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# THE MINERS MAGAZINE

INDEPENDENCE  
EDUCATION ORGANIZATION

*Published Weekly by the*

## WESTERN FEDERATION OF MINERS

DENVER, COLO.  
June 23rd  
1910  
Volume XI.  
Number 365.



WEALTH  
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EDUCATION INDEPENDENCE ORGANIZATION

# MINERS MAGAZINE



Published Weekly by the  
**WESTERN FEDERATION OF MINERS**

Denver, Colorado,  
 Thursday, June 23, 1910.

Volume XI. Number 365  
 \$1.00 a Year

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 Communications not in conformity with this notice will not be published.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

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

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

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

of their salaries. This organization is said to have support in sixteen other cities where extra work had to be done in connection with the taking of the census.

**THE DEBS SPEAKING TOUR** through the eastern states closed at Green Bay, Wisconsin, June 16. There will be no meetings during July and August, the hot season. Arrangements are now being made for the beginning of the fall campaign, details of which will be announced later. The Debs meetings have all been more generally attended than usual, making his last the most successful series of meetings ever held by the popular Socialist orator.

**BUTTE MINERS' UNION NO. 1** has forwarded to headquarters a check for \$1,000, to cover purchase price of one thousand tickets, which that union bought from the committee in charge of the ball given in aid of the locked out miners in the Black Hills. The splendid support given to the cause of the Black Hills brothers by the miners in Butte is certainly worthy of the greatest commendation, showing as it does the deep-seated generosity of the workers in the great copper camp.

**PETER KROPOTKIN**, the famous Russian prince whose revolutionary teachings have made him an exile from his native country, lives in Bromley, England, where he indulges his favorite hobbies of bookbinding and carpentry, and writes his books. He suffered several times of imprisonment in Russia, and while serving one of them escaped to England. His latest work, "The French Revolution," throws an entirely new light on a hackneyed subject, and discloses, as no book has done before, the economic undertow of that great struggle.—Exchange.

**IN ADDITION TO THE ARTICLE** on Wholesale Prices, Bulletin 187, Department of Labor, Washington, D. C., contains interesting statistics regarding prices of wheat, bread, wine, meat, butter, and rice in Milan, Italy, from 1801 to 1908, also a summary of a report on "Cost of Living of the Working Classes in the Principal Industrial Towns of Belgium." In regard to wages and hours of labor, an article is presented entitled "Wages and Hours of Labor of Union Carpenters in the United States and in English-Speaking Foreign Countries," and a summary of a report on "Earnings and Hours of Labor in British Building and Woodworking Trades." Send for a copy of this valuable number.

**OTHER PEOPLE HAVE KILLED MORE** game than Roosevelt. No other man used so many pages of type to tell about it. Almost everyone has discovered some time in his life that two plus two equals four. Few people thought it necessary to scream this discovery from the housetop. Millions of men have been in more important battles than San Juan Hill. Where other soldiers boasted of their exploits in the corner grocery, Roosevelt screamed his upon the front pages of a thousand newspapers and then wrote a book about them. Here is the distinguishing thing about Roosevelt. He never talks. He yells. He never uses the telephone, but always the megaphone. He always speaks in capitals. He is a living yellow journal, with all of his matter in the head lines. He is a loud noise.—Daily Socialist.

**ORDERS HAVE BEEN ISSUED** to the clerks in the U. S. Senate document room to stop all public distribution of the printed report of the strike at the Bethlehem steel works, prepared under the direction of the Commissioner of Labor. The report which gives us this information does not state who issued such an order, but that it has been issued is easy to believe, and that by some influential agent of capitalism whose orders are quickly obeyed. So what's the use of printing the reports of the wrongs that the government officials find when the same officials are prevented from distributing them to the

## 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.

Bisbee Miners' Union No. 106, W. F. M., has declared Harry Allison (better known as "Sharky Kirwin") as unfair to organized labor and fined him \$50.00. Allison formerly belonged to Lead, South Dakota, and claimed to be a member of Butte No. 1.

Bisbee Miners' Union has placed the name of Fred Oliver on the fair list, as he has met the obligations placed on him by the local union.

**A CYNICAL FRIEND** who happened to go to church on Sunday, as usual, now has an objection to file. He says that what preachers call the golden rule should be labeled the golden exception, because he knows so very few people who follow it.—Vancouver World.

**THE BALLINGER-PINCHOT** hearing is closed. Briefs have been filed by the attorneys on both sides. Attorney Brandeis in his brief declares that the evidence shows clearly that Secretary Ballinger is unfit to hold public office. Is that the reason the Taft administration is retaining him in the place?

**MISLEADING NEWSPAPER REPORTS** have induced many men to go to Rawhide, Nevada, to secure work. A letter from the acting secretary of Rawhide Miners' Union No. 244, published in another part of the Magazine, informs us that there is no work in that camp. All miners and others are requested to stay away.

**MORE THAN 200 CENSUS** enumerators in Louisville, Ky., have formed themselves into Census Enumerators' Union No. 1, with a view of making complaint to the United States Government about the additional work they had to do in April, and the delay in payment

people? That is why we say that the removal of this and kindred evils is impossible so long as capitalists control affairs at the seat of government. They have the power to prevent the people from finding out the rottenness.

**A** GOVERNMENT PUBLICATION recently issued gives the range of wholesale prices charged for commodities during the year 1909, and compares these prices with the range of average wholesale prices in former years. The conclusion is reached that the average for 1909 averages a little below the general average of the year previous, when the average was the highest for any average year for a past decade! Now this is about as clear as mud, and is not worth a continental for practical use. Nobody ever pays the average price for anything—they always pay the highest price. When it comes to using averages as a basis for computations concerning the cost of living one always gets into deep water. In our judgment the Government had better use the money appropriated for the maintenance of the statistical bureau in printing figures as they actually exist instead of giving averages and making deductions from them. There is no such thing as a good living "on the average."

**P**RESIDENT WILLARD, of the Baltimore and Ohio railroad is opposing the government ownership of railroads on the ground that such control and ownership would not be to the best interests of the country, as it has been shown that such ownership abroad has not lowered the freight rates—freight rates in America being lower than in foreign countries, where the state owns the railroads. We can hardly believe that extreme loyalty "to the best interests of country" is the only thing that guides President Willard in his opposition to public ownership. He is evidently swayed by other considerations. But even so, it is certainly not made clear that the only public benefit in owning the railroads is lower freight rates. The difficulty in America in the past through private ownership has not been so much the freight, be the same high or low, but the methods of disposing of the money collected for freights. That money has in many if not all cases been applied in a way that has proven detrimental to the best interests of the people of the country, and it is this arbitrary use of power connected with railroad management that public ownership would eliminate, as a result of which the people of the country would certainly benefit.

**A** NEW CONSOLIDATION in the banking world gives, for the moment, the biggest bank in the world. A new consolidation next week may leave this one far behind. Does it need a sermon, or long-drawn-out reasoned logic to prove that the control of the world is passing into fewer and fewer hands? The wealth controlled by this new bank is estimated at \$414,000,000. It unites the Beef trust in the person of J. Ogden Armour, the Steel trust through E. H. Gary, the Lumber trust in the person of John D. Rockefeller, and a number of other interests, and the remainder of the national government with Franklin MacVeagh, the Secretary of the Treasury. No industry can stand against such a combination. It can make and unmake any commercial or industrial undertaking it chooses. But one power is greater. The power of the workers who produce all this wealth, can alone control it. They can do this only when they have sufficient intelligence to use their votes for themselves. Today they give their votes to the same persons to whom they give their money. With the money and the votes the capitalists are invincible. If the workers wish to keep their votes they can also keep their money. If they vote to own their government they will vote to own their product.—Chicago Daily Socialist.

