that only a workers' revolution would make life worth living. He probably saw his stint in the Legislature as a waste of time. Until the changes at the bottom were made, legislation would only patch up the unworkable system. Dunne had tired of Montana and looked forward to larger fields. He was soon to depart for New York and the Communist Party.

The Company had run an effective anti-Dunne campaign. Bigger guns were brought in as Senator Myers made Dunne a statewide issue. The Company press made even wilder predictions and threats. It was made sufficiently clear to the voters that their jobs were endangered by Dunne, probably a false threat but nevertheless an effective one. This together with Dunne's lackadaisical campaign paved the way to a Company victory.

Dunne's political adventures in Montana revealed the omnipotence and resourcefulness of a company willing to use any necessary weapon to retain political hegemony. ACM used its entire arsenal to batter down Dunne's "insurrections." Undoubtedly, the Company would have preferred

to handle Dunne quietly, without publicity. Flexing its political and economic muscles. However, Dunne posed such a viable threat that the Company could not remain cool. ACM's crude election fraud exposed the Company groping for a graceful way to rid itself of a pest. It took ACM three elections to develop a strategy which would curb Dunne's political potency. When the proper amount of economic pressure was applied, the Silver Bow electorate was cowed into voting an ACM ticket. Utilizing slander and threat of economic reprisal, the Company attained its political goals without resorting to crass illegalities. It was at this point, following the 1920 elections, that the Company could claim political victory over Dunne while maintaining the facade of democracy.
CHAPTER V

THE INQUISITION

The Montana Council of Defense (MCD) originated with Woodrow Wilson's April 7, 1917 request that all governors establish state councils to assist in promoting the war effort. State councils were to cooperate with the Council for National Defense (CND) which was made up of six cabinet officials. The Advisory Commission to the National Council consisted of seven appointees, each heading a committee on affairs ranging from munitions and transportation to raw materials and education. This commission was the active body of the National Council. In May, 1918, the Advisory Commission emerged as the War Industries Board, an independent agency. This left the CND with nothing to do but advise and coordinate activities of the 164,000 state and local councils.¹

Montana was especially receptive to Wilson's suggestions for setting up a state council. Governor Sam Stewart promptly organized the Montana Council of Defense (MCD). The Council was established by executive order and included seven "nonpartisan" appointees plus the Governor and C. D. Greenfield, Commissioner of Agriculture.² With Stewart serving as ex-officio chairman, the Council first met April 18-19, 1917, in Helena. In line with a CND request, the state body planned the creation of county and city councils to augment MCD programs. The county councils, which


²Ibid., p. 6.
consisted of three "nonpartisan" members, were responsible to the state council, while the city councils answered to the county councils. The city councils were designated by voting precincts or school districts and included any patriot wanting to join. Montana's organization so impressed the CND that it proclaimed Montana the model to be imitated by other states.

The MCD encouraged increased farm production with exhortation and advice, but not loans. The Council's money came exclusively from the Governor's budget. The Council aided farmers by locating seed and disseminating crop information. A labor committee was established to cooperate with the Labor Department's efforts to minimize wartime strikes. It helped recruit and register potential soldiers as well as push Liberty Bond sales and solicit Red Cross donations. Because the MCD had no legal power, its range of action was limited.

In February, 1918, when Governor Stewart ordered a special legislative session, he was motivated by two factors. First, Stewart wanted the MCD legally constituted and strengthened. Secondly, he was under strong pressure from "patriots" to suppress the I.W.W. by enacting anti-radical legislation. In the special session, a sedition law was passed and the Council of Defense was given legal footing. The law sanctioned

3 ibid., pp. 11-12.
4 ibid., p. 9.
5 ibid., p. 14.
6 ibid., pp. 17-18.
7 ibid., p. 22.
8 ibid., pp. 24-25.
reorganization of the MCD. In addition to increasing its membership from nine to eleven,\textsuperscript{9} the Legislature enumerated MCD functions. Primarily, it was to assist the federal government in implementing war programs. The Council's secondary function was to resolve Montana's war-related problems. An important new feature of the law granted the MCD power to adopt bylaws or orders, which if violated, were misdemeanors punishable by a year in prison and/or $1,000 fine. The seventeen orders issued by the Council were to be enforced by local police.\textsuperscript{10}

Invigorated by this new power, the Council took an additional step to extend its authority. In Orders \#7 and \#8, the MCD bestowed upon itself the authority to hold hearings and conduct investigations into activities of those suspected of obstructing the war effort.\textsuperscript{11} This is where Bill Dunne fits into the Council of Defense scene. Dunne appeared before the body on June 4-5, 1918, and September 9, 1918, the second time at the Bulletin's request. Dunne's appearances were unique because he was one of the three or four witnesses with courage to face the ominous and self-righteous super-patriots without exhibiting fawning repentance; in fact Dunne acted quite the opposite.

On June 4, 1918, the Bulletin staff, including Dunne, the editorial writer; Leo Daly, circulation manager; and R. B. Smith, business manager, was subpoenaed to testify in the Oscar Rohn case. Rohn, a Butte mine operator, had requested the hearing to clear himself of rumored pro-Germanism.

\textsuperscript{9}ibid., p. 31.
\textsuperscript{10}ibid., p. 29.
\textsuperscript{11}ibid., p. 30.
He had committed the indiscretion of hiring Carl von Pohl, who was later convicted of spying, to mingle with his mine employees and uncover disloyal sentiment. When it emerged that Pohl was a Rohn employee, rumors branding Rohn as unpatriotic flew around Butte. Although Rohn was subsequently cleared of being pro-German, the case served as a pretense to get the Bulletin staff and U. S. District Attorney Burton K. Wheeler before the Council.

Wheeler had been unpopular with the Council before the Rohn investigation because of his reluctance to prosecute all but the most blatant instances of treason. This, together with the fact that he had refused to exonerate Rohn publicly, was used as Council rationale to protest his reappointment as U. S. Attorney.

Dunne was summoned to the stand and after his background had been revealed, the focus of the hearing turned to the Bulletin editorial "Turn on the Light." Governor Stewart, who did the questioning, was more interested in learning about this editorial than finding out what Dunne knew about the Rohn case.

"Is the purpose of having the Bulletin staff over here to find out what they know about the Rohn case, or is it to investigate the...

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12 Ibid., pp. 67-69.

13 Ibid., pp. 63-64.

14 Ibid., p. 69. Rohn insisted that Wheeler clear him, since Wheeler had linked Pohl and Rohn when Pohl's conviction was announced. Wheeler had refused, claiming that he had no evidence to prove Rohn's contention. To further complicate the matter, the Justice Department advised Wheeler to make no public statement on the matter because it could complicate the case if Rohn were indicted for espionage.

Bulletin Publishing Company?" demanded Dunne. Governor Stewart replied that, for the moment Rohn's case was under investigation. Dunne assured Stewart that he was "perfectly willing to help the Council in any way" he could.  

Stewart's questions immediately became relevant to the Rohn case. Dunne denied having spoken to Carl von Pohl even though they had lived in the same building. Dunne's testimony was second-hand information and dealt indirectly with Rohn and Pohl. In this respect Dunne's appearance was of little importance.

The Butte Weekly Bulletin had apparently dealt harshly with Rohn. Stewart asked Dunne if he had not dubbed Oscar Rohn as Oscar von Rohn, but Dunne did not take credit for the renaming. Dunne explained the Bulletin's approach to an incident such as the Rohn case.

Gov. Stewart: Well, you yourself were more or less active in denouncing the fact that Mr. Rohn had not been dealt with?

Dunne: Well, to be perfectly frank again, I will say that during the trouble in Butte last summer and since that time that the press dealt and still deals very unkindly with anything or anyone that savors on (sic), as they claim, to be a labor agitator. They are not at all backward in making pro-German insinuations; disloyal utterances, etc. etc. and as long as we have a paper whose main object is to answer these questions why, I cannot see any objection to adopting the same tactics.

Dunne alleged that Rohn's case would have been treated far differently if Rohn were a working man without connections with the Employers:

16 Ibid., pp. 1082-85.
17 Ibid., p. 1086.
18 Ibid., p. 1090.
19 Ibid., p. 1091.
The Council obviously was not interested in Dunne's opinions on Rohn. However, it did want to know about Dunne's activities with the *Bulletin*.

The Rohn hearing was followed by an investigation of the *Butte Bulletin*, an I.W.W. organ in the Council's eyes. The MCD held an especially strong grievance against the *Bulletin* after Dunne's editorial, "Turn on the Light," which read:

"At first blush" as one of our prominent acquaintances puts it, we should say that the convention of the state and county councils of defense protesting B. K. Wheeler's reappointment, will receive about as much consideration from President Wilson and Senator Walsh as a prohibition resolution at a meeting of the Brewery Workers' Union.

