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# THE MINERS MAGAZINE

EDUCATION INDEPENDENCE ORGANIZATION

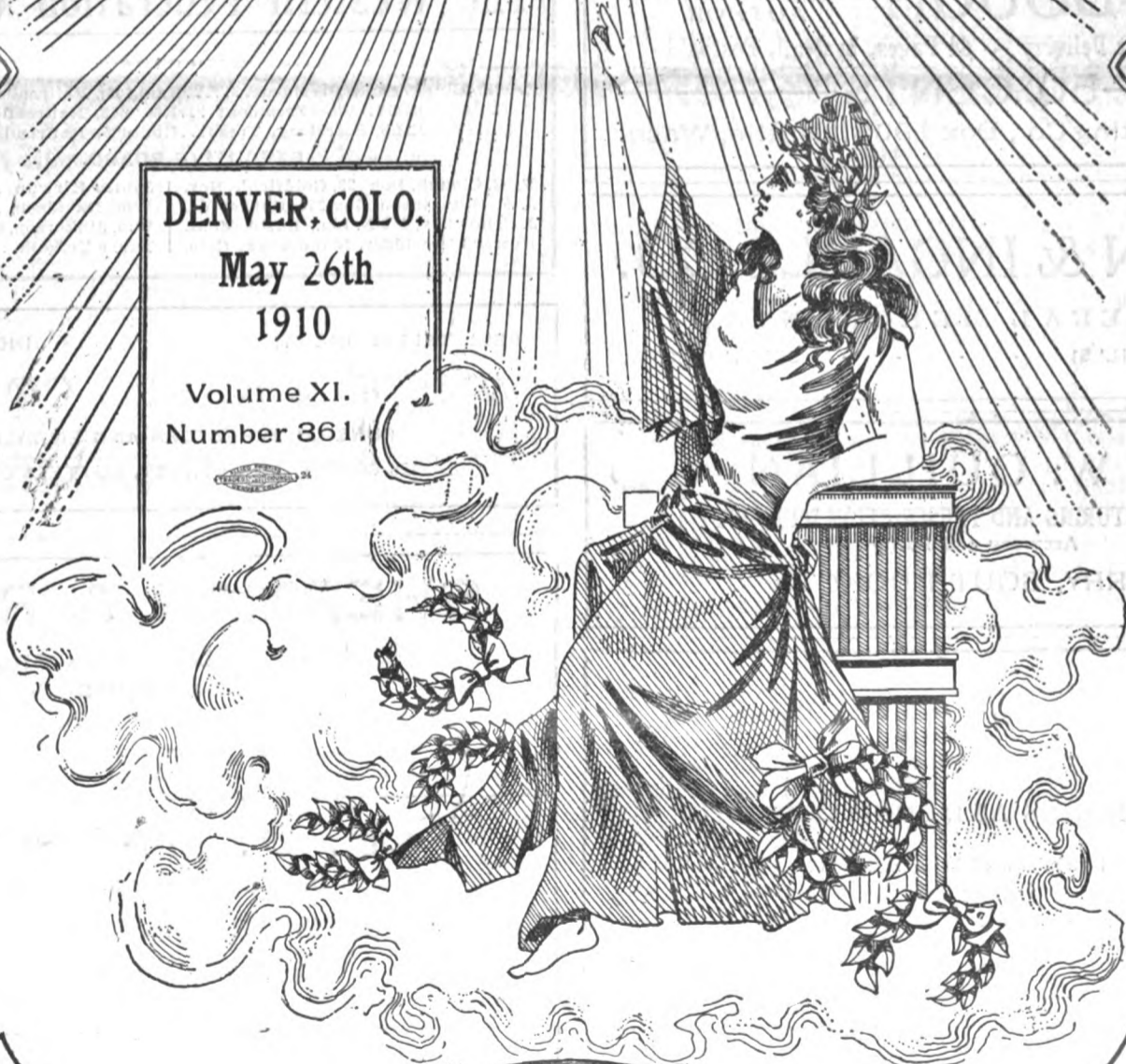
*Published Weekly by the*

## WESTERN FEDERATION OF MINERS

DENVER, COLO.

May 26th  
1910

Volume XI.  
Number 361.



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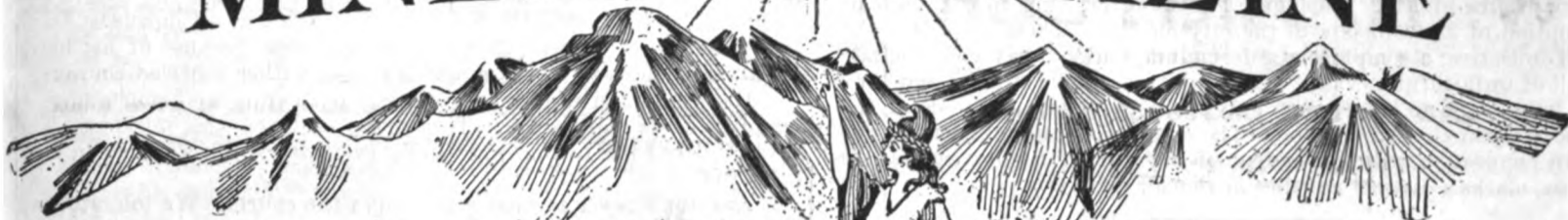
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EDUCATION INDEPENDENCE ORGANIZATION

# MINERS MAGAZINE



Published Weekly by the

WESTERN FEDERATION OF MINERS

Denver, Colorado,  
Thursday, May 26, 1910.

Volume XI. Number 36  
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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 Communications not in conformity with this notice will not be published.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.

## Card of the Homestake Mining Co.

Lead, S. D.,.....19....

I am not a member of any Labor Union and in consideration of my being employed by the HOMESTAKE MINING COMPANY agree that I will not become such while in its service.  
Occupation

Signed

Department

**FINED AND DECLARED UNFAIR.**

Masonic Miners' Union, No. 206, has declared C. C. Taylor unfair, and placed a fine of \$10.00 on his card.

IT IS ANNOUNCED, not perhaps as a matter of news, that the Illinois miners and operators are still far apart. This is quite apt to be the case. The miners usually are in the hole, where the danger is great, while the operators are in town drawing the dividends.

LABORING MEN WON'T GO TO A TOWN where a strike is on. They refuse to be a party to any effort to break a strike or to undo the work of those who are attempting to better the wage or hour conditions of themselves and others. But laboring men will run for office on the old party tickets, thus undoing politically the work that other laboring men have built up. Labor will become strong in politics when good union men refuse to accept favors from the old parties. And not much progress will be made until this is done.

NO MATTER WHOSE LIPS that speak, they must be free and un-gagged. Let us believe that the whole truth can never do harm to the whole of virtue; and remember that in order to get the whole truth you must allow every man, right or wrong, freely to utter his conscience, and to protect him in so doing. Entire unshackled freedom for every man's life, no matter what his doctrine—the safety of free discussion no matter how wide its range. The community which dares not protect its humblest and most hated member in the free utterance of his opinions, no matter how false or how hateful, is only a gang of slaves.—Wendell Phillips.

PRESIDENT McARDLE, of the Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers, is the latest official to come out strongly in favor of industrialism in his trade, as a "means of preserving the craft." If this thing of industrial unionism keeps up long enough we will soon have a trades union movement that is in fact and truth what it appears on paper to be—a solid organization of all the workers in the country, working always for the good of all.

DISPATCHES ANNOUNCE the death of J. W. Van Cleave in St. Louis as the result of an attack of heart disease. Until six months ago he was in robust health. H. C. Thompson, for thirty years his business associate, said that Van Cleave's break down could be traced to his war with the labor unions. Evidently the union men kept him pretty busy defending himself. Van Cleave is dead, but all the unions that he opposed are still very much alive. 'Twas ever thus.

THE FIGHT AGAINST corporate oppression in America will never be won if we allow the newspapers that dare tell the truth about everything to be suppressed. The enemies of free speech and of a free press in America are ever alert to use the power of the government to protect them in their nefarious methods of discrimination against the workingmen. Let us stand up for a free press, and resist in every way possible every governmental or other effort to stop the dissemination of truth that is valuable to us in the propaganda.

IN CHICAGO papers have been served on the members of the Auto Livery Chauffeurs' Union, No. 727, in a damage suit for \$60,000. A diligent search failed to reveal the records of the suit as filed at the county building, and it is thought that they are being kept out of sight by interested parties. Each company of the Employers' ring served individual papers on the members of the union, but are banded together in the outrageous attempt to persecute the union to the utmost. The cases will come up for trial in the county building during the first days of July next. The Auto Taxicab Company and the Trout Taxicab Company are suing to the amount of \$20,000 each.

MORE REVOLUTION in Milwaukee. But it seems that every time a new one is started up there it is always in the interest of the workers. According to the papers, the Social Democratic members of the County Board are on strike against official stationery without the union label. They refuse to use the unfair stationery, and they are so much in earnest about it that they declare they will order their own and pay for it themselves rather than use that which bears no label. The company that now has the contract for printing is non-union, but it won't be long 'till they hunt cover against such a solid attitude on the part of the public officials.

EDITOR FRED D. WARREN, of the Appeal to Reason, spoke in his own behalf before the United States Court of Appeals in St. Paul last week, he having dismissed his attorneys for the reason that they were injecting technicalities in the case that would allow the judges of the court to render a decision side-stepping the real issues in the case at bar. Editor Warren's speech is published in another part of this issue of the Magazine. It shows clearly that there is only one point before the court that is worth consideration, and that is whether the kidnaping of a workingman is legal and the suggestion to kidnap a capitalist politician is a crime. Fred Warren insists that this question shall be decided by the court, and he doesn't care which way it goes, as far as he is individually concerned. But it is a question full of vital import to the people. The case has been taken under advisement by the court, and it will probably be several months before a decision is reached. It may be delayed until after the November elections.



**T**HE RESULT OF THE LOCAL election in Denver last Tuesday was a complete victory for the "wets" against the effort to make Denver a city without saloons. Sixteen thousand votes were cast for a "dry" Denver, while 30,000 votes were cast for a "wet" Denver. The total registration was almost 76,000. So it seems that about 30,000 people refused to vote on the proposition at all. The result as to individual candidates was badly mixed, the machine Democrats and citizens carrying off the offices. Some gain has, however, come in the shape of the adoption of amendments to the city charter. These provide for a form of initiative, a compulsory referendum, and a fairly good method of recall of unfaithful servants. Under the operations of these new laws it will be possible to secure now and again the actual opinions of the citizens by means of an election. The adoption of these amendments, taken in connection with the defeat of a proposed twenty-year water franchise, marks a distinct advance in Denver civic affairs.

**A** HIGH TYPE OF LOYALTY to the working class has developed in the case of a Socialist who refused to have his City Council ask the governor of a state to appoint him to the office of mayor to fill a vacancy, preferring that "the town might be a while longer burdened by such an undesirable as the governor would appoint" rather than accept a place under the regime and influence of one of the old political parties. This is the sort of loyalty that is necessary in all parts of the country if the workers are ever to come into their own. As long as well-known and influential workers can be induced to accept nominations and appointive offices under the influence and control of the managers of the rotten political parties, just so long will we delay the day when we capture the government and administer it in the interest of the people instead of the interest of the few who control vested rights and those who are in possession of special privileges.

