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# THE MINERS MAGAZINE

EDUCATION INDEPENDENCE ORGANIZATION

*Published Weekly by the*

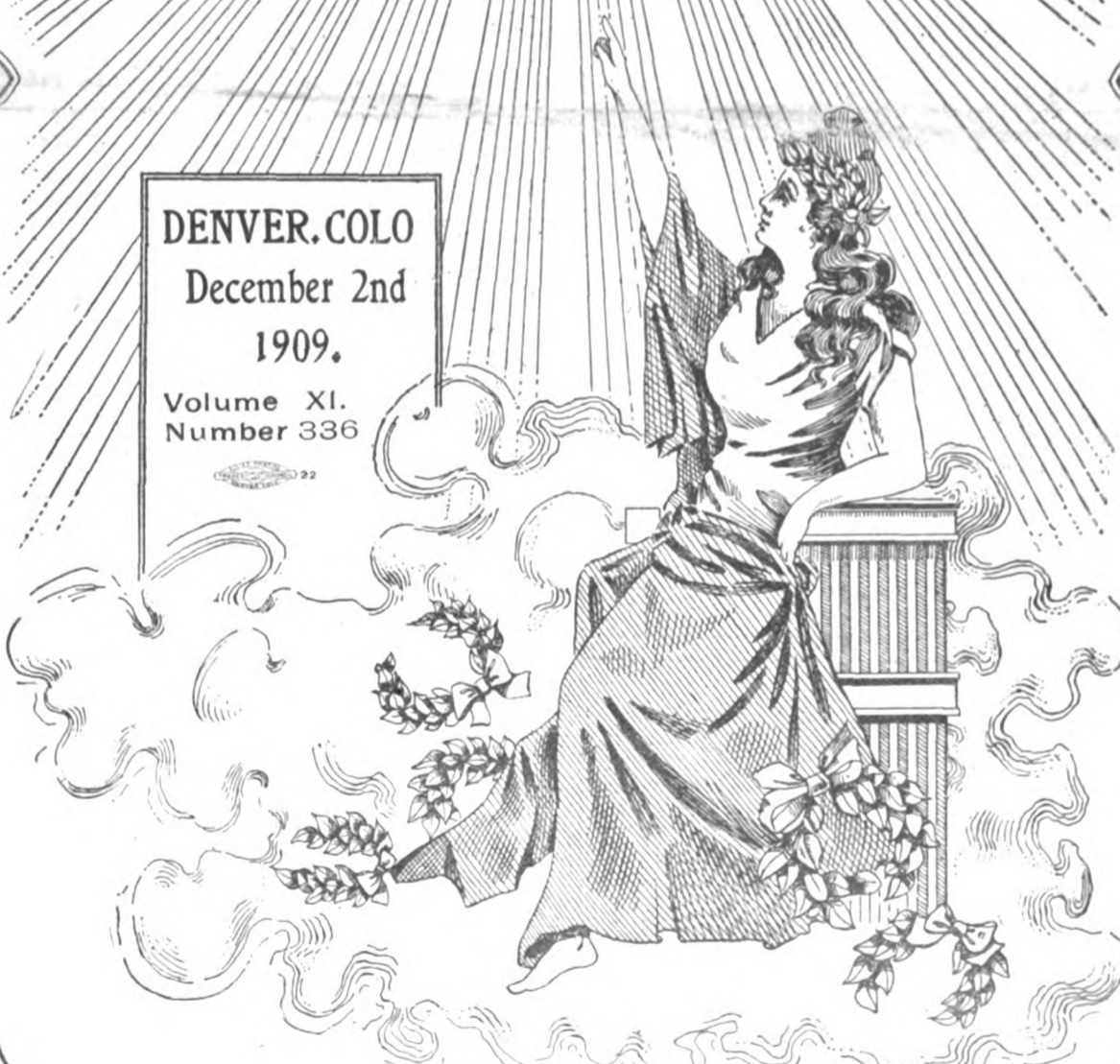
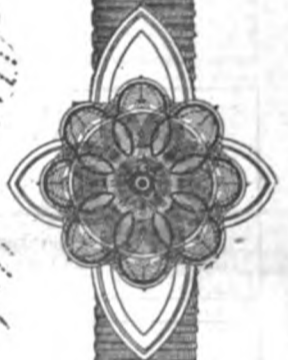
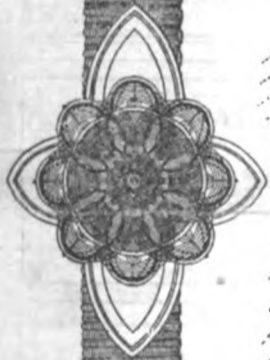
## WESTERN FEDERATION OF MINERS

DENVER, COLO  
December 2nd  
1909.

Volume XI.  
Number 336

22

WEALTH  
BELONGS TO THE  
PRODUCER THEREOF



AGE PAGE 20

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EDUCATION INDEPENDENCE ORGANIZATION

# MINERS' MAGAZINE



Denver, Colorado,  
Thursday, December, 2, 1909.

Volume XI. Number 336  
\$1.00 a Year

UNIONS ARE REQUESTED to write some communication each month for publication. Write plainly, on one side of paper only; where ruled paper is used write only on every second line. Communications not in conformity with this notice will not be published. Subscribers not receiving their Magazine will please notify this office by postal card, stating the numbers not received. Write plainly, as these communications will be forwarded to the postal authorities.

Entered as second-class matter August 27, 1903, at the Postoffice at Denver, Colorado, under the Act of Congress March 3, 1879.

**John M. O'Neill, Editor.**

Address all communications to Miners Magazine,  
Room 605 Railroad Building, Denver, Colo.

FINED AND DECLARED UNFAIR.

Eureka, Nevada, Nov. 11, 1909.

Editor Miners' Magazine:

At a regular meeting of Eureka Miners' Union No. 265, William Evans was declared unfair to organized labor for refusing to reinstate in this union and a fine of \$25.00 placed against him and his name be published in the Miners' Magazine.

Yours fraternally,

(Seal)

J. H. JURY, Secretary No. 265.

## STRIKE NOTICES.

Strikes are on in the following places. All miners and others are requested to stay away until a settlement is reached.

VETERAN MINE, Near  
Ely, Nevada.

Douglas Island, Alaska.

## Fined and Declared Unfair.

Lucky Boy, Nevada, Nov. 21, 1909.

Editor Miners' Magazine:

At the regular meeting of the Lucky Boy Miners' Union No. 248, Thomas McCluskey, engineer, was fined \$25.00 and declared unfair to organized labor for leaving the jurisdiction of this union without reinstating.

Description, 5 feet 10 inches, red hair, age about 27 years.

The action of the union provides that he be compelled to return to Lucky Boy Miners' Union No. 248 and pay said fine and reinstatement fee before he shall be again considered fair to organized labor.

By order of the Lucky Boy Miners' Union No. 248, W. F. of M.

(Seal)

JAS. T. SULLIVAN, Secretary.

Skidoo, Calif., Nov. 18, 1909.

Miners' Magazine:

At the last regular meeting of this local John Thill and George Driskoll were declared unfair and fined twenty-five dollars (\$25.00) each for working in the jurisdiction of this union and refusing to deposit their cards.

Also M. Lares and Peter Blunk were declared unfair and fined twenty-five dollars (\$25.00) each for leaving the jurisdiction of this union without paying their dues and assessments.

SKIDOO MINERS' UNION NO. 211.

S. R. FREDRIKSON, Secretary.

THE AMERICAN Flint Glass Workers' Union has launched an official organ, which is known as "The American Flint." The publication is put up in magazine form and is ably edited.

IT IS NOW STATED that Standard Oil has accumulated a billion of dollars in seventeen years, but there is no statement as to the number of lives that were sacrificed in the reaping of that vast pile of wealth.

W. P. BYRNES, who killed Dave Dallatory, the financial secretary of Snow Ball Miners' Union of Arizona, has been found guilty of murder in the first degree and sentenced to imprisonment for life.

THE EXPLOITERS have automobiles, yachts, palaces, diamonds and luxury, while the exploited have rags, hovels, poverty and want. There is something wrong in a civilization that bequeaths poverty to the worker and a bank account to the indolent.

FIVE THOUSAND granite workers are locked out in Vermont, because the granite workers objected to the introduction of a machine that raised too much dust. The exploiters, in raising dust by a new machine, can see an increase in profit, and health and life are secondary matters when dividends are at stake.

F RANK HAYES, the secretary-treasurer of the United Mine Workers of Illinois, has declared that the sacrifice of human life at Cherry, Illinois, is "murder, cold blooded, brutal murder." Hayes is certainly in a position to know, when he brings such an indictment against a ravenous corporation.

W HILE CHERRY, ILLINOIS, is in mourning for the fate of men who perished in the bowels of the earth, the announcement is made that at least 200 tiny atoms of humanity will be ushered in, whose eyes will never gaze on a father. The broken-hearted wives and mothers bereft of the bread-winners, must bear the additional burden of caring for unborn babes.

THE UNITED STATES Circuit Court of Appeals has handed down a decision which, if obeyed, will practically bring about the dissolution of the Standard Oil trust. The Court has held that the Standard Oil Company is a corporation whose methods of doing business are in restraint of trade. The great legal minds of the Standard Oil have held a conference and have concluded to make an appeal to the Supreme Court of the United States. Should the oil trust fail to find relief in the highest court of the land, then the power and influence of the great corporation will be utilized in repealing the Sherman anti-trust law. It is reasonable to assume that Standard Oil will ultimately win the victory. When Judge Landis of the federal court imposed a fine of \$29,000,000 against Standard Oil, it was thought by many that the oil monopoly was doomed, but another court handed down a dictum that gave joy to the university promoter.

HERE IS SOME consternation over the anticipated cost of the Panama canal. Our wise statesmen declared that the big ditch could be completed at a cost of \$139,705,200, but it is now estimated that the canal, when completed, will reach the enormous expense of a half billion of dollars. There must certainly be some great chunks of graft, or else the men who made estimates on the cost of the Panama canal were children at this business.

HEARST HAS ALWAYS BEEN boasting that he is a model employer of labor, paying the highest salaries and wages for the best work. This is, of course, nothing more than "enlightened self-interest," supposedly a cardinal capitalistic virtue, for which no gratitude ought to be expected. It speaks volumes for the modesty of the workers' demands upon their employers and for the ease with which those demands can be satisfied that Hearst's conduct toward his employes should be regarded by him, and accepted by them, as a valid claim upon their political support. But how differently the same Hearst treats his workingmen in his mines in South Dakota, where union men will henceforth be barred from employment. Is this due to the fact that Lead, S. Dak., is not a place for playing high politics?—New York Call.

THE ENTOMBMENT of several hundred men at a time by a mining "accident" is something that no longer shocks us.

We have become hardened by the frequent repetition of these horrors.

The Romans nailed to the cross their revolted slaves.

Modern capitalist society slays its slaves in hecatombs even while they, in all obedience, are engaged in piling up its wealth.

Never before were slaves so cheap and their lives so worthless as now.

The mining capitalists paid not a cent for their mining slaves. And the places of the latter will soon be filled by others, who will sooner or later share the same fate.

Capitalism is by its very nature, its infinite greed for profits, absolutely devoid of all human considerations.

If there is to be any restraint upon its lavish expenditure of human lives, that restraint must be imposed from without, by the non-capitalistic elements of society, and principally by the workers themselves.

In the monarchic countries of Europe the labor movement, with the aid of philanthropists and far-sighted statesmen, has put a curb upon the insatiable lust of the capitalistic Moloch for human victims.

In Democratic-Republican America we are told that the destruction of human life must proceed without let or hindrance.

We are told that the nation has not the power to pass a comprehensive system of factory laws, uniform throughout these United States, for the protection of the life and limb and health of the workers.

We are told that such laws would be unconstitutional.

It is up to the labor movement—the Socialist party, the American Federation of Labor, and all other labor organizations—and all the friends of humanity to put an end to this iniquity, to force upon our ruling class a new interpretation of our Constitution, one that shall convert it from an instrument of cannibalism into an instrument for the welfare of humanity.—Chicago Daily Socialist.

THE COST of living has almost doubled during the past ten years, but there is scarcely anyone who will contend that wages have advanced in proportion to the cost of the necessaries of life. The man who today is an unskilled laborer can scarcely keep body and soul together on the niggardly wages paid for the services of his muscle. Even the skilled mechanic is feeling the pressure, and the majority of men of intelligence are beginning to realize that wages have been greatly reduced when taking into consideration the difference between the purchasing power of the dollar today and ten years ago.