And that is more than it deserves, if we can stop to consider how this gang got together. Our governor can hardly be said to be friendly to Mr. Wheeler. The governor appointed the State Council of Defense, the state council appointed the county council.

All have grown lean and gray, or fat and bald in the service of the big business. All are tried and trusty lieutenants of the same old political gang. They are all birds of a feather and they flock together at Helena supposedly working for the state but apparently for political reasons of their own.

We can imagine no better nucleus for a political machine than the present state and county organizations.

The resolutions condemning Wheeler passed by 25 to 7. Each county has three representatives. Where, then, were the rest of the 42 counties' faithful fakirs? Evidently some were not present, or what is more probable they refrained from voting, the stunt being too raw even for their calloused consciences.

Gentlemen of the State Council of Defense, you should change the last word to offense, for by these putrid tactics you offend the nostrils of every right minded citizen in the state that you knowingly misrepresent.

Another thought strikes us. If we are not mistaken Mr. Kelly is a member of the Council of Defense. B. K. Wheeler had this gentleman tried and convicted for using undue influence with a federal jury. Mr. Kelly was fined

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21 Fritz, p. 71.
$500 and the court of appeals recently upheld the decision.

Can it be possible that Mr. Kelly is using state machinery to avenge himself on Mr. Wheeler?

We are unwilling to believe it but anything can happen these days.

If there is to be a hearing on this matter, let it be in public, in the light of day and not in some dark corner of the capitol building.

The public is heartily tired of star-chamber sessions. Turn on the light.22

A complaint against the Bulletin by the Montana Newspaper Publishers Association gave the Council additional rationale for the investigation. The association leaders forwarded copies of the Bulletin to the MCD with the observation that the Bulletin was not "in accord with the spirit of the times and seemed to hinder and delay the war program . . . ." by creating dissension and prejudice at a time when loyalty and unity of purpose is earnestly sought.23

A mix up between Mr. C. J. Kelly, a Council member, and Daniel Kelly was corrected by Dunne's testimony. Dunne claimed that an explanatory paragraph had been deleted without his knowledge. This left readers with the mistaken impression that Charles Kelly had tampered with a jury.

Dunne promised to clear Charles Kelly's name,24 but added that Company newspapers used the same tactics against those associated with Dunne and the labor movement.25

The Council members were upset by Dunne's references to their physical statures. They also were indignant over the implication that the

22"Records of Testimonies . . .", pp. 1081-83.
23Fritz, p. 71.
24"Records of Testimonies . . .", pp. 1081-83.
25Ibid., p. 1095.
Council was serving big corporation interests. This is demonstrated in
the following colloquy between Governor Stewart and Dunne.

Stewart: In this article in which you say that the members
of the State Council of Defense have grown lean and gray
and fat and bald, you refer to the members of this Council
that are now here?

Dunne: Why, I should hope so.

Stewart: That was your intention?


Stewart: Do you know Mr. Peck?

Dunne: I do not.

Stewart: Do you know his business?

Dunne: No, I do not.26

Councilman William A. Campbell, editor and publisher of the Helena
Independent, saw this line of questioning as a good opportunity to demon-
strate that Dunne was not tied to "respectable" organized labor. M. M. Don-
oghue, who sat on the Council, was president of the Montana Federation of
Labor.

Campbell: Has he (Donoghue) ever been in the Service of
Big Business? (sic)

Dunne: Mr. Donoghue and I differ on policy and occasionally
I have thought that Mr. Donoghue's actions were more bene-
ficial to the corporations than they were to the men that
he represented.

Campbell: But you could not say that he has grown bald
and lean nor gray nor fat in the service of big business,
do you?

Dunne: Well, he is the only one of the State Council of
Defense that that does not apply to, do you mean?

Campbell: Speaking of him specifically you could not say

26 Ibid., p. 1334.
that about him, could you?

Dunne: No, no, not truthfully.27

Similarly, Campbell quizzed Dunne about each councilman and Dunne admitted knowing little about them. Campbell demanded an explanation of Dunne's accusations.

Campbell: You are acquainted with myself?

Dunne: Yes.

Campbell: Do you know of me being retained or working or growing fat or lean in the service of big business?

Dunne: Well, I believe that you are extremely sympathetic towards Big Business.

Campbell: But not to your knowledge, have I grown bald or lean or gray or fat in the service of Big Business (sic)?

Dunne: Well, it all depends what you mean by the service of Big Business, or...

Campbell: What do you mean?

Dunne: I would like to have it understood by the Council that it is possible that I have a way of describing certain symptoms of the present form of society, that are not thoroughly understood by the people who don't know me or don't know my view. For instance when I say that a man is a tool of a cooperation (sic) I don't necessarily mean that that man has accepted bribes from cooperations (sic) or that he is against me, or is this, or that; I mean that his feelings are such that he believes honestly and sincerely that the support of the cooperation (sic) is for his best interests as well as the best interests of the community.

Campbell: Accepting your definitions of what you mean by big business (sic), how could you say that Mr. Peck, Mr. Logan, Mr. Sansburn, Mr. Greenfield, or Mrs. Thompson, men whom you don't know, you don't know their politics, you don't even know where they live, how could you say that those men and those women have grown fat and lean and bald in the service of Big Business?

Dunne: I assumed, Mr. Campbell, that any one who is

27 Ibid., p. 1336.
appointed on this State Council of Defense is more or less politically safe. I don't think that anyone has reason to differ with me from that view.28

Dunne explained to Campbell that he was not compelled "to stick strictly to the facts in the matter." Responding to Campbell's prodding, Dunne reported that his journalism had been learned primarily by observation, "and a Helena Independent is on our exchange list." To heal the Council's wounded pride Dunne made a vague promise to apologize and the matter was dropped.29

When Wheeler had been on the stand the previous day, an obvious attempt was made to discredit him by linking him to Dunne. Wheeler was asked if he had introduced Dunne at a Great Falls rally of the Non-Partisan League. The MCD sought confirmation of a rumor alleging that Wheeler publicly praised Dunne. Wheeler denied it but the line of questioning illustrated the Council's belief that anyone associated with Dunne was tarred by the same brush of undesirability.30 When Dunne got on the stand another attempt was made to expose a commonality of ideas between Wheeler and Dunne. Dunne conceded that Wheeler's views "are a slight improvement on some of the views held by some of the members of the Council. My view is, I don't mean to say that Mr. Wheeler is the millenium (sic), but he is an improvement on most of the politicians in this state in my opinion."31

When Governor Stewart tried to confirm the rumor about the Great Falls rally, Dunne was at his evasive best.

28 Ibid., pp. 1336-38.
29 Ibid., p. 1339.
30 Ibid., p. 345. As cited in Fritz.
31 Ibid., p. 1346.
Stewart: You spoke at the same meeting, at Great Falls, didn't you?

Dunne: Well, I spoke at the same convention. I don't recall whether it was the same meeting or not. It was a series of meetings over a period of three or four days.

Stewart: And did you speak the same day?

Dunne: I don't recall that either, Governor, but my impression is that it was the same day. It may have been the day previous.32

Dunne stated his opinion of the Council very clearly when he told them, "I have a little objection to the State Council of Defense setting itself on a pinnacle. I don't think they are any better or any worse than any other similar (sic) constituted body." Dunne referred to his previous interrogation which had centered around his abusive editorial. To him, this was a good indication that the Council did set itself on a pinnacle.33 When asked exactly what the Council had done to place itself on a pinnacle, Dunne did not choose to continue belaboring the obvious, so retracted the statement.34

During the Bulletin investigation, Dunne's political philosophy was aired thoroughly. He did not pander to the Council by purposely modifying his rhetoric and opinions, but took a pedantic tack. This testimony provided a good indication of his political stance in 1918.

Stewart: You don't believe the way society now is constituted is right and just?

Dunne: No, I don't.

Stewart: You believe in bringing about a change of our

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32 Ibid., p. 1347.
33 Ibid., p. 1339.
34 Ibid., p. 1341.
form of Government? (sic)

Dunne: A complete reconstruction of the present form of society.35

It was apparent to Governor Stewart that Dunne was a malcontent. When Stewart asked him what basic changes he advocated in the government, Dunne's reply was that of a Marxist.

Dunne: My ideas of the Government (sic), is not that it is something arbitrarily constituted by this or that set of individuals. The Government, at least according to History, is a natural outgrowth of certain economic conditions, in other words, whatever the form of Government, has always corresponded to certain economic conditions in every period of society. For instance, for the sake of illustrations, under the System of Serscom (sic) (serfdom), during the old form of Government, when the age of machinery started to come into being, when men learned to use something else than the primitive hand tools, there was a need for another form of Government and consequently that was the cause or inception of what is known of as the Capitalistic form of Government.

Stewart: You call this Government a Capitalistic form of Government?

Dunne: Unquestionably. We are living under a Capitalistic form of Government.