**E**VEN THE ANTI-GRAFT movement has become nationalized. This is a concerted step towards suppressing graft in all its forms throughout the country, and will have the moral support of leading theologians representing all phases of religious thought, as well as of some sentimental rich men and playwrights, who either do not know what makes graft possible or else they are never happier than when trying to reform something or somebody. We hope the national anti-graft movement will grow fast, run its course speedily, as then the men engaged in it and having failed will be all the more anxious to unite with some revolutionary movement and not only suppress graft but many other social evils at the same time. Strange, though, what false ideas beset us. How do you suppose that these reformers are going to suppress graft nationally when they have never suppressed graft locally? Has graft ever been suppressed anywhere, in any town, or county, or state? No, not one. It is almost laughable, then, to think that these anti-grafters will be able to accomplish the thing abroad that they have failed to do at home. Join the revolutionary socialist party if you want to abolish graft. Don't attempt to do it by taking the money put up by rich reformers who like to see their name in print and are willing to pay for it.

**A**BOUT EVERY SO OFTEN a man who has held public office tells the truth, or at any rate some of the truth. To that list of frank men may now be added former United States Senator Wm. E. Mason, of Illinois. Mason represented a state in the Senate that has always had a couple of Senators in Washington, both of whom "always represented the power that put them there." Mr. Mason is quoted in the newspapers as saying: "Do United States Senators represent humanity or cash? I say, respectfully, that they represent the power that makes them Senators. It is the exception when a poor

man breaks into the Senate. Fifty per cent. are bought, although I do not mean to say that the purchases are made outright as is alleged to be the case of one Illinois Senator. Money is spent by interested persons to create sentiment for or against a candidate. It amounts to the same thing. Money puts them in Washington, and it's a rare Senator who does not represent the power that puts him there."

Notwithstanding this honest and in some respects honorable confession, there are still no doubt some persons in Colorado who will make the wild statement that Senator Guggenheim went to Washington with clean hands, and none of the legislators who voted for him were in any way influenced in his behalf.

**L**AST FALL A COLORADO ORCHARDIST sold his entire apple crop to a commission house for a flat price of \$1.50 a box. In every box he placed a note requesting that the purchaser write him and state the price paid for the apples at the other end. Some days ago he received a letter from an "ultimate consumer" in Pittsburg, Pa., who stated that he bought a full box and had paid \$7.00 for it. This means that the transportation companies and the wholesalers who handled the apples, together with the retailer who serves the "ultimate consumer," received almost four times as much for handling the product as did the farmer who produced the crop. The farmer owns the ground, plants and cultivates the trees, gathers the fruit and packs it in boxes, furnishing the boxes, and gets \$1.50. The three or four other persons through whose hands the product passes receive \$5.50. You may think that it is not fair to cite a single extreme case and draw a conclusion. This case is not an extreme one. It might be called extreme if we had brought in the persons who bought the apples two and three at a time as the "ultimate consumer," paying for them at the rate of five cents each, which is not at all unusual. But our Pittsburg man bought the whole box which enabled him to demand a low price. The fact is, that the above rate of profit permeates nearly every line of business, especially that which relates to necessities like food stuffs. And it is one of the great factors in the present high price wave that is impoverishing so many of our hard working people. They positively can not buy what is for sale at the prices demanded.

**E**NGLISH EXPERIMENTS at the Francis Galton Laboratory for National Eugenics are said to have carried consternation into the ranks of ultra temperance advocates by investigations which tend to contradict the theory that the children of habitual drinkers are inferior physically and mentally. The investigation included the cases of 3,600 school children of Manchester, whose family history was clearly recorded. It found the death rate among the children of alcoholic parents to be higher, but they were slightly heavier and taller, and their general health was found to be better, while no difference was shown in intellectual quality.

Wider tests will be needed before such a conclusion as is here indicated can be regarded as conclusively established. Indeed, there is a hint in the statement of self-contradiction. For how a given class can be found in better general health and at the same time to show a larger death-rate is somewhat difficult of comprehension.

While the fact, if fully established, will no doubt produce chagrin among temperance advocates at the loss of an argument, we do not see that the alleged "consternation" need amount to panic. For the preacher of temperance has considerable ammunition of indisputable character left. It is proverbial, even among the drinkers, that persistent devotion to Bacchus will knock out the toughest man, and it is an inevitable consequence that the children of him who blows in his earnings at the bar will be poorer fed and poorer clothed for the investment in stimulation. Temperance arguments are strong enough whether the sins of the father are visited on the children or not.

**T**HE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES at Washington, has passed the postal savings bank bill, and that measure now comes up before the Senate. It begins to look as though the measure would become a law at this session, notwithstanding the opposition of the National banks. Under the terms of the bill a board of trustees is created consisting of the Postmaster General, the secretary of the Treasury and the Attorney General, who shall declare what postoffice shall become postal savings banks. Deposits in these banks made by any one person shall not become than \$100 a month or exceed in total \$500. An account may be opened with \$10 but stamps of 10 cents each will be issued for those desiring to accumulate money to be deposited. On deposits 2 per cent. interest per annum is to be paid. Any depositor can exchange his deposits for Government bonds to be issued in denomination of \$20, \$40, \$60, \$80, \$100 or \$500, to bear interest at 2½ per cent per annum.

The money accumulated in the postal savings banks is to be deposited in both National and State banks in the vicinity of the post-offices in which the money is deposited by the people, such banks to pay 2¼ per cent interest.

Five per cent. of the total deposits is to be retained by the Secretary of the Treasury as a cash reserve. Not more than 30 per cent. of these deposits may be withdrawn by the Government at any one time for investment in bonds of the United States, the remaining 65 per cent. to remain on deposit in the banks.

The banks are required to give as security for the deposits they receive "public bonds or other securities supported by the taxing power," which restricts such securities to some form of national, State, municipal or other such bonds approved by the board of trustees in charge of the postal savings banks.

## Citizens' Alliance Dead

DENVER CITIZENS' ALLIANCE has given up the ghost, and has been declared to be officially dead. It collected revenues from corporations and individuals and pestered people generally for something like seven or eight years, though for the past three years it has scarcely been able to convince anyone that it was not stone dead. Five or six years ago the weather was good enough for the funeral of the Alliance, but one Geo. C. Manly refused to allow the corpse to be buried as long as there was prospects of enough collections to pay for embalming dope. During the past few years little has been done by the Alliance except that Mr. Manly, as president and secretary, and almost the entire membership, would occasionally enter suit in court against honest union men who were trying to better their labor conditions and the labor conditions of future generations of workers. Manly not only lost these cases in court, but he was in fair way to lose every other client he had by his desperate efforts to keep working men from exercising their legal rights and perform the ordinary functions of honorable citizenship.

The Denver Citizens' Alliance sprung up quicker and hung on longer than did any other alliance of similar character or kind in any other part of the country. J. C. Craig, the first president, soon sought other employment. Herbert George, one of the founders, later went to San Francisco, where he was paid a fancy salary for his efforts to disrupt the labor unions. He never got further than drawing the salary. Today the labor unions are stronger in San Francisco than they ever were before, and they are stronger there than in any other part of the country.

There is a wide field for study and soliloquy in these sudden spurts and misguided efforts to disrupt labor organizations. These spurts have appeared from time to time and in many parts of the country ever since the dawn of the new century. They have taken

several forms, but the most pernicious was the Citizens' Alliance. Later we have the Manufacturers' Association, still fighting the unions, but it is nothing more than here and there a fusillade of vituperation. And the labor unions, what of them? They are stronger than ever, while every single one of the organized efforts to bust them up has failed, and will continue to fail so long as they are based on the false premise on which every one of them has sought to be founded.

All such organizations are and have been a heavy drag and drain on the cost of doing business, which, like every other expense, in the last analysis, falls on the producers themselves. The producers not only form their voluntary labor organizations, where they pay dues directly, and by the force of numbers and power of organization aim to secure benefits for themselves, as well as better working conditions, but indirectly they furnish the profits whereby the employer has hired unscrupulous attorneys to disrupt such organizations. The employer has actually taken the money earned by his workmen and withheld from them by means of the wages system of payment, and with it formed cliques and alliances for the deliberate purpose of further degrading that same laborer. No commercial or social system on the face of the earth ever operated with so much resultant wrong to the producers of wealth as the present wages system, and the present fierce profit-making system.