AN INDICATION of the drift of public sentiment is furnished by the unrest now prevailing in every part of the country which is revolving itself into one mighty protest against the prevailing system of rotten politics, corruption of public servants and merging of great industrial institutions. Trusts are becoming greater in magnitude and more powerful in eliminating individual interests. With the introduction of labor-saving machinery in every industry economy in production is becoming more pronounced and thousands of wage slaves are being reduced to the ranks of paupers annually. Courts are denying justice to the common people and even against opinions formerly held. Decisions are being rendered daily protecting the looters and corporationists.

Heretofore the people have received these happenings with complacency, but with the exposure of the methods by which trusts and capitalists profit, an awakening is spreading throughout the nation from which shall spring one of the greatest political movements of the age.

Reformers have been reforming for a thousand years, but reform agitation is usually an apology to subside popular wrath. The people have listened with patience to the political knave who promised everything and did nothing; they have accepted the platitudes of diverse interests affected with capital as praise of our government; they have become smitten with the belief that "good men in public office" mean honest public servants, but they have bandaged their eyes that they may not see what is actually the present evils. It is with a shock that they have been stupefied at the revelation of the criminal carelessness in the conduct of mining and other properties, an accident which extinguishes the lives of hundreds, leaving to the mercy of charity thousands of dependents. Again, revelations in the swindling by the sugar trust of the government, by which the latter has been defrauded of millions of dollars, has aroused the civil pride of many who have steadfastly supported those principles that American industries must be protected and the integrity of our institutions maintained. They are beginning to see the light and with the awakening the first thought that suggests itself is the cure of these evils which have made the government a prey for capitalist sharks and the magna charta an instrument of flexibility.

Where malice, hatred and narrowness was only seen in the Socialist philosophy, today it is recognized as the beacon light which is destined to reconstruct government and install the high ideals of close community between man, where property shall not be above humanity nor greed above God.—Toilers' Defense.

## The Situation In the Black Hills.

A LITTLE MORE than a month ago, the membership of Lead Miners' Union of Lead, South Dakota, came to the conclusion that every employe working in and around the Homestake Mine and its mills should carry a card in good standing in the Western Federation of Miners. With the object in view of effecting a complete and thorough organization of the Homestake mine and its mills, a few committees became active, and this activity seemed to arouse the indignation of the management of the Homestake company. Shortly after the work of organization commenced, the Homestake company, through one of its official representatives, brought suit against Lead Miners' Union for the sum of \$10,000, claiming that amount of damages on account of committees carrying on the missionary work of bringing the employes of the Homestake company under the banner of organized labor.

It was at first thought that the suit brought by the Homestake company against Lead Miners' Union was merely a "bluff" and that the suit for damages was merely instituted in the hope that this local union of the Western Federation of Miners would cease in its efforts to make Lead a union camp.

The Lead union had adopted resolutions requiring all employes of the Homestake company to become members in good standing not later than November 25th, and that after that date, union men would refuse to work with non-union men. The committees used no coercion or intimidation in carrying on the work of organization, but by logical and persuasive argument, convinced the employes of the Homestake company that "in union is strength" and that working men standing outside the pales of the labor movement in this day and age of concentration were not only enemies to the class to which they belonged, but were making it possible for corporate power to more easily trample on the rights of the workers.

The efforts of the committees were crowned with success, and when the management of the Homestake company realized that the miners

of the powerful mining corporation had rallied beneath the flag of the Western Federation of Miners, the following was posted in conspicuous places on the grounds of the company, in the hope that the miners would become timid and surrender their manhood through the fear of losing their jobs:

### "NOTICE.

"Notice is hereby given that the Homestake Mining Company will employ only non-union men after January 1, 1910. The present scale of wages and the eight (8) hour shift will be maintained. All employes who desire to remain in the company's service must register at the general office of the company on or before December 15, 1909.

"November 17, 1909.

T. J. GRIER,  
"Superintendent."

The above notice needs no explanation; its meaning is apparent. The man who desired to remain in the employ of the Homestake company was commanded to renounce all allegiance to the principles of organized labor and become an unwilling slave to the despotic dictum of the most powerful mining corporation in America.

To work for the Homestake company, he must pen his signature to a document that demands that he shall forfeit his right to be a member of a union.

But the notice of the Homestake company, while creating surprise, did not have the effect anticipated, for the employes, true to themselves and jealous of their liberties, refused to respond to the mandate of a notice that could only be looked upon as an insult by men equipped with a sense of justice.

When the management of the Homestake company became aware of the futility of the notice and recognized the fact that the miners of Lead scorned to dishonor themselves, it was then decreed that more

drastic methods should be utilized to accomplish the unholy ends of the Homestake company.

On the evening of November 24th, the miners were notified that the Homestake company would shut down indefinitely, and so this great corporation of South Dakota, that has been lauded for its friendship to labor, declared a *lock out*, in the hope that its 2,500 employes might be starved into submission.

On the evening of November 24th, when the people of a nation are presumed to be making preparations to give thanks on the following day, a mighty and powerful mining corporation issues a *Thanksgiving Proclamation* which says to 2,500 employes that they must surrender their right to become a member of a labor union or suffer the penalty of losing employment with the Homestake Mining Company.

The Homestake Mining Company has declared a *lock out*.

This *lock out* means that unionism must be strangled to death in the Black Hills.

The Homestake Mining Company has declared *war* in denying an employe the right to become a member of a labor organization.

This corporation has thrown down the gauntlet and the issue must be met. For more than thirty years the miners of Lead have maintained a local union, and now, their right is challenged to longer belong to an organization that has for its object the uplifting of the working class.

The membership of the Western Federation of Miners throughout the Rocky Mountains and the Pacific slope will realize the great principle involved in the pending battle, and every effort must be made to defend the right of the miners of Lead, South Dakota, to maintain an organization that gives shelter and protection to the exploited class.

Every member of the Western Federation of Miners should realize the magnitude of the battle in the Black Hills, and give the best that is in him, until the Homestake Mining Company shall concede the right of an employe to join hands with his fellow men in an organization that is struggling for justice.

## Another Law Killed.

IN THE STATE of Illinois the legislature passed a law prohibiting the employment of women for more than ten hours in any one day. When this law was placed on the statute books of the state of Illinois there was rejoicing and the labor movement of the state congratulated itself on the victory achieved in the chamber of a law-making body.

But the law which shortened the labor of women to ten hours a day was inimical to the interests of employers and the courts, that "bulwark of American liberty," was appealed to in order that a law that gave relief to the woman whom poverty had forced to work for another, might be murdered and the employer licensed to work women as many hours as he pleased.

The court in its wisdom held that the ten-hour law for women in the state of Illinois was "unconstitutional" on the grounds that the law "trespassed on the rights of women" and destroyed freedom of contract guaranteed by the constitution.

The decision of Judge Tuthill was based on a precedent that was established by the Court of Appeals of New York, thus showing that decisions handed down by courts are influenced, not by legislative enactment or organic laws, but by prior dictums that have been handed down by courts.

Whenever a court summons such brazen audacity as to declare

that shortening the hours of wage slavery for working women is an invasion of the rights of women, such a court has become lost to shame and insults the intelligence of the citizenship of this country.

The law passed by the legislature of Illinois was for the purpose of halting greed in its mad desire to murder human beings through long hours in mills, factories, department stores and sweat shops. But a court, mindful of the rights and liberties of that great majority of the gentler sex that is doomed to wear the shackles of industrial slavery has concluded that the working woman must be protected in her right to slave for a master, as many hours as her benevolent tyrant thinks is necessary to draw his usual dividends. The shorter work day that protects the health of the woman is a trespass on her rights and liberties, and assassinates "freedom of contract."

According to such a decision, it is reasonable to presume that if a woman entered into a contract to besmirch her virginity, the courts would uphold her, on the grounds that the constitution guaranteed "freedom of contract."

Though women and children are being slowly murdered through long hours, yet the labor movement must ask no legislation that curtails the "freedom" of woman to murder herself as soon as possible, to glut the insatiable appetite of soulless greed.

Our judicial tribunals are becoming a travesty on justice.

## Mere Statements Will Not Solve the Problem.

DURING THE CONVENTION of the American Federation of Labor at Toronto, Canada, a mass meeting was held, at which gathering "Labor and the Saloon" was the subject of discussion.

Mitchell, Lennon and Stelzle were the principal speakers, and while deploring the misery and wretchedness that follow in the wake of the liquor traffic, yet none of the speakers advanced an argument that could be looked upon as a solution to the problem. Mr. Mitchell, in the course of his speech against the liquor traffic, contended that on the ruins of the saloon would rise the mill and factory, and that such new industries would absorb the labor that was now employed in the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors. Such a statement might appeal to the galleries and men who have not given the subject serious thought and consideration might even believe that Mitchell knew what he was talking about and that he had a broad and comprehensive grasp of the situation.

But thoughtful men will not be carried away by a mere statement. The abolition of the saloon means the wiping out of the brewery and distillery, and such abolition means that hundreds of thousands of employes will be added to that idle army that is steadily increasing through the productive capacity of labor shackled to the machines of production. The mere statement that mills and factories will rise on the ruins of saloons will not give employment to the hundreds of thousands that will be left masterless through the annihilation of the liquor traffic. The most vigorous denunciation of all the evils that can be laid at the door of the rum palace will not solve the problem. Glittering

generalities on the theme of intemperance may create a wave of sentiment against the liquor traffic, but the question arises, what provision is to be made for the hundreds of thousands who will find themselves jobless when the crusade for temperance has reached the goal of victory?

What mills and factories will take the place of saloons, breweries and distilleries?

The member of organized labor who has employment through the operation of breweries, distilleries and saloons has the right to demand that Mr. Mitchell shall be specific, and not indulge in statements that are unsupported by proofs.

Will Mr. Mitchell point out where a mill and factory are absolutely needed today to produce the necessaries and luxuries of life? Is it not a fact that the market is practically glutted with commodities, and that many mills and factories are closed or partially closed, for lack of a market? The members of organized labor engaged in breweries, distilleries, saloons, cigar factories, hotels, cafes and restaurants see in the agitation against the liquor traffic the loss of employment, and they have not as yet listened to an anti-saloon crusader who is able to convince them that with the abolition of the saloon they would still be enabled to find other occupations that would afford them the means of life.

No man will attempt to deny but that the liquor traffic is a monstrous evil, but the liquor traffic is but one of the murderous products of the capitalist system, and until the profit system is destroyed, the liquor traffic will continue to blight and blast the homes of human beings and send annually countless thousands to premature graves.

## Against Publicity.

THE ARISTOCRATIC WIVES and daughters of Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, have been shocked and a crime against society has been committed, that can scarcely be forgiven by that "smart set" that believes in aristocracy maintaining the external appearance of being respectable.

Last week two distinguished gentlemen were the guests of a fashionable theatre in the "Smoky City."

Admiral Schley, who has written his name on a page of American history, was a visitor at Pittsburg and was invited to enjoy a box at the Gaiety theatre on a Saturday night.

The admirers of the man who made some "reputation" while

Young Columbia was exterminating Spanish rule from the Pearl of the Antilles and the islands of the Pacific, concluded that a loving cup made from armor plate would be a souvenir that would be fully appreciated by the soldier who had sailed the seas under the starry banner of "Uncle Samuel."

When the theatrical performance had closed, the loving cup was presented to Schley by United States Senator Oliver on the stage of the theatre, and as he concluded his presentation speech and placed the cup in the hands of the admiral, two chorus girls with abbreviated skirts and equipped with bottles of champagne, rushed towards the famed gentleman of the navy and poured the vintage into the loving cup.

The admiral sipped the wine, likewise the United States Senator and other distinguished gentlemen of Pittsburg's "400."

While the cream of Pittsburg society quaffed champagne from a loving cup on the stage of the theatre, the audience sung that hilarious song entitled, "Nobody Knows How Dry I Am."

Why should the elite of Pittsburg's "upper ten" offer criticism and censure for such an act in real life being played on a stage?

It is because the matter has leaked out through the columns of the daily press and aristocracy has discovered that even the common people have been made aware of the frailties of men who are looked upon as the great "pillars of society."

Chorus girls—mere wage slaves—were not sufficiently dignified to mingle with a United States Senator and an admiral in the navy.

These distinguished men, in the opinion of society, fell from their proud pedestals when they became the associates of women who earn their living behind the footlights.