Stewart: How would you change that?

Dunne: We have first to change the ownership of everything, that is, collectively used, and then the Government would change itself, because the present form of Government could not answer the needs of the people under that form of ownership.36

The questioning next turned to the I.W.W. and Frank Little. Responding to Will Campbell's inquiry, Dunne denied he was a Wobbly.37 The I.W.W. issue was not important to Dunne, so he was unwilling to irritate the

35 ibid., pp. 1342-43.
36 ibid., pp. 1344-45.
37 ibid., p. 1347.
Council over it. When discussing Little, Dunne made a vague statement about him, "I was told that he was an organizer for the I.W.W." Will Campbell tried to get Dunne to commit himself on Little, but Dunne remained evasive:

Campbell: If Mr. Little made the statement that the soldiers of the United States were uniformed scrubs or scabs, he should have been prosecuted, should he not?

Dunne: The unfortunate part is that he did not make that statement.

Dunne, who had led Little's funeral procession, delivered his eulogy and publicized the murder, claimed not to "believe in this martyr stuff." When the Council had heard enough on Dunne's politics, John H. McIntosh, manager of the Montana Employers' Association, was summoned to the stand. He recounted a conversation with Dunne while on the train to Great Falls. He reported that Dunne professed opposition to mediation of labor disputes because it destroyed "the fighting qualities of the working man." He quoted Dunne as saying that for workers to get their due, they should strike. In this way, they could retain their fighting spirit. McIntosh claimed Dunne had mentioned the possibility of a bloody revolution within eighteen months if American capitalism remained unchanged. Speaking of the threat posed by Dunne and the Bulletin, McIntosh said:

He is the editor, or is prominently connected with the Butte Bulletin and I am on this stand to-day to testify in all earnestness and sincerity that the Butte Weekly Bulletin is doing more actual harm and damage to the government cause in the State of Montana than if the Kaiser and his whole regiment were turned loose in the State, and I say it unqualifiedly, and I say it advisedly, and I can prove it.  

38 Ibid., pp. 1348-49.

39 Ibid., pp. 1367-70.

40 Ibid., p. 1373.
I want to tell you that the miners of the state and the farmers are being absolutely poisoned by pro-German propaganda such as the Butte Weekly Bulletin is disseminating, in every issue that comes out. Now, if you will listen, I will tell you exactly why. Ladies and gentlemen, the Russian collapse... was not caused by direct fighting or war; it was caused by exactly the kind of propaganda that the Butte Bulletin is spreading.

As his proof, McIntosh told of Daniel McLeod, a once conservative Havre labor leader, who fell under Dunne's influence at a Great Falls meeting. Upon McLeod's return to Havre, his attitude had changed. McIntosh received letters from Havre employers accusing McLeod of cooperating with the I.W.W. and radical elements. He wrote McLeod confronting him with these accusations. Instead of replying, McLeod forwarded the letter to the Bulletin which published it.

McIntosh warned that the Bulletin could be prosecuted under the Sedition Act. He insisted the essence of the Bulletin's attacks was that "capitalistic America is joining hands with capitalistic Germany to crush the poor working masses in Russia... if this is not sedition, I don't know what it is."

In cross-examination, Dunne asked McIntosh how it was possible for McLeod to fall under his influence when he had never met McLeod. McIntosh replied:

By the simple fact that you went to Great Falls; that you there met Boss Townley, who is engaged in somewhat the same work that you are, confusing the minds of the people of this country on this war and that; Mr. McLeod was standing when I saw him in the door of the opera.

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41 ibid., p. 1374.
42 ibid., pp. 1375-76.
43 ibid., p. 1377.
house with a Butte Bulletin in his hand. 44

Dunne professed regret for having trusted McIntosh, since he had not suspected that McIntosh would distort the conversation. At this point, Dunne took over the investigation. He insisted his reference to revolution had been strictly academic. Dunne added that in principle he had no opposition to arbitration, but he objected to mediation by the Employers' Association, which he said short-changed workers. 45 Dunne condemned the Association for its opposition to unions that refused to accept its authority. 46

When McIntosh stated that the Association's sole wartime function was mediation, Dunne demanded to know why McIntosh had encouraged the membership to enter politics. McIntosh maintained the action was necessary in order to "cleanse" Montana politics. 47 The dialogue degenerated into a discussion of local labor disputes. Dunne concluded the cross-examination by saying he would always resist mediation by the Employers' Association. 48

When attention was turned to the war, Dunne claimed he was willing to fight and die in the effort. He asserted his dislike for labor conflict in wartime, 49 but added that labor should subordinate its interests only to the extent that the employers subordinated theirs. 50 In his opinion, if the workers totally submitted to the employers they would emerge from the

44 Ibid., p. 1379.
46 Ibid., p. 1387.
47 Ibid., p. 1386.
48 Ibid., p. 1390.
49 Ibid., p. 1396.
50 Ibid., p. 1399.
war as slaves. The popular notion that democracy would prevail as a result of the war, Dunne insisted, was false. He said democracy had to be fought for at all times.

Dunne said workers were being hurt by wartime inflation, which lowered their already low standards of living. He pointed to the high percentage of young men refused by the army for health reasons as evidence of these low living standards. Supposedly, good health could not be maintained on the meager wages paid the workers.

Dunne attacked McIntosh's contention that the Bolsheviks were forced by the Germans to sign the peace treaty:

No, you are again mistaken. The collapse in Russia, the collapse of the Russian armies came about as a result of the damnable tactics used by what corresponds to some of the people who are members of your Employers' Association.

Dunne's first encounter with the MCD had gone well. In a demonstration of quick thinking and forceful rhetoric, Dunne had met the Council on its own grounds and fought it to a draw. He could not be intimidated, a fact that probably frustrated some Council members. His disarming candor and radical ideas had caught the Council off balance.

Council failure to change Dunne's attitude did not cool its desire to change or even silence the Bulletin. On June 9, McIntosh, who was planning a trip to the East, volunteered to visit the Justice and Post Office Departments to discuss "the pernicious and seditious activity of the Butte Bulletin and the man Dunn." In response to prodding by the Montana Newspaper Publishers Association, the Bulletin files were forwarded to Postmaster General Burleson for review. Council secretary C. D. Greenfield took this

\[51\text{ibid., pp. 1398-99.}\]

\[52\text{ibid., p. 1411.}\]
step without notifying the Bulletin.53

Plans to publish a daily Bulletin had been in the offing for nearly a year before a daily publication was begun. The original target date was June 1, 1918.54 It was reset for August 1, but printing equipment did not arrive in time.55 On August 20, paper, printing equipment and subscribers had been found and the first daily issue of the Bulletin appeared.

Only one obstacle remained. On August 5, the Pulp and Paper Section of the War Industries Board ruled that no new newspapers could be established due to a wartime shortage of newsprint. Ostensibly to augment this ruling, the MCD issued Order #12 one week later. This order generally reiterated the War Board's ruling, except where the ruling was expanded to insure the Bulletin's inclusion. Specifically, the Council added that no weekly newspaper could change to daily publication.56 The Butte Weekly Bulletin replied on August 16 with an editorial by Dunne:

The State Council Again

Using the prevailing patriotic sentiment to boost the game of the exploiting interests of the state is the latest stunt of the handpicked gang who masquerade under the title of the State Council of Defense. They have declared against any more daily papers during the period of the war; knowing that thousands of people in this state are anxiously awaiting the first issue of the Daily Bulletin, that they may be able to obtain the truth on matters affecting the independent-minded people of Montana.

Once before, when we stated as our opinion that the Council was dominated by the same slimy political gang, whose actions are a stench in the nostrils of decent people, we were hailed;


55Ibid., February 27, 1919, p. 8.

56Fritz, p. 137.
before that body and given the third degree. We were willing at that time to take their vociferous protestations of innocence at their face value and did so.

But their latest dictum stamps them as what they are and have always been, the tools, the willing, cringing tools of the autocratic forces of the state.

Fortunately, they have no legal status or authority. They can fulminate to their heart's content against anything and everything that menaces their master's interest, but—no one need pay any attention to them.

The Daily Bulletin will be on the streets when the plan is ready, and if we are interfered with, we will take it to the highest courts of the land. If the Council had bodily stated that the Bulletin was dangerous to the privileged interests of the state, and that as loyal servants they were compelled to throw every possible obstacle in its path, we should have respected them as honest though ignorant. But by their hypocritical attitude, they have shown that they dare not fight on the issue of right or wrong.

Our feeling for them is therefore one of pity mixed with contempt. On second thought, our feeling is mostly contempt.57

Dunne's attack was not made in a cloud of legal ignorance. He had learned that Attorney General Ford advised the MCD that it had no authority to refuse the Bulletin permission to go into daily publication.58

This knowledge probably encouraged Dunne to make brasher and more abusive statements about the Council.