**T**O ONE WHO HAS EVER STUDIED Karl Marx's "Value, Price and Profit" needs to be told that the high wages exacted by labor unions are not the cause of the high cost of living. But most of our opponents have never heard of Karl Marx, and hosts of them do blame the raise in commutation rates and prices generally on the trade unions. Talk ten minutes to the first middle class business man you meet and you will find that he sincerely believes the country is going to the demerit bowwows unless something is done to curb the wicked Labor Trust.

The committee appointed by the Massachusetts Legislature to investigate the causes of the advance in commodity prices has furnished us some valuable ammunition to fire at our middle class friends. Here it is. Cut it out and keep it handy:

"Concerning the labor unions, the facts that less than 10 per cent. of the workers of the country are organized, that the workers engaged in the production of the commodities that have risen notably in price, especially foodstuffs, are hardly organized at all, and that wages have risen in less degree and at slower pace than the prices of commodities, the wage advance beginning several years after the price advance, prove that the recent general increase of prices cannot be attributed to the general influence of trade unions."

**A** GREAT DEAL HAS BEEN WRITTEN about the mysterious young English poet, "John Carter," who was recently released from a Minnesota prison upon the application of magazine editors and literary men. The boy, for he is now only 24, had served five years of a ten-year term.

And for what? At the age of 19, a raw lad, sick and starving and destitute, he broke into a lonely little railroad station and stole \$24.

For which offense the law sentenced him to ten years in the penitentiary, there to be crushed and ground and made a wreck of in body and soul. Under such punishment he would, when released, be a weak and desperate creature, preying upon society until once more immured within prison walls.

Is it any wonder that people are saying there is something wrong with the administration of justice in this country? Ten years for stealing \$24, but immunity baths or ridiculous fines for the malefactors of great wealth who form gigantic combinations that levy robber tribute upon all of us!

That is the point in the Carter case. It is interesting to know that he kept himself free of prison influences during the long years; it is interesting to know that gray walls started the singing birds in his heart.

But the big point, the point which should give us all pause for thought, is to elect lawmakers and devise laws that will catch the big whales as well as the little minnows.

**A**FTER CHARLES E. LITTLEFIELD, once representative to Congress from Maine, found it expedient not to appeal to the voters for re-election, he took up a study of the labor movement to see what could be said against it. He saw, or thought he saw, in the National Civic Federation, the Manufacturers' Association, and kindred bodies, a field for a bright old man with plenty of venom and absolutely no scruples in presenting one side of the question. So the other evening he lectured in Carnegie Hall and told of the sins of labor unions.

According to his basic contention, the labor union can do nothing really effective that is not illegal. Every move it makes or can make is covered by a court ruling, and that court ruling says, beforehand, that the move is against the court's interpretation of the law. Either there is a decision from some court, whether Magistrate's or Supreme matters not, or there is an injunction, or there is something else which stands in the way of the strikers. So, it may be admitted, what Mr. Littlefield says, it is almost impossible to have a strike devoid of unlawful features.

What a horrible indictment of our courts!

It is true, every word Littlefield says is true, and though he intended to strike labor he has smashed the courts. He has held up to scorn, to contempt, to hatred, the very bodies he sought to defend.

The courts have, and The Call has, drawn attention to it over and over again, placed the labor union in the position where it is almost impossible for it to make a move that is not illegal. But though the move may be illegal it is seldom wrong. It seldom violates any human right. But it may, possibly, violate one of those privileges the courts have granted labor's opponents. So, instead of being at all downcast by the words of Mr. Littlefield, driven from Congress because of his hatred of and unfairness to labor, unionists should gather renewed courage.

Here is a man who plainly states what capitalists' courts have accomplished for capitalism. They have enslaved the workers. They have rendered ineffectual practically every move the worker can make: It is true.

And the answer is, arouse and fight the courts. We tolerate them. We can reform them.—New York Call.

**T**HE CORONER'S JURY which began last November to investigate the cause of the Cherry, Illinois, mine disaster, which resulted in the death of 265 miners in the St. Paul Coal Company mine, has reached an agreement and 250 separate verdicts have been returned. The jury says the mining laws were broken with the knowledge and consent of the mine inspectors.

They were in three sets, one set fixing the cause of the death of the twelve men in the rescue party who perished on the cage in the main shaft, another set for the 187 men who were suffocated in the second vein, and the third for the fifty-one men who were trapped in the third vein and died of exposure and suffocation.

The verdict of the coroner's jury is a vindication of John Cowley, the engineer who was in charge of the cage on which the twelve rescuers lost their lives. The verdict says the twelve rescuers lost their lives "indirectly by a confusion of signals regulating the movement of the cage."

The following verdict was brought in for each of the 187 men who lost their lives in the second vein:

"We find that they came to their death by suffocation and that the fire was caused by a pitched load of baled hay coming in contact with an oil torch.

"And we further find that there was great delay in notifying the men of the danger."

The verdict giving the cause of the death of the men in the third vein says:

"We find that they came to their death by exposure and suffocation. We further find that the mining laws of the state of Illinois in relation to means of escape were violated with the full knowledge and consent of the mine inspectors for District No. 2."

**W**RITING FOR HIS PAPER, the Labor World, Spokane, Wash., Hon. D. C. Coates, formerly lieutenant governor of Colorado, has the following article concerning the attitude of a certain brand of politicians toward the unions:

"According to the Typographical Union Journal for May, S. A. Mann, police judge of Spokane, is an applicant for membership in the local Typographical Union. Judge Mann was one time a member of the Typographical Union, but he went into other business and as soon as the union was no longer useful to him personally he ceased all connection with it. In the number of years that he has resided in Spokane he has not sought to aid the union by joining it, nor is he now contemplating returning to the business of a printer, so that the union could be of some protection and service to him in an industrial way. Plainly, Mr. Mann is a candidate for Congress, and he asks admission to the Typographical Union solely for what use such membership would be to him during the campaign—so that he can advertise himself as a "union man." This is the estimate that politicians usually have of unions—that they are here purely for their personal use whenever they get ready to use them. The Typographical Union and its members would welcome Judge Mann as a member if he was coming in to work under its jurisdiction and labor for its advancement as a trades union, but when he attempts to use it solely for political purposes he should be told firmly that he is not wanted within the ranks. If one of the old and faithful members desired to use the union for political purposes he would not hear the last of the uproar which would be created; then an outsider who wishes to come in to use the union with this sole idea in view should not be let closer than the front door."

This is true not only of the individual mentioned by Mr. Coates, but is true also of men in many parts of the country. These smooth gentlemen are never at the front when there is work for common humanity to do. But when there is a chance to capture some public office, they immediately become loud "friends" of the unions, and forget all about it immediately after election. The better plan is to keep them all out.

**A** MEMBER of the International Steam Shovelers' Union has publicly and premeditatedly disobeyed the injunctions of unionism, which is a matter of more than national moment, and the world would like to know what's going to be done about it.

A certain business was declared under boycott throughout this country for having employed non-union labor in preference to union labor, an offense of the most grievous nature, according to unionism, and all union labor people were publicly warned against patronizing or in any other ways giving aid or countenance to this business concern. The penalty for disobedience is fine or expulsion. This matter was given the widest publicity, and yet this member alluded to did boldly and defiantly patronize that concern, and by his patronage induced thousands of others to give that concern financial aid.



Clearly, honesty and good policy dictate that this guilty union man should be fined or expelled, or both, by his union. We think both.

It happens that the guilty member of the International Steam Shovelers' Union is the President of the United States, Mr. Taft having been created an honorary member of that union at Panama not long ago.

To let this guilty member off because he is President would be piling an exhibition of toadyism on top of that similar exhibition made when he was created a member. Of course, Taft never handled a shovel, but if he had kept the air full of dirt since he was ten years old, it should be no condonement of his offense. It would be putting titles above men, the very idea which organized labor should combat most persistently, vigorously and impartially.

To let him off merely because he is an honorary member would be fully as bad. Honorary membership in any organization is senseless, and in 99 cases out of 100 means unadulterated toadyism. A fellow

comes along who is puffed out with political, commercial, financial or social conspicuousness. He doesn't want to join an organization as a working, useful member, or the organization is afraid to have him, and so he is made an honorary member, ornamental and useless, although in rare cases productive of a small assessment.

Mr. Taft never performed any manual labor. He did do overtime on one occasion at hunting up legal technicalities and precedents for jailing the manual laborers of a railroad corporation. When labor unions get to making such men honorary members, they advertise their own toadyism and servility, and support.

W. H. Taft has publicly and grossly betrayed his union. That union should not be permitted to let the treachery pass without a roaring protest from all the honest, uncorrupted unions on earth.—Denver Daily Express.

## Worked a Month--Got Nothing

**A**BOUT THE ONLY DIFFERENCE between working for the Homestake Company in the Black Hills and "hoboing" from town to town is this: When you are tramping you always get enough to eat, you wear out your clothes, but you are never sure of a place to sleep. When working for the Homestake the scab always gets enough to eat, he wears out his clothes the same as if he was bumming, and is sure of a place to sleep. He sleeps in both instances—in one he is sure of the place from night to night, and in the other he is not sure of the place from night to night.

When a man is bumming from town to town he has nothing at the beginning of the month, and at the end he has nothing, besides the wear and tear on his clothes. When working in the mines of the Homestake Company in the Black Hills, he has nothing at the beginning of the month, and at the end of it he has worn out his clothes, worked like thunder all the time, and comes out in debt to the company after all.

There has come into our possession the statement of the Hearst Mercantile Company, on a count of supplies furnished to one of the men who was shipped into that camp, and who worked 26½ shifts, also a half day on top, and was supposed to have earned \$80.75 for this labor. Out of this was to be deducted his railroad fare, as he well knew. Still, he was under the impression that something was coming to him, and so drew his time and prepared to leave the district. When his statement at the company store was made out it read as follows:

10	Tobacco, 45, 3 pr. socks 25, overalls \$1.00, jumper \$1.00, pr. socks 25. . . . .	\$ 2.95
	Dinnerpail 50, candlestick 50. . . . .	1.00
14	One shirt. . . . .	.75
15	Snuff 25, matches .05, tobacco 10. . . . .	.40
16	Cap. . . . .	1.25
18	Bananas. . . . .	.20
19	Soap. . . . .	.10
	Gloves. . . . .	.15
	Money order. . . . .	1.75
	Stamps. . . . .	.10
22	Bank order. . . . .	4.00
25	2 prs gloves. . . . .	.30
28	M. C. Campbell. . . . .	3.25
26	Tobacco. . . . .	.20
28	Insect powder. . . . .	.35
	Room rent. . . . .	15.00
	Board. . . . .	15.00
7	Shoes \$6.00, gloves 50, socks 25. . . . .	6.75
11	Tobacco. . . . .	.30
14	3 prs gloves. . . . .	.25
17	Stamps. . . . .	.25
18	Tobacco. . . . .	.20
	Railroad fare. . . . .	28.00
	<b>Total. . . . .</b>	<b>\$82.50</b>

In addition to this there was a deduction of \$1.10 for hospital dues, making the total deductions from the wages earned for twenty-seven days of \$83.60.