Well may we rejoice at the death of such an unpatriotic organization as a Citizens' Alliance. Its memory will ever be a ten years' night-mare to the workers in Colorado. It never performed a single good function. Its work was all bad. It was a fearful misfit. It was an expensive institution in more ways than one, and is now disowned by its founders.

And the unions still live, and if reports are worth anything at all, are getting stronger every day.

## The Skilled and Unskilled

SAYS THE DENVER REPUBLICAN: "Keep the unions from being mere labor trusts, raise their standard of membership, and then the men admitted to their ranks will have no fear that other men will take the places they now fill." This sort of sophistry and palaver we hear on every hand. Others have the same view of the present labor situation as has the Denver Republican in the above quotation. They still adhere to the idea that the labor-market is controlled by the skilled workman. Nothing can be further from the facts. The skill of the worker is the very smallest asset that he has in this age of perfected machinery. No trade, no matter what it is, is controlled in even the smallest way by skilled workers. On the other hand, several of our most honorable and ancient as well as remunerative trades, where the workers have adhered fast and hard to the skill of the workers in that trade as a means of perpetuating it, have sadly lost out. They have stood by and seen others, with no skill whatever, and with only a slight training, rob them of the work that they had been doing, and for which they were receiving a rate of pay that would enable them to live decently, educate their children properly, and mayhap lay by something for a rainy day. These workers have stood by and seen their occupation taken from them by processes over which they, with all their boasted skill, had no control whatever.

As a matter of fact, there is only one way to preserve a craft, skilled or otherwise, and that is by taking into the organization of that craft all the workers in any way connected with it, no matter what labor they perform. Those labor unions that have a membership made up of most of the different kinds of the workers in the trade in the organization are occupying the strongest position in the industrial field today, insofar as it effects the perpetuity of their craft, or the regularity of employment.

It is a serious matter, indeed, for a worker to learn his son a trade at which he is required to serve four or five years as an apprentice, and at the end of which time he is not sure whether there will be such a craft to work at, or whether the wages paid the workers in that craft are sufficient to insure for the young man a decent living. It is a serious thing to know that no matter how apt an apprentice may be, no matter how skillful he must be to work at the trade, nor how willing a man may be to do the manual work connected with all the crafts, none of these things count for anything in the way of securing or holding a job against the other fellow who is willing or able or forced to work for less wages.

The men who work for less and the machines which displace manual

labor are constantly conspiring to displace skill. The combination of these two factors will ruin any trade in existence. Many trades would already be ruined and forgotten were it not that labor unions have prevented it by the strength of their numbers, not by the power of their skill.

Right up in the Republican's own printing office and composing room this point is made perfectly clear. If the plan suggested and advocated by that paper was allowed to have full sway, there soon would be no skilled men to do any work in that shop. The Typographical union which controls the composing room of that newspaper compels every man in that department to be a member of the organization, taking no account of whether he is performing work requiring skill or not. The man who carries bundles and packages from one part of the workroom to another is a member of the Typographical union, and draws the same pay as does the most skillful operator on the most delicate machine. So does the proof reader, who uses neither skill nor brains, but just ordinary caution and accuracy. The same is true of women workers—they work the same number of hours and receive the same pay as the men, no matter what they do, and they are members of the same organization.

If the Republican's plan was carried out to its fullest limits, there would be the skilled printers, the helpers, the unskilled workers, the women, and mayhap the blacks and the whites, all in different labor organizations, all using their own force and power in bidding against each other in order to secure all the jobs that are available in that office. The result would be that before long about all the work would be done by the unskilled, and later by the unorganized workers, and very soon the craft would be lost entirely, and no one would want his son to learn the trade because of the uncertainty of the employment connected with it, to say nothing of the inadequate pay.

And so we say, it is all nonsense to ask or require that only skilled men should belong to the unions in order to make them strong and effective. There is some skill connected with every mechanical operation that man performs, but the more skilled the operation the more apt the worker is to be exploited by the owner or manufacturer. Workers are fast learning that the exploiting capitalist wishes to use every means to alienate him from his fellow worker. The closer the alliance between workers the stronger they are. Perhaps that is the reason the capitalist press is always attempting to maintain the aristocracy of the laborers by calling some skilled and others just ordinary brutes. Labor will come into her own when she recognizes the common democracy of all workers.

## To Combat "Evils" of Socialism

ANOTHER EVIDENCE of the steady growth of Socialism and the effects of the Socialist propaganda is seen in the eastern cities by the formation of a bran new organization to combat the "evils" of Socialism. Concerning this new movement a dispatch from New York to the daily newspapers gives the following account:

"In an effort to combat what the promoters consider the evils of

Socialism, there was organized in New York City "The Individual and Social Justice League of America." The leaders of the movement objected to having it called an anti-socialistic organization, but termed it rather a middle ground between individualism and Socialism. The league has a general council of 66 individuals, about half clergymen and half laymen. A few women are in the council. The personnel in-

cludes Protestants, Catholics and Jews, and among the representatives in congress, lawyers, officers of patriotic societies, editors and heads of philanthropic and religious bodies. The organization will form branches in every large city of the country and spread its propaganda by field agents, circulating libraries and lecture bureaus, its prospectus says: 'The purpose of this association is to set clearly before the American people the principles at issue between American thought and life as compared with the economic and political revolution proposed by Socialism, to promote a loyal adherence to the institutions by which America has come to be a land of freedom, progress and reverence for law, to exemplify the mainspring of all social, industrial and political progress, to safeguard the rights of life, liberty and property, to inculcate just conditions of industrial and commercial competition, while resisting the aggressions of private privilege at the expense of public welfare, to defend the workman in his demand for an equitable return for his labor, to uphold the American ideal of home, the integrity of the family, the love of country, and to maintain the everlasting reality of religion as the foundation of our civilization.'

The promoters of this new organization ought to be complimented for their frank confession that Socialism proposes an "economic and political revolution." This is the one thing that differentiates Socialism from all other political movements. Where others seek reform Socialism demands revolution.

In some respects the reformers above mentioned are attempting to deceive the public. One of the tenets of their organization is "to

safeguard the rights of life, liberty and property." They really will do nothing of the kind when the pinch comes. When a poor man's life is at stake they will not save it. When the poor man's liberty is stolen and he languishes in prison, no voice of protest will be heard from them—they will remain silent, or if they speak, it will be against the poor man who is the prisoner. When it comes to guarding the property rights of the poor man, the religious and professional sponsors of the above new movement will hedge at once. They have done it a thousand times before—they will do it again.

But the most ludicrous proposition of the whole lot is "to inculcate just conditions of industrial and commercial competition." All of this is to be done "to uphold the American ideal of home, the integrity of the family and the love of country." Just how industrial and commercial competition will produce a state of society better or different from the one we now have and "enjoy," is not stated, and not even surmised. The fact is, competition will produce none of the things above set forth as being desirable of attainment. On the contrary, competition crushes them all out.

Many may be deceived by these false prophets of better things, but the Socialists will not waver. Their propaganda will go on as though no preachers and lawyers and doctors were collecting money to turn the new thought and action into dangerous channels. In time we expect even the promoters of this latest panacea themselves to join the Socialist ranks and use their efforts in direction of a real simon pure revolutionary movement.

## Horrible Belen, Mexican Prison

JOHN KENNETH TURNER, author of "Barbarous Mexico," which appeared serially in the American Magazine and was stopped in three months, has become a regular contributor to the Appeal to Reason. This medium enables him to exploit some phases of labor conditions in Mexico that would not have been printed at all had not the Mexican government attempted to use the strong arm to suppress the Turner articles. In writing about three important labor strikes in Mexico, Mr. Turner was compelled also to consider the Mexican prisons. The prison at Belen is given the following description:

As to the great labor organizer, Felix Vera, who for years was to the railway workers of Mexico what Gene Debs was sixteen years ago to the railway workers of the United States, it is almost as inevitable as it is melancholy to say that he is in jail with fair prospects of remaining there for the rest of his life.

Felix Vera is today a prisoner at Belen, which is without the slightest doubt the vilest and most unendurable prison hell on the American continent, not excepting even that other living tomb of Mexico, San Juan de Ulua.