Had they quaffed champagne in the sumptuous apartments of a club and not before the vulgar gaze of an audience in a public theatre, it would have been of small consequence as to who were the menials who waited on such patricians.

But Pittsburg society is against publicity, and has now put on its veneer of respectability to rebuke such degeneracy on the stage of a theatre.

## John Mitchell's Speech.

IN THE LATE CONVENTION of the American Federation of Labor, John Mitchell, formerly president of the United Mine Workers of America and second vice president of the American Federation of Labor, and likewise a salaried official of the Civic Federation, made a speech which breathed more or less defiance to the despotism of a judiciary that attempts to shackle free speech by a dictum that sends men to prison because they exercise the boasted constitutional rights of American citizenship. Mitchell's speech before the convention was as follows:

"I take this occasion to say that I am most heartily in favor of the resolution as reported by the committee. I rise in no spirit of defiance, but simply to say that I will surrender no rights that I possess as a man or a citizen.

"I know not what physical or mental suffering I may be called upon to endure, but no amount of such mental or physical suffering will persuade me that I have not the right to spend my own money when I please and where I please and to say and write what I please, being responsible for the consequences of my statements before the law. I deny most emphatically that any merchant or manufacturer has any claim upon my mind or my money, and any attempt to create such a claim through the subtleties of the law must be resented to the very limit.

"I have heard that cognizance is being taken of the words spoken upon the floor of this convention. I wish, therefore, to get clearly into the record the fact of my determination to exercise my full rights as guaranteed by the institutions of this country.

"I may be sent to jail. If I am, when I return from there I shall declare again that I shall not for myself purchase any of the products of the Buck Stove and Range Company.

"I make these statements, not to tickle the ears of any man, but to publicly declare the convictions that are within me.

"This whole proceeding should be a lasting lesson to the working men of the United States and Canada. If all men had been true to themselves and to their union there would be no non-union products manufactured or offered for sale. Working men have been too much concerned with their own affairs to have any time or interest for the broader things that affect their fellows. If working men will but realize that they are the real employers of labor and will carry their principles out, there will be no non-union products. I believe that the time will come when working men will demand that all the goods they use shall be made by union labor. Merchants are glad to supply union goods when they are demanded. Manufacturers will be glad to supply the merchants if they demand the union goods. Union men have not sufficiently insisted upon the label. Some few have done so, but it is perfectly obvious that only a small part have done their duty.

"I repeat again that I am little concerned with what the consequences may be to me, I propose to exercise to the full the liberties and the rights that are guaranteed to American citizens.

"I have grown up with pride in the name of an American. When I was a little child and my stepmother could not buy the bread with which to still my hunger nor the clothes with which to keep me warm,

I have wrapped myself in the old army overcoat and felt proud of the fact that I was an American and the son of an American soldier.

"I am not less proud today. I want to live to see the word American stand for all that is symbolized in that flag. I want it to stand for real liberty; I do not want it simply to stand for the liberty to do the things that I do not want to do, but to stand for the right to help my fellows.

"I do not stand for the liberty enunciated by some of our courts in recent decisions—the liberty of women to work themselves to death. I do not believe in the kind of liberty granted by Judge Tuthill of Illinois when he declared that the women of that state have a right to work ten hours a day. I believe in the liberty that gives to every man and woman the right to live and grow and to develop the best that is in them.

"This litigation will have one good result. It will compel the people to realize the necessity of working in concert. It will teach them the need of standing together in defense of their rights.

"I once visited a German newspaper. I saw there a man who seemed little fitted for the conduct of a newspaper. I asked who he was and was informed that he was there to go to prison. Surely the time will not come when organized labor must employ some one to stay in prison. I have been told that there was a time in the struggle of Ireland for freedom when an Irishman was looked upon with suspicion and could not expect to be elected to any office unless he had served a term in prison. I hope that the American labor movement has not reached a similar stage.

"In conclusion I wish to express the hope that the law may be such that every liberty loving man can keep it, and that the law may be so interpreted that every man may feel that he has a square deal before the courts."

The above speech, from the lips of John Mitchell, brought considerable applause from the delegates of the American Federation of Labor. The language is somewhat vigorous, but at the same time, it did not require much courage to deliver such a speech, when knowing that if a jail sentence is to be served, the victim of imprisonment will be drawing a salary.

It is true that the loss of liberty is a serious matter to a man of spirit and independence. No man courts imprisonment and every fibre of his nature rebels against being stigmatized by a court as a criminal, when he has only appropriated to himself the rights that are supposed to be guaranteed by organic law.

But it is somewhat singular, and to some extent incomprehensible to the real union man, that John Mitchell can deliver a speech in a labor convention carrying with it the semblance of a loyalty to union principles and at the same time draw a salary of \$6,000 per annum from a Civic Federation, whose funds are furnished by the magnates of wealth of this country.

Men of clear conception and keen observation on the labor movement of this country have come to the conclusion long ago that no man can serve two masters, and if Mitchell can be loyal to organized labor and at the same time serve the interests of the Civic Federation, he is accomplishing a feat that goes beyond human comprehension.

## Our Explanation.

IN LAST WEEK'S ISSUE of the Miners' Magazine there appeared resolutions that were adopted by Globe Miners' Union No. 60 of Globe, Arizona, which censured the editor for permitting communications to appear in the columns of the official organ which were considered personal in their character, and which were thought by Globe Miners' Union to be detrimental to the best interests of the organization. The Globe Miners' Union, while adopting resolutions which censure the editor, yet fail to point out specifically the communication or communications which call for the adoption of resolutions that call upon the executive board to restrain the editor in giving space to articles which, in the opinion of the Globe Miners' Union, might jeopardize the best interests of the Western Federation of Miners.

The editor is free to admit that any local union or member of the organization has the right to criticize the editor, and if need be, censure him for a refusal to obey the mandates of a convention.

But it is the opinion of the editor that when Globe Miners' Union at a regular meeting adopted the resolutions that were published in the last issue of the Magazine, the members who cast their ballots for such resolutions failed to comprehend the delicate position which the

editor occupies when he uses his judgment in the acceptance or rejection of a manuscript that comes from a member or a local union, bearing the seal of such union.

It will be remembered by the delegates of the last convention that the editor received the condemnation of Globe Miners' Union because he exercised his judgment in the rejection of a document that was framed by a member of the organization, bearing the seal of Globe Miners' Union. He was severely criticized by Globe Miners' Union and almost branded as an autocrat and a czar, because he dared to reject a communication that bore the seal of a local union. The criticism and censure were carried to the floor of the convention, and when the delegates became fully acquainted with the merits of the controversy between Globe Miners' Union and the editor, the whole matter was consigned to the waste-basket and the editor upheld in his attitude on the article which had been refused space in the official organ. The editor, almost eight months ago, was censured for rejecting a document bearing the seal of Globe Miners' Union, and in a few weeks after the seventeenth annual convention adjourns, he is again assailed by Globe Miners' Union for the publication of an article or articles which Globe Miners' Union fails to point out as the communication or communica-

tions which might be detrimental to the welfare and progress of the organization.

If the editor has been guilty of any wrong doing, he has the right to insist that the charge shall be specific so that he may know wherein he has committed an offense against the instructions or orders of a convention.

The editor will assume, however, that the articles which have brought forth resolutions of censure from Globe Miners' Union were the documents that emanated from the pen of Martin Wallace, ex-president of the California State Union No. 2, W. F. M., and Joseph Hutchinson, one of the members of the executive board. The document signed by Wallace bore the seal of the California State Union, and the answer of board-member Hutchinson bore his signature, and as an official of the organization, must be credited with responsibility. The article written by Wallace was based on the statements made by John Tenby and W. J. Martin, delegates to the Seventeenth annual convention from the state of California. The ex-president of the California State Union, basing his article on the statements of the delegates from California, was somewhat caustic in the language that he used towards board-member Hutchinson, and the reply of Hutchinson was merely a statement to the effect that Wallace was not acquainted with facts. In other words, board-member Hutchinson took the position

that Wallace, in writing such an article, had nothing upon which to base his vigorous denunciation, and in the brief reply of Hutchinson, he refused to answer the many allegations made by the ex-president of the California State Union.

The editor, when receiving the article bearing the seal of the California State Union, felt a reluctance in publishing the same, but he realized that if he refused to give space to a document bearing the seal of a state union, there would be an earthquake in California.

Wallace believed from the statements made by the delegates from California, that he had been unjustly assailed on the floor of the convention, and he believed that he had a right to be heard in his own defense through the columns of the official organ.

Board-member Hutchinson had the right to reply to Wallace and defend himself from any accusations which he felt reflected upon him as an official of the organization. The controversy between Wallace and Hutchinson is closed so far as the editor is concerned, and it is the hope of the editor that when Globe Miners' Union again drafts resolutions censuring the editor for publishing articles that contain personalities, that Globe Miners' Union will not forget to likewise censure the parties that indulge in personalities, and to likewise protest against the seal of a union being used to legalize the petty grievances of some party or parties whose dignity has been slightly wounded.

## What a Mockery.

A SHORT TIME AGO it became known that in the great city of Chicago, ten thousand human beings were forced through poverty to seek the means of existence by visiting the alleyways and appropriating to themselves the refuse that was consigned to the receptacles for garbage. Ten thousand men, women and children, pinched by the skeleton fingers of hunger, forced to eat decomposing carrion to save themselves from death by starvation in a great city that towers as one of the great commercial centers of a continent.

Ten thousand hapless and wretched paupers in a city where Christian civilization is supposed to dwell, driven to the awful extremity of eating the filth and offal that belongs to a city dump.

But when the board of health of the city of Chicago became aware of the fact that an army of men, women and children were subsisting on the refuse of garbage barrels, fear crept into the hearts of the men who are supposed to maintain sanitary conditions, and an order went forth that the garbage barrels should be sprayed with poison as a means to prevent the spread of disease through human beings satiating their hunger on filth. The board of health recognized the fact that men, women and children, forced to eat the rotting remnants of hotels and restaurants that found a place in garbage tanks, would naturally

spread disease, and society must be protected from the infection that might be spread by the poverty-stricken wretches who haunt the alleys in search of the means of a miserable existence. But while the board of health took steps to protect the health of that element of society who could afford to appease hunger on wholesome food, no provision was made for the care of ten thousand people whose source of life was immediately destroyed through the use of poison on garbage.

But while the board of health was having its orders carried into execution, and while the garbage was being sprayed with poison, a great religious wave was sweeping over Chicago and eloquent men stood upon the rostrum and in the pulpit, and appealed to the generosity of the people for funds to carry the light of the gospel of Christ to the benighted heathens of foreign lands.

The men whose hearts seemed to ache for the heathen launched a movement for the raising of hundreds of thousands of dollars to carry the message of Christianity to the heathen, but these men permeated with the enthusiasm of religious zeal seemed to be blind to the suffering wretches who are already believers in the word of God.

Hundreds of thousands of dollars for the heathen and poisoned garbage for the jobless paupers who haunt the alleys of Chicago in search of the refuse of hotels and restaurants.

What a mockery to contemplate!

## The Mob at Cairo, Illinois.

A SHORT TIME AGO there was a race riot at Cairo, Illinois. The riot at Cairo was a duplicate of the riot that took place at Springfield, Illinois, more than a year ago.

The vast majority of the respectable citizenship of Cairo became a mob, and respectability reddened its hands with human blood.

A young lady had been assaulted by a negro, and when her dead body was found, mutilated and outraged, respectability arose in its indignation and clamored for the life of the black brute who had committed the crime of murder in his attempt to glut his bestial nature.

Respectability that appeals for "law and order" took the law into its own hands and used the rope, the bullet and the torch to satiate its vengeance. The mob at Cairo, Illinois, was as brutal and as uncivilized, as the brute who fed his appetite on the virtue of a helpless woman.

Men and women of supposed culture and refinement are not presumed to resolve themselves into a mob, thirsting for human blood. Such men and women are supposed to conduct themselves in such a manner as will have an influence over that great majority whose poverty denies them that mental training that spurns the coarse and brutal acts of violence.

But professional and business men, and women who sometimes give delicate "pink tea" affairs, became dehumanized and ignored the divine injunction "Thou shalt not kill."

The most significant phase of mob violence at Cairo, Illinois, is the attitude of ministers of the gospel, who came out almost openly and from pulpits in houses dedicated to God gave their approval of the carnival of riot that resulted in the death of a rape fiend and the storming of a jail from which was taken a trembling victim charged with the murder of his wife.