You can imagine the astonishment of the "good American citizen" when he was told that he still owed the company \$2.85, after having worked faithfully for twenty-seven days. Apparently, it made him so mad that he left the camp anyway, leaving the great Homestake Company to charge the difference up to the town pump.

This is the basis of our reason for advising all bums to stay away from the Black Hills. Good men never intended to go there anyhow. The bum had better stick to his profession. He is just as well off financially, and in addition does not have to do hard work and run the risk of having his head crushed with a heavy rock in a dangerous part of an underground working.

### GLAD TO LEAVE THE BLACK HILLS.

According to Jim Jarrett, who has just returned from a three weeks' stay at Lead, S. D., the several hundred miners who left Galena and the Joplin mining districts have found that the country they left behind was a veritable paradise to that found in the new. A few got

good jobs, but the vast majority have either already returned or are preparing to come home as soon as they can get away.

Many of the families who left Galena, according to Mr. Jarrett, upon their arrival in Lead purchased household outfits from the Homestake store, for which they must pay before they can leave for other places. It is said that some of the families are in debt to the extent of several hundred dollars. As the Homestake Mining Company is said to control the city government of Lead, it is impossible for any person to leave the city while in debt.

Mr. Jarrett stated that if a miner desires to draw some money before pay day, the Homestake Company supplies an order, for which the



banks charge 25 cents for cashing. On pay day the company, it is said charges another quarter for making out the order.

Two of the greatest drawbacks experienced by Galena miners at Lead, it is said, is the dangerous condition of the ground and hospital service. It is said that the timbers of the mine are in a decayed condition and should be inspected by the United States government. Miners are daily being hurt by falling stones. A piece of wood from the underground workings was brought to Galena by Mr. Jarrett, showing its bad condition, which is now on display at the Globe office. During Jarrett's stay at Lead, the hospital force consisted of two nurses, whose duties consisted in the care of fifty patients, it is said.—Joplin Globe.



# How they Feel at Butte

Butte, Mont., May 14, 1910.

I've lately seen a copy of the Lead Daily Call making much of a statement to the effect that the Butte miners had refused to pay further assessments toward the assistance of their brothers at Lead. This statement is false in every particular, and we in Butte are not credulous enough to believe that such flagrantly misleading information emanated from a miner of this district. The engineers, miners and mill men of Butte recently gave a grand ball which netted several thousand dollars, every cent of which shall be sent to aid in the cause of unionism in South Dakota. In promoting this project we had the support, both financially and otherwise, of all local unions of the A. F. of L., and of other labor bodies with no outside affiliations. The cooks and waiters, with a small membership, volunteered to contribute \$100 per month until the lockout is ended and the Women's Protective Union have assessed themselves one day's wage per month for the same cause. With such spontaneous generosity exhibited it is needless for me to assure your readers that the miners of Butte are heart and soul to the last ditch and to the last dollars with their oppressed fellows of the Black Hills.

We had an entertaining talk at our last meeting from Brother John White, vice president of the Lead Miners' Union. He drew a very vivid and touching picture of the sufferings undergone by the locked out miners of that district and if the Call's informant could have seen and heard the enthusiasm which punctured his eloquent tribute to the patience and determination exhibited by those men in their struggle, he would realize that we of Butte are not the contemptible renegades he represents us to be.

DAN HOLLAND,  
Pres. Butte Miners' Union.

**E**XECUTIVE BOARD MEMBER KIRWAN, who has been in the Black Hills looking after the interests of the Federation during the Homestake lockout, is now in Michigan doing federation work in that part of his district.

LEAD, SOUTH DAKOTA, MAY 2, 1910.

## To Whom It May Concern:

This is to certify that we, the undersigned, were shipped from Houghton, Michigan, to Lead, South Dakota, to work for Homestake Mining Company, with the understanding that there was neither union nor labor trouble prevailing in the Black Hills. We were assured of this before we left Michigan by Dwight Cassner of Lead, South Dakota, and Ed Henry of the same place. When we arrived in Lead we found, by personal investigation, that there were more than a thousand idle union men, many of them property owners in Lead, and the heads of families, locked out by the said Homestake Mining Company because they would not renounce their union, which has been in existence in Lead for more than thirty years. We found those working doing so as scabs and also learn that they were mostly incompetent men who had been deceived into coming here in the same manner that we were deceived. As a result of working these incompetent men, accidents are very frequent and the mines are not nearly as safe as they had been in the past. We also find the cost of living in the Black Hills much higher than in Michigan, board and room costing \$30 per month, mining shoes from \$3.50 to \$7.00 per pair and other supplies proportionately high. Out of twenty-nine men shipped in on April 22nd there are not more than five working and we have been informed that several of these are going back to Michigan as soon as they earn enough to take them home. Men coming in to work for the Company are taken from the train under guard and marched between guards to the Company office where they must sign an agreement not to belong to a union, before they are given either food or jobs. Men have been jailed for refusing to go to work after they arrived. We would advise all honest men to stay from the Black Hills, unless they are willing to become scabs.

JAMES J. LEE,  
DUD DRISCOLL,  
ED. HOLAPPA,  
LEO BRUNELLE,  
ARCHIE HOLAPPA.

## A Plea for Action

**T**HE ACTION of the coming Socialist congress will go far toward deciding whether the Socialist party is to remain an agitation committee or become the spokesman of the working class.

We have been too busy talking about the class struggle to organize it. Batteries of phrases will never make a breach in the capitalist system.

The farmers and unionists are in revolt. A crisis confronts them. This is the time to win their co-operation. The decision in the Danbury Hatters' case was a blow at the vitals of unionism. A score of farmers are in jail as the result of their war on the tobacco trust. Rural and industrial workers are stretching out hands to each other. Both realize that political action is essential to their existence.

They will avail themselves of our organization if we can show them that we know how to protect their interests.

We have taught the class struggle, have we the courage to lead one? We have taught the solidarity of labor's interests, are we able to aid these classes that have never understood each other to unite their forces? We know that the unions are the engines of the class struggle, are we too "revolutionary" to fight for their life?

We have claimed to be the teacher of the working class, we have proven ourselves strangely ignorant of their psychology. Our ignorance is reflected in the backwardness of our pupils.

Their lessons come through their hands. They are the children of action. They are ever close to the real. The great mass can make no provision for the future save as today's acts determine what tomorrow shall be.

We sought to fix their eyes on a distant state of social justice while giving them little practical aid in preparing them for their daily struggles, for it is not enough that we aid and encourage them when the struggle is on, we must prepare them for it. Enable them to use the best methods and, as far as may be, choose the time and place.

There are some who seek to preserve the revolutionary character of the Socialist party by doing nothing that would benefit the working class today, lest they become satisfied with their lot and capitalism take on a new lease of life. If we attempt to do nothing today, we shall not be trusted tomorrow. There has been too much "other worldliness" in our attitude toward the immediate needs of the working class.

The real revolutionist is one who, ever keeping the final goal in sight, takes the course best adapted to satisfy the wants of today. We shall be wiser and our needs greater tomorrow. A distant goal can rouse but few to action. When we have pointed an immediate one the workers have reached it at a bound, as in the Colorado kidnaping case.

Who believes that the Socialist party has lost any of its revolutionary character because of the aid given the Western Federation of Miners? Let each campaign furnish an object whose achievement is vitally connected with the life and free activity of the unions, or the health and economic welfare of the toilers—and we shall become the voice of the working class.

The revolution will come the quicker because we taste the wine of

victory now. Consciousness of power is the first requisite to great deeds.

Socialists have been careless of the immediate economic needs of the workers, they have revenged themselves by being careless of their ultimate need. The mistakes and defeats of the unions have been largely due to our lack of information; it is our duty to supply it.

Our influence has been lessened by the statement of half truths. Too often have we told strikers that if they had voted right at the preceding election they would not be on strike. If the working class had done so that would be true.

We have presented political action as an alternative to industrial action. It is not an alternative. It is an auxiliary.

Let it be said again that solidarity can only be achieved through industrial action—the impact of great masses of men. "The federation of the world" will remain a poet's dream until labor hammers it out on the anvil of action.

In order that the hammering may continue, Labor must find a voice in Legislatures and Congress.

The Socialist party represents the conscious workers; they are but a small portion of the Socialist movement. Every union is at least a tacit recognition of the class struggle, each endeavors to lessen the degree of exploitation to which its members are subjected. Trace the development of industry, the history of their organization, their relation to and dependence upon other bodies of workers and they will soon be ready to end all exploitation.

The structure of unions must be so changed that in attack or defense all labor responds and the capitalists score no victory until every resource is exhausted. Their present form depends upon the condition of the industry at the time of their organization. It is our business to supply the facts which will result in making them a purely revolutionary product.

No interest of the working class is foreign to the mission of the Socialist party. Our philosophy is one of action. Let us put it at work.

We need intimate stories of struggles that shall reveal the strength and weakness of the working class and their organizations. Men who have taken part in making contracts between employers and employees, particularly in the U. M. W. of A., could give an interesting account of the manner in which they arrived at an agreement, and its effect upon both parties. The history of trade unions is of vital importance, inventions and their effect upon industry, the condition of the workers in the various industries and sections of the country, comparisons of conditions of organized and unorganized workers. These are some of the things you might write about instead of the philosophy of Socialism.

Not until our party enters into the life of field, factory and mine can it be considered the workers party in the fullest sense of the term.

To unite all classes of workers in a struggle to protect their economic organizations is the imperative need of today. We need fear no rivals if we perform that duty.

GUY E. MILLER.



## How the Profits Leave the Country

**D**URING THE RECENT campaign in Denver looking toward the closing of the saloons in all parts of the city, one of the arguments made against the brewing interests was to the effect that nearly all the breweries in America are owned and controlled by English or foreign capital, hence the large profits arising from the business of making and selling beer was sent abroad and was of no benefit whatever to the citizens of this country. The truth of this statement was never challenged during the somewhat vigorous campaign covering a space of almost three months. In other words, the American brewers are nothing more nor less than resident agents for foreign capitalists.

This is not only true of the brewing interests, but also of all the industrial and financial interests controlled by J. P. Morgan and others. It is to be regretted that in all the discussion about Morgan and his methods, little attention is paid to this phase of the actual conditions. Because he is an American citizen it is always assumed that most of the capital which the great promoter controls belongs to American investors, but this is a false assumption. The bulk of this capital, enough to give him controlling interest in his various undertakings, belongs to foreign, mostly British investors. And a good part of what Morgan does not represent belongs to other foreign investors, whose agents and representatives are Kuhn, Loeb & Co., James Speyer, Baring, Magoun, Ladenberg, Aug. Belmont, and other foreign banking houses in New York.

All these great railroads, banks and industrial corporations, like United States Steel, the Coal Trust, and the Harvester Trust, are prac-

tically owned by foreign capitalists, and the bulk of the profits goes out of the country. A comparatively small clique of English and German capitalists, sitting in their back offices in London and Berlin, can dictate prices to the eighty-odd million people of the United States.

When this great fact becomes more generally known there will be such an outburst of public sentiment against the exactions of those foreign-owned trusts that Congress will be compelled to bring them to terms, just as the Congress in the early days of the republic was compelled to take drastic measures against the land-owners who claimed whole states at once, and later against the great shippers who waxed fat on the proceeds of transactions where it was possible to withhold from the government the payment of duties for as long as a year and a half after sale.