During both of my trips to Mexico, made during the past two years, I put forth desperate efforts to secure admission as a visitor to Belen. I saw the governor of the federal district; I saw the American ambassador; I tried to enter with a prison physician. But I was never able to travel farther than the inner door. Through that door I could see into the central court, where ranged hundreds of human beings made wild beasts by the treatment they received, ragged, filthy, starving, wolfish wrecks of men—a sight calculated to provoke a raucous laugh at the solemn declarations of paid chanters that Mexico has a civilized government.

But farther than that inner door I could not go. I was permitted to visit other prisons in Mexico, but not Belen. When I pressed His Excellency, the Governor, he admitted that it was not safe. "On account of the *malas condiciones*, the vile conditions," he said, it would not do. "Why," he told me, "only a short time ago the vice president, Senor Corral, dared to make a hurried visit to Belen. He contracted typhus and nearly died. You cannot go."

I told him that I had heard of Americans being permitted to visit Belen. But he was unable to remember. Doubtless those other Americans were too well known—they were too much involved in Mexican affairs—to leave any danger of their coming out and telling the truth of what they saw. My credentials were not satisfactory enough to permit me to see Belen.

But I know Belen fairly well, I think, for I have talked with persons who have seen Belen as prisoners and come out of its horrors alive. Editors, many of them were; and I have talked with others—officials, prison physicians—and I have read the newspapers of Mexico. I could make this article entirely about Belen, but I have too many other things to say here.

Suffice it, then, to put down at this point several bare and naked facts. Belen is the general prison for the federal district, which comprises the Mexican capital and some surrounding suburbs, approximating, in all, a population of 600,000 people. It is alike city jail, county jail and penitentiary, except that there is also in the district another penitentiary, which is distinguished from Belen by confining within its walls only non-political criminals who have been sentenced to more than eight years confinement. The penitentiary—which is so designated—is a modern institution, decently built and sewerd. The prisoners are few and they are fairly well fed. Visitors are always welcome at the penitentiary, for it is principally for show. When you hear a traveler extolling the prison system of Mexico put it down that he was conducted through the federal district penitentiary only—that he never heard of Belen.

Belen is a musty old convent which was turned into a prison by the simple act of herding some thousands of persons within its walls. It

is not large enough decently to house five hundred inmates, but frequently it houses more than five thousand. These five thousand are given a daily ration of biscuit and beans, insufficient in quantity to keep an ordinary person alive for long. The insufficiency of this ration is so well realized by the prison officials that a regular system of feeding from the outside has grown up. Daily the friends and relatives of prisoners bring them baskets of food, in order that they may live through their term of imprisonment. Of course, it is a terrible drain on the poor, but the system serves its purpose—*except for those hundreds of unfortunates who have no friends on the outside.* These starve to death without a finger being raised to help them.

"Within three days after entering Belen," a Mexican prison physician informed me, "every inmate contracts a skin disease, a terrible itch which sets the body on fire. This disease is entirely the result of the filthy conditions of the place. Every year," he continued, "the prison goes through an epidemic of typhus, which kills an average of at least ten per cent of the inmates. Within Belen there is no system of order among the prisoners. The weak are at the mercy of the strong. Immediately you enter you are set upon by a horde of half-crazed men who tear your clothes from your back, take away your valuables, if you have any, and usually commit nameless crimes upon your person, while officials of the prison stand grinning by. The only way to save yourself in Belen is to turn wild beast like the rest, and even then you must be strong—very strong."

Should I give the name of this physician every official at the national capital would instantly recognize him as a man of high standing with the government. I shall not name him, because if I did he, also, would go to Belen as a prisoner. Such stories as his I heard from too many widely different sources to be able to doubt them. The stories of the Belen epidemics always get more or less into the Mexican papers. I remember that during my first visit to Mexico, in the fall of 1908, the papers reported an epidemic of typhus. For the first three days the number of new cases was daily recorded, but after that the news was suppressed. The condition threatened to become too great a scandal, for on the third day there were 176 new cases.

It is into such a hole that Felix Vera, the Gene Debs of Mexican labor, has recently been thrust, together with scores of others who have committed no crime greater than that of expressing the desire to use their votes as guaranteed by the constitution of the "republic" of Mexico. If Vera is held in Belen no longer than the sentence imposed upon him requires, he will stay there nearly two years more. For a man of an ordinary constitution that would mean a strong probability of death.

But Vera, though a cripple, is a man of great vitality. He may live. And then—there may be political changes that will free him. That remains to be seen.

Vera has been hounded by the Diaz police for the exact number of years that he has been endeavoring to raise the labor of his country out of its Slough of Despond. When I visited him in 1908, though he was temporarily inactive, detectives were always watching him. When I sought him again in the spring of 1909 he was in hiding from the police. I remember that I spent many hours and many pesos, and also wrote him several letters, in my attempt to run him down. Several times I thought I had located him, but he did not appear. Perhaps he thought my letters decoys and, fearing a trap, slipped away each time I was about to find him. It all goes to show the hazardous life lived by those brave men who are contending for the common liberty of Mexicans.

The interview, indeed, which I had with Vera was held under circumstances that were quite dramatic. The secret police were watching Vera and they were after DeLara. While Vera, DeLara, the president of the boilermakers' union, and myself were eluded in an inner room,

outlooks were at the windows watching the streets. Vera told us of the railway strike, of the various Mexican unions, and, while he was telling of the underlying cause of all the union troubles—the government—the interruption came. We were apprised that five detectives had surrounded the house and Vera insisted on terminating the interview and going out to reconnoitre. DeLara prepared for flight through a window and over housetops and then we waited for word from Vera. It came just at dusk. The organizer sent news that he had ascertained that the secret police had a warrant for DeLara and that they were waiting for him to come out. As soon as it was dark DeLara slipped out of a back window and disappeared over the house tops to the eastward.

It was with a real Mexican bear-hug that the labor organizer and my friend, the refugee, greeted each other at the beginning of that interview, for they had been school boys together. Vera is an educated man, a man of broad, energetic head, a fighting chin, a short, pugna-cious nose—the only sort fit to survive in these days of labor persecution in Diazland—and yet a man of expansive, thoughtful forehead. He is crippled in the legs and travels always on crutches, but this handicap has not been sufficient to prevent his making himself supremely felt. He speaks with great force and directness and withal is the only sort of man who could have built up the organization of the Mexican railway men until it was by far the strongest labor body in the country.

## Vocational Education Urged

EVERY FARMER and every other person interested in the extension of experimental station work is deeply interested in the effort to have passed by congress the measure known as the Dolliver-Davis vocational education bill. The measure is designed to provide a complete system of vocational education in secondary schools. Those who are actively supporting the measure have joined in urging those who are the natural friends of the bill to lend all possible aid.

In brief, the bill provides for the appropriation of four million dollars annually for the maintenance of instruction in agricultural and home economics in state district agricultural schools of secondary grade, and the appropriation of one million dollars annually for the maintenance of branch experiment stations to be located at these schools. Provision also is made for five million dollars per year for city high schools, to be used for the maintenance of instruction in the trades and industries, home economics and agriculture in public schools of secondary grade. Under the terms of the bill this sum of \$10,000,000 will not become available until July 1, 1913.

But it is proposed to employ the intervening time in intelligent preparation for the broader and more important work to be undertaken. To this end it is arranged to appropriate one million dollars annually for the use of state normal schools, to become available at once upon the recommendation of the secretary of agriculture, and to be used by these schools in training teachers for the secondary industrial schools. It is pointed out that this sum, together with the Nelson fund of \$1,200,000, which Assistant Secretary of Agriculture Hays and others have arranged, should be used for the preparation of teachers of vocational subjects for agricultural high schools, will give the state agricultural and mechanical colleges and the state normal schools more

than two million dollars per year for the next three years with which to prepare teachers for the secondary vocational schools in 1913, when the funds are to become available for their use.