The ministers of Cairo have concluded (according to the press dispatches) that the lynchings were "blessings in disguise."

Rev. George M. Babcock of the Episcopalian Church declared:

"Cairo stands disgraced before the world but the disgrace is not in the lynchings. The real disgrace lies in the facts that the city has allowed lawless elements to control civic affairs. In the same alley in which Miss Pelley was killed there have been four assaults on young women within a year. This defiance of law and order made the lynchings necessary to secure justice."

Rev. A. S. Buchanan of the Presbyterian Church declared:

"The lynchings were the harvest of the seeds of lawlessness that have been sown in Cairo for years."

F. W. Thielecke, editor of the Cairo Bulletin, declared:

"Cairo's disgrace is not the mob but the conditions that made the mob necessary. For these conditions the authorities, from the judge on the Circuit Court bench down to the deputy sheriffs and bailiffs, and the Police Department of the city, are responsible."

Why do such expressions come from ministers of the gospel and from the editor of the most prominent journal published in the city of Cairo, Illinois?

Is it the indignation that is felt over the brutality of a crime that ended in the murder of a young woman?

Hundreds of thousands of young women are being slowly murdered every day, and yet we have but few protests against the murderers in broadcloth, who wreck virtue, and who live sumptuously on the proceeds that are minted from the sweat and tears of ill-paid toil."

But these ministers realized that many of the members of their churches were in the mob, and regardless of the fact that they listened to the "Word of God" on Sundays, yet, the influence of Christianity failed to restrain the brutal passions of men and women whose wrath clamored for "an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth."

The editor of the Cairo Bulletin likewise recognized the fact that many business men who were in the mob were patrons of his journal, and their advertising patronage forced him to give some semblance of approval to the mob spirit that has disgraced the city of Cairo with the lawless acts of the "respectable" element.

These ministers attempt to place the responsibility of crimes committed at Cairo which led to a riot, at the door of public officials, but what shall be said of the churches, and the ministers whose work among the people has failed to halt the commission of heinous outrages!

Had the riot been the culmination of a labor strike, and members of organized labor, driven to desperation in a conflict with greedy and grasping corporations had resorted to lynching to satiate their vengeance, every daily journal and almost every minister of the gospel would have hurled the most vigorous denunciation against the perpetrators and organized labor would have been branded as the citadel in which conspiracies were hatched to take human life.

But mob violence in Cairo was perpetrated by our taper-fingered gentry, and disorder and riot, though resulting in murder, must be ex-

posed and apologized for by the pretended followers of the Lowly Nazarene.

## The Victims.

(By MAY BEALS)

"It is not coal you are burning up,  
But human creatures' lives."

THE FLARING, FLICKERING LIGHT from the lamps in their caps showed their coal-begrimed faces as they huddled together and talked in hushed tones of the thing that had happened. Near them on the floor of the mine lay a man's head, blackened and blood-smearred. A little beyond it was a hand, the fingers still twitching slightly. From underneath the mass of slate, newly fallen, a little red stream trickled slowly toward them. They moved a little farther from it, and a little farther, until they were huddled against the opposite wall, but it followed them stealthily.

They knew that they must die. No human power could rescue them before the deadly gases crept upon them. But the horror in their eyes was not all a horror of death.

The youngest, a boy of fourteen, slipped his hand into his father's. "Let's write to her," he said, "and to the children."

"Write," groaned the father, "write! What can we tell her? Can we tell her how to fill six mouths when she has nothing—nothing?"

"We can tell her," the boy said bravely, though the horror deepened in his eyes, "that we're not afraid to die."

The man was already fumbling in his pocket for a pencil. The others followed his example.

"I'm not afraid to die," the father said, "but God knows I'm afraid for her to live."

They crouched down in the narrow space and began writing on

such scraps of paper as they could find in their pockets, spreading it out as smoothly as possible on knee or dinner pail or smooth bit of slate. For a long while there was unbroken silence, save for the labored breathing of the men as the air became more oppressive and the scratching of the pencils as their work-stiffened fingers moved clumsily, but rapidly, in the race with death. And though they knew that it was their master's greed for profits that had made the mine a death trap, there was no word of bitterness or resentment in the letters they wrote to their dearest.

Before they had finished writing one of them fell back and lay writhing and gasping for breath. They did not try to revive him. They knew that to do so would only prolong his torture. When he lay still at last, with distorted face and protruding tongue, they felt a little relieved. They knew he was at rest.

The boy was trembling violently. Each breath was harder to draw than the one before it. He turned a little, with his back to the dead man, and looked at his father.

"I'll tell her to use my clothes for the children," he whispered. "She won't do it unless I tell her to—and it will help a little."

And outside, in the clear morning sunlight, the women were weeping.

But in one of the costliest mansions of a city not far away a man sat at his dainty breakfast table scowling over the news that had just reached him through the telephone.

He looked across at the prettily painted thing for whom he had divorced the wife of his youth.

"It will cost a confounded lot of money," he growled, "to get that mine in working order again."—Social Democratic Herald.

## Militarism Overreaching Itself.

IT LOOKS NOW as if France is about ready to join in the procession led by the German Empire and Great Britain.

The German "financial reform," which amounted to an annual increase of \$125,000,000 in taxation for the sole purpose of increasing the military and naval armaments, had for its immediate result the overthrow of Chancellor von Buelow.

That was a matter of great sensational interest, and every newspaper the world over felt called upon to make more or less pertinent comment on it.

But the fall of Prince Buelow was an altogether insignificant incident compared with the series of electoral triumphs by the German Social Democracy, which followed closely upon its heels.

In the North, as well as in the South, in elections for the Reichstag, as well as for the diets of various states and the councils of municipalities, the Socialists have scored unprecedented and, in several cases, unexpected victories. Nor has the tide exhausted itself. On the contrary, every new election adds to it new force and volume.

Our German comrades do not deceive themselves as to the meaning of these successes. In their elation they do not pretend that the new masses of their supporters are convinced Socialists. They fully realize that it is resentment against the new fiscal burdens, and not an understanding and acceptance of the Socialist program, that drives these voters to the support of the Social Democracy.

But our German comrades also know that the same force which now drives the working masses to their support will continue to operate with accumulated intensity, for the great capitalistic nations have accepted the burden of militarism, not of their free choice, but of necessity. And they rely upon their unrivaled organization and their powerful press and other educational facilities to turn blind resentment into an enlightened acceptance of the principles of Socialism.

The great disturbance set up by the new budget in Germany was followed by a similar disturbance in Great Britain. In the latter country the ruling powers are more amenable to popular pressure than they are in Germany, and in order to make the enormously augmented

military and naval expenditures acceptable to the masses they have granted some measures of social reform in the shape of a workmen's compensation act (employers' liability law) and an old age pension law. These measures the lords felt themselves compelled to acquiesce in, but they refuse to acquiesce in increased taxation of incomes from land and capital. This refusal of the lords seems destined to open a new era of political and social disturbance in Great Britain. And every such disturbance in these days can redound to the advantage of only one party, that of the awakened working class.

France now follows in the footsteps of Germany and England. There is proposed an increased expenditure of \$40,000,000 a year in the new French budget. And we may be sure that the proposal will be accepted, willingly or unwillingly. In vain do the deputies dread to meet their constituents in the coming elections, after having voted for the big increase in taxation. In vain does Jaures thunder in the chamber against the limitless and wasteful competition in armaments. In vain does he propose an Anglo-Franco-German agreement for the reduction of military expenditures. The enormous increase in military expenditures is due, as Jaures himself says, to the rivalry between Great Britain and Germany. That rivalry is rooted in the capitalist system. The ruling classes in Great Britain dread the progress of German industry and commerce far more than they do the progress of German armaments, the German merchant marine far more than the German battleships. Conversely, the ruling classes of Germany have set their hearts upon rivaling, or even surpassing, the British naval power only because they are resolved upon overcoming British competition in foreign markets.

As long as this commercial rivalry among the great capitalistic nations lasts it is idle to talk of agreements for the reduction of armaments. The capitalist system must follow its natural course. By doing so it is becoming more and more unbearable to the producing masses. And thus it raises up ever new enemies against itself. Thus does militarism sap the strength of nations. Thus does the most powerful weapon of the ruling classes and their ultimate reliance in time of need turn into a most powerful engine for their destruction.—New York Call.

## How the Masses are Brutalized.

THE CONTEMPT FOR LAW and the savage joy in the destruction of human life as they manifest themselves in the frequent lynchings, may amaze the superficial observer. But on any closer examination they appear perfectly natural and in keeping with the main features of our national life.

How can an infuriated mob be expected to respect human life when the masters of this country exhibit a systematic and cold-blooded contempt for it?

Our railroads kill and maim every year thousands and tens of thousands.

Of interstate railway employes alone there were killed in the twenty-one years from 1888 to 1908, 56,516; and crippled, 895,548. This does not include the maimed and killed passengers and tramps. The latter, officially designated as trespassers, are killed every year by the thousands.

But notwithstanding this stupendous and increasing slaughter of their workmen the railway companies presented the most stubborn resistance to the law compelling them to introduce safety devices, such as the automatic coupler, and year after year they clamored for, and obtained, the extension of their privilege to maim and kill their workmen.



Nor is this slaughter confined to interstate railways which are compelled by law to make annual reports to the Interstate Commerce Commission. The same thing goes on in the heart of our cities.

According to testimony presented before the committee, now in session in this city, to investigate the operation of the employers' liability law, 10,000 railway employes were killed or injured in this city within twenty-one months, out of a total force of 35,000, so that one-third of all the railway employes in this city are killed or disabled every two years.

The same recklessness of human life is shown in the numberless mining accidents. That our mines are operated without the safety devices which have been made compulsory in European mines is a fact known to all mining engineers.

This is likewise true of our industrial establishments. The laws are inadequate and differ widely in the various states. The enforcement of the laws is lax in the extreme, due either to inadequate staffs of inspectors, or their incompetency or their corruptibility.

The "slaughter house" of Hoffstot's Pressed Steel Car Company has become notorious since the late rebellion of his wage slaves. But the same ruthless killing is going on in all the great industries throughout the country, year after year.

In every great strike men are being brutally clubbed, injured or killed by special police, deputy sheriffs, state constabulary or other bodies of mercenaries especially hired and trained for "internal war."

The systematic destruction of workers' lives in this country is going on at a rate so stupendous that but for the immigration from foreign countries our capitalists would be unable to replenish their supply of wage slaves.

Under these conditions is it any wonder that the mobs of our cities are so utterly brutalized?

The labor movement, which aims at putting a restraint upon the industrial slaughter, will also imbue our masses with a respect for human life. It will achieve what no sermons and no newspaper leaders can ever achieve. It is the most powerful humanizing agent now in existence.—New York Call.



INFORMATION WANTED.

Silverton, Colo., Nov. 23, 1909.

Editor Miners' Magazine:

Please insert in the Magazine the following and oblige Ed Klausner, a member of this union. Fraternaly yours,

H. A. ALLEN, President No. 26.  
Silverton, Colo., Nov. 23, 1909.

Anyone knowing the address of Louis Gasser, communicate with Ed Klausner, or the Silverton Miners' Union, No. 26. He may find out something to his advantage.

ED KLAUSNER.

CONDEMNATION FROM BISBEE, ARIZONA.

Bisbee, Ariz., Nov. 17, 1909.

Whereas, To satiate the blood lust of a tyrannical government, "The reflex of the Spanish Inquisition," Professor Francisco Ferrer was foully murdered in the city of Barcelona, Spain; his only crime being the advocacy of the cause of the downtrodden and the oppressed; and

Whereas, Such a flagrant abuse of justice by a prostituted Spanish government, in the present day and age should not be tolerated by any civilized people; and

Whereas, Professor Ferrer, by devoting his life and money in establishing the "Modern School" in Spain for the education of the masses thereby proved himself the friend of the working class; be it

Resolved, That we, members of Bisbee Miners' Union, No. 106, W. F. M., denounce that infamous puppet titled the King of Spain and his bloodthirsty understrappers, for foully murdering Francisco Ferrer under the guise of law and order; and we ask the assistance of the working class of the world in demanding that King Alfonso and his legalized butchers be made suffer for the perpetration of this dastardly crime; and be it further

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be sent to the Miners' Magazine, the Appeal to Reason and other labor papers for publication.

By order Bisbee Miners' Union, No. 106, Western Federation of Miners.