Suppose there was introduced into the present Congress a resolution providing for the appointment of a commission with power to investigate and ascertain the amount of foreign capital that is invested in the stocks and bonds of railroads, banks, insurance and trust companies, industrial corporations and in mining and mineral lands in the United States. The result of such an investigation, honestly conducted, would be startling, to say the least.

It is high time, we think, to look upon Morgan and his ilk, not as true American citizens, but as paid agents of foreign capitalists who in the last analysis will be compelled to demand the inevitable "pound of flesh."

## Workingmen's Friend, King Edward, Is Dead

By Henry T. Jones.

**K**ING EDWARD VII. of Great Britain is dead. And if we are to believe all we read in the capitalist press of America, the people of England are "plunged into deep mourning" and sincere sorrow is manifest on all sides. America, too, if we are to believe the same press, is deeply grieved and President Taft and ex-President Roosevelt have hastened to express the sympathy of themselves and of the American people because of the "great loss."

If the truth were known, the working people of Great Britain are not wasting any expressions of sorrow because of the death of a monarch whose only excuse for distinction was that he was a good base-ball player, a good sportsman and that he had a preference for pretty women whose regard for morals was not of the prudish kind.

King Edward and his crew were bitterly opposed to the old age pensions which the working class representatives in the British parliament succeeded in forcing the aristocratic exploiters to pay, and he and his House of Lords following always bitterly fought the little legislation that has been secured in the interest of the working class. If King Edward ever did anything that was for the interest of the majority of his subjects—the working class—I never heard about it, and when Teddy Roosevelt sends a telegram of condolence to the new king and expresses his sympathy and at the same time says he speaks for ALL the American people, I rise to object.

I am an American—was born in Chicago—and Teddy has no right to include me in the sympathy game. I am not interested in the death of a king when there is another member of the same useless class to take

his place. There are many other members of the working class in the United States who object to having Roosevelt and useless members of society like ambassador Whitelaw Reid, the proprietor of a "rat" printing office in New York City, send messages of sympathy for them.

The working class is just intelligent enough to know that kings are just about as much use to society as the vermiform appendix is to the human make-up, namely, no use at all. About \$500,000,000 is drained from the suffering subjects of the useless king of Great Britain and Ireland and emperor of India annually to support a royal family in splendor, and in return for these millions of wealth the royal family contributes NOTHING. At the same time there are thousands of members of the working class in the city of London, not far from Buckingham palace, who annually die of starvation and millions of others live in hovels unfit for human habitation, and are miserably clad and underfed.

King Edward was the representative of the capitalist system that fosters exploitation and injustice toward the useful working class which makes up 90 per cent. of the useful class of subjects, and if any of this working class is in mourning because of the death of this useless and worthless monarch they deserve the poverty that is their portion.

I, for one, am not wearing any crepe because of the sudden taking off of this useless appendage of society and shall not shed any tears when the financial kings of America pass beyond the pearly gates leaving behind their millions for their sons to continue to use in exploiting and enslaving the best manhood of the earth. The world loses more when a hod-carrier or any other member of the working class is murdered by unnecessary accident or by the relentless toil he is forced by his masters to endure.

## Conditions in Nome, Alaska

**L**ABOR AGENTS ARE STILL BUSY attempting to deceive workmen to go to Nome, Alaska, where the miners are trying to force the employers to maintain decent working conditions at fair pay. All kinds of promises are held out to the jobless in order to get them to go to the Alaska gold fields, where they will surely be stranded, as there is not enough work to do for those men who are already in the camps. Most of the good workings have been exhausted of their values and have ceased operations, hence the lack of work in those mines.

We are indebted to a subscriber in Nome for a marked copy of the Nome Industrial Worker, containing a marked article, which is here reproduced in full, for the information of all in the jurisdiction.

"Seabherder Plein has been talking in Texas. No doubt he felt that he was boosting the country when he delivered himself to representative of the Daily Express in the gay city of San Antonio.

"Posing as one of the old original gold diggers of Alaska and general 'mining magnate' this brass-galled fakir conveyed the information that work was plentiful, and common laborers could get all they wanted at \$5.00 per day and board in this country.

"Now what do you think of that from Plein, who was scouring saloons and gambling dumps last winter for scabs at the rate of three per day, what do you think of that from Plein who never paid miners decent wages until he was associated with a decent man, and then paid it because he had to.

"We can imagine half of the wage slaves in San Antonio rushing up here per first train and boat to get one of these plentiful jobs at \$5.00 per day and board, thank you, and joining the crowd of destitute unemployed who have held down saloon chairs all winter, half starved,

half frozen and wholly dopey for want of one decent, refreshing sleep.

"Plein did not mention the fact that men worked here for as low as two dollars and board last summer, that hundreds came up here by the first boats last spring and never got one hour's work all summer; that some hundreds more worked all summer and never got five cents in wages for their pains; that hundreds were shipped out destitute last fall at the expense of the city or the U. S. government. He did not mention the disgusting fact, and it is a fact, that some of the men who were shipped in here last summer have been rustling among the garbage piles on the ice in Behring Sea for a mouthful of food; this fact, indeed, he may not have known, but he certainly was familiar with labor conditions last summer and last fall. So, when in San Antonio, Texas, and when he handed the representative of the Daily Express an item of information to the effect that work here was plentiful and that common laborers could get \$5.00 per day, he lied, and it is to correct this false piece of information that we are saying so.

"The Nome Mine Workers' Union has no grouch against moneyed men coming up here by the score and investing their good money in mines that are mines, or mines that are wild cats, but the Miners' Union certainly does resent in the strongest manner this spreading of such dastardly false reports as to labor conditions in Alaska that may result in bringing in here a number of misguided dupes who spend their last hard-earned dollar for the trip, and it is nothing but an outrage on these unfortunates, on the miners here, and, in fact, on the whole community.

"'Tis a great pity that honest folks on the outside are imposed upon in this manner by every other hot-air peddling, brass-galled mining operator, who, having gophered around here, rush to the outside at the freeze-up as mining magnates, but the good citizens of San Antonio may console themselves when we inform that when they entertained Joe



Plein they, of all such brass-galled operators, entertained the limit. And we will take care that they see this issue of the Industrial Worker."

The following circular letter has been sent out by Nome Miners' Union, No. 240, and it ought to serve as a warning to all laborers. As is stated in this letter, the union has on various other occasions sent out warning letters, but they were passed unheeded, with the result that much privation and suffering resulted, not only to the men who went from the states to the Alaskan fields, but also to those who were already in the mining districts, as the work was insufficient to keep them all in any shape beyond the condition of bare existence. Here is the letter from the Nome Union:

CIRCULAR ISSUED BY NOME UNION.

Nome Alaska, March 21, 1910.

Editor Miners' Magazine:—As the transportation companies will as per usual endeavor to lure the workers here by the dissemination of untrue reports as to conditions in this part of Alaska, Local No. 240, W. F. of M., takes this opportunity of warning all workers against being deluded by such false reports and asks the co-operation to this end of all organized workmen.

As far as actual conditions are concerned, matters were never worse in the history of this camp. All the rich mines are practically worked out, and although extensive prospecting is all the time being carried on, no new discoveries of value have been made.

On the other hand, there are hundreds here out of work, some of

them have been idle for over twelve months, and some have worked for several months last summer and have not been paid a cent. Wages have been reduced all along the line. The reported new strikes in the Idit-rood and Squirrel River countries have proved to be the worst kind of fizzles and anyone rushing to those camps will be sure to suffer nothing but hardship for their pains. The majority at present employed are working on "bed-rock," which means that they are promised their wages after the grocer, baker and coal man get their share. It is safe to say that not one-fourth of those at present working will ever be paid their wages.

There are enough men at present here to do all the summer work that may be opened up, and anyone coming here, apart altogether from the hardships that they are sure to work on the men already here, will be run up against the toughest kind of a proposition.

Year after year the Nome Miners' Union has sent out similar warnings, which have been disregarded, with the result that hundreds came here who were obliged to undergo all kinds of suffering and privations on account of the lack of work; many, in fact, were sent outside at the government expense, but many more were compelled to stay here and endure all kinds of misery in this arctic climate during the winter.

Everything herein stated is absolutely true, and any and all who may have been inclined to invest their hard-earned money in a steamboat ticket to these parts would be far better advised to stay where they are and not allow themselves to be the victims of the imaginative press agents of the transportation companies. Our urgent advice is to STAY AWAY.

(Seal.)

Yours fraternally,  
LOCAL NO. 240, W. F. M.

## The Revolution in Milwaukee

THAT GALAXY OF WORKINGMEN in control of the city government of Milwaukee, composed of common, everyday patternmakers, machinists, printers and other mechanics, are already doing things somewhat different than has been customary while the professional politicians were in power.

For example, when the "business" administrations of Rose and of Becker, the "boy mayor," were in control during the past decade, organized labor appealed in vain for recognition of their wage scale, working hours and other union conditions.

But Milwaukee was open shop. The politicians shed crocodile tears copiously and bemoaned their sad lot in being compelled, "cordin' to the statoots," they said, to deal with labor under the "sacred rights of contract" and the "inexorable law of supply and demand," which caused their hearts to bleed until they were completely flabbergasted.

We well remember how Rose, Becker and the rest of their crowds were repeatedly petitioned by the Typographical Union to have the allied trades label placed on printed matter and work taken from unfair concerns, but without result.

One of the first orders issued by the City Council and Mayor Seidel upon assuming control of Milwaukee's municipal machinery, was that every piece of printed matter used in any and all city departments must bear the union label. And that ruling is now in effect.

Again, while the state law prevents Milwaukee from specifying that union labor should be employed on contract work and union hours and wages observed, that is precisely what is being given practical demonstration right now. Mechanics must join the unions of their trade and union wages are paid. In the building of the Sixteenth street viaduct wages were \$3 per day under the Rose administration, now they are \$4.50 a day for eight hours' work, the union scale.

Moreover, the city attorney of the new regime has discovered how his predecessors have wrongfully held that changes in wage rates of city employes could only be made on the first of the year, when work is usually dull and many men scramble for jobs at almost any price. Under the law, as interpreted by the Socialist city attorney, wage schedules can be changed at any time.

Seidel, Berger and their colleagues have filed notice on the street railway and other public service corporations that they must "be good," that no more discrimination against union workmen will be tolerated and that the people as a whole must be treated fairly or there is going to be trouble.

On the other hand, thinking to frighten the Milwaukee workers into doing the bidding of "the interests," some of the bonding companies have made threats that they will sell no more bonds issued by a previous administration and thus tie up public work. But a big labor organization with several hundred thousand dollars in the strong box has an-

nounced that it will gladly invest its surplus in Milwaukee bonds, and so the town can be all the more thoroughly cinched by the organized workers.

At present the new rulers of Milwaukee are chopping off all sinecures and lazy jobs created formerly to pay political debts. The practice of feeding juries, which are paid for their services, and similar petty grafts, are being wiped out, and instead the authorities will work out plans to feed hungry school children. While it may "break up the home" to feed hungry little ones instead of adult hangers-on about the court rooms, the Socialists are just studdorn enough to make the experiment.

The schools are being thrown open to the public for the purpose of holding neighborhood dances, parties and entertainments, and thus MINERS' MAG—EDITORIAL—GAL SIX . . . . . money formerly spent for hall rents is being saved to the people.