It is provided by the terms of the bill that the various states be required to duplicate the federal appropriation to which they will be entitled. That is to say, provided four hundred agricultural high schools and four hundred branch experiment stations in connection with them are established, the annual federal sum to which each school and station will be entitled will amount to \$2,500. This, together with the state appropriation of a like sum, will give them a total yearly income of approximately \$5,000. It is also provided that the states shall be divided into experiment stations or districts of not more than fifteen counties and not less than five counties in area. This subdividing is to be done by or under the authority of the state legislatures.

The measure is said to have won the active support of manufacturers, transportation companies, organized labor and, in fact, of all employers of labor. Besides these, it is supported by the National Grange, the American Educational and Farmers' Co-operative Union, the American Society of Equity, the National Educational Association and other state and national bodies. Assistant Secretary Hays, who is keeping in close touch with the forces for and against the measure, announces it as his belief that if the farmers and others who favor the bill will manifest their approval of it and join in urging its passage, the opposition of Speaker Cannon and Chairman Scott of the committee on agriculture and others can be overcome.

There is no denying the fact that the advance in agricultural education, while it has been great, is not yet up to the present-day requirements. Farming, as has been observed, is a science. But it is a science easily mastered under proper tutelage.

## The General Strike

BY D. C. COATES.

THE IMPORTANT RECENT EVENT in trades union circles in the western country was the strike of nearly 2,000 men in Los Angeles, Cal., working in the metal trades, a week ago last Wednesday. The strikers include machinists, molders, patternmakers, blacksmiths, boilermakers, brass workers and sheet metal workers, who got together in a metal trades council and presented an agreement to the employing firms, the agreement embodying an eight-hour day and \$4 minimum wage. The employers, organized under the title of the Merchants' and Manufacturers' Association, refused to recognize the workingmen's organization and a strike resulted. One of the remarkable features of the strike is the fact that a great army of Japs working in the ship-yards of Los Angeles, where the striking metal workers were employed, sent a representative to the strikers and told them they were ready to strike also as soon as the organized strikers desired them to come out. This is the beginning of the effort of the metal workers in all the Pacific coast cities to establish the eight-hour day in place of the ten hours worked at present, and it seems that there is an organized opposition on the part of employers, with backing of commercial bodies, to defeat the labor organizations. Fearing a like strike in Seattle, the Chamber of Commerce and Commercial Club there adopted resolutions denouncing the attempt to inaugurate the eight-hour day and an increase in wages, as well as the union shop, favoring the "open shop" at all hazards. Here in Spokane the Metal Trades Council is presenting a like agreement to employers, and it would not be surprising if the same treatment was handed them as was handed to their brothers in Los Angeles and Seattle.

If one can judge from the early indications in this contest for the eight-hour day, it would seem that the battle between organized labor and the citizens' alliances and commercial bodies is to be fought over again in the western cities, and the labor unions may as well get ready for it at once. To bring victory it will not only require compact organization on the part of the metal trades, but a solid front and backing by every other labor union, so as to meet a solid combination of employers with a solid organization of all labor, even to the extent of a general strike and complete paralyzation of industry wherever a strike is begun. The general strike of San Francisco in 1902, the same in Denver in 1903 and the recent general strike in Philadelphia would seem to have to be done all over again. And the sooner the trades unions realize that this is the only way to fight combined employers and parasites, the sooner it will so perfect its system as to bring about the general cessation of labor without the weaknesses and loopholes shown in Philadelphia. A single labor union, nor the metal trades

together, cannot win over a determined and solid opposition on the other side—it means class against class completely on the industrial field, and when we get the fight on that basis there can be no doubt of labor's victory.

Then there is another phase of the situation to be considered, and that is the political power of the workers. Even if their unions are so perfected that a general strike is possible to the fullest extent, it must be remembered that because of the political division of the working men—some being Republicans, others Democrats and Socialists—they have allowed the employers, chambers of commerce and other commercial bodies to place their representatives in every public place, and as soon as the general strike was called the whole police power of the state and nation would be set in motion against the strikers. Injunctions would be secured, pickets arrested, free assemblage and speech denied, leaders placed in jail, union halls raided, records and lists of members taken, blacklists established, private detectives clothed with police powers, strike-breakers protected, etc. This would mean its defeat. And how foolish labor is to have such a condition, when one takes into consideration that there are about ten working men voters in each city to one employer. And then, too, isn't the political interest of labor the same as it is on the industrial field, and shouldn't they operate as completely together there as they do as trades unionists? Why should labor leave such an effective weapon as the political power in the hands of the employing class when it can have it in its own? Why is it that labor should be defeated in its struggles for better wages, less hours of labor and improved working conditions, solely through the political power wielded by the employing class, when labor could take possession of this power itself? Why, also, should there be a political division among the working class, and representatives of employers put into office, when it is just as necessary to have the political power by complete organization as it is to have solid union organization to better industrial conditions and to keep the policeman's club off the heads of the workers while they are on strike? This is the lesson for labor to learn in the near future if it is to succeed in its work of winning betterment of conditions. There can be no doubt of the success of the strike when political offices are controlled and filled by working men elected on a working class program, such as is presented by the Socialist party, which is just as sure an arm of the working class as is the trades union, and a one-armed man has a severe handicap in the struggle for survival and existence. The general strike, both industrially and at the ballot box, is the slogan of labor.—Spokane Labor World.

# Workers No Longer Have Abject Fear of Courts

BY ADOLPH GERMER OF THE UNITED MINE WORKERS

THE STRIKE SITUATION in Illinois is now more promising to the miners than at any previous time. There are now approximately 25,000 men working under the new scale, which carries with it the payment of the shot-firers by the operators. Indications are that within the near future, other large coal interests will come to their senses and realize the utter futility of longer waging a fight in face of the fact that the operators who have always been considered as being at a disadvantage with other fields in Illinois, are the first to accede to the demands of the miners. It has always been argued by the mine owners, among them some of those who are holding out against us, that the operators in the Belleville field are unjustly burdened with an excessive yardage scale and other inequalities, yet, in spite of this fact, the Belleville field operators are the only ones in Illinois who have in a body agreed to the demands of the miners.

It is reasonable to assume that if the operators who are loaded down with inequalities are able to pay the scale, there is little reason why the operators who are enjoying advantages cannot come to terms.

With them, however, it is not a question of ability or inability to pay the scale, but a deliberate attempt to crush out the United Mine Workers of America, and this early in the game they are threatening with injunctions, deputies, soldiers and every other known power in capitalist society used to crush out the life of organized labor. But their bullying and threatening and lying about the officers of the organization will have the effect of driving our men on to greater unity. And should one member or a thousand go to jail for violating the "divine" writ of injunction it will serve to awaken many who have heretofore been in a trance, and hasten the day of industrial emancipation.

The miners are no longer to be held in abject fear of an injunction. It is now commonplace and considered honorable to go to jail in defense of a principle and a constitutional right. To invade a prison cell to vindicate a lofty tradition is being glorified by an awakened working class, instead of being looked upon with scorn and contempt as of a decade ago.

I am not desirous of seeing one member of our organization sacrifice one moment of liberty and inhabit a prison, nor am I anxious or desirous of being the victim of a judicial outrage. But rather than cringingly submit to the last vestige of our rights being extinguished, we should be willing to inhabit a thousand jails, and I am confident that the United Mine Workers of America are made up of such material. I should be the last to counsel lawlessness. I at all times advise our membership to remain within the narrow confines of the law, as it applies to labor. But I do not propose to sit silently by and see the noble spirit of '76 dragged to death.

I know of no law in this state that prohibits a man from striking, yet that is what is being sought by the coal operators by injunction processes.

I am not at all aggrieved because of the actions of the operators in attempting to defeat the aims of the miners. They are loyal to their class interests in so doing. Their class dominate politics; nominate and secure the election, by fraud if need be, and it is usually necessary, of men to public office who will do their bidding. Their class buy the votes of the workers to elect judges to issue injunctions restraining officers of organized labor from ordering strikes and members of the organization from leaving their work. Their class buy votes that elect legislatures and then buy the votes of the legislators to elect United States Senators.

All this money that is being used to buy votes, to elect judges, to

issue injunctions, to elect legislators who sell their votes to United States Senators, comes from the wealth the workers produce.