(Seal)

EDW. CROUGH,  
JAS. L. BROOKS,  
W. E. STEWART,

Committee.

STRENGTH OF LABOR.

The following classic gem was written by Henry George, one of the foremost thinkers and writers of political science:

"Near the window by which I write a great bull is tethered by a ring in his nose. Grazing round and round, he has wound his rope around the stake until now he stands a close prisoner, tantalized by rich grass he cannot reach, unable to even toss his head to rid him of the flies that cluster on his shoulders. Now and again he struggles vainly, and then, after pitiful bellowings, relapses into silent misery.

"This bull, a very type of massive strength, who, because he has not wit enough to see how he might be free, suffers want in the sight of plenty, and is helplessly preyed upon by weaker creatures, seems to me no unfit emblem of the working masses.

"In all lands men whose toil creates abounding wealth are pinched with poverty, and while advancing civilization opens wider vistas and weakens new desires, are held down to brutish levels by animal needs. Bitterly conscious of injustice, feeling in their inmost souls that they were made for more than so narrow a life, they too spasmodically struggle and cry out.

But until they trace effect to cause, until they see how they are fettered and how they may be freed, their struggles and outcries are as vain as those of the bull. Nay, they are vainer. I shall go out and drive the bull in the way that will untwist his rope. But who will drive men into freedom? Till they use the season with which they have been gifted, nothing can avail. For them there is no special providence.

"Under all forms of government the ultimate power lies with the masses. It is not kings, or aristocrats, nor land owners, nor capitalists that anywhere really enslave the people. It is their own ignorance. Most clear is this where governments rest on universal suffrage. The workingmen of the United States may mold to their will legislatures, courts and constitutions. Politicians strive for their favor, and political parties bid against one an-

other for their votes. But what avails this? The little finger of aggravated capital must be thicker than the loins of the working masses, so long as they do not know how to use their power."



A TREMENDOUS UNION SENTIMENT.—CITIZENS, IN MASS MEETING, CONDEMN HOMESTAKE COMPANY'S ATTITUDE TOWARD EMPLOYES.

That the question which is now agitating Lead has taken a strong hold on the minds of the people of Lead and vicinity, was plainly shown last evening when the meeting, called by citizens of the city, came to order. The importance of the meeting, and the subject which it had under discussion was apparent to all, and it proved to be a gathering of earnest, thoughtful men who had given careful consideration to the matter so important to the interests of every resident of this section of the Hills. From the action taken by the meeting last evening it was shown most distinctly that the action of the Lead Miners' Union, taken at a meeting several weeks ago, declaring that its members, after the 25th of the present month, would refuse to work with non-union men, will be supported by its membership almost as a unit.

Long before the hour for calling the meeting to order had arrived, the opera house was crowded, standing room being at a premium; in fact, there was none, the crowd overflowing into the hallways and corridors, filling the stairways and surging back onto the sidewalks in front of the building and blocking the street. It was an orderly crowd and there was not so much as even a loud-raised voice to be heard in it during the progress of the meeting. It was the largest assemblage of workmen that has ever been held in the city and was as orderly as it was large. In the audience was a sprinkling of women who seemed to take as much interest in the proceedings as did the men.

The meeting was called to order by John B. Mayo, who read the call for the meeting and made a few remarks upon its object. He stated that the election of a permanent chairman would be the next order of business and the name of John A. Blatt was put forward. A rising vote was taken on Mayor Blatt's name and the meeting decided that it did not wish him as its chairman.

William E. Tracey of Terry, organizer for the Western Federation of Miners, was then placed in nomination for the chairmanship and his election was effected without opposition.

The names of George D. McClellan and A. E. Hawley were mentioned as candidates for secretary of the meeting. McClellan withdrew and the election of Hawley was made unanimous.

The following resolutions were then introduced and read by the secretary and were adopted without a dissenting vote, after they had been amended to the effect that Superintendent Grier be requested to withdraw the order issued last Wednesday to the effect that the company, after the 1st of January, 1910, would employ only non-union labor about its mines and mills.

"Whereas, The Lead City Miners' Union, an organization composed of the workmen employed in the city of Lead, South Dakota, has at all times in the past been known as a liberal and conservative, and at no time in the past have the members of this organization ever been known to advocate anything not in accordance with equity, law and justice; and

"Whereas, During a period of more than thirty years the Lead City Miners' Union has at all times and upon all occasions been a charitable and benevolent association of workmen, which has never at any time been guilty of any violation of law or has ever sanctioned disorderly conduct on the part of its members; therefore, be it

Resolved by us, the citizens of Lawrence county, in mass meeting assembled, That we condemn the present action of the management of the Homestake Mining Company, protesting against the same as malicious, ill-



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advised and detrimental to the welfare and best interests of all the people insofar as it appears to be the policy of the said company to discriminate against the employment of union men in the future. Which action, if persisted in, will, we believe, result in nothing but ruin and desolation of and in the people residing in this locality; and be it further

"Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be sent to W. R. Hearst, Mrs. Phoebe R. Hearst, James Haggin and the directors of the Homestake Mining Company, and also that they be ordered printed in the local newspapers of the entire Black Hills country, as well as the principal daily papers of New York City, San Francisco, Denver and Chicago."

After the adoption of the amendment and resolutions a motion was made and carried that Superintendent Grier of the Homestake Mining Company be requested to appear before the meeting, and that a committee of five be appointed to call upon him with the invitation of the meeting.

While awaiting the arrival of Superintendent Grier a number of people made a few remarks.

The arrival of Mr. Grier in the hall was the signal for an outburst of applause. After making his way to the stage, Chairman Tracey caused to be read to him the proceedings of the meeting had up until that time, and Mr. Grier was asked if he desired to make any comment or explanation. Mr. Grier, after carefully reading the resolutions adopted, spoke in substance as follows:

He did not agree with the preamble of the resolution, for he had in his possession evidence to prove that the union had in the past exercised coercion in building up its membership. He agreed with the second paragraph, but was not surprised that the action of the company was condemned. But he was not sure that the company's action would be detrimental to all the people; did not think it would bring ruin and desolation.

"There was a union here when I came thirty-two years ago, benevolent and charitable in its purpose, which has so far changed, I am sorry to say, that many of its older members now fail to recognize it. Through the working of the Homestake mine a great city has been built up here. The company has always been fair, and I have heard it spoken of in different parts of the world as a model of its kind, and has always been fair and liberal. It has always maintained the open shop. I do not know or understand that the men in its employ have any grievance today, nor ever have had. If so, it has never been presented to me.

"The Homestake sees in this strained effort to completely unionize this camp, a desire on the part of those responsible for the movement, to take from the company the control of its own property, and is taking the only means at hand for retaining such control. I have no authority or desire tonight to recall my statement issued yesterday. I wish to be perfectly plain and want no man to leave here without a clear understanding of what I have said."

Mr. Grier also spoke of the charge that the company had coerced men to contribute to the support of the company hospital, and in defense he told the story of the starting of the hospital substantially as published in the Register a few days ago, claiming the company was acting as the servant of the employes, rather than the master. (He did not say when the "servant" proposed to render an accounting of its stewardship to the master—the employes.)

He complained of the "unfairness" of "a certain publication," in stating that "Neither Hearst nor Haggin had ever put a dollar into the Homestake mine, but had taken out untold millions." He did not mention the paper by name, but Freeman Knowles, who was in the audience, plead guilty for the Lantern and asked the floor. Some of his political enemies cried, "Sit down!" and hissed him, but fairer minds insisted that, as this was a public meeting and Mr. Knowles' writings had been dragged into the meeting, he had a right to be heard. He attempted to talk from his place on the floor, but the crowd howled for him to take the stage and he did so, amid cheers from his friends and hisses from those who knew nothing of courtesy. Reaching the stage, Knowles asked that the people listen to him for a moment quietly, refraining from cheers and other unnecessary noise. He began by saying that in all ages there had been men who sought to stay the wheels of progress, "and here sits one of them," he said, pointing to Superintendent Grier. This brought forth more cheers and hisses. Proceeding, Mr. Knowles cautioned the men not to be inveigled into signing the company's scab list. "Stick to your union, boys," he cautioned. He then pointed out the deplorable condition of labor in places where unionism was unknown, as McKees Rocks, Homestead, Pa., and the industrial centers of the South, where wages were hovering around the starvation point. The Homestake management promised that if the men would give up their union the present scale of wages and the eight-hour shifts would continue, but he wondered how long they would continue. He did not charge that Mr. Grier would cut wages or raise the hours of labor of his own volition, but he reminded the men that Mr. Grier was the servant of a corporation of capitalists and must do the bidding of his employers. He reiterated his published charge that the stockholders had put no money into the mine, but had taken out untold millions. He explained that while they apparently put in a few hundred thousand, they had sold stock and returned the money to themselves before the stockholders got any dividends. He then closed with a strong plea for the boys to stick to the union.

Mr. Ryan was called to the stage to tell what he knew of the forcing of men into the union. He knew nothing of such action, and if it was being practised, it was not by order or sanction of the union as a body. If individuals talked foolishly or viciously, the organization could not be justly blamed for such action, unless the individual was acting under instruction.

Mr. Grier was asked from the audience if he had not told the members of a committee that they were doing good work and that they should proceed with the good work. He denied the statement, but admitted he had said the men had a right to organize.

"Labor has as much right to organize as has capital, and both can accomplish more by organization. I have said this in the past and I say so tonight, but unionism that forces men to join at the end of a rope, and capital that goes beyond the law, should both be in jail," he said.

Mr. Ryan was terribly in earnest last night, for he saw in this latest move of the company an effort to lower the standard of living for the men who have always been held up by the company as model citizens. He called attention to the fact that Mr. Grier had charged that as long as four years ago he knew that the union was a vicious, criminal organization, but a year after he made the important discovery that he had asked a favor of the union by asking that, as a body, it deny statements published in the New York World concerning the open shop and other policies of the management of the Homestake company. The union had granted the favor by holding a special meeting and giving the company a character, as it were, and had since received favors at the hands of Mr. Grier. He couldn't understand why the former good friend of the union should now become a bitter enemy.

Mr. Ryan made the assertion that the Lead City Miners' Union alone was paying out in sick and death benefits for the care and burial of the Homestake Company's cripples five thousand dollars per year. With a complete unionizing of the camp, these benefits could be raised perceptibly.

The union was all right so long as it was a weakling and could be used

by the company, but when it showed signs of amounting to anything, it must be crushed. "It is nearly time we set our foot down and run this union to suit ourselves. If you can't unionize this camp now you never can," he declared, and the statement was cheered to the echo.

Mr. Grier said he was always willing to grant favors to the union; was assisting it in the repair of its buildings at the present time, etc.

John Butler secured the floor and stated that he couldn't understand Mr. Grier himself; he had always looked upon him as a friend of the employes, but now he found him aiding an effort to smash the union. He believed Mr. Grier was acting contrary to the dictates of his conscience, and would like to have an explanation. He got plenty of cheers, but no explanation.

George McClellan saw in the meeting an opportunity to say in public how much he loved his employers and how he hated Freeman Knowles and The Lantern, but the crowd yelled, "Sit down!" "Throw him out!" "Who stole the ballot box" and other loving messages until the chairman had a hard time to restore order. McClellan wanted to read The Lantern to show what a bad man Knowles was, but he was ruled out of order, with the statement that neither Knowles nor his paper was an issue in this meeting. McClellan had a small following, and it was quite evident he hoped to embroil the meeting in a political scrap to prevent anything of real importance being done. But his work was too coarse.

The crowd began to call for Chris Christensen, the big Danish blacksmith, and when he was finally persuaded to take the stage, he was given an ovation. His talk was a fervent appeal to stand pat and met a responsive chord with his hearers. Referring to the charge that non-union men had been told they might have to come in at the end of a rope, he said that the men were willing to do the company's work for it, going down into the mine to labor hard, but he for one, if he were a miner, would want to know that a friendly union man was at the other end of the rope (cable). "Speaking of men at the end of a rope," he said, "the capitalists lead the non-union men at the end of a rope. I want an organization like the company has. One man speaks for the whole company. And I want an organization so strong we can send one man to do our bidding, and where he goes we guys will stand back of him. The mills belong to the Homestake, but by G—d, the labor power is ours and no man not a laborer has a right to interfere. Stay with it. Do a good job of it. Let it be the militia; let it be the bullpen. Capitalism is the same everywhere, though this may seem a hard statement, and some day we will use these forces ourselves."

Christensen was the last speaker and the meeting was adjourned as soon as he had concluded.