One of the stereotyped charges made against the Socialists has been that if they acquired control of the governing powers they would permit workingmen to "soldier"—which at that would be only fair, considering that the politicians do their share of loafing. But the charge is untrue. In Milwaukee every man and woman, from Mayor Seidel down, must be on the job eight hours a day, and this new ruling has created consternation among some of the pets who have been accustomed to lolling about in easy chairs drawing fat salaries for doing next to nothing.

It is considered unconstitutional and unpatriotic for government to engage in competition with private business concerns. But the Milwaukee laborites have discovered a way in which the city can engage in the business of handling wood and coal, and, remembering how the coal barons have squeezed the dear people in winters past when they were forced to purchase fuel to keep from freezing to death, there probably will be a municipal coal and wood yard doing business next winter at cost.

These illustrations of some of the practical things that are being done in Milwaukee by the workers only go to prove once more that where there is a will to do things there is a way.

There are many laws on the statute books that can be interpreted for or against the workers—it all depends upon who does the interpreting.

Such laws and precedents are now enforced to the detriment of labor as a usual thing, because the workers have permitted themselves to be counted by the hundreds and thousands as merely voting dummies, the political chattels of rascally politicians who serve as the bellwethers of trusts and corporations.

If the workingmen pluck up enough courage to tell the politicians to go to sheol, and strike out for themselves, they can find a way to use the government in their own interests, just as is being done in Milwaukee at this very moment.—Cleveland Citizen.

## Fred D. Warren Argues Own Case

THE CASE OF FRED D. WARREN, editor of the Appeal to Reason, came up in the United States Court of Appeals in St. Paul last week. Mr. Warren had previously dismissed his attorneys and decided to argue his case himself. His speech in part is as follows:

I appear before this court in my own defense because my attorneys are unwilling to say what I think should be said. I desire to waive all that counsel for the defense has said with reference to the government's inability to prove that this envelope was mailed from the office of the Appeal to Reason, of which I am editor. I wish to waive all the objections interposed by my attorneys and the arguments advanced by them why I should be given a new trial. I do not want a new trial. This case has cost the defense \$20,000. A new trial, before a jury of my po-

litical opponents, selected by the district attorney's office from among government employes or those who hope to get a federal job, before a judge prejudiced against my cause, could result only in another miscarriage of justice.

In waiving the arguments of my attorneys of these points—(and I wish to say here in justification of my course at this time, that the theory on which this case was conducted in the lower court was over my vigorous protest—I do so to put the issue squarely before this court: Is the mailing of this envelope with its offer of a reward, printed in red, for the capture and return to the Kentucky authorities of ex-Governor William Taylor, under indictment at the time for murder, a violation of the federal statutes? Stripped of all legal verbiage and technicality, that is the issue here and no other.



My attorneys argue in the brief submitted that the indictment is defective. I do not pretend to know about this. I will say, however, that I have no desire to have my sentence set aside on a mere technical defect in the indictment, and I would regret to see the issue involved disposed of in this unsatisfactory manner. It would still leave the question in doubt as to whether the mailing of a reward, printed in red, for the capture of a fugitive Republican politician, is a violation of the federal statutes.

I call the attention of the court to the testimony introduced by the government, showing that I submitted a draft of the alleged defamatory envelope to the postmaster at Girard, and asked his opinion as to its mailability. The postmaster, the representative of the government, informed me that in his judgment there was nothing in the postal laws that would prevent the mailing of this reward offer, as hundreds of similar cards and envelopes were mailed in the course of a year at the Girard postoffice. This certainly establishes my good faith. No man with criminal intent would voluntarily submit the evidence of his contemplated crime to the agent of the institution against which the crime was directed.

In this connection I wish to call the court's attention to the statement made from the bench by the trial judge that when this matter was first submitted to him, he himself was in doubt as to whether the mailing of this envelope was a violation of the federal statutes. If the law is so indefinite that even the trial judge is unable to determine whether a crime has been committed, until after he "had consulted higher authority," how is the layman to determine what is lawful and what is not? In the lower court's decision on our demurrer Judge Pollock stated that the language was not scurrilous and threatening, as charged in the indictment, but that it was defamatory, inasmuch as it was calculated to impress the reader thereof with the thought that ex-Governor W. S. Taylor was wanted in Kentucky by the authorities of that state for some alleged crime. Under this decision every offer of a reward for a man charged with crime, mailed by private individual or a civil officer, is a violation of the federal statute under which this indictment was returned against me. In order to prevent this construction and its far-reaching consequence, Judge Pollock, in his final summing up of the case, decided that it was not defamatory, nor scurrilous, but threatening. It is hard for the average man to follow such judicial reasoning and I sincerely trust that this court's opinion will be written in such clear and unmistakable terms that there will be no question as to this law in the future.

It will be argued by counsel for the government that kidnaping is a crime and, therefore, an offer of a reward to kidnap ex-Governor Taylor is a threat against that gentleman. I will ask the counsel for the government to cite the federal law constituting kidnaping a crime. He cannot do this. On the other hand, the United States Supreme Court, in an exhaustive opinion, handed down in the case of the three workmen who had been kidnaped in Colorado and taken to Idaho, plainly states that it is no violation of the federal statutes to forcibly abduct a man and take him from one state to another. In its opinion the Supreme Court says:

"Looking first at what was alleged to have occurred in Colorado touching the arrest of the petitioner and his deportation from that state, we do not perceive that anything done there, however hastily or inconsiderately done, can be adjudged to be in violation of the Constitution or the laws of the United States. Even if it be true that the arrest and deportation of Pettibone, Moyer and Haywood from Colorado was by fraud and connivance, to which the governor of Colorado was a party, this does not make out a case of violation of the rights of the appellants under the Constitution and laws of the United States."

Under this decision I do not see what weight this court can give to the argument of the government's counsel, that to offer a reward to do what the Supreme Court has explicitly declared is not a crime, is in violation of the law.

What I did, in fact, was to offer a reward to any one who would capture, forcibly abduct, if you please, a man under indictment for murder and return him to the Kentucky authorities. To kidnap means not only forcible abduction, but hiding from friends and the proper authorities. Under this view how can it be maintained that it is unlawful to offer a reward for the capture of ex-Governor William S. Taylor and his return to the authorities in Kentucky?

Let me state a hypothetical case: Suppose the Socialists capture the political powers of Kansas—as we shall. We find that Armour is violating the anti-trust laws of our state. He lives in Illinois. The governor of Illinois, being a Republican, refuses to grant a requisition. Suppose our Socialist state officials, who would be private citizens in Illinois, should quietly go at midnight, surround Armour's house in Chicago, capture him, carry him into Kansas, and there place him on trial before a Socialist jury. Would the men that kidnaped Armour violate any federal statute? Would they not be immune from prosecution under the Supreme Court's ruling?

The government's attorney emphasizes the fact that this reward offer is printed in red. Out of curiosity, I asked a number of the leading ink manufacturers in the United States for what color of printing ink they had the greatest demand, and they replied, without a single exception, that they sold more red ink than all others combined save one—black. Black is the emblem of piracy and has been since long before the days of Captain Kidd. Under its sable folds march the land thief, the predatory rich, the employer of little children, those who barter justice, the Wall street speculator, the petty gambler and grafter, and all those who plunder labor and oppress the poor. Red, on the other hand, is the color of life; it glows with vitality; it is the badge of universal kinship. It has been from the days of Sparta, down through the ages, the emblem of revolt against tyranny. Under the crimson banner

the revolutionary patriots of 1776 fought and won their battles against the English king. Longfellow's inspiring poem to Pulaski, the Polish patriot who gave his life for American independence, immortalizes the red banner:

Where, before the altar, hung  
The blood-red banner, that with prayer  
Had been consecrated there—

Take thy banner—and if e'er  
Thou should press the soldier's bier,  
And the muffled drum should beat  
To the tread of mournful feet,  
Then this crimson flag shall be  
Martial cloak and shroud for thee.

The warrior took that banner proud,  
And it was his martial cloak and shroud!

The original flag of the American Revolution was red. The stars and stripes were added later by our rebel forefathers to distinguish it from the national emblems of other countries. It is a significant historical fact that red predominates in the flags of all countries with one exception—Russia. It is not surprising, therefore, that the government's attorney, who sails under the black flag, should seek to cast aspersions on the red banner.

I want to say to the government's attorney, that if the liberties bought with the blood of our forefathers are to be preserved to our children, it will be done by those who march under the crimson banner.

The theory of law that a man is presumed to be innocent until proven guilty was wholly overlooked in my trial at Fort Scott. I was convicted and sentenced before I entered the court room. I was not prosecuted as a presumably innocent man charged with an alleged violation of the law. I was prosecuted by partisan politicians, before a partisan jury, three of whom it was proved later had declared they were prejudiced against me, and before a partisan judge and on perjured testimony. But this is not the first time in the history of the world that this same farce has been enacted. When the ruling class of any epoch is forced to use such means to bring about the imprisonment of a man advocating revolutionary doctrines, it has foreshadowed the dawn of a new era.

By environment, training and economic interests, the judges who compose this court are opposed to me. You can no more impartially consider the question involved in this case than could the judges appointed by the English king consider impartially the questions which arose between that monarch and his American subjects.

In all controversies that arose between the master and his slave prior to the revolution of 1860, the federal courts made their decision conform to the interests of the masters. It was from the slave owners that they derived their powers and held their positions. No man openly antagonistic to the slave power could hold a position on the federal bench.

An examination of the decisions of this court—and your decisions are similar to those of all other federal courts—wherein the interests of the workingman conflict with the interests of the employer, is ample proof of the class character of the federal judiciary. Dissenting from the opinion of this very court, in a case wherein a working girl was pitted against a great corporation, Judge Thayer said: "I dissent from these doctrines which seem to have been formulated with an eye mainly to the protection of the employers and with too little regard for the situation and rights of the employes."

As a militant member of the working class I frankly confess that I expect nothing from this court. A court of justice, so-called, which turns away a mangled working child empty-handed, in defense of capitalist class property against working class life and limb, is not apt to look with favor upon one in revolt against such shocking inhumanity and the system responsible for it.

I know that this is the settled policy of this court. I understand why its decisions are in the interest of the employer and against the working man and working woman.

You are serving those to whom you are indebted for your position and responsible for your power! I am simply trying to show to the working class world, which embraces a great majority of the population, the character of the federal court, to which must be submitted their liberties and their lives. The federal court under capitalist misrule is essentially capitalistic in its sympathies, its interests and its decisions.

In this important work of educating the working class as to the true character of the courts, you are helping me. It was the Dred Scott decision that hastened the overthrow of chattel slavery, and as history repeats itself, we may confidently expect that the decision of the Supreme Court in the now famous kidnaping conspiracy, backed by the federal court's decisions in all other labor cases, will precipitate the downfall of wage slavery. When the toilers of the mill, factory, mine and farm once understand the true situation, they will realize that there can be no relief from judicial despotism until they use the power latent in themselves to abolish the present iniquitous system, based upon the legalized robbery of the nation's toilers and producers in which the courts are mere creatures of capitalist class rule and instruments of working class subjection. These workingmen will one day learn to choose their own judges and while these judges may know little of the intricacies of law and the chicanery of technicality they have an inherent sense of justice and they may be depended upon to serve their brothers.