The corruption funds with which votes are being bought are gathered from the child-lives that are ground into profits in the factories. These corruption funds are gathered from the men who work on the railroad, in the mill and the sweatshop. They are gathered from the men who go down into the depths of the earth and stake their lives for a pittance, that the wheels of industry may keep up their busy grind. And now when these hewers of coal ask that their conditions of life and labor be improved in the slightest degree, they are answered with injunctions, deputies and soldiers. When the toilers who bring forth the wealth from the rocky vaults of nature ask for a greater share of that which their labor produces, they are "undesirable citizens," and judge, governor and president are pressed into service against them. And why criticize the judge, the governor and the president? The parties on whose platforms they have been elected stand for the system which recognizes the private ownership of the things the workers must use in order to live.

In opposing labor in its demands and subjecting it to indignities they are carrying out the principles of their parties. Sometimes it is the Republican party that is in power when labor is being crushed, and sometimes the Democratic party. And very often they both go hand in hand as "two minds with but a single thought, two hearts that beat as one."

The Democratic party as a national party is dead. The workers are becoming conscious of the fact that the Republican party has nothing in common with them. They have seen Democratic congressmen elect a Republican speaker of the house. They have likewise seen Democratic legislators elect Republican United States Senators and receive a thousand dollars per vote for it. They have seen Republicans and Democrats alike share in "jack pots." And all this is causing workers to think.

Some "labor leaders" are trying to resurrect the Democratic party and inject life into it. Other "labor leaders" are ashamed of its record and talk of starting a new party to represent the interests of labor, yet not molest one stone in the crumbling structure of capitalism. The Republican party is out of the question to be looked upon to redress the wrongs of labor. Both, the resurrectionists and creators, will find their labors unavailing.

They may succeed in giving the capitalist class a little longer lease of life. And they may win the "noble prize" of the Civic Federation, but they will not eliminate the class struggle. The class struggle is the bitter pill for many of the stars in the American labor movement. It is clear to the vision of the workers and no Civic Federation or any other federation can conceal it.

A new light is dawning in the ranks of labor. It is seen by President Taft and he cries out, "A new dangerous political issue must soon be met." That is the issue of Socialism. It is not new to Roosevelt, nor August Belmont, David M. Parry or Ralph Easley. They all saw it a long time ago and have done everything in their power to check its march. They have nothing in common with us, and if it is dangerous to them it must be safe for us. They have been fighting us economically and politically for years. If it spells danger to them it must spell safety to us.

Yes, this "new danger" is casting its rays into the minds and hearts of the workers the world over and one day it will shine upon a people who will know no injunctions and who will not be made the targets of a military.—Chicago Daily Socialist.

## The Fight Against Organized Labor

THE RECENT CONVENTION of the National Association of Manufacturers concluded with a reception and banquet in the grand ballroom of the Waldorf-Astoria hotel. It concluded with a \$10-a-plate supper, music, speech making, with congratulations for work accomplished and with resolutions to continue in the effort to promote the principles to which the organization is pledged.

It is well that the readers of *The Call* should be familiarized with these principles. The readers of this paper are workers and most of them believe in the class struggle, and will, therefore, find it extremely interesting to know that the same doctrine is recognized by manufacturers, the men who deery Socialist teachings and who proclaim them to be un-American. The National Association of Manufacturers is organized on class conscious lines, for the specific purpose of fighting labor, to promote their own interests, and wage war on trade unions and Socialism.

In order to do justice to the organization and clear this article from any possible suspicion that it misrepresents the manufacturers' views by antagonistic interpretations, we shall let the president speak for himself.

John Kirby, Jr., of Dayton, O., is an outspoken man, and since he took the office a year ago, he has been very busy making speeches in which he defined his attitude in unmistakable terms. There is no better way of placing him before the readers than by quoting him.

In his address of acceptance, delivered last year, Kirby began by defining his position. He said:

"While deeply grateful for this signal honor, I am not unmindful of the cause of its bestowal. You have selected me as your president because you know where I stand on the labor question, which, more than all others, is the great concern of this association.

"The question that is uppermost in our minds today and that has been uppermost in our minds, is the labor question; there is no use whatever beating around the bush; that is why I have been selected as president of this organization; not on account of my ability, not on account of my national reputation; nothing of that kind, simply because you know where I stand on the labor question."

Kirby stands where his other colleagues stand—for the open shop and against unionism. He describes the tactics of labor unions as "cowardly mob violence;" calls the American Federation of Labor "federated selfishness," and says that the mission of unionism is "to preach the gospel of hate." He is full of venom against organized labor, and in one speech, delivered last January, Springfield, Mass., he declared:

"It is needless to point out or discuss here the methods adopted and always employed by the labor trust in its warlike march to its goal. It is sufficient to make the undeniable statement that they employ a line of practice degenerating from inconsistency to barbarism: the responsibility for which must rest upon the heads of the officers and leaders of such organizations, who, if they would, could steer them along rational and humane lines, but who sometimes openly and sometimes secretly not only approve of but assist in the execution of such methods



as a practical means of accomplishing the end in view. If this were not true, would any honest, fair-minded, law-respecting man permit his honor, his manhood, his Christian citizenship to be jeopardized by either openly or silently (for 'silence means consent') approving of the guerrilla warfare carried on by the organizations for which they stand sponsors?"

The National Association of Manufacturers know that the main issue between capital and labor is the "open shop." Whether workmen can raise wages, reduce the hours of labor and improve the conditions of toil depends on their collective strength. The manufacturers know this, and they use all their power to combat the principles of unionism.

In a lecture on the "Closed Shop," delivered on April 19, at Bridgeport, Conn., Kirby makes the following charges:

"Only a few of the labor unions live up faithfully to their open professions. Most of them boldly operate in defiance of contracts and court decisions. This is especially true in so-called 'sympathetic strikes.'

"They enforce their strikes and lawless boycotts by methods of savage violence. This policy is adopted by them quite evidently because they regard a peaceful and lawful strike as absolutely ineffective. It is impossible to imagine a strike without the accompaniment of violence, destruction of property and murder unless the employer ceases operation of his plant pending a settlement of the controversy. This has been abundantly demonstrated by experience. \* \* \*

"Would it not be the quickest and most effective way to rid the country of the evils connected with unionism for all patriotic citizens to condemn the organizations which practice them, and in that way, through public sentiment, to compel such unions to give way to the type of organization which all intelligent and well-meaning men could and should approve?"

The open shop is described as a haven for the exercise of the pursuit of happiness—the happiness to work for a wage determined by exploiting employers. Kirby, continuing his argument, says:

"The union label represents, and is, the insignia of that condition, and its use, in ninety-nine cases out of every hundred, has been adopted through coercion or fear of violence or damage to property.

"It is the badge of the closed shop, and the closed shop is nothing less than a peonage, where the laborer, through force of circumstances, is compelled to subscribe to a condition which deprives him of his right of free citizenship, and which system would rob him of his right to labor for his living if he exercised that right and refused to subscribe to the condition.

"During the last few years the open shop movement has grown rapidly and each succeeding day brings forth, from one industrial establishment after another, declarations of independence and the severing of all connections with labor unions to whose dictation many of them have for years been forced to submit. But learning from the experience of others that industrial freedom is well worth the price it costs, closed shop unionism is finding its maintenance, and the principle of the open shop, where men are free from union bondage and industrial slavery, is being re-established to a degree that most people are not aware of."

It is interesting to know how the organization of exploiters defines unionism. Here are some of the "disadvantages" as laid down by Kirby:

"It puts a premium on indolence.

"It encourages its members to wage an unlawful and merciless warfare against their fellow laborers who disagree with them.

"It seeks to establish a class line between labor and capital by adopting policies and pursuing methods which tend to destroy ambition, handicap energy and inspire men to become good union men rather than honorable, thrifty and well-to-do citizens.

"It adopts methods of intimidation, coercion and even murder as means for accomplishing its purposes.