True to its word, the Bulletin began daily publication on August 20. That day two abortive attempts were made to obstruct the Bulletin's activities. First, a telegram from the Federal War Industries Board was sent to inform the Bulletin, 'This action (going daily) must not be undertaken without authority of this office.'59 The telegram never reached the Bulletin.

57Butte Weekly Bulletin, August 16, 1918, p. 4.


59Letter from Thomas F. Donnelley, Chief, Pulp and Paper Section, War Industries Board, to Charles D. Greenfield, Secretary of Montana Council of Defense, September 10, 1918. (This letter is in the Council of Defense file at the Montana Historical Society in Helena.)
and no record of it was found at the Butte office of Western Union. Will Campbell telegraphed to Washington the following explanation for its disappearance after investigating the matter.

I believe Western Union telegraphic office has been looted by linemen, member union which W. D. Dunn, President Bulletin Publishing Company is head agitator and walking delegate and by Leo Daly one publisher Bulletin formerly employe Western Union here. Copy of your message August 20th delivery sheet and records pertaining to it all disappeared and from what I can learn believe other government telegrams have suffered like fate. Manager admits it is entirely possible files have been extracted by Bulletin people or members electricians union acting for Bulletin people. Says he has no idea how message, copy and delivery sheet disappeared unless Daly and certain linemen stole them from files.

The other incident involved a Bulletin newsprint order which was shipped from Spokane on August 13. When the paper arrived in Deer Lodge five days later, it was put on a train to Chicago, instead of Butte. The Bulletin was left short of paper and its staff claimed that someone had tampered with the shipment. The newsprint finally arrived on August 29.

Letters of protest from members of Montana newspaper association poured into Washington after the Bulletin went into daily publication. In response, the War Industries Board ordered a boycott on the sale of newsprint to the Bulletin. The size of the newspaper was cut but publication continued. On September 3, the Bulletin cabled the Pulp and Paper Section, "We would like to know your reason forbidding the Butte Paper Co. and others to sell us paper and why we were not notified." The Bulletin

60 Butte Daily Bulletin, February 27, 1919, p. 8.
61 U.S. Department of Justice Record Group 60, Records of Department of Justice, Washington, D.C., National Archives, 1964, 195397-8, 9.
62 Butte Daily Bulletin, March 5, 1919, p. 2.
63 Donnelley to Greenfield.
insisted it had received no notification restricting its publication. The telegram closed with a demand for a hearing. 64

The War Board answered that an August 20 telegram had informed the Bulletin of the Board decision. The Bulletin wired Washington asking the Board to lift the paper boycott until a hearing was held. The next day the Pulp and Paper Section cabled the Council for National Defense explaining the demand for a hearing. Thomas Donnelly, head of the section, suggested that the MCD conduct the hearing. 65 It was not until September 8 that the Bulletin received a duplicate of the August 20 telegram forbidding daily publication. 66

Dunne, Smith and Daly were subpoenaed by the Council for the September 9 hearing in Helena. Smith, who was first on the stand, claimed that the paper shipment had been tampered with. 67 He accused the Council of violating the Bulletin's rights by sending the Bulletin files to Washington without a hearing. 68 Smith insisted that his newspaper was as patriotic as any, but because it was unfairly linked to the I.W.W., the Bulletin was treated unjustly. 69 Smith admitted reading Order #12 in the Miner, Post and Spokesman Review, but he had refused to believe the reports. Since the Bulletin received no official notification, he said he felt free to proceed with the daily. 70

64 Ibid.

65 Ibid.

66 Ibid., also Butte Daily Bulletin, February 27, 1919, p. 8.


68 Ibid., March 7, 1919, p. 5.

69 Ibid.

70 Ibid., February 28, 1919, p. 8.
The Council's burning interest was in Dunne's editorial, "The State Council Again." Smith stated that Dunne had written it at his request. When Dunne was asked about the editorial, he informed the Council that the purpose of the hearing was to discuss Order #12, not his opinion of the Council. Questions about the editorial continued.

Will Campbell read the line saying that the Council could be ignored because it was legally powerless. Campbell demanded to know if Dunne meant this. Dunne urged Campbell to read further to find the explanation. Campbell adamantly repeated the question, so Dunne refused to answer without giving an explanation as to what he meant. When he was finally given that opportunity, Dunne said that anyone could ignore the Council if he were willing to take the matter to court. He added that in his opinion, the Council had no constitutional authority.

The hearing became more heated, and tempers flared.

Campbell: From the beginning, the inception of this I.W.W. trial in Chicago, the Butte Bulletin has certainly been a consistent supporter and booster and explainer for the I.W.W. down there, who are now found guilty . . . you are just as guilty as Bill Haywood is, and I hope to God that someone will prosecute you.

Dunne: I am willing any time anybody thinks I am guilty of sedition to stand trial. This is the reason I asked for a hearing. I am not trying to sidestep anything.

Stewart: Now, Mr. Dunne.

Dunne: You seem to assume, Governor, that the moment a man steps out of private life . . . they are immune from criticism.

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71 Ibid., March 5, 1919, p. 2.
72 Ibid., March 7, 1919, p. 5.
73 Ibid., March 8, 1919, p. 4, and March 7, 1919, p. 5.
74 Ibid., March 8, 1919, p. 4.
Stewart: No, I don't.

Dunne: Your statements would lead us to infer that. That is the impression I got. If the reverse is true, simply because I don't happen to be a member of the State Council of Defense I have no redress. They can vilify me and say anything they like about me and stay within the law. But if I am a member of the Council, I can call them before the Council and give them a grilling. That to me is simply absurd, because the moment the right of criticism on the part of any citizen is taken away, right then the government ceases to be a democracy. I maintain that I have the right, the Bulletin has the right to criticize the State Council of Defense as a body or as individuals.

Now, we are before the State Council of Defense. The minute the matter is known the daily press of this state proceeds to open their mud batteries on us. They started this evening. If they don't write special articles, stating absolute untruths, they so arrange their headlines that the public will get an entirely wrong impression.

It is public knowledge that this state is controlled by the Anaconda Mining Company, I don't care who denies it. They own the industries; they can bring enough pressure on the officials to do their bidding, whether the officials want to do it or not.

We know that practically every paper in the state is under the thumb of the corporation. They publish their stuff for them, starting with Libby, Montana, down to the Livingston Enterprise, the Billings Gazette, the Miles City Star, the Butte Miner, the Anaconda Standard and the Helena Independent. . . . for some years there has not been a paper that fought those interests.

As to the Bulletin supporting the I.W.W., the entire staff of the Bulletin Publishing Company as far as I know was opposed to the principles of the organization in theory. . . . I regard the late trial of the I.W.W.'s in Chicago as one of the great epoch-making trials of the world.75

As the second hearing concluded, it was apparent that no one's mind had been changed. The Council remained determined to silence the offender of its dignity and the Bulletin would continue to assail the Council. The Bulletin had demanded the September 9 hearing to discuss the newsprint boycott ordered by the War Board. However, the Council had perverted purpose of the hearing in order to secure evidence to be used in prosecuting

75 Ibid., March 11, 1919, p. 5.
Dunne proved himself capable of dealing with the patriotic zealots of the Council of Defense. Their attempts to frighten him into submission and silence had failed miserably. Under fire, Dunne had spoken with an amazing combination of brutal frankness and frustrating evasiveness. Another approach had to be taken to quiet him.
CHAPTER VI
IN WHICH DUNNE ESCAPES

The desire to suppress Dunne manifested itself in two 1918 sedition laws—one state, another federal. Although no single action by Dunne prompted this legislation and other factors contributed to its passage, Dunne was linked to the much maligned radical community at which the repressive measures were aimed. Governor Stewart called Dunne's Butte "the headquarters of the malcontents," but whether labeled Wobbly or malcontent, Dunne struck fear and patriotic indignation into loyal souls. His roles in political and labor conflicts were widely reported by the "copper press" and the Butte Bulletin was denounced as a radical publication. All this, together with the fact that a Montana sedition law was used to prosecute him, adds credence to the contention that Dunne's activities provided part of the rationale used by proponents of sedition legislation to secure passage of the measures.

The first proposed sedition bill was introduced into the United States Senate by Senator Henry Myers of Montana on August 13, 1917. Myers contended that sedition legislation was necessary to prevent further vigilante action such as the recent murder of Frank Little in Butte:

There was no effort by officers of the law to punish him; it was claimed that there was no law to punish him; and as a result one morning he was hung by a mob. Having that in mind and fearing a repetition of such occurrences unless we had more and better laws to suppress, prevent and punish such utterances, I introduced a bill on the subject, . . . There is going to be more of mob law and lawlessness unless
we speedily enact a measure of this kind.  