Personally it is a matter of no consequence to me what this court may decide in this case. If this court concludes to sanction the scan-





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dalous methods employed to secure my conviction and the outrageous sentence imposed upon me for the commission of what Judge Pollock termed "a mere misdemeanor," I shall consider it the proudest day of my life when I enter the jail at Fort Scott; because of my defense of the poor and oppressed. You will by that act increase my power a thousandfold and carry my message to the toiling millions from sea to sea. Gladly will I make this small sacrifice in a cause to which I would willingly give my life.

## Myron Reed's Sermons--"Wendell Phillips"

WENDELL PHILLIPS was raised in a family of abolitionists. My uncle used to come from a meeting of these people, and father would say to him, "Richard, go put your foot in the river and hear it hiss."

It is seen that the abolition of slavery did not settle the negro question. It is today as alive and perplexing as ever. But the old-time abolitionist did not see that. To destroy slavery was his one thought. He was often very violent and one-sided. He seemed to forget that Newport and Salem were as responsible for slavery in the United States as Richmond and New Orleans. He was not fair in his pictures of slavery. Naturally, the abolitionist pictured the darkest side. "Uncle Tom's Cabin" is not quite fair. But it was a powerful book. I remember when it came into the house. My father and brother and myself were hoeing potatoes, and mother was busy with housework. Father made some errand to the house and did not return for some time, and then my brother thought he would go in and get "a nut cake," and was gone a long time. When he came back I took a vacation and found mother reading the book. We read the book in this way simultaneously, and the book went the rounds of the neighborhood.

The growth of the abolition movement was never comprehended by the politicians. It spread like a fire in dry turf. I heard Stephen A. Douglas say in 1859 that God blessed this country with slavery and God would continue to bless it. I have the thanksgiving sermons preached in New York and Brooklyn after John Brown's attempt at Harper Ferry. Only one man saw much significance in this overture to the dreadful opera. Rev. Mr. Newman, now bishop, said there was no occasion for alarm. Henry Ward Beecher failed to be a prophet. Burke said that public men ought to ride in the omnibus and not in the cab. They do not mix and mingle with the people enough. The war was a vast surprise to politicians, but it was not to abolitionists. They had been howling calamity for some time.

Wendell Phillips was strong in his lineage; for an American he was remarkably "far descended," and his blood had not "crept through scoundrels since the flood." Five generations before his, Rev. George Phillips, the first minister of the Puritan church of Watertown, Mass., was his ancestor. One of his kinsmen founded Exeter academy; another Phillips academy; one was a senator of the United States directly after the states had been united. His father was the first mayor of Boston. It is a race of gentlemen and scholars. It is one of the first families. That means a good deal in New England and elsewhere. The child so descended does not need to achieve a position; and, added to this, Wendell Phillips had plenty of money; had no need to earn a fortune, and that is an advantage to any one whom money cannot spoil. He entered the district school and graduated at the best college.

He read law and was ready for life when he saw something that gave his life impulse and direction. He saw a mob leading Garrison through the streets by a rope. It was a mob dressed in broadcloth, made up of men of wealth and standing. He saw that and he did not enter on the practice of law; could not well take the oath to maintain and support the laws that recognized slavery as an institution of the country.

In 1837 Rev. E. P. Lovejoy was shot by a mob at Alton, Ill., while attempting to defend his printing press. A meeting was called in Boston by William E. Channing and others to consider the case. The Hon. James T. Austin, attorney general of the commonwealth, made a bitter speech, styled by the Boston Atlas as "most able and triumphant." He called slaves "a menagerie of wild beasts;" said that Lovejoy was "presumptuous and died as the fool dieth;" said also, in reference to Dr. Channing's speech, that "a clergyman with a gun in his hand, or one mingling in the debates of a popular assembly, was marvelously out of place." He had the somewhat old-fashioned notion that a minister is not a citizen; that his business is on Sunday to preach on the sins of the Jews and on week days to get ready to preach on the sins of the Jews, varied, by going from house to house, making stiff little formal calls, inquiring here and there, it may be, after the health of the canary. Wendell Phillips, 24 years old, heard that able and triumphant speech of the attorney general. He at once walked to the platform and said: "Mr. Chairman, when I heard the gentleman lay down principles which place the murderers of Alton side by side with Otis and Hancock, with Quincy and Adams, I thought these pictured lips (pointing to the portraits on the walls) would have broken into voice to rebuke the recreant American slanderer of the dead. Sir, for the sentiment he has uttered on soil consecrated by the prayers of Puritans and the blood of patriots, the earth should have yawned and swallowed him up."

Here there was applause and hisses and a great cry of "Take that back. Make him take that back, recreant." Finally Mr. Phillips resumed, "I cannot take back my words," and went on to issue some more of the same quality, only hotter. He notes the saying of a reverend clergyman of the city, "No citizen has a right to publish opinions disagreeable to the community." That is all we know of the Rev. Hubbard Winslow, successor to Isaiah and St. Paul and other prophets and saints, disturbers of the peace of the wicked. And that is all we wish to

know of the Rev. Hubbard Winslow. I do not know whether I ought to ask your pardon for rehearsing at such length what ought to be familiar history to us all, but we live so fast and the present is so full that we easily forget.

I believe I will not beg pardon. Unless we know the beginning and direction of things we cannot have a sound judgment as to the outcome. A man ignorant of the past of his nation is not qualified to have anything to do with its present or future. To work understandingly we must know what this nation of ours is for—what is the plan and purpose. If the master is dead, having left designs drawn upon his trestle-board, and we will not study them, how can we go on to work and build rightly the temple? A nation must not be built with pieces patched together like a crazy quilt, each ornamentation working independently of the other. Of such a nation all architects will declare that it is "only reasonably safe," which is a way of saying that it may fall down any day. If history is necessary, it is better taught by grouping it about a man. For information of the times of Cromwell, I will read the life of Cromwell. Henry Wilson has written the "Rise and Fall of the Slave Power," but it is not so interesting as the life of John Quincy Adams, of Garrison, or Lovejoy or of Phillips. It is history, but it is dry—no succulence in it.

We have marked the beginning of Phillips, his initiation into the society of abolition. It is an enlistment into a forlorn hope, for in the New England of 1837 it is not respectable to be an abolitionist; it is not "good form;" one loses cast by it and friends. I understand that at the lecture of Matthew Arnold in Boston Mr. Winthrop and Mr. Phillips met and shook hands for the first time in many years. An opinion as to the freedom of a slave divided neighbors like a sea. We that are strong ought to bear the infirmities of the weak. Wendell Phillips felt and assumed the obligation, and it cost him a great deal. We, here in the unconventional West, hardly realize how much it cost a Boston man to be an abolitionist in 1837. He injured the trade of Boston, alienated Southern customers of Boston merchants.

Eighteen hundred and thirty-seven was a timid, time-serving, mercenary time. It could hardly be called a year of our Lord. Theodore Parker describes the christening of a negro: "Thy name is Slave. I baptize thee in the name of the gold eagle, the silver dollar and the copper cent." Wendell Phillips held the Southern interpretation that slavery was recognized in the constitution. He said, "The highest crime may be the written law of the land." For this reason he was not admitted as attorney at law, and held no office."

Abraham Lincoln said, "I will save the Union without slavery or I will save the Union with slavery; I will save the Union." Wendell Phillips could not assent to that. He saw the expediency of the union of the states, but he felt the necessity of justice—let that be done though the heavens fall. Therefore, in the minds of many most respectable men Wendell Phillips was a mutineer, a rebel, a very son of anarchy.

It is not pleasant to put to sea in such weather. The winds were all head winds. But there seems to have been no hesitation in this case. He counted the cost and flung himself in. He said, "I love these streets of Boston, over whose pavements my mother tenderly lifted my baby feet, and, if God grants me time enough, I will make them too pure to bear the footprints of a slave."

In the French revolution a street fighter was asked how he came to be where he was and to be doing what he was, and answered, "I was born on this side of the barricade." He was simply fighting with and for his class. That is what we expect. I see no mention in ancient history of any rich patriarch allying himself with plebeians or slaves except may be for some selfish purpose and for a time. I see no strong Alcibiades bearing the infirmities of those that are weak, making his every gift of birth and rank and wealth and culture serve them. It required, I believe, about four hundred helots for the Athenian gentleman and scholar. He was a finely groomed creature.

Wendell Phillips put himself deliberately on that side of the barricade that he was not born on; took his place for life with the poor, the ignorant, the black, a race despised and rejected of men. Now, if some men do these things people will say they want something—they are using the philanthropy as a means to a private end. When the ladder has served its purpose it will be kicked down. Wendell Phillips has not even been suspected of this inner motive, and that has been a power for him.

"His strength was as the strength of ten,  
Because his heart was pure."

He did not need to hesitate and think, now, how will this help or hinder me in my chance for a place?

When the secretary of a literary society in any of our towns had written to Wendell Phillips, inviting him to lecture and asking him to state his terms, he answered, not once, but many times: "I will lecture on 'Anti-Slavery' for nothing, on 'Lost Arts' for \$100." It has been well borne in on us that here was an American who loved a cause more



than rank, or office, or money. In this was a power that a stump speaker, running for Congress, and orator lacks.

Hindrances help. Wendell Phillips never did himself justice as an orator unless he was hissed. When all things were favorable, and he was getting tame, some of his friends lurking in the jungles of the back seats would start a hiss, and then there was music. At a meeting in Tremont temple, in 1861, he faced a roaring mob who had come there to prevent his speaking. Finding his voice drowned, he addressed himself to the reporters in front of him until the crowd yelled, "Louder!" Turning, he said: "Howl on! I am not talking to you; I am talking now (pointing to the reporters) to the United States." At that meeting before he arose to speak, somebody handed him a note. He opened it and read: "Wendell, in the face of this mob don't shilly-shally." It was from his wife, a frail little woman with a great heart. When we know what kind of a wife he had it is no wonder he was in favor of woman suffrage. He heard her voice above the roar of the mob.

From that meeting Wendell Phillips went home followed by a hostile throng. He stood on the steps of his house and said: "Gentlemen of the mob of Boston, I bid you good night. You have annoyed me very much by your censure, but the time will come when you will annoy me more by your praise," and he went in to say to his wife that he had not shilly-shalied. Years ago he was speaking in Philadelphia. General

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Grant was his theme. The applause was weak and the people seemed stupidly hostile. At the conclusion of his speech, as he turned to leave, there was a vigorous hiss. He came back to the edge of the platform and said: "I am glad to see that in this stagnant old city you have the life left to hiss."

Phillips believed in the people; not that they were right, but, as General Dumont said, that "They would wobble right." And in storm and in calm he believed in America—that the fulfillment must be on the grand scale of the preparation. The final clause of one of his orations comes to my mind—"The Almighty did not wake Niagara to sing her requiem, or scoop the Mississippi for her grave."

## Contributions

Bingham Canyon, Utah, May 17, 1910.

Mr Ernest Mills, Denver, Colo.

Dear Sir and Brother: Enclosed please find check for \$122.00 collected on day's pay from members of this local and friends of the organization.