"It persistently and incessantly urges and demands legislation which, if enacted into law, would remove all legal barriers to their unholy and cowardly boycotts, as well as to their brutal and property destroying practices; legislation which would be favorable to labor unionists as a class and injurious to all other classes of citizens.

"It resorts to unfair, dishonorable and cruel methods to deprive non-unionists of their right to earn an honest living, and to thus compel them to become unionists or suffer themselves, and those dependent upon them for support, to starve.

"It constitutes a trust of the most vicious and dangerous type which, if permitted to progress to its logical culmination, would result in incalculable injury and annoyance to all citizens, themselves included.

"It is an irresponsible organization with which, in many cases, contracts cannot be entered into with confidence that their provisions will be recognized as sacred obligations to be fulfilled.

"It impedes and discourages personal advancement through personal effort.

"It is an avenue for graft and illegal and wrongful 'deals' between the walking delegate of the unions and unscrupulous employers.

"It is a hindrance to the upbuilding of character, tending to promote the betterment of mankind and develop good citizenship.

"The attitude of the officers of the American Federation of Labor toward the courts finds its justification in the creeds of Socialism and anarchy and the example of these men, whatever their pretenses may be, to the lawlessly inclined element of society is to encourage men to defy law and commit crimes.

"The aim of unionism is to control things which it has no right to control, and that such control as it has secured has been attained through fear of violence, boycott or destruction of property, and is therefore the domination of force.

"The aim of this government to protect its citizens against forcible control against their desires, is set at defiance by the action of the American Federation of Labor and its allied unions in seeking, by force and other unlawful methods, to monopolize the labor market. This is purely hostile to the government itself, and therefore a menace to governmental institutions.

"That from every angle from which this question can be viewed, labor unionism of the Gompers-Mitchell type is uneconomic in principle, decidedly adverse to public policy and, therefore, a menace to society."

The National Association of Manufacturers is a powerful organization, embracing 3,000 prominent business firms of the United States, representing an aggregate capital of \$15,000,000,000. Affiliated with this association is the National Council for Industrial Defense, consisting of 225 "locals," whose chief aim is to fight labor laws and "kill" every bill favorable to workingmen. It was through the efforts of this organization that Gompers, Mitchell and Morrison were convicted.

In his speech last Tuesday, the president boasted of this success in the following words:

"Ten years ago Samuel Gompers declared that in ten years organized labor would control the country's commerce and industries. But today his type of trades unionism stands condemned by public opinion. Gompers' prophecy was the offspring of his wish, as it was when he predicted and worked for the election of Bryan in 1908. His main issue in that campaign was anti-injunction and the people gave him a dose of injunction that certainly ought to kill or cure him as a factor in politics."—New York Daily Call.

## Revival of Seditious Libel

IN NEW CASTLE, Pa., events are quietly shaping themselves for the advent of the most important judicial decision that has been rendered in America for a century. To the superficial observer it will seem as though it were only a matter of a few more inhabitants in a penitentiary; but to the more thoughtful ones it will be apparent that a precedent will be established which may terminate the right of all intellectual liberty in America. It is my desire to portray the coming events somewhat at length, so that all can see the consequence of a seemingly harmless and ordinary occurrence.

Recently C. H. McCarthy and four others have been arrested, and are now waiting trial on a charge of "seditious libel." This man and his friends are all Socialists, and have been conducting a little weekly paper at New Castle, Pa., called the Free Press, which is given away to the number of ten or twelve thousand copies of each issue. It has been thus conducted for something over two years past and as a means of promoting Socialistic theories. It has been edited with great vigor and at great sacrifice to those concerned, though not always with great wisdom or even discretion. Recently some strikes were in existence by the employes of the American Sheet and Tin Plate Company, which, I believe, is a branch of the steel trust. During the strike the usual disorder and acrimony was in evidence. Of course, these Socialists were vigorous defenders of the strikers. As a result some of them are now serving jail sentences for not having complied with the Pennsylvania act requiring publicity concerning publishers.

When this did not accomplish the desired suppression of this Socialist publication an arrest followed on the charge of "seditious libel" based upon a number of editorials in the paper which are quoted in

the information, and it is alleged are "in contempt of the constitution and laws of the United States, of this commonwealth (of Pennsylvania) and of its institutions, agents, officers and constituted employes, appointed for the administration of said government, with the evil example to all others and against the peace and dignity of this commonwealth (of Pennsylvania)."

It is not claimed that the offending editorials are a violation of any statute of Pennsylvania. The criminal charge is brought on the theory that the old common law as to libel (seditious and blasphemous), which originated in the usurpation of the infamous "Star Chamber" court, is still in force in Pennsylvania, notwithstanding several constitutional guarantees, including that of freedom of speech and of the press, which are popularly supposed to have abrogated the common law crime of seditious libel.

Unfortunately there is a disposition among some to treat this mode of prosecution with levity, because to them it seems very preposterous to assume that any modern court would enforce the old common law crime which prohibits all criticism of government.

It is under a similar theory of the law that the publishers of the New York World and Cincinnati Enquirer were indicted for libel against the constitution and government of the United States. Unfortunately, in that case the chief point at issue in the disposition of the case, and upon which the prosecution failed, was whether or not a publisher could be indicted in a place other than the initial place of publication, and thus compelled to submit to trial hundreds or thousands of miles away from the scene of his offending activities. The court made no final determination of the question as to whether or



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not our American constitution precludes punishment for seditious libel as a common law offense.

Unfortunately, in Pennsylvania there is some old precedent which seemingly holds the common law as to libel to be in force there. Evidently this precedent was established without adequate opposing argument, only a bare reference to the constitution having been made. This precedent came into existence during the same strenuous time which brought the infamous alien and sedition laws, which Jefferson so vigorously denounced. If that old Pennsylvania precedent of 1803 shall be followed in the case of the commonwealth against McCarty, its establishment will undoubtedly spread to other states, and soon we shall have all over these United States judicial declarations that, notwithstanding our constitutional guarantee for freedom of speech and of the press, the English common law libel is in effect here, and that our freedom of speech is only a limited liberty by permission of our masters instead of a constitutionally guaranteed unbridgable right.

Should this precedent once be fairly established by the courts of last resort in several states, then every liberal, free-thought, or radical journal in America can be suppressed. Under the common law it was a crime to criticize the government, public officials, ecclesiastics or

the accepted theology. Lord Hoyt thus defined the prohibitions of the libel law which it is claimed is in force in Pennsylvania: "He must not by loose, intemperate speculation endanger the constitution; he must not shake what is rooted, nor bring again into discussion, with a view to disturbing what is settled." If such a law shall again come into force, how long could Socialism or any other radical thought be published?

If our constitutions are to be so constructed as to restore this iniquitous rule, then we have reached the end of intellectual liberty; then we have established a power which at will may suppress anything which unpleasantly affects the vanity, passions or the interests of those who control the machinery of government. This is not merely a question of keeping a few Socialists out of jail; it is not a question as to whether or not we indorse Socialism. It should not be a question for Socialists alone. It is a question of intellectual liberty which should interest and arouse every person who believes that others have a right to disagree with the dominant thought, or the dominant power, of any time.

It should be the duty of every one to contribute what he may in money and influence toward precluding the establishment of this dangerous precedent, and maintaining the dearly bought liberties which it was supposed were insured to us by our forefathers.

The most dangerous precedents are always established where those most immediately concerned are unpopular and impecunious. These defendants are locally unpopular, because aggressive Socialists. They are also poor, and for that reason unable to put up a proper defense. The importance of this precedent is so great that all should be concerned, quite irrespective of the personality of the accused or our approval of the doctrine which they preach, or the manner of their doing it.

## An Appeal from the United Mine Workers

Springfield, Ill., June 16, 1910.

To all Organized Labor in the United States and Canada, Greeting:

The coal miners of Illinois, numbering approximately 72,000, have been idle since April 1st. After about four months of joint conferences with our employers in the attempt to reach a wage agreement, during which time we offered all that within reason could be expected of us, we failed to reach a settlement; negotiations were broken off and a strike formally declared May 21st. We are asking for an increase in the mining rate from three to six cents per ton, 5.55 per cent advance on all other labor, and that the operators comply with the provisions of the state mining law in regard to the shot firers. Considering the increase in the cost of living since 1903—our wages being the same up to the first of April, 1910, as they were at that time—our demands are to say the least exceedingly modest.