Myers' bill might not have prevented further mob actions but he correctly gauged the potential for further violence. Dunne agreed with Myers, even claiming himself to be the next vigilante target. Myers' measure was referred to the Senate Judiciary Committee, then to the oblivion of a subcommittee.

Patriotic Montanans began to demand changes in legislation dealing with disloyal utterances, after Ves Hall was acquitted of sedition by Judge Bourquin's Federal Court in Butte. Hall, a Rosebud County rancher, had been prosecuted under the National Espionage Act of 1917 for saying that he would leave America before submitting to induction into the Army and that he would like to see the United States defeated by Germany. He labeled Woodrow Wilson a "British tool, a servant of Wall Street millionaires and the richest and crookedest ever President." Hall's acquittal infuriated super-patriots who took the ruling to mean that it would be impossible to get a conviction in Butte under existing legal statutes. In other words, Dunne and his friends would remain free. Will Campbell wrote Myers claiming that as a result of this decision there would be more violence by frustrated patriots.

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2Butte Miner, August 6, 1917, p. 10.


4Gutfeld, pp. 169-70.

5Ibid., p. 167.

6Ibid., p. 170.
To fill the legal void, Governor Stewart called a special legislative session. In a speech to the legislators on February 3, 1918, Stewart warned of an I.W.W. danger and the prevalence of Wobbly propaganda in Butte. In the theater where Stewart spoke, the Butte Weekly Bulletin was displayed prominently and free sample copies of the Bulletin were stacked near the entrance. It was apparent that the Bulletin and its staff were very much in the minds of those sponsoring repression.

At the special session of the Montana Legislature, Representative William J. Crismas of Carbon County introduced a sedition bill. With only a few minor differences, the Crismas bill was identical to Senator Myers' bill which was stuck in a Senate committee in Washington, D.C. The Montana Sedition Act was passed on February 23, 1918 without a dissenting vote. It was directed against anyone "who shall utter, print, write or publish any disloyal, profane, violent, scurrilous, contemptuous, slurring or abusive language" against military men or their uniforms, the flag, Constitution of America's government and its officers. In further action the Legislature passed a joint memorial asking Congress for a law to punish anyone advocating destruction of industrial or agricultural properties.

Meanwhile, Senator Myers' bill lay dormant until Representative E. Y. Webb of North Carolina introduced a bill on January 16, 1918 amending the Espionage Act of 1917. Webb's measure was aimed against those interfering with Liberty Bond sales and not against the I.W.W. However, under

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7Anaconda Standard, February 5, 1918, p. 10.
8Gutfeld, p. 172.
9Evans, p. 93.
10Ibid., pp. 95-96.
tremendous pressure from his outspoken patriotic constituents, Montana's Senator Walsh retrieved Myers' bill from committee and amended it to Congressman Webb's measure on April 12. In the heat of the Congressional debate Governor Stewart traveled to Washington to predict mob violence, should the amended bill not pass. Finally another lynching in Idaho convinced the Senate of the necessity for action. On May 16, 1918, the sedition bill was passed as an amendment to the Espionage Act. The authorities could now try their luck at suppressing Dunne in court.

On September 13, 1918, Butte Wobblies struck as part of a nationwide walkout to dramatize I.W.W. demands for the release of Eugene Debs and Bill Haywood. Reprisal, in the form of raids, came that night as Butte authorities swooped down upon suspected Wobbly hangouts arresting forty. The raiding force included the Silver Bow County Council of Defense, police, a six man U. S. Army detail led by Major Omar N. Bradley and "members of the civic strong-arm squad." The Bulletin offices were raided under the pretense that I.W.W. strike posters had been printed there. Other targets included Finlander Hall and the Metal Mine Workers headquarters.

Dunne, who had been at the state fair in Helena, was arrested that evening as he got off the train in Butte. The Silver Bow County complaint charged him with sedition: "printing and publishing to urge and advocate the curtailment of copper production in this country." R. B. Smith and

11 Ibid., pp. 102-106.
12 Ibid., p. 112.
13 Ibid., p. 114.
14 Ibid., p. 121.
15 Butte Miner, September 14, 1918, pp. 1, 8.
A. B. Maxwell, Bulletin business manager and printer, were similarly charged. The following day the trio was released on $1,000 bonds.

As Dunne was freed, he was rearrested and charged with carrying a concealed weapon. Since the Butte police knew Dunne had a permit to carry the .38 pistol, the charge was brought only to continue his confinement.

At 1:00 A.M. September 15, Sheriff Majors arrested Dunne on a Lewis and Clark County warrant charging him with sedition. That night the sheriff drove the handcuffed Dunne to Helena for arraignment. Describing the situation, Dunne wrote:

I went to sleep and slept until 12:30 in a cell. They came and woke me up, put a pair of handcuffs on me; never told me where I was going; never showed me a warrant; threw me into an automobile and started me out from the city jail.

Also charged with sedition in Lewis and Clark County were R. B. Smith and Leo Daly, Bulletin circulation manager. The "copper press" made no secret of the origins of the charges, as the Miner announced, "COUNCIL OF DEFENSE CAUSES DUNN'S ARREST ON CHARGE OF SEDITION." Dunne, Daly and Smith were all freed September 16 on $5,000 bonds.

As if to further taunt the Montana Council of Defense, the September 18 Bulletin slung more abuse at the body. Dunne's editorial stated that use of governmental machinery for illegal ends was criminal: "This, apparently, is exactly what some members of the State Council of Defense are doing, notably one William Campbell editor of the Helena Independent, a

16 Ibid., September 15, 1918, pp. 1, 8.
18 Anaconda Standard, September 17, 1918, p. 7.
19 Butte Miner, September 15, 1918, p. 1.
20 Anaconda Standard, September 17, 1918, p. 7.
paper whose name is sadly inappropriate." Campbell was accused of furthering ACM's political interest in the Council and publishing an ACM "publicity organ." Dunne labeled Campbell a "mental pervert" of mediocre talent who sought to advance Prussianism by destroying the Bulletin and incarcerating its staff for daring to criticize Campbell and "the rest of the company tools on the Council."  

In late September, Dunne's attorneys tried unsuccessfully to have the charges dismissed on the grounds that federal sedition legislation pre-empted the Montana law. On February 20, 1919, during the legislative session in which Dunne represented Silver Bow County in the State House of Representatives, the trial began. Although Dunne was well represented by four Butte attorneys, Burton K. Wheeler, James Baldwin, Louis P. Donovan, and Tim Nolan, he faced formidable odds. Lester Loble, the prosecuting attorney and special counsel for the Council of Defense, openly admitted that Dunne had been charged in Lewis and Clark County because no Silver Bow jury would ever convict him. Another factor working against Dunne was the presiding judge, R. Lee Word, who disliked Wheeler almost as much as he did Dunne. Word's bias interfered with Wheeler's presentation. At one point, Wheeler was ruled out of order for trying to show Dunne's intent in writing the allegedly seditious editorial, "The State Council Again." In order to prove sedition, it was necessary to show that the published material was

21 Butte Daily Bulletin, September 18, 1918, p. 4.

22 Butte Miner, September 25, 1918, p. 3.

23 Transcript of State of Montana v. William F. Dunne, Helena, (Montana), 4411 (1919), p. 309. This is available at the office of the Clerk of the Supreme Court's office. Hereafter cited as "transcript."

24 Ibid.
'calculated' to incite disloyalty. Such rulings were ultimately to hurt the prosecution.

As the trial commenced, Baldwin moved to have the charges dismissed. He contended that the editorial, which Lobbe claimed to be seditious, had only threatened to take the Bulletin's dispute with the Council of Defense to court, hardly a seditious act. Furthermore, Baldwin argued that freedom of press was constitutionally guaranteed right. He concluded that sedition was a crime against a nation and not a state; therefore, the state law was invalid. The motion for dismissal was denied by Judge Word.25

Early in the trial the origins of the charges against Dunne became clear. The editorial had been brought to Lobbe's attention by William A. Campbell, a Bulletin subscriber. Although Campbell denied asking Lobbe to prosecute the Bulletin staff, he admitted saying, "I thought these people were getting dangerously near or close to the line over there."26 When Wheeler pressed to learn why Dunne's arrest had made headlines in the Independent, the question was overruled.27 Campbell labeled Dunne "one of the most dangerous men in Montana"28 and stated that Dunne "has caused so much grief and trouble in the state that he ought to be punished for it."29

25 Ibid., pp. 87-90. Lester Lobbe said in an October 15, 1969 interview that at times he had to intervene on Wheeler's behalf to keep Judge Word from throwing Wheeler in jail for contempt. Other evidence of Word's partiality can be found in the transcript of the Dunne trial. Seventy of Lobbe's objections were sustained, while five were overruled. Only seven objections raised by Wheeler were sustained, but forty-one were overruled.