Yours fraternally,

E. G. LOCKE,  
Secretary Bingham Miners' Union No. 67, W. F. M.

Moyie, B. C., May 13, 1910.

Mr Ernest Mills, Denver, Colo.

Dear Sir and Brother: Enclosed please find check for \$107.70 towards helping our brothers in the Black Hills. This amount was raised by the boys arranging a football match and a basket social and dance on May 2nd. Great credit is due to the ladies for the efforts they put forth to make the affair a success. The way those baskets rolled in was not slow and, my word, they were pretty. They knew it was for a good cause and realized that those union men in South Dakota were fighting for the right to belong to a labor organization of their choice, and also that what is their fight today may be ours tomorrow.

With best wishes, I remain

Yours fraternally,

JAMES ROBERTS,  
Sec., Moyie Miners' Union No. 71, W. F. of M.

Amasa, Mich., May 17, 1910.

Mr Ernest Mills, Denver, Colo.

Dear Sir and Brother: Enclosed please find money order for \$20.00, which was donated from Amasa Mine Workers' Union to our locked out brothers in the Black Hills, South Dakota.

Fraternally yours,

WM. PAULUKUHN,  
Sec., Amasa M. W. Union No. 214, W. F. M.

Salt Lake City, Utah, May 16, 1910.

Mr Ernest Mills, Denver, Colo.

Dear Sir and Brother: Enclosed please find money order for \$25.00, which we as plasterers and union men send to your organization to help our brothers in their struggle for better conditions. Please send receipt for the same.

Fraternally yours,

WM. G. CHESHIRE,  
Sec., Local No. 68, Plasterers' Int'l. Assn.

Garfield, Colo., May 14, 1910.

Mr Ernest Mills, Denver, Colo.

Dear Sir and Brother: Enclosed please find check for \$16.00 as a donation from the following to our brothers locked out in South Dakota: John Matthews, \$3.50; Edwin Lloyd, \$3.00; Wm. Lindgreen, \$3.00; John Murphy, \$3.00, and Mike Gallagher, \$3.50.

Yours fraternally,

GEORGE HOWARD,  
Sec., Garfield M. U. No. 86, W. F. M.

Bisbee, Ariz., May 12, 1910.

Mr Ernest Mills, Denver, Colo.

Dear Sir and Brother: Please find enclosed draft for the sum of \$14.50, which apply to the relief of our locked-out brothers in the Black Hills, South Dakota. This is the balance donated to date by the business firms of Bisbee and vicinity who sympathize with our cause and acknowledge the right for which our brothers are fighting.

Fraternally yours,

W. E. STEWART,  
Sec., Bisbee M. U. No. 106, W. F. M.

Grand Forks, B. C., May 13, 1910.

Mr Ernest Mills, Denver, Colo.

Dear Sir and Brother: Enclosed kindly locate the sum of \$48.75 which has been contributed by the following brothers to the boys in the Black Hills, South Dakota: T. J. Benninger, \$5.00; Wm. Towe, \$3.60; Walter E. Haddon, \$3.50; Pontus Johnson, \$3.00; Jas. Sarsfield, \$2.50; F. J. Hicks, \$3.15; Nels Setterlund, \$3.00; John Holloran, \$2.50; Fred Brereton, \$3.00; Chas. Hart, \$3.60; Ivan Kiskoin, \$1.00; Amil Loseke, \$1.00; J. Lam, \$3.00; W. Lam, \$3.00; H. W. Eyer, \$3.00; L. Singer, \$3.00, and Chas. Holm, \$2.50. Kindly return the special stamps for the same.

Fraternally yours,

WALTER E. HADDON,  
Sec., Grand Forks M. U. No. 180, W. F. M.

Sierra City, Nev., May 11, 1910.

Mr Ernest Mills, Denver, Colo.

Dear Sir and Brother: Enclosed please find \$40.00 as a donation from the Silver City Miners' Union No. 92, W. F. M., to the boys in South Dakota. Hoping that victory will soon be theirs, I am,

Fraternally yours,

P. J. GEYER, Secretary.

Negaunee, Mich., May 13, 1910.

Mr Ernest Mills, Denver, Colo.

Dear Sir and Brother: Enclosed please find check for \$78.55, collected by our union for the benefit of the locked-out miners in Lead, South Dakota. We expect to get some more in a few days.

With best wishes, I remain

Fraternally yours,

J. F. MAKI,  
Sec'y-Treas., Negaunee M. U. No. 128, W. F. M.

Uncle Sam Mine, Kennett, Cal., May 15, 1910.

Mr Ernest Mills, Denver, Colo.

Dear Sir and Brother: Enclosed herewith find money order for \$25.00 for the boys in the Black Hills. This is donated by M. J. McGinnis, John Condon, James Wood, Fred Hudspeath and John Cronin.

Wishing the boys will eventually win out and promising to repeat this donation whenever necessary, I am

Fraternally yours,

JOHN CRONIN.

Kennett, Calif., May 15, 1910.

Mr Ernest Mills, Denver, Colo.

Dear Sir and Brother: The following is a donation for the boys in the Black Hills: M. T. Boyle, \$5.00; Rob McLean, \$3.00, and W. D. Utterback, \$3.00. Find check for the entire amount.

H. C. EVANS,  
Sec., Kennett M. U. No. 174, W. F. M.

Salida, Colo., May 20, 1910.

Mr Ernest Mills, Denver, Colo.:

Dear Sir and Brother—Please find enclosed \$10 as a donation from Lodge No. 512, International Association of Machinists, to the striking miners of South Dakota.

Yours fraternally,

T. C. IRWIN, Financial Secretary.

Salt Lake City, Utah, May 16, 1910.

Mr Ernest Mills, Denver, Colo.:

Dear Sir and Brother—Please find enclosed draft for \$25 as a donation to your organization from the International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers, Local Union No. 27, Salt Lake City, Utah. With best wishes for your success, I remain,

Fraternally yours,

J. E. MUNSEY, Financial Secretary.

Crown King, Ariz., May 18, 1910.

Mr Ernest Mills, Denver, Colo.:

Dear Sir and Brother—Enclosed please find \$4 donation for strikers of the Black Hills, South Dakota, from the following: James Farley, \$1; Geo. Deveney, \$1; Newton Breedlove, \$1, and John Voorhees, \$1.

Yours fraternally,

GEO. F. DEVENEY, Secy. Crown King M. U. No. 89, W. F. M.

Eureka, Utah, May 18, 1910.

Mr Ernest Mills, Denver, Colo.:

Dear Sir and Brother—Enclosed please find check for \$100 as our third donation from the members of Eureka Miners' Union No. 151, W. F. of M., to our brothers in the Black Hills. With best wishes I am,

Fraternally yours,

J. W. MORTON, Secy. Eureka M. U. No. 151, W. F. M.

Mammoth, Utah, May 11, 1910.

Mr Ernest Mills, Denver, Colo.:

Dear Sir and Brother—Enclosed please find money order for \$100 collected for our donation fund for our brothers in South Dakota. Kindly receipt for same by return mail and oblige.

Fraternally yours,

FRANK CLAYSON, Secy. Mammoth M. U. No. 238, W. F. M.

Globe, Ariz., May 19, 1910.

Mr Ernest Mills, Denver, Colo.:

Dear Sir and Brother—Enclosed please find draft for \$10.50 which you will please credit as follows: \$3.50 each to Andy McCall, Frank Brown and James McCabe, same being a shift from each brother toward the lockout fund for the boys in Lead, South Dakota.

Fraternally yours,

WM. WILLS, Secy. Globe M. U. No. 60, W. F. M.

Trail, B. C., May 10, 1910.

We, the undersigned, donate the following amount opposite our names to the relief of the members locked out by the mine operators of South Dakota: E. Jagrell, \$2.50; Fred Anderson, \$2.50; E. Hesketh, \$3.25; George Castell, \$3.00; W. R. Mitchell, \$4.00; Wm. Lewis, \$3.25; Fred Hardy, \$3.25; H. Ellard, \$2; Frank King, \$4; L. Evans, \$2.50; J. Norris, \$2.75; N. Christianson, \$4; W. K. Carpenter, \$3.75; R. H. Truswell, \$3.25; A. M. Langell, \$3.00, and K. Anderson, \$3. Total \$50. We will endeavor to do more later.

Yours fraternally,

F. D. HARDY, Secy. Trail M. & S. U. No. 105, W. F. M.



Mr. Ernest Mills, Denver, Colo.:  
Dear Sir and Brother—Enclosed please find \$14 as a donation to the strikers in the Black Hills, South Dakota.  
Yours fraternally,  
R. J. McLEAN, Secy. National M. U. No. 254, W. F. M.

National, Nev., May 17, 1910.

Mr. Ernest Mills, Denver, Colo.:  
Dear Sir and Brother—Enclosed please find money order for \$46 for the boys in South Dakota. This amount was collected at a recent smoker and we have also levied a local assessment of \$1 this month for the same purpose, which I will forward as soon as possible. With best wishes for the success of the boys in the Black Hills, I remain,  
Fraternally yours,  
W. A. PICKARD, Secy. Phoenix M. U. No. 8, W. F. M.

Phoenix, B. C., May 18, 1910.

Mr. Ernest Mills, Denver, Colo.:  
Dear Sir and Brother—Enclosed you will please find check for \$33.35 for the locked-out miners and their families. This is a part of the receipts of a dance given by the Snowball Miners' Union on May 7, 1910. Wishing the locked-out miners and their families the best luck, I remain,  
Yours fraternally,  
ULRICH GRILL, Secy. Snowball M. U. No. 124, W. F. M.

Goldroad, Ariz., May 20, 1910.

#### INFORMATION WANTED.

Information is wanted regarding the whereabouts of Michael Curran and Edward Curran. Their last known address was Republic, Wash., in December of last year. Information should be sent to Peter Cleary, Fabre, P.Q., Canada.

Word reaches us from Parker, Arizona, that Brother Jack Dunn was drowned in the Colorado river on Monday, May 16th, 1910. There being no local of the organization at that camp, Dunn's antecedents are not known. Any information concerning his relatives or other facts should be addressed to Richard Whittington, Parker, Arizona.

Information is wanted of the whereabouts of Peter Pfluge, who when last heard of was in Durango, Colo. Anyone knowing anything concerning Peter Pfluge will confer a great favor by communicating with his sister, Miss Emma Pfluge, Ellinwood, Kansas.



A MASTERLY DOCUMENT.

Civilization announced its advent upon the stage of events by the inauguration of slavery. The slave worked for the master. The product of his labor belonged to his master. The master saw that the slave had food, etc., sufficient to enable him to work on the morrow. If he allowed his slave to starve he might be unable to get another, unless at considerable cost.

With slavery there came the carrying out of works of greater magnitude than formerly. Under the lash of the master the mighty achievements of Egypt, Babylon, Greece, Rome, etc., were accomplished, tasks that were undoubtedly impossible except through enforced labor. Slowly and painfully, through some thousands of years were the burdens of civilization borne upon the backs of chattel slaves.

The tools of wealth production were by the same token growing more powerful, making the labor of the slaves more prolific in wealth production. This continually increasing power to produce wealth eventually surfeited this master class and its institutions, until the civilization of the time, rotten to the core, went to pieces at the touch of the barbarians of a more northern clime; and out of the chaos of its ruins there emerged a slavery wearing a different garb but in essence the same.