There will be a special meeting of the Lead union next Sunday afternoon, at which time some action may be taken in regard to the non-union edict of the company.—Black Hills Daily Register.

### PROSTITUTION: ITS CAUSE AND CURE.

(By George Clifton Edwards.)

Dallas is doing a lot of talking about prostitution right now. The preachers have denounced, the criminal lawyers have defended, certain highly respectable business men have—kept discreet silence. Yet more than any of these, the workers of Dallas are deeply concerned in the problem. It is from our class almost exclusively that prostitutes come. Daughters and wives of the rich may be immoral, but they do not get driven to reservations. The sweatshop wages that cause many a girl to sell her body, are just like the sweatshop wages that show many a man that he cannot support a wife, and he goes to look for a girl of his class. Moreover, the diseases consequent on prostitution are most terrible among our class. When a chaste working class wife contracts a disease from her husband, she cannot retire for months to an expensive hospital for an operation and then rest for a year. She must drag out her life at home, at work. Finally, it is our children who are exposed to the dangers of this social disease. The rich keep their children out of the air of their cotton mills and laundries, away from the stench of their packing houses, safe from the machinery of their factories; in the same way they keep their children away from the neighborhood of their houses of prostitution. They draw their rents by agents.

Truly, if anybody has a real interest in the problem, the working class has.

I am firmly convinced that the right way to get rid of an evil is to understand it; not merely to curse it. Before we denounce prostitution, we may very well try to explain it. The bare truth is enough. Many who are willing to talk about prostitution (indirectly supporting it) are not anxious to note certain plain facts about this business.

To begin with, this social evil is one which a woman cannot commit by herself. Besides the long line of accessories before the fact, she must have a male partner in the fact. If it is a sin that she commits, there is at least as much guilt on his part as on hers. If the woman deserves to be branded as a "vile creature," "scarlet woman," then, according to simple justice and ethics, the man who uses her deserves fully as much denunciation. This is putting no stronger condemnation on him, though he is the stronger and his influence prevails over her will.

Second, prostitution, though guilt may be equal at the start, enforces penalties most unequally. The woman is driven into a life, beginning sometimes in drunken luxury, ending after a scant five years in poisoned disease. The man misses this. He joins his sisters and family in thrusting the woman into an unspeakably bitter ostracism from the society that deems her a "necessary evil."

Third, this social evil affects socially, many besides the two partners. It causes endless suffering to many pure married women who have as husbands men who were partners with the poor prostitute. The blind asylums are full of little children who are suffering from their fathers' sexual crimes; and between 70 and 80 per cent. of the cases of female trouble among married women are caught from husbands who had been partners with the "vile creatures," "scarlet women," "menaces," etc.—to use the ecclesiastical terms.

Fourth, horrible as prostitution is, in its actuality, and in its results, it is undoubtedly one of the most profitable business enterprises of the modern city. Of course, here I mean profitable to a big contractor, or profit taker. The poor woman herself gets little; just as the cotton mill girl gets little; but there is big money in running a big house of prostitution, just as there is big money in a cotton mill. To say nothing of the huge rents that such property always pays to highly respectable citizens.

Yet, in spite of the amount of rich dividends made out of the industry, prostitution is a deadly disease. It is as much a disease as drunkenness or smallpox or crime or yellow fever. It is not some evil intention of a human

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heart desperately wicked, nor is it to be ended by curses. Modern science has taught us that the way to abolish a disease is to remove its cause. Prostitution is no exception. As long as its cause remains untouched, journalistic piffle, ecclesiastical abuse, and official prosecution, are like putting a sticking plaster on a throbbing foot without removing the rusty nail.

There are two kinds of this "sticking plaster" treatment for the disease of prostitution most commonly advocated. One is the policy of sympathetic segregation, advocated by rounders who are not utter fools, by business men and the cynics. If all the prostitutes are kept in one district, few youths professional good men, many of whom are as ignorant as ostriches, and some of whom are equally hypocritical.

There is something in the segregation scheme advocated by the rounders and the cynics. If all the prostitutes are kept in one district, few youths will ever go there except with their eyes open. If the police department is decent it may prevent some things by the close surveillance rendered possible. Children can better be kept from the influence of the enterprise. Physical examinations can check disease to some extent. The scheme is somewhat like what we should see in a yellow fever district if a quarantine district were established wherein all the persons actually down with the disease were obliged to stay; but from which all who were to travel might go forth freely, carrying contagion.

The sympathy the advocates of segregation exhibit is not exactly Christ-like. Christ is related to have said, "Let him that is without sin among you cast the first stone." Then later, after the woman was acquitted, he said: "Go and sin no more." A more modern attitude is that exhibited by the lawyers who told the jury on the trial of a prostitute: "Let him that is without sin among you cast the first stone," and after the acquittal said: "Get me that fee"—not specifying that the prostitute was to start a bank or a factory.

The segregators don't want things disturbed. Some are making money out of the industry. Few claim that they advocate a cure; few are such fools.

Not so the rigid repressors. These proclaim a cure. To sympathetic audiences, largely of women, who would think Ibsen's "Ghosts," or Tolstoy's "Resurrection," or Shaw's "Mrs. Warren," or Thomas Hardy's "Tess," "Immoral," these repressors luridly and loudly talk. Then, they get into the papers for their "uncompromising attitude." Safe in their studies, they settle the question—unless some heavy contributor expresses his disapproval. Their plan is to punish the "scarlet women," break up the houses, drive them out. "The whole thing is ungodly; down with it, down with it, even to the ground!" This is about as effectual as a means of stopping prostitution as it would be for a yellow fever district to decree that every person having the fever must leave his home and hide; of course, carrying his body, an active center of contagion, with him.

All that I can see for this rigid repression scheme is that it may keep the limelight on some sensational preachers, who had rather talk than study the evil, and it may also prepare for a marvelous system of police corruption. Moreover, when this is being preached the loudest, I think of a poem that runs like this:

#### Two of a Kind.

(Being an Amended Parable.)

A preacher whose aim was to suit

(The rich and respectable persons who owned houses for prostitution and contributed heavily out of the rents paid by the prostitutes)

Met a rollicking "rooming-house" beaut;

(Who was out, on her job, of getting together the rent for the above mentioned rich and respectable owner, and contributor to the church)

Said the girl, "Let's go play!"

Said the preacher, "Go 'way!

You're a vulgar, low-down prostitute!"

However, I do not believe that either the segregators or the repressors really believe that they have the solution for the problem. I think I know the cure. It is best shown by indicating the causes of the disease, for it is of course no scheme of my own. Merely a bit of applied science.

The causes of prostitution are chiefly two: (1) Sexual inequality, and (2) economic inequality. There are many scientific books that will bear out this statement, but I will seek no further authority, in addition to simple reasonableness of it, than is given in the four works just mentioned. Read "Ghosts" and "Tess," and see if you can ever again defend the sexual inequality that allows a man to satisfy his lust without condemnation, and at the same time punishes with a bitter punishment the woman who yields to his importunities. Read "Mrs. Warren's Profession" and "Resurrection," and see if you can ever again endorse the economic inequality that puts a poor girl, ignorant, trustful, ambitious, at the mercy of a rich youth, who knows the world, and who wants to "have his way with her."

To solve the problem of prostitution is not to solve all the problems of the marriage relations, any more than to abolish chattel slavery was to abolish all forms of slavery. Yet it is perfectly possible to put an end to prostitution, which is the sale of a woman's body to the lust of a man with money. Women will still surrender for love, but not for hire, if they are decently paid. And if we sincerely, frankly classify together the man and the woman, the surrender for love will not result in prostitution, but in marriage; men are too calculating to do otherwise.

To strike at these causes depends on us alone. Only the working class is sincerely concerned in seeing the position of women so raised that they will be regarded as full-statured human beings—comrades of our own. Only the working class is deeply interested in the struggle to bring about economic justice. From the government, constituted as it is, we can expect nothing. No government of real estate agents, rent takers, and corporation hirelings, elected by the money of the class that owns the where house properties, ever did try, or ever will try, to exterminate the evil. It would abolish itself, if it strove to abolish unearned wealth and power, and undeserved poverty. It would be unreasonable to expect this, when we consider that one Dallas whose house is owned by a prominent judge, another by a heavy contributor to church and charity, another by a former president of the Fair, and another by a leading committeeman in the machine that chose and elected the present city government, the sanctified servants of the big rich.

The cure for prostitution is plain. It is simply, first to abolish the social inequality that puts women at the mercy of men with lust and money, and, second, to abolish the sexual inequality that results in condemning the woman and letting the man go blameless. Of course, as long as there is the present capitalist system, so long will there be prostitution, for prostitution is but a by-product of capitalism, like child labor.

Yet, while the cure, though simple, is so fundamental, and involves so much, there is no reason why a single person should feel that there is nothing for him to do toward abolishing this horrible disease. Let every one say: If it is evil to be a she-prostitute, I will not be a he-prostitute. And let us say further: The system of allowing some to live off the labor of others produces poverty, the other cause of prostitution. I am against poverty. I want equal opportunities for all, and the full product of his labor for each. And I will work and vote for these.—Dallas Laborer.

#### CRIME AND SCIENCE.

(By George Clifton Edwards.)

The conditions being daily exposed in the Texas penitentiaries fill one with a feeling of shame and disgust. The legislative committee has uncovered a state of affairs which could have been justified only in the barbarous days when insane persons were tortured and starved for their insanity, or when men used to beat wagons to punish them for running over people. Yet the horrors of our Texas prisons are not independent evils; they are but effects. The real causes lie further back than the mere viciousness of guards

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or the corruption of officials. They are to be found in a vicious system of "justice" which itself is a vicious product of modern society.

In that well known and authoritative book, "The Criminal," by the scientist, Havelock Ellis, page 231, occurs this passage in reference to Joe Bragg, a notorious criminal:

"Up to the age of thirteen, though suffering much from neglect and hunger, he (Bragg) had always been disposed to honesty; at that age, being left homeless and destitute by parental drunkenness and stung by the pangs of hunger, he stole a loaf of bread. He was imprisoned for three months in Darlinghurst jail, and was thus enabled to have frequent intercourse with many hardened criminals. On the very day of his liberation he began a career of crime which lasted twenty-two years. He was soon again imprisoned for three months, and the instructions received during these three months considerably improved me in my profession. The government had placed me in a position to learn a trade, and, having learned it, I was determined to work at it."

Just such trade schools for instruction in crime are being conducted in every city prison and county jail in Texas. There are few fouler blots on civilization than the way petty offenders, whose offense is trifling, accidental offenders whose offense is devoid of guilt, entirely innocent suspects, and mere boys, are confined with old, diseased and depraved criminals. Not only is this an evil from the standpoint of humanity and the individual prisoner, the practice is terribly expensive. The most costly product of modern society, without doubt, is the criminal class. Criminals consume without producing, they hinder those who are producing, and when they are seized by the law, their trial and custody costs, in most cases, enough to have turned the whole current of their lives if it had been applied years before in preventive measures. The city and county jails are parts of a "vast machine drawing in and casting up an enormous number of individuals, who lose amongst its wheels their life, their honor, their moral sense, and their health, bearing henceforth the ineffaceable scars, and falling into the ever growing ranks of professional crime."—Enrico Ferri, *Criminal Sociology*.

Once a person is fallen into the maw of that machine, hope is nearly gone. To keep him from this machine and at the same time to protect society, should be our aim. And yet it is hard to find a difficult and delicate task to which less patience, less sense, less knowledge and less humanity is devoted. The last thirty years, since the beginning of Cesare Lombroso's work in the early seventies, have seen the vast development of scientific study of crime. It is to a few of the conclusions of modern science in reference to the treatment of crime that I wish to call attention.

To begin with, the scientific attitude toward crime is taken not from any sentimental personal love for the criminal. While science is humanitarian, gentle and hates suffering, it does so exactly as the scientific medical man does. Modern medicine strives to aid the individual, but always recognizes that vastly more important it is that the disease be blotted out and not allowed to attack the hundreds and thousands who constitute the public at large.

Crime itself is now regarded as a disease for which we must seek a cure. It is as foolish to treat crime in a mechanical way as it is to treat sickness mechanically. What should we think of a physician who looked at a patient (trial) and gave as a prescription (sentence) that he should spend a certain number of days in a hospital (prison) and then turned loose, utterly without any further care whether he was well or not?