26 Ibid., p. 127.

27 Ibid., p. 129.


29 Ibid., p. 134.
Campbell's testimony proved his prejudice but not Dunne's sedition.

Several members of the Council, who had been present at the September 9 meeting, testified that Dunne had admitted writing the editorial. However, Loble's witnesses made no statement as to the editorial's seditiousness. Loble seemed content to let the editorial speak for itself, while proving that Dunne had authored it.

The practical side of Dunne's character was apparent during the trials. Dunne contended that he had no voice in whether his editorials were published or not. He passed the blame to Smith who supposedly controlled the Bulletin: "I was a salaried employee subject to Smith's orders and working under Smith's direction." However in Smith's trial, Dunne took all credit for the editorial policy, including the "State Council Again." Dunne stated, "... and if he (Smith) had ordered me to do a certain thing I didn't want to do I would have quit." In Loble's address to the jury, he accused Dunne of opposing the United States government: "The man is a Bolshevist and an agitator; one not satisfied with conditions as they exist in this country." Loble explained that Dunne had the right to criticize individuals on the Council, but he could not attack the body. Speaking of the danger posed by Dunne's editorial, Loble said that it encouraged fencesitters, Bolshevists, I.W.W.'s

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30This meeting was referred to in the previous chapter (p. 97).
31Transcript... p. 257.
33Ibid., p. 369.
34Transcript of Montana v. Dunne... p. 300.
and "Men who wanted to be against the government." To Loble, this was the real nature of Dunne's threat.  

Loble turned from the sedition charges to a lecture on the meaning of Bolshevism. "Bolshevism means the destruction of all civil laws, the destruction of everyone opposed to their views." Alien Bolshevists could easily be deported but a citizen like Dunne had to be dealt with in America, he explained. To re-emphasize the gravity of the matter Loble warned, "Mr. Dunne would be the biggest man in Silver Bow County if a revolution should break out," Loble concluded with an appeal to patriotism, praising the boys who went "over the top" while Dunne busily sought to do everything possible "to bring down the fabric of this government."  

Wheeler stated in his closing remarks that guilt had not been proven, He pointed out that Lewis and Clark County had no jurisdiction in the case since the editorial had been published in Butte. Wheeler contended that the editorial was not the type to incite resistance, adding that Loble had not even proven it seditious.  

Before receiving the verdict, Dunne was asked if he had anything to say for himself. He took the opportunity beginning with reference to the passage of the Montana Council of Defense law at the 1918 special legislative session. Dunne stated that his knowledge of the Legislature led him to believe that only bills favored by ACM ever passed. Dunne reviewed his persecution by anti-labor forces. He explained that enemies of labor.

36 ibid., p. 315.
37 ibid., p. 320.
38 ibid., p. 22.
hounded him because of his labor activities and his role in the Bulletin, which functioned expressly as a workers' organ to contradict the "copper press." The sedition trial, he felt, was a result of this persecution.

Rhetorically Dunne asked who was interested in his trial, then answered, "Do you see the gentleman over there with glasses on? That is Mr. Roy Alley, who is John D. Ryan's private secretary, and head of the Anaconda Mining Company. These are the people interested." Dunne said that Alley, the most politically influential man in Montana, controlled both the Legislature and state officials. The implication was clear; the Council of Defense bill was an ACM-Alley creation.

Dunne next turned his attention to the Council and began reading its first order. Loble objected and Judge Word ordered Dunne to confine himself to the issues. Dunne started again, saying that although the average Council member was not bad, Campbell was an exception. Recalling Campbell's testimony, Dunne stated, "... he said the reason he wanted to see me in jail was not because I said anything seditious, (or) that I was a menace to the government, but because I had been instrumental in raising the wages of the miners in Silver Bow County, and that when the wages of the miners went up the wages of printers went up, and he employed printers and had to pay more money."

Dunne said that Council members subpoenaed to testify in his trial were not representative of those wielding influence in the body. What the jury had seen of the Council membership at his trial, he contended, gave the false impression that the Council was made up of humble citizens doing their patriotic duties. However, Council members who had real influence, like Charles J. Kelly, a Butte bank president, had not been subpoenaed.
Dunne emphasized the idea that if he were convicted it would bring joy to ACM, Campbell, the "copper press" and "the rottenly corrupt gang of politicians" who have sold out the interests of Montanans to the Company. His conviction would be a tragedy since he represented the common people of Butte who contributed to the *Bulletin*. Dunne stated that he felt obligated to express his views on the Council and "I will continue to do so as long as I have a pen with which to write and a tongue with which to speak."  

Dunne was found guilty of sedition on February 24 with a recommendation for clemency from the jury. Dunne's wife with son in arms took the verdict calmly, as did the defendant. Sentencing was scheduled for February 28. Before the sentence was heard, the Judge took the opportunity to voice his feelings about Dunne. He flayed Dunne for alleged faith in the "bullet" but not the "ballot." "Your doctrines go back to the cave man who recognized no authority," said Judge Word, "You, an intelligent man should know that in a country where democracy rules the ballot must bring about all reforms and changes."  

Word ignored the jury's clemency recommendation and imposed a $5,000 fine on Dunne. As the sentence was imposed, Dunne "stood apparently without concern... he then sat, stretched out in his chair, with his eyes on the ceiling." Word told him that he was fortunate not to be sent to prison. "You are the eighth or ninth man in this county to be convicted of sedition.

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40 Interview with Eugene Dullum in East Helena, October 15, 1969. Dullum was a juror.
41 *Anaconda Standard*, February 25, 1919, p. 4.
42 *Butte Miner*, March 1, 1919, p. 1.
It is manifest that the people of Lewis and Clark County are utterly opposed to preachers of sedition and are determined to stamp them out," said the court. The judge added that if Dunne failed to pay the fine he would be imprisoned at hard labor for 2,500 days. Dunne was temporarily jailed in Helena while James Baldwin filed an appeal. Then Larry Duggan and Representative R. C. Arnold of Opheim, a Non-Partisan Leaguer, put up $5,000 sureties for bond to gain Dunne's release.\(^43\)

On June 30, 1919, R. B. Smith received a similar sentence from Judge Word upon his conviction for sedition. Smith was fined $4,500 and like Dunne he appealed.\(^44\) The Montana Supreme Court heard the appeals of Dunne and Smith May 3, 1920. The defense counsel contested the convictions on twenty-six grounds. Objections were raised to the judges' interference with the defense's cross examination of prospective jurors, and the overruling of Wheeler's attempt to show intent. The Bulletin's attorney also disputed Judge Word's instructions to the juries and the constitutionality of a statute limiting free speech.\(^45\)

The Court invalidated Smith's conviction and ordered a new trial. Using the Smith decision as a precedent, Dunne's conviction was summarily reversed and the case was remanded to Lewis and Clark district court for retrial.\(^46\) Among the reasons which the Court gave for the decision was the bias shown by Judge Word. In Smith's case, as well as in Dunne's the

\(^{43}\) Ibid.

\(^{44}\) Butte Daily Bulletin, July 1, 1919, p. 1


\(^{46}\) Ibid., pp. 591-592.
defense counsel had been limited in its right to cross examine potential jurors. Objections by Loble to the defense's line of questioning had been sustained by Judge Word. In the Supreme Court's view the questions were in order and necessary. The Court further stated that Word had failed to provide proper instruction to jurors and witnesses.47

The Supreme Court also pointed out a misuse of evidence in connection with the Butte Weekly Bulletin's circulation in Lewis and Clark County. The Daily Bulletin staff admitted on September 9 to having subscribers in Helena. However, Will Campbell was the only one to testify. The Court said that because the Bulletin circulated in Lewis and Clark County in September was no proof that it had done so in August. The Court added:

... it is not every abusive or even libelous statement that constitutes sedition. The language of this editorial might be published in time of war under such circumstance that would not make it a crime. To illustrate from this record: It appears that Mr. Campbell exhibited the editorial to the county attorney, and that afterwards it was printed in the Helena Independent, a newspaper of which Mr. Campbell is the guiding genius. In each instance there was a publication, but not such a publication as constituted a crime.48

In reference to Word's refusal to allow intent to be shown, the Court said that the editorial had to be published under such circumstance that it was "calculated to incite or inflame resistance. . . ." This was to have been determined by the jury considering the circumstances, relevant facts and the extent and manner of publication, as well as the language. In closing, the Court stated:

So far as this record discloses, the defendant was not responsible for the editorial becoming known to any person


48 Ibid., p. 589.
in Lewis and Clark county, other than Mr. Campbell, who was then a member of the Montana Council of Defense. Can it be said, then, that in the hands of Mr. Campbell alone the published editorial was calculated to incite or inflame resistance to the Council? Who but Mr. Campbell could be incited or inflamed to resistance, and is it within the range of probability that he would be incited to resist the very organization of which he was a member? We think not. 49

Will Campbell was furious as he published the May 4 editorial, "Our Flippant Supreme Court." "The Reds were happy last night," it began, "Not only was W. F. Dunn, supreme radical granted a new trial . . . but the court was flippant enough to gratify the Reds by going out of its way to take a fling at a member of the State Council of Defense." Campbell represented "a Supreme Court which would try to be funny in an important opinion by referring to a newspaper editor and publisher as 'the guiding genius.'" The Independent also unhappily reported that J. R. Wine, the new county attorney, would move to have the Dunne-Smith cases dismissed from district court. 50

The next day's editorial again blasted the Court. After praising the work of the selfless Council, Campbell concluded:

If we ever get the Soviet government in this country—which God forbid!—the publishers of the Independent and the members of the State Council of Defense will for once, join with Dunn and Smith and all of their following in a unanimous and hearty recommendation of four members of the Supreme Court of Montana to be judges of the Soviet Court of Montana, which will doubtless take the place of the present constituted judicial body. 51

Dunne could not resist a parting blast at Lester Loble and Judge Word. In an editorial "Son of a Traitor Reversed," Dunne claimed that the

49 Ibid., p. 590.
50 Helena Independent, May 4, 1920, p. 4.
51 Ibid., May 5, 1920, p. 4.
Sedition trials were in line with the "slimy political interest" of ACM. The Company was accused of using a wartime situation to persecute its enemies.