The feudal slaves worked a part of the time for the feudal lord for nothing, being allowed to work the balance of the time for himself upon land set aside for his own use. He kept himself and his family by this latter labor. The amount of time he was allowed to work for himself was as a rule very nicely adjusted to the actual requirements to enable him to work for the feudal lord the balance. His predecessor, the chattel slave, worked for his master all the time.

The feudal slave worked for his master but a part of the time. But inasmuch as neither got more than the bare necessities of existence, the difference between them was one of appearance only. The very essence of their servitude was the same in either case.

For some hundreds of years the feudal system of slavery held sway. The tools of wealth production were continually being improved upon and the power of production increased.

Like their predecessors, the chattel slave masters, the feudal lords became surfeited with wealth and their civilization became a nuisance in the pathway of human progress. The wealth the feudal slave could produce in excess of his own keep could not be consumed by his master. It cried out with ever-increasing insistence to be disposed of. A new master class arose out of the ranks of the slaves. Skilled workers in the towns partially broke loose from feudal rule.

Master workmen with their tools ever becoming more powerful under their hands, scented rich profits in the production and sale of their wares, if the restrictions of feudal rule could be completely broken. The feudal lords could not withstand the pressure of this economic power developed within feudal society, and were forced to give over the scepter of rule to the master workmen who were speedily to develop into factory lords.

As the feudal system gave way a vista was opened up before the feudal workmen that had every appearance of being that freedom of which he had long dreamed. But it proved to be a delusion. The individual workman in the individual shop grew into a collection of workmen in a larger shop, and the subdivision of labor. The worker no longer made an article entire.

He performed a certain part of the work only, and passed it along to a fellow workman. The hand tool grew into a machine and the process of production became more complex and the necessary equipment more costly; it became more and more impossible for the individual worker to lift himself from the rank of worker to that of master. Awakened from his dream of freedom he found himself held in the grip of a veritable industrial monster, that squeezed the last drop of blood from his quivering body, even more completely than did ever chattel slave master or feudal lord.

Though he appeared to be free inasmuch as he might refuse to labor if he so chose, he awakened to the fact that he was compelled to surrender his life to his industrial masters in exchange for the price of that which the chat-

tel slave got at first hand, and the feudal slave was allowed to produce for himself, and that was the bare necessities of existence.

After dreaming of freedom, to be awakened to the stern reality that wage labor is but another name for slave labor is a rude awakening indeed.

The wage slave does precisely for his master what the chattel slave and feudal serf did for theirs. No one would be imprudent enough to assert that either of the latter were paid for their work, yet in common parlance the wage worker gets paid for his.

The fact asserts itself with ever-increasing emphasis that chattel slave, feudal serf and wage slave work for practically the same thing—a bare existence, and this has been rendered ever more insecure and uncertain as each of these successive stages of civilization become more highly developed.—From Canadian Socialist Platform.

#### THE PRICE OF A SOUL.

(By N. B. Wilkinson.)

W. J. Bryan, in his article, "The Price of a Soul," preached a sermon on the death of H. H. Rogers, the great financier, and criticized very severely the man, and his methods, but failed entirely to utter a word against the evil of which Rogers was but a product, and who was no more to blame for his stupendous wealth, at the time of his death, than is the man who works on a railroad section all his life, and dies a pauper, is to blame, or be criticized, when he takes his final leave of this world.

I have always admired Bryan, and looked upon him as a man who would rather be right than be great. But within the last few years this opinion has been very much modified, and I now look upon him as a man who likes to be right, but would rather be popular with the masses than be a martyr to justice. To prove this I need only cite the great class war indulged in by the capitalist anarchists of Colorado in the Cripple Creek labor struggle, and the kidnaping of Moyer, Pettibone and Haywood and the subsequent decision of the United States Supreme Court, holding that it was lawful for a state to unlawfully kidnap men, and drag them from their homes thousands of miles to be tried for the alleged perpetration of a crime committed thousands of miles from where they had ever been.

In this act, the condonement of one of the most vicious crimes ever perpetrated under color of law in any country, Bryan lacked the courage to write a line in condemnation of it.

And even when Roosevelt had violated his oath of office and submerged himself in the very slime of indecency by attacking those poor fellows, who had violated no law, and had done no wrong, except to stand, like a rock of Gibraltar, for the rights of the laboring man, Bryan had no word of cheer or comfort for them, fighting for their lives against the united wealth of the nation, and its unlimited power. He sat in his luxurious office, supine jelly fish, fearing to say one word through his great paper about any of these history-making episodes. And now that every one knows that Mexico is under the domination of a multi-murderer, a criminal of so base a character that the czar of Russia in comparison with him and his bloody deeds stands out as a man of virtue and kindness, Mr. Bryan utters no word of criticism of Diaz and his evil work—this beast in human form—the touch of whose hands with those of our President has left a stain of blood upon the flag of our country—the flag that we all love and honor.

In this article concerning Rogers, by Bryan, to which I have referred, Bryan uses this expression: "But as it is, his will presents an indictment against that particular type of business life which he represented—a life in which the soul is shriveled and the better impulses stifled by business policies which deaden the conscience and rob life of that which makes it worth living." But Bryan knew better than he wrote when he penned these lines. He knew, because he is not a fool, though lacking in courage, that Rogers did not represent any "type of business life" a whit different from any other business man in all our country. Bryan knew that Rogers represented precisely that type of business life which he—the immaculate Bryan—represents, but with far less success, judged by the accumulation of dollars.

Bryan knew that this statement—this criticism—about Rogers, not of the system, could have been only slightly modified so as to read as follows: "But as it is, his will presents an indictment against our industrial system—a system in which the soul is shriveled and the better impulses stifled by business practices which deaden the consciences and rob life of that which makes it worth living."

Where is the man in all the world today engaged in business, whose name has reached beyond the confines of his own bailiwick, as a successful factor in the financial world, whose soul is not "shriveled, and the better impulses stifled by business practices which deaden the conscience and rob life of that which makes it worth living"?

Harriman, another victim of our evil and insane competitive system—a self-confessed anarchist, who held the laws of our country in contempt and violated them with impunity; a man who was truly honored, and his reputation enriched by the criticisms of Roosevelt, was simply a product, as Rogers was, of our vicious industrial system, which Bryan upholds; and not a representative of a "peculiar type of business life."

And the criticism of Rogers, by Bryan, the names changed, would not only fit Harriman, Carnegie and Morgan, but every man who succeeds in wresting from laborers who create the wealth of the world millions of dollars without earning any of it themselves. And since labor, either mental or physical, creates all the wealth of the world, every dollar possessed by Rogers, Harriman or Bryan, which they did not earn by some useful labor, shows that others earned those dollars, but, through our criminal industrial system, did not get them. And this accumulation of dollars does not depend upon a "peculiar type of business life," but upon a violation of the first command God ever gave to the human race, when He said, in the garden of Eden: "In the sweat of the face shalt thou eat bread." Excluding absolutely, and forever, the idea that any one could honestly eat bread from the sweat of another man's face, and eat honest bread. And Socialism insists that this law of God shall be the law of our land; and that no one shall dig, and delve, and labor, and sweat, and produce wealth, and have to "divide up" with some idle parasite.

#### TEDDY.

Call him home!

He made the Egyptians start to foam  
And he hit the Pope on the funny-bone.  
He's peddling a bunch of strong ozone.

Ain't it too bad!

No wonder Europe's looking sad;  
A kid, they say, without his dad,  
Never acted half so mad.

O! Call him back!

And make him hit the old-time track  
And lock him up in a bug house shack,  
He's far too wide about the slack.

O! Call him o'er

The seas, to his dear native shore;  
And make him shut his face for evermore,  
For wind and water will always roar.

JAMES ALLAN McKECHNIE.



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**PROTEST AGAINST "MESSAGES TO MARS."**

As a free, independent, loyal American citizen and a voting king, I take my pencil in hand to protest against the new-fangled idea of sending messages to "Mars." My objections to them are not on scientific grounds, but purely patriotic. Here we are, ninety million uncrowned sovereigns, and we have finally, after considerable difficulty, convinced ourselves that we are the greatest people that ever lived; that we have everything a civilized man could expect; that America is the richest country in the world; that we have the wealthiest men, the brightest women and the smartest children; that we have more churches; that we have greater crops than any other country, and a whole lot of other things.

And just as we have got ourselves convinced along comes some crazy anarchists with their scheme for signaling "Mars," and if you want my reasons for protesting, I will say this:

First—It's unpatriotic.

Second—It's un-American, as it will give us away, and it will put us in a bad light, for if they begin getting messages up there they may find out that we have five million women and two million children at work in "our" mines, mills and factories; that we have five million unemployed—who are willing to work and are deprived of the opportunity to do so; that we have more suicides and murders than any other country; that we drink a million dollars' worth of booze a year; that we produce enough to feed the world and lie down quietly and starve to death; that we weave the broadcloth and wear shoddy; that we build palaces and live in huts and gladly pay for the privilege of rotting in them; that we build the railroads and then pay Mr. Hill for the privilege of riding; that we take crooks and criminals and ship them to Congress; that we put a Teddy's big stick into Taft's hands and tell him to club us into insensibility and the next two years while we are in the same condition (if not worse) we will vote for him for four years more and take the same medicine.

Those "Martians" would have a mighty poor opinion of us if they should hear all that and a good deal more. So I raise my patriotic voice and strenuously shout: "Down with the undesirable citizens who would show us up!"  
—John Szako, in Seattle Union Record.

**In Memoriam.**

Rhyolite, Nev., May 7, 1910.

Whereas, The Grim Reaper has again invaded our ranks and through the dreaded messenger pneumonia, has selected one of our most loyal brothers, John Ingram; and

Whereas, Brother Ingram was unfaltering in his support of our cause, and thorough union man; and whereas, he leaves a wife and daughter to mourn his loss;

Be it resolved, That Bonanza Miners' Union extend to the bereaved relatives our sincere sympathy in this their hour of sorrow; and be it further

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be sent to the relatives of Brother Ingram, published in the Miners' Magazine and the local paper; that they be made a part of the records of this union, and that our charter be draped in mourning for thirty days.

A. J. GINGLES,  
JOS. E. GARRETT,  
GEO. T. PHILIPS,  
Committee.

Goldfield, Nev., May 5, 1910.

Our Brother Micheal Haley having been removed from our ranks by miners' consumption, contracted while working in the dust and foul gases of the mines of three continents, which miners are compelled to work in under the damnable system of capitalistic production.

After twenty-five years of toil under these conditions and being robbed of the product of his toil all his life, he died broken in health, spirits and pocketbook. Under a sane system of production he could have spent his declining years in peace, health and plenty.

Be it resolved, that we, the Goldfield Miners' Union, do mourn the unhappy end of a man who we knew as a staunch member of the Western Federation of Miners and a dearly beloved Brother, one who fought the battles of the oppressed at every opportunity, including the Boer war in South Africa and numerous labor strikes in America and Australia. Be it further

Resolved, That we extend to his relatives our heartfelt sympathy, that our charter be draped for a period of thirty days, and that these resolutions be spread on our minutes and published in the Miners' Magazine.

J. J. MANGAN,  
RICHARD EGAN,  
FRED CLOUGH,  
Committee.

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