Much crime is due to unemployment. The cure for this is public employment. Society (we ourselves) should use the government to provide an opportunity for work for all. No man should be turned out of prison with out work, friends, or money, and left to the same forces that made him a criminal before, only with his powers of resistance weakened.

No man who is fined should be forced to go to jail or chain gang with its attendant dishonor. He should be given work that will free him just as payment of cash frees the well-to-do. Imprisonment should only be for terms long enough to produce some real change in the offender. This a short term never does, save to make him worse.

Crime directly increases during periods of want and of extreme heat and extreme cold. These are the causes; remedies must be sought to prevent their being the means of forcing men into crime.

Crime directly results, in many cases, from child labor. The mental, moral and physical defects traceable to work before the body and mind are developed, furnish some of the plainest causes of crime. Abolish child labor and these causes of crime will go.

Mere mental education is no cure for crime. But education in ways of making a living, coupled with a chance to work after school days are over—this would cut the roots of many a criminal growth.

The idea of revenge is utterly unscientific and barbarous. Wherever there is any possibility of allowing reparation to the injured party, this should be seized on. The desire of society is to protect itself, to aid the injured party, to straighten up the offender, but never to take revenge. The physician never seeks revenge on a man sick with a loathsome disease; he fights the disease, not the man.

Crime is a product of social conditions. It is not a problem which we can isolate and deal with by itself. It merges into all the problems of our social life, and it is as useless to occupy ourselves with criminals, ignoring causes, as it would be merely to try to cool a fever without trying to remove the cause of the fever.

The greatest single cause of crime is poverty, though poverty includes many causes. To abolish poverty would abolish 99 per cent. of all crime; a simple proof of this being that fully 99 per cent. of present day criminals are poor men. "The destruction of the poor is their poverty."

"Suppose we admit," I can imagine some readers asking, "suppose we admit that it is absurd to manufacture criminals as our jails do. Suppose we admit that a society is foolish which entrusts the problem of crime to men who have never heard of Ferri, Lombroso, Ellis, Wines, or Parmelee. Suppose we admit that crime is nearly all the result of poverty. What are we going to do about it?"

Here are two suggestions. First, never cease denouncing the supreme crime of poverty, and never cease working for a system of wise co-operation that will enable us to do away with the tremendous robbery that modern governments allow the owning class to commit. A social system without millionaires or tramps is perfectly possible today, and it would be a social system, also, without crime.

Second, there should be here, in Dallas, immediately established the office of public defender. This office, filled by a man of common sense, animated with the modern scientific spirit, could do more toward bringing about justice in our courts than any other one man, under present conditions. He could so improve the administration of justice that the poor could pronounce the word "justice" without a feeling of scorn. The argument for the

creation of this office is unanswerable. Some time soon I propose here to give it at length.—Dallas Laborer.

#### UNION-BREAKER HEARST.

Hearst, the sometimes self-styled friend of the workingman, has now left no doubt in the mind of any reasonable human being as to his position toward labor.

As an owner of the Homestake copper mine, he stands committed to the policy of declaring a lockout against union men, to take effect January 1, 1910.

Yet a few weeks ago this same Hearst ran as a candidate in New York, and it is probable that workingmen cast their ballots for him. In the last presidential election Hearst's personally owned Independence party caught the votes of some few laborers.

But this is not the first time that Hearst has put himself on record on the labor question. Six years ago, when seeking to secure the support of the solid Democratic South, Hearst wrote a personally signed letter advocating the disfranchisement of the negro in the South.

Two years ago, when again seeking nomination, he took his stand in a public speech at Jamestown in support of the petty middle class, but at the same time tried to blind the eyes of the workers to the great fact in industrial life—the struggle of the classes—by the statement: "I have no patience with the prejudice which exists between alleged classes when the classes themselves do not exist. There is no reason for hostility between capitalist and wage earner."

Few men serve the interests of the capitalist system better than just the William Randolph Hearst type, who, demi-reform, semi-radical, help to divert the minds of men from the main issue.

After all, Hearst is pretty much in politics what Elbert Hubbard, his editorial writer, is in art.—Chicago Daily Socialist.

#### SOLIDARITY AMONG THE COAL MINERS.

(By Ben Hanford.)

In 1902 I spent a few weeks in the anthracite coal fields of Pennsylvania during the great strike of the miners. I was there just at the time when the men were most restless. The strike had continued longer than expected; funds had not arrived as soon nor in as large amounts as needed, and there was much suffering and a deep feeling of discouragement. Notwithstanding their physical distress for lack of food and the awful sickness of the heart born of the feeling that after all their sacrifice the strike might be lost, a splendid vein of sublime courage and devotion was manifested among the strikers and their children and women folk. I have already told the true story of "The Wild Irishman," but that was only one of many beautiful acts of solidarity that came under my personal observation during my visit.

It was one of the strikers known as "The Wild Irishman" who told me how terrible had been the condition of the miners before the strike. After speaking of the low wages, the docking of the men, their robbery through the company stores, the company houses, the sale of blasting powder and countless other evils to which the men were subjected, "The Wild Irishman" had said to me:

"And I and the boys will never go back under the old conditions—never—I'll ate the dirt in the street first!"

Then his white-haired old wife spoke up, and she said:

"Yes! And I'll cook it for him!"

That spirit of solidarity was manifest all through the coal region. You could not walk a block in a city street nor a furlong on a country road; you could not pass an hour anywhere in the strike field without seeing and hearing of countless acts of heroism. So, while at the particular moment of which I speak, the strikers were in gloomy spirits, there was yet no thought of surrender. Just as "The Wild Irishman" had declared that, rather than give in, he would "ate the dirt in the street first!" so all through their ranks the strikers were grim and determined and filled with a spirit that would face death rather than defeat. This state of mind is the more readily understood if it is recalled that the mining conditions were so cruel that it was almost a living death to work under them.

The acts of heroism to which I refer were so numerous they had become commonplace. They were done as matters of course, and seemed to be as little noted as for a soldier to mount guard or to load his rifle in war time.

I visited one camp where there were miners of several nationalities. Ordinarily, the miners of each particular mine would be of a single nationality, but sometimes there were a number of nationalities in as many mines in proximity and all living in one camp composed of a great cluster of miserable shacks, shanties, hutches and hovels, owned by the coal company and by them called "houses."

Speaking no language except English, I was compelled to get my information mainly from Irish and Welsh miners. One afternoon, after speaking to several thousand strikers in the open air on one of the side hills, I went to the house of an Irish miner (not "The Wild Irishman" before referred to) to talk of the strike. He had a wife and three "childer," and their sufferings had been and were then acute. They were in need for everything. There was not a morsel of food in the house. I had been told about the man before I struck the camp, and that he could inform me as to conditions in the mining region, both past and present. Also, every one who had spoken of the man had made some reference to his ability, his earnestness, and his self-sacrifice for his brother miners in the years that he had devoted to building up the organization of the United Mine Workers.

While talking with him one of his boys, a pale, thin, anemic lad of about twelve years, came into the shack (two rooms, of which a Welsh family had one and my friend, his wife and three children the other) with a package under his arm. Before the boy was inside the door the Irishman's wife was building a fire.

The child had been to strike headquarters and brought back a sack of corn meal. He had been in the house less than a minute when the Welsh woman, wife of the miner who lived in the other side of the house, came in. Not a word was spoken. The Irish woman took a battered old pan from a shelf, into it poured nearly as she could a half of the meal (with care that the neighbor should not get the smaller half) and handed it to the Welsh woman, who at once departed. No word was uttered. But something more than cornmeal had been exchanged. Eyes make no sound, but they can talk, and sometimes they do.

I can not describe my emotions as I witnessed this proceeding. The sack of meal was so small. The three children were so hungry. The Irishman's need was so great. Not greater, as his wife explained later, than that of his Welsh neighbors. However, thought I to myself "They'll get at least one fill-up out of what's left, anyhow."

Not two minutes later, before the fire was fairly going, in walked a little Italian boy. He had come through the back yard from a row of houses a block away.

"Hello, Dago!" said the Irishman in a friendly tone.

"Hello, Irish-a-man!" said the boy. Smoke from the chimney had told of the meal-sack. Where there was smoke there must be something to eat.

The Irishman's wife poured half of the corn meal into her own kettle. She then gave the sack a twist to keep it closed, and handed it over to the boy.

"Well," thought I, "no fill-up this time. But at least there's enough to brace up on." And I could not help thinking of Morgan and Baer and other pillars of society. All this had been done as a matter of course. Save for a single sentence between the Irishman and the Italian boy, not a word had been spoken. The Irishman explained to me later that the father of the Italian boy did not work in the mines, was not entitled (legally) to relief from the union, but was cared for by the strikers because his usual work had

been suspended on account of the strike. This was true of thousands throughout the region of the strike. Except for their foes, need was the best passport to help from the strikers.

But I had not yet seen the end of this beautiful example of Working Class solidarity. The porridge was cooked—all that had not been eaten while the cooking was in progress. All hands, wife, husband and the three "childer" were about to fall in and make an end of the sack of meal.

An uncertain step was heard. An old woman came to the door. She was haggard and wrinkled and bent. She seemed nearly blind. The Irishman told me she was the widow of a miner who, with two sons and a dozen or more of his fellow-craftsmen, had been killed while "robbing the pillars" of a mine being stripped for desertion. The old woman was "not quite right" in her mind. For some years she had been given enough to maintain life by the voluntary individual offerings of the miners. But the long strike had left them naught for themselves. In the emergency she came to the Irishman. His wife filled a plate high up with porridge. It contained more than any other. The old woman took it. At the door she turned and said:

"I didn't know as ye had it, Pat. But if ye had it, I knew I'd get it. Don't let the men give in, Pat! I say, Maggie (the Irishman's wife), see to it that Pat don't let them give in. My boys—they're up there in the hill yet. (The bodies of her husband and two sons who had been killed by the falling in of the mine had not been removed for burial. It would cost the company money.) Ye won't let them give in, will ye, Pat?"

The old woman left. The others finished the porridge.

They asked me to eat with them.

Solidarity?

What a wonderful world. I wonder if Mr. Morgan's and Mr. Baer's vic-tuals ever choked them during all those weeks and months when they could not "recognize" the union.

#### SPEECH OF GENERAL SHERWOOD.

General Sherwood, congressman from Ohio, delivered a speech recently at Toledo, and when the fact is taken into consideration that Sherwood does not belong to the wage-earning class, he is worthy of great credit for the fearlessness which he displays in his portrayal of the wrongs from which the working class suffers. Sherwood is one congressman among the few in the House of Representatives who has the courage to lift his voice in behalf of the oppressed. He has shown by his speeches in the law-making body at Washington and on the public platform that he scorns to truckle to the class of privilege and that his heart beats for the emancipation of the struggling millions, whose necks are weighted with the yoke of wage slavery. The speech of Sherwood, as reported in the Toledo Union Leader, is as follows:

"I am not here tonight to amuse or to attempt an elocutionary entertainment. I am here to review with you the prevailing conditions, and to counsel with you as to the best policy for the future, and the welfare of our children and those who are to take our places when we leave this world.

"The crying need of the hour is for thinkers, who comprehend the needs of the workers and have the courage to put their thoughts into action. We have had nearly half a century of experience in an economic policy, called "protection of American industry." As ten years is regarded as ample time to work out any economic policy, the so-called protective system has had ample time to develop its result upon the wage workers. At the end of forty years we find the laboring man has less property to show for his forty years of continuous effort than in any other country of same density of population around the world. We find also that the United States has more millionaires and multi-millionaires in proportion to population than any other country around the world.

"Professor Zeublin, professor of sociology in the Chicago University, says truly, and it is alarming that it is true:

"We are painfully aware that Democracy has never in fifty years been so devoid of champions as it is today."

"What Professor Zeublin means by democracy is the people. How many champions of the people have we in the United States Senate? How many in the House of Representatives? Of the four hundred and eighty-three national legislators, how many are reformers, or have the courage to stand up in the open for the rights of labor? Not over ten in the whole array. And every special interest, such as lumber, iron, coal, oil, steel, iron ore, copper, clothing, etc., is personally represented in both the Senate and the House. How many representatives has Labor in the Senate? Not one! How many of the organized workers are in the House? Not three out of the three hundred and ninety-one. Why is Capital alone in power, while Labor, which creates all capital, and which, according to Lincoln, is greater than capital, have neither power nor voice nor hope in our highest legislative body? Why is it that in making the new tariff for 85,000,000 of people, all supposed to be free and equal, the bulk of the burden of onerous tariff taxes is put upon the shoulders of Labor, while the idle rich, as Colonel Roosevelt designates the trust barons, who own sixty per cent. of the accumulated wealth of the entire country, will pay only a minute minimum?