The actions of the alleged "judge" in the Smith and Dunn cases, ... indicated that the then county attorney of Lewis and Clark county, one Lester Loble and the alleged judge, himself, were companion prosecutors rather than prosecutor and presiding judge. It, perhaps, was but meet and fitting that Robert Lee Word, scion of a man who openly boasted his treason to the United States government in the sixties, a man born and brought up in the tradition that certain persons should be slaves to a few others, would have in 1919 presided at the "witch burning" of the Bulletin editors.52

Dunne had escaped his enemies' carefully laid scheme to silence him. Without repudiating his beliefs or seeking to avoid punishment by denying his actions, he had fought the constituted authorities to a draw.

Dunne was fortunate to have both a judge and prosecutor whose anxiousness to punish him blinded them to numerous legal technicalities. The Supreme Court included no admirers of Dunne so a unanimous decision to grant him a new trial showed that even the right wing justices could not deny the unfairness of the trial. In March 1919 despite evidence of fraud, the Court had refused to hear Dunne's request to get on the Butte city election ballot, but the travesty of the sedition conviction was too much for any conscientious jurist to tolerate. It was therefore reversed and remanded.

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSION

In 1917 a politically groping electrician named Bill Dunne, to Butte, but when he departed four years later, he was a Communist. Anaconda Company inspired repression and fraud which he encountered were probably the greatest factors responsible for pushing him to America's political extreme. Dunne's repeated confrontations with political, judicial and industrial powers, which the Company largely controlled, helped convince him that only the revolutionary Communist Party offered an acceptable alternative to the existing capitalistic American government.

Dunne was unusual for his time in Montana, because he was adept at more than union activities. He was capable of challenging the Company politically, journalistically and rhetorically. His target was the status quo on which the Anaconda Company thrived. One sure way to get a reaction out of ACM was to endanger the profit which it needed to show in order to survive. If Dunne organized a viable political opposition in Montana, the privileges and profits which the Company enjoyed were jeopardized.

Dunne's rise to prominence in Butte labor circles was due to the spontaneous strike following the Speculator disaster. Butte's fragmented unions had been leaderless since 1914, but when the strikes broke out in the summer of 1917, Dunne was on the spot with leadership ability, drive and strike experience. He proved himself a popular and redoubtable labor advocate, so emerged as an unofficial spokesman for Butte workers. Although the miners' strike failed, Butte unionism experienced a revival.
Dunne and other union leaders realized the need for influencing and informing labor, so together with a few avid anti-Company stalwarts, Dunne moved to capitalize on the local unrest by organizing a newspaper. As long as the "copper press" monopolized the news, labor's views went unpublished. By December 1917, the Butte Weekly Bulletin was in print with Dunne at its helm. The war hysteria, which the Company press had tried to mobilize against Dunne as a strike leader, was turned on the new journalist.

As Bulletin editor, Dunne incurred the wrath of several Montana officials who concealed their enmity toward him behind patriotic facades. The Montana Council of Defense attempted to muzzle the Bulletin by intimidation. Dunne and two other Bulletin staff members were ordered to appear before the Council, but unlike most who had come before the body, they were uncowed. Dunne continued to write abusive editorials attacking both the Council and its members. A second Bulletin hearing, which was called when daily publication began, showed a hardening of lines on both sides. The Council's action had failed to silence Dunne, so his enemies used the courts to prosecute and convict him on sedition charges. The conviction was eventually reversed, but this continued persecution for unconventional behavior did not cause Dunne to modify his beliefs. He interpreted the prevailing anti-"radical" hysteria, including his experiences and the convictions of Debs, Haywood and Mooney, as evidence that the capitalist system was in trouble and struggling to survive. Dunne probably thought that if radicals kept pressure on the government it would tumble.

When Dunne came to Butte, he still believed that social change could occur through the democratic process. By 1921, his personal experience caused him to reconsider, probably because the Anaconda Company was unwilling to allow democracy to work. Dunne had entered the political
arena three times and each venture revealed two clear facts. First, Dunne was a very popular man with many of Butte's workers. Secondly, there was no effort that ACM would not make in order to defeat him.

Because ACM controlled both political parties, there was no room in them for a man who demanded sweeping social and economic changes. Communism was an understandable next step, since he had completely lost faith in the existing system. The Russian revolution provided Dunne with a model whereby he thought the United States could be changed.

Dunne raised a variety of emotional responses in Butte. To the patriot he was a "hissing young serpent of sedition," while the Company viewed him as an economic and political threat. Workers probably saw him as either a long awaited spokesman or a troublemaker, who caused wage losses due to strikes. It was difficult to remain neutral on the subject of Bill Dunne.

Temporarily, Dunne probably had a moderating influence on ACM. As long as he had the potential for economic or political reprisals against the Company, that corporation tried to curb some of its worst abuses of labor. However, Dunne's lasting impact on Butte was not great. The mining district had become a depressed area as wages, production and employment fell. Unlike the days of World War I when production was up and manpower scarce, the Company could be choosy about who it hired. Potential trouble makers were not employed, so men of Dunne's persuasion had to leave the district. If Dunne had remained in Butte, his support would have continued to wane. Labor could not afford to support Dunne or the Bulletin, which finally expired in January 1924.

Dunne may have influenced some by showing that it was possible to challenge the Company without selling out or succumbing to the pressures
A C M could apply. He also demonstrated that when labor united, its voice could be heard.

Dunne's stay in Butte was extremely important for him, because the experience he gained groomed him for the Communist Party. He developed skills which made him a highly desirable recruit for the Party. First, as a journalist he knew how to write, edit, finance and publish the kind of newspaper which could embarrass the "capitalists." The Party made use of this ability by naming Dunne a founding coeditor of the *Daily Worker* in 1924.

Secondly, Dunne became a labor spokesman in Butte. Although he was not at the time earning a living with his hands, a strong bond of understanding and communication between him and the workers remained. Unlike many union leaders who lost touch with the men they represented, Dunne had no difficulty relating to the plight and problems of labor.

Both in Butte and British Columbia, Dunne had demonstrated a natural talent for leadership which brought him from the ranks of labor to positions of power. He was no middle class "parlor pink" who could only theorize about the working class, he was part of it. Judging from the support he received from Butte's workers, it was apparent that Dunne knew what moved them. This was the type of man desperately sought by the nascent Communist Party.

Finally, Dunne developed political adeptness as a result of his Butte experience. His three political bids had exposed him to the American election system and many abuses of it. The countless speeches Dunne delivered gave him additional experience and ability along political lines. Dunne's political campaign background was useful to the Communist Party which twice ran him for governor of New York.
Dunne's credentials as a radical were good when measured against the model described in the introduction. As a Marxist, he believed in the inevitability of social change which would elevate human values above pecuniary considerations. Oppressed workers, not greedy capitalists, would benefit from the wealth produced by labor. In the utopia envisioned by Dunne the physical needs of all would be met. In addition, labor would have a voice in how the means of production should be operated. This "industrial democracy" was to be founded after capitalism had been scuttled. Dunne's life was dedicated to reaching this goal and loyalty to the capitalistic American government or any other nation-state was unthinkable. These "utopian" anti-nationalistic views fit the model well.

Dunne exhibited a radical's willingness to sacrifice to attain his vision of society. The hostility he encountered in Montana did not deter him. In fact, it further alienated him from the system. Dunne had been the target of assassination attempts, criminal prosecution and constant harassment. The fact that his life and freedom were jeopardized did not prompt him to reorient his values or end his activities. He put cause above self and on this count, Dunne measured up to the model.