"And now let me answer Professor Zeublin's question why we have so few reformers in public life.

"It is because all reformers are practically shut out of public life by a political machine because they are reformers. If one occasionally drifts into Congress his career is sure to be short. On the other hand, the champions of monopoly and special privilege stay and grow and glow and radiate into continental characters for a whole generation.

"Witness Aldrich of Rhode Island, 36 years in public life; Speaker Cannon, 36; Steve Elkins of West Virginia, 38; Senator Lodge of Massachusetts, 35; Julius Caesar Burrows of Michigan, 36; and where, in either branch of Congress has any champion of the people in all the great states north of the Ohio river ever been able to stay in Congress ten years?

"Why this deplorable condition in a country like ours, where the ballot is the open and free gift of every citizen? It is solely because those who think alike do not act alike or vote together.

"It is because the monopolists and the special interests own all, or nearly all, the leading newspapers and monopolize all the avenues of thought for reaching the popular mind. Were the wage workers a unit in action, as they are a unit in interest, they could stop all this inhuman exploitation of the people and absolutely end the rule of greed and piracy and vampirism in all the states; but as long as present conditions remain, with labor divided into groups incoherent and without harmony or unity of action—so long as labor lacks the courage to vote its convictions, fearing discharge, present conditions will not improve.

"How does it happen that labor has a positive influence and is a potent force in every parliamentary body in Europe, while it has neither a voice nor a vote nor a hope in the national Legislature, misnamed our House of Representatives?

"In the German empire, under an austere and dominating emperor, and with a limited suffrage, the great city of Berlin, the imperial capital, is absolutely ruled by the Labor element, led by scientific Socialists, and Berlin is the best governed city in all Europe. And Brussels, the imperial city of overcrowded Belgium, is ruled the same way. So is Copenhagen, the capital of Denmark. Why is it that Bismarck, the iron duke of imperial Germany, who never professed even a belief in democracy or the rule of the people, showed more wisdom and exhibited more of the humane spirit in dealing with struggling labor of Germany than has been seen in the Congress of this much vaunted Republic in a whole generation?

"Did you notice the recent statement by President Samuel Gompers that the stalwart young men of the German empire, notwithstanding Germany is overcrowded, have ceased emigrating to the United States? And Germany is an old, worn-out country with more than fifteen times as many to the square mile as we have in the United States; and the eight-hour day limit for skilled workers is enforced in nearly all the great manufacturing plants throughout the empire.

"Let me call your attention to another very significant fact. In the United States, during the past decade, with the highest protective tariff ever known, the average wages in the skilled industries increased about nineteen per cent., while the cost of living, owing to trust and monopoly prices on food products, clothing, etc., increased thirty-three per cent., making a net loss to Labor of 14 per cent., an enormous loss. This is the reason, and the only reason, why Labor was in a more desperate condition and nearer pauperism when the panic of October, 1907, came, than at any previous period of our history. In Germany wages have steadily increased for the past decade, and with the exception of beef, which is 10 per cent. dearer, owing to stringent inspection laws, all articles and products consumed by Labor are really cheaper.

"To illustrate, the brewery workers fifteen years ago, or about the time the wage workers of Germany went into politics, received from 24 to 25 marks per week. Now they have a minimum wage of 35 marks per week. Fifteen years ago the saddlers were paid 18 marks per week for 11 hours a day. Now they are paid 27 and 28 marks a week for 9 hours a day. Fifteen years ago the trades unionists of the German empire numbered about 225,000. Today the Central-Verbande union numbers 2,000,000, and the Hirsh-Dunker union 150,000, and the Christian unions, or those promoted by the Roman Catholic church, have 375,000 more. And these unions, in sympathy and co-operation with that Great Group of Intellectuals, known as International Socialists, have forty-three able, courageous and forceful members in the Reichstag, corresponding with our Congress. Every parliamentary body in Europe today has a powerful and active group of Labor leaders in the supreme legislative body. While the United States of America, a land of the greatest opportunity, a new and virgin land, with the ballot, the free gift of every citizen, has not one single representative of organized labor in the four hundred and eighty-three members of Congress.

"All over the civilized world outside of the United States, the labor movement has been rapidly advancing both in power and moral betterment for the past twenty years. In the Anglo-Saxon races of Europe, such as England and the Continental islands of the Pacific, the economic organization of the workers predominates. In other countries, such as Germany, Austria and Italy, it is largely an intellectual movement for political power. In other countries, such as Belgium and the Scandinavian countries of the Old World, both movements, the intellectual and the economic, are merged into one.

"The workers of the United States have one great lesson to learn, and the sooner they learn it the better, and that is this: no matter about individual opinion on sociology, or ethical or economic questions. All workers in all grades and classes, must organize as a unit and act as a unit on all questions that concern labor. In England and Belgium, where labor is in politics and is a commanding power, the Labor party performs all labor functions. In many other countries of Europe, notably Germany, the workers maintain separate organizations to promote special economic phases of their struggles. In every country in Europe there is perfect harmony and coherency of action between all the economic groups.

"Morris Hilquit, in one of the October magazines, says, 'The European workers are more self-reliant than their American brothers. They have emancipated themselves from the control of capitalistic class. They are guardians of their own welfare.'

"And here is the result of universal co-operation with the highest ideals for the good of all workers. They have gained benefits—with political power—almost beyond belief. England today is approaching a crisis that may result in the abolition of the House of Lords. Lloyd-George has already secured the passage of the budget (corresponding with our general appropriation bill in Congress), and this budget increases the income tax, and puts a tax on the vast landed estates of the hereditary aristocracy. And the failure of Lloyd-George's budget in the House of Lords will precipitate a general election in England that may abolish the House of Lords. England has no written constitution like the United States. And the United States may see within the next six months the abolition of the House of Lords in England, while our own House of Lords remains a hideous, dominating power in this military shell of a republic.

"Why do I use the word shell? Because a shell has no substance inside—no heart.

"In every civilized country of Europe, the workers are cared for in sickness or accident or old age. In Norway, way up in the chills of the arctic circle, this empire turns over a stated amount of tax money to the cities and municipalities to take care of the poor and the unfortunate. In the United States the aged workmen, the crippled and the unfortunate, are left to beg or starve like a worn-out old dray horse. Furthermore, we have no accommodating glue factory to take charge of the remains for the hide and bones.

"In all Europe outside of Spain and Russia and Turkey the potent voice of labor is heard in all parliaments and congresses, influencing the destinies of hereditary ruled empires. In the United States, the Federal Courts, serving for life and responsible to no one, but their creative power, have stifled free speech and have sent the foremost champions of labor's rights to jail. I remember well one of General Garfield's perorations in 1872, that called out enthusiastic applause. He said, 'In all the empires of the Old World, government rests upon force and every laboring man was forced to carry an idle soldier on his back; while in the United States our government rests upon the love of liberty and fidelity and patriotism of the people.'

"I am sad to say today that all of President Garfield's splendid idealism is gone. Every wage worker in the United States today is carrying not only one soldier on his back, but a soldier and a half. The appropriation for war and militarism in the United States this year is almost 70 per cent. of the entire cost of government. It is \$85,000,000 more than in England; \$136,000,000 more than in Germany, and \$153,000,000 more than in France.

"The simple republic of the early fathers is gone, and we are now a great military autocracy.

"It is up to you, comrades and fellow workers, for you have the power, to see to it now and in the future that the drones in the great hives of American industry do not eat all the honey, while the busy bees, who make all the honey, must buzz and buzz and buzz and live on Bitter Bread!"

#### URGED TO STUDY INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM.

The Toledo convention of the Ohio Federation of Labor called upon unionists to study the various forms of industrial unionism, and declared that our present system of organization is powerless against combined capital of today, which every thinking man acknowledges is in its infancy.

On every hand we see the helplessness of craft unionism, and while we may pride ourselves on past achievements, and dwell in sweet contentment on the triumphs of yesterday, the fact remains that we are confronted by conditions heretofore unknown. Only simpletons and timid folks will deny the inevitable. And only the same kind of people will believe that new forms of organization can be made possible by resolution. To a large extent we are still charter worshippers—we yet kow tow before mighty men amongst us, and fret and fume because they "don't help us."

It is time we ceased blaming others, and demand such organization that will not allow striking marine engineers, sailors and firemen to be torn to pieces, while their fellows work under agreements with union smashers and "open shop" champions.

The Union Leader is not interested in names. The wives and children in the workers' homes have little interest in a charter they never see. But they ARE interested in the good conditions that unionism brings, and when that unionism calls for a change in methods, our wives and children should be our

first consideration, and not the plaudits of those who don't like those class struggles and sympathetic strikes that have proved so effective in other hands.—Toledo Union Leader.

## POETICAL

### HEREDITY AND ENVIRONMENT.

(The Dying Outlaw.)

Just like the glow in Billy Langton's hut,  
That dimly shines to light the swampy trail,  
My early life betrays the blatings of my foot,  
And sinks me 'neath the gravel and the shale.

A tiger's nature knit my fortunes to the knife,  
Alone! I asked no quarter off the state,  
For war to me was pleasure—not the strife  
That goads one blindly on toward his fate.

The goad of caution never forced my mind  
To weigh the gaping dangers in my way;  
I took the plunge—my moral sense was blind,  
And flounder'd in the depths—a thing at bay.

I barter'd shot with shot where'er I met  
The forces set to take my life away,  
And every time I added to the fearful debt  
That you compel me now, in blood, to pay.

My gun! I leave thee with a keen regret;  
For years thou was the only friend I knew;  
Thou failed me not when 'cross thy sights were set  
The eye of him who on thy trigger drew.

Thy message bade the lurking danger halt,  
For all respected thee, my truest friend;  
Thy wing'd bullets stayed the fierce assault,  
And forced on man, in early life, the end.

Thy protest ringing, clearly on the air  
Will never stir my love of fight again—  
The law does haunt its challenge everywhere,  
And, soon or late, the outlaw must be slain.

I kiss the stock my aching arms have pressed;  
I'll look adown thy shining tube no more;  
The man who knew thy sterling merits best  
No more will launch the bullet from thy bore.

To drive the outlaw from the swamp or wood,  
Another eye may guide thy aim a-field;  
But thou will miss and save the outcast's blood,  
When the stranger lamp behind thy sights is peep'd.

Salt Lake City.

JOSEPH ROGERS.

### THE MAN WITH THE HOE.

(By Edwin Markham.)

Bowed with the weight of centuries he leans  
Upon his hoe and gazes at the ground,  
The emptiness of ages in his face  
And on his back the burden of the world,  
Who made him dead to rapture and despair,  
A thing that grieves not and that never hopes,  
Stolid and stunned, a brother to the ox?  
Who loosened and let down this brutal jaw?  
Whose breath blew out the light within his brain?  
Is this the thing the Lord God made and gave?  
To have dominion over sea and land,  
To trace the stars and search the heavens for power  
To feel the passion of eternity?  
Is this the dream he dreamed who shaped the suns  
And pillared the blue firmament with light?  
Down all the stretch of hell to its last gulf  
There is no shape more horrible than this,  
More tongued with censure of the world's blind greed,  
More filled with signs and portents for the soul,  
More fraught with menace to the universe.

What gulfs between him and the seraphim!  
Slave to the wheel of labor, what to him  
Are Plato and the swing of Ptolemaeus?  
What the long reaches or the peaks of song,  
That rift the dawn the reddening of the rose?  
Through this dread shape of suffering ages look,  
Time's tragedy is in that aching stoop.  
Through this dread shape humility betrayed,  
Plundered, profaned and disinherited,  
Cries protest to the judges of the world,  
A protest that is also prophecy.

O masters, lords and rulers in all lands,  
Is this the handwork you give to God,  
This monstrous thing, distorted and soul quenched?  
How will you ever straighten up this shape,  
Touch it again with immortality,  
Give back the upward looking of the light,  
Rebuild it in the music and the dreams,  
Make right the immemorial infamies,  
Perfidious wrongs, irremediable woes?

O masters, lords and rulers in all lands,  
How will the future reckon with this man?  
How answer his brute questions in that hour  
When whirlwinds of rebellion shake the world?  
How will it be with kingdoms and with kings,  
With those who shaped him to the thing he is,  
When this dumb terror shall apply to God  
After the silence of the centuries?

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