Dunne was ambivalent in his approach to the problem of reform or revolution. He wanted a revolution but was unwilling to promote the oppressive and unlivable conditions which cause people to rebel. In many instances, he opted for reform or "immediate demands." He could justify reformism on the grounds that the changes were sorely needed in Butte or that such action was necessary to curry favor to labor. Dunne appeared to be a reformer at times, but it was out of necessity not conviction that he turned to "immediate demands." Upon his departure from Butte, Dunne was far less favorably disposed to reform than when he arrived,
The radical idea of ends justifying means because the goals are so desirable was not seen in Dunne's actions in Butte. There is no evidence that he disdained unscrupulous actions, they simply did not serve his purpose. Dunne stuck largely to normal and legitimate channels and except for occasional instances of exaggeration in the Bulletin he appeared very honest. Dunne had to keep a clean record because the "copper press" would use his every misdeed against him. As it was, the press had to fabricate its smears on Dunne. His honest and candid appearance was probably rewarded by the support of workers who appreciated not being lied to.

Dunne fits the final category of the model best of all. His activities in Montana were aimed at polarizing the working class against the Anaconda Company and capitalists in general. As tools of industry, local, state and federal governments were decried as unresponsive and misdirected. Dunne wanted a revolution to change the form of government and ownership of property. He simplified the situation to where one appeared to be either on the side of humanity or for the exploiters of humanity.

By the time he left Butte, Dunne came close enough to fitting the model to be classed as a radical. Judging from his continued activity in the American Communist Party, it appears that his existence was dedicated to achieving radical change. Dunne's vision for society was a compelling one and his dedication to attaining this change marked him as a true radical.
Before leaving Butte, Dunne’s left wing proclivities had landed him in the Communist Labor Party. His ambitions were too big for Butte. When the Communist Party, on James P. Cannon’s motion, invited Dunne to New York with the promise that he would represent America at the Profintern Congress in Moscow, he went. As it turned out, the Party did not send him to Russia. Undaunted, Dunne booked on a freighter bound for Germany intending to go on his own. However, in Stettin, Germany, he was arrested along with some shipmates for drunkenness. When the police learned Dunne’s destination, he was turned back.

Dunne returned to America and immersed himself in Party work, soon becoming a trusted comrade. In 1922, he joined the Communist hierarchy by gaining membership in the Central Executive Committee and the elite Executive Council. He was nominated for governor of New York by the Workers Party, a Communist front organization. Shortly after his nomination, Dunne, along with several other Communists including William Z. Foster, was arrested in Bridgman, Michigan for attending an illegal secret Communist Party meeting.

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2James P. Cannon, The First Ten Years of American Communism (New York: Lyle Stuart; 1962), p. 188. The Profintern is the Congress of Red International Labor Unions.
3Draper, The Roots... . ., pp. 316-317.
4Ibid., p. 457.
For the last nine months of 1923, Dunne returned to Butte as editor of the Butte Bulletin, now a weekly. The vitriolic flexibility which had characterized the old Bulletin was gone. Dunne's writing became burdened with ideology and dogma. The weakened Bulletin fought no other battle than the one for survival. The most noteworthy event of the year for Dunne was his expulsion from the AFL at its Portland convention. Samuel Gompers ordered Dunne expelled for his ties with the Communist Party. By a vote of 27,837 to 108, the convention agreed with Gompers. Dunne delivered a final scathing attack on Gompers and marched out shouting, "I will see you at the barricades."Early in 1924, Dunne left Butte to join J. Louis Engdahl as founding co-editor of the Daily Worker in Chicago. That year, Dunne's dream of going to Moscow was fulfilled as he was named American representative to the Comintern. He informed the Comintern in his most important address that there would be no revolution in America "until the Gompers organization was captured and 12,000,000 Negroes in America were stirred up."

Dunne became as adept at fighting other Party members as he was at fighting capitalists. As an active factionalist, he joined William Z. Foster and James P. Cannon in the section which represented the radical American labor tradition. This action-oriented group was opposed by the

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faction led by C. E. Ruthenberg and Jay Lovestone. The latter group included many foreigners and ex-Socialists and tended toward ideology and theory. The factions were virtually irreconcilable. At the Party's 1925 convention, Dunne and Engdahl anticipated a split in the wake of a leadership dispute between Ruthenberg and Foster, so they led an armed group of co-factionalists which barricaded itself in the Daily Worker's offices. Due to Moscow's intervention, the split did not materialize.

When the Cannon-Foster faction split, Dunne followed his friend Cannon.

The year 1927 began and ended as a bad one for Dunne. In New York, he was arrested and convicted for publishing an "obscene" poem in the Daily Worker. The poem, "America," compared the country to a whore. The conviction was later reversed. Dunne's influence in the Party began to wane. Jay Lovestone became head of the Party, and Dunne was demoted to assistant editor and Engdahl was made America's Comintern representative.

Dunne nearly caused a Party split at a Chicago meeting by denouncing sexual depravity in the Communist youth group. The beleaguered Party could not afford the luxury of a house cleaning at the time, so Dunne's prestige probably suffered.

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11 Cannon, pp. 121-122.
12 Draper, American Communism, pp. 143-145.
13 Cannon, p. 150.
15 Ibid., December 3, 1927, p. 2.
16 Draper, American Communism, p. 267.
The next year was a busy one for Dunne and an important one for the Communist Party of America. Dunne was again nominated for governor of New York, and later he was sent to Moscow as the American representative to the Profintern, the Congress of Red International Labor Unions. In Moscow, the move was toward dual or independent Communist unions. Dunne fought this idea, claiming dual unionism in America would mean abandonment of the AFL to reactionaries. He knew that the left wing of the AFL would die, but finally he succumbed to the tide for dual unionism.

Dunne stayed in Moscow to attend the Comintern Congress. Joseph Stalin had finished off his left-wing enemy Leon Trotsky by wheeling right and now to get rid of Bukharin, who represented the right, Stalin was turning left. This struggle became important for the American Party. Dunne led an attack on Lovestone, attempting to liken him to Bukharin, i.e. a right winger. In spite of his own record, Dunne viciously assailed Lovestone for opposing dual unionism. Lovestone made the mistake of defending Bukharin and was summarily removed as head of the American Party.

During the attack on Lovestone, Dunne's friend Cannon had said nothing. In fact, Cannon had been converted to Trotskyism. When he returned to America, he formed what was to become the Socialist Workers Party. This move split the Dunne brothers, as Miles, Grant and Vincent Ray followed Cannon out of the Communist Party. It was a bitter and permanent break.

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19Draper, American Communism . . ., p. 287.
20Ibid., pp. 298-299.
21Ibid., pp. 306-308.
22Cannon, pp. 187-188.
In 1928-1929, Dunne spent time in Outer Mongolia. He claimed that he had been sent there by the Comintern to report on the imperialistic intrigues of the Japanese and British.\(^{23}\) Ben Gitlow, a former Communist, contended that Stalin had sent Dunne to a sanitarium there. This report alleged that Stalin liked the non-Jewish Dunne but was worried about his heavy drinking. When Dunne returned to Moscow, Stalin supposedly offered him the leadership of the American Party. On hearing the news, Dunne promptly got drunk and bragged of his good fortune. The police reported this to Stalin and Dunne had missed his chance at the much coveted Party leadership.\(^{24}\)

After the stock market crash in America, Dunne came home to agitate among workers in the auto, steel, coal mining, textile and marine transport industries. Later, he returned to Russia to serve as a personnel specialist in a Stalingrad tractor factory. From 1934 to 1936, Dunne worked on the editorial staff of the *Daily Worker*. In the late thirties, he became an organizer in the Pacific Northwest,\(^{25}\) returning to Montana for a time.\(^{26}\)

During World War II, he worked on a merchant marine vessel, and in 1946, he was expelled from the Communist Party for not understanding "the danger of failing to fight Trotskyism," whatever that meant.\(^{27}\) The expulsion hit Dunne hard; he could not live without a political home. The story


\(^{24}\)Gitlow, p. 156.

\(^{25}\)Dunne, *The Struggle* . . . , p, vi.

\(^{26}\)Interview with Fred Martin of the Park County News, October 26, 1969 at Livingston. Martin met him in Great Falls then.

goes that in desperation he went to the headquarters of the Socialist Workers Party to apply for membership. When James Cannon learned that Dunne was in the office, his immediate reaction was to say, "Throw the bastard down the stairs." Dunne was not admitted. He died seven years later.28


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Montana, discussed the case of State v. Dunne. Loble was the prosecuting attorney.

Robin Maisel, in a personal conversation, November 1969 at Missoula, Montana, discussed the Dunne brothers. Maisel is a representative of the Socialist Workers Party.

Fred Martin, in a personal conversation October 26, 1969 at Livingston, Montana, discussed W. F. Dunne who was in Great Falls in the late thirties.