Since negotiations have been broken off, we have signed contracts for two years with a portion of the coal mine owners, and between twenty and twenty-five thousand of our members have returned to work, who are now paying a ten per cent assessment, but 45,000 of our men are still on strike and it seems to be settling down to a long, bitter struggle—a test of endurance.

The large railroad corporations, Manufacturers' Association and Citizens' Alliance have rallied to the assistance of the coal mine owners, and pledged them their moral and financial support and have guaranteed to stand behind them in the struggle to the last ditch. The operators have also invoked the aid of their allies—the courts—and in-

numerable blanket injunctions have been issued restraining us from striking, talking to strike breakers or inducing them in any way to join with us.

We are determined to win this struggle, no matter how long it takes or what the cost, but we want to do it with the least possible suffering on the part of the women and children, and we are appealing to organized labor to render us what assistance they can at this time. We would like to have you make as liberal a donation as you can, and assure you that every penny will be spent to the very best advantage.

Send all donations to Duncan McDonald, Secretary-Treasurer District No. 12, U. M. W. of A., 505 Farmers National Bank Building, Springfield, Illinois.

Fraternally yours,

J. H. WALKER, President  
GORCE LAWRENCE, Vice-President  
DUNCAN McDONALD, Secretary-Treasurer  
ROBERT OSBORNE,  
ARTHUR SHIELDS,  
JAMES LORD,  
DANIEL CLARK,  
BERNARD MURPHY,  
PETER J. WILSON,  
PAUL J. SMITH,

State Executive Board,

District No. 12, U. M. W. of A.

## Contributions

### FOR THE LOCKED OUT MINERS OF THE BLACK HILLS.

Winthrop, Calif., June 7, 1910.

Mr. Ernest Mills, Denver, Colorado.

Dear Sir and Brother: Enclosed please find \$28.50, the proceeds of a dance given by the Winthrop M. & S. Union, No. 167, W. F. of M., for the benefit of our brothers in South Dakota. Yours fraternally,

J. H. CAREY, Secretary.

Spokane, Wash., June 10, 1910.

Mr. Ernest Mills, Denver, Colorado.

Dear Sir and Brother: Please find a money order for \$15.00 as a donation from the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, Local No. 609, for the benefit of the brothers in the Black Hills, South Dakota. Fraternally yours,

J. W. McNAIR, Financial Secretary.

Donation of \$5.00 received from M. J. Riley, Georgetown, Colorado.

Lovelock, Nev., June 14, 1910.

Mr. Ernest Mills, Denver, Colorado.

Dear Sir and Brother: Enclosed please find money order for \$8.00, \$3.00 from Pete Kieffer and \$5.00 from Simon Denner, as a donation to be applied to the relief of our locked-out brothers in the Black Hills, South Dakota. I am, fraternally yours,

SIMON DENNER.

Spokane, Wash., June 11, 1910.

Mr. Ernest Mills, Denver, Colorado.

Dear Sir and Brother: Enclosed please find check for \$25.00 from the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Local No. 202, as a donation to the Western Federation of Miners, for the benefit of our locked-out brothers in the Black Hills, South Dakota. Wishing you all success, I am, Yours fraternally,

W. E. NORTHWAY, Treasurer.

San Jose, Calif., June 16, 1910.

Mr. Ernest Mills, Denver, Colorado.

Dear Sir and Brother: Please find enclosed \$10.00, which was voted at a regular meeting of the council last evening to help the strikers at the Home-

stake mine in South Dakota. Mr. Morgan addressed the meeting and though he only asked for credentials in order to visit the affiliated unions, the result was a small donation. Hoping you may succeed against the power of organized greed, I am, fraternally yours,

FRED BRANDES,  
Secretary Federated Trades Council of Santa Clara County.

Eureka, Utah, June 14, 1910.

Mr. Ernest Mills, Denver, Colorado.

Dear Sir and Brother: Enclosed find \$100.00 as our fourth donation to our brothers in Dakota. With best wishes, I remain, Fraternally yours,

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

Seven Troughs, Nev., June 13, 1910.

Mr. Ernest Mills, Denver, Colorado.

Dear Sir and Brother: Enclosed please find money order for \$18.00, the balance collected from our May-Day dance for the benefit of the members who are locked out in South Dakota. Yours fraternally, R. L. DAVIS,  
Secretary-Treasurer Vernon M. U. No. 256, W. F. of M.

Butte, Mont., June 20, 1910.

Mr. Ernest Mills, Denver, Colorado.

Dear Sir and Brother: Enclosed find check for \$21.50, which I have received as a special donation to the Black Hills lock-out. Fraternally yours,

A. C. DAWE,  
Financial Secretary Butte Stationary Engineers' Union, No. 83, W. F. M.

Oakland, Calif., June 14, 1910.

Mr. Ernest Mills, Denver, Colorado.

Dear Sir and Brother: Enclosed herewith please find check for \$25.00 for which I would thank you to credit to the Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union of America, Local No. 119, as a donation to enable you to continue your fight for right and justice against the damnable greed of the capitalist class. With best wishes for your success I am, Yours fraternally,

CY COOEY, Secretary.

Mr. Ernest Mills, Denver, Colorado.

Dear Sir and Brother: Enclosed you will find check for the amount of \$25.00, of which \$20.00 is the balance on dance on May 7, 1910, \$3.00 donated by Ulrich Grill, \$1.00 by Harry T. Elliott and \$1.00 by a friend, J. P. Lamott. With best wishes, I am, fraternally yours,  
ULRICH GRILL,  
Secretary Goldroad M. U., No. 124, W. F. of M.

Humboldt, Ariz., June 16, 1910.

Mr. Ernest Mills, Denver, Colorado.

Dear Sir and Brother: Enclosed please find \$5.00 as a donation to the locked out men in the Black Hills from the Humboldt M. & S. Union, No. 147, W. F. of M. Fraternally,  
JOS. D. CANNON.

**UNION MINERS**  
When visiting Terry will find a comfortable home at the  
**TERRY HOTEL** TERRY, SO. DAK.  
E. James, Prop.



**BOUGHT A THOUSAND TICKETS.**

Butte, Mont., June 14, 1910.

Mr. Ernest Mills, Secretary-Treasurer W. F. M.

Dear Sir and Brother: Enclosed find check for \$1,000.00 in payment for one thousand tickets to the ball given in support of the locked out miners in the Black Hills, which Butte Miners' Union, No. 1, bought from the committee. Yours fraternally,  
AL McCLELLAN,  
Recording Secretary.

**STAY AWAY FROM RAWHIDE.**

Rawhide, Nev., June 13, 1910.

Editor Miners' Magazine: Through misleading newspaper reports Rawhide is rapidly filling up with miners for whom there is no work, and Rawhide union takes this method of notifying all men seeking employment to stay away from this place. Fraternally yours,  
J. L. JARRELL,  
Acting Secretary Rawhide Miners' Union, No. 244.

**MORE DIRTY GRAFT.**

Cerbat, Ariz., June 9, 1910.

Editor Miners' Magazine.

Dear Sir and Brother: I would like to call the attention of the readers of the Magazine to the appalling number of arrests in the Southwest on the charge of selling liquor to Indians. The majority of the arrests are of miners who were traveling through the country in search of employment, and who either became intoxicated in some mining town and thus an easy prey to the United States marshal's stool pigeons; or they were men who were broke and hungry and who bought the whisky for the Indian in order to get the price of a few meals.

Many have remarked to me that it was strange that with daily arrests that the offenses should only multiply the more, till every jail in the country is full of miners awaiting trial on that charge. It may seem strange to some people, but to one who is familiar with the fee system and official graft there is nothing puzzling about it. The proposition is simply this: There is more money in it nowadays for the professional gun men who are employed as deputy United States marshals, as the government appropriation has been doubled, and the enterprising deputy who can show the most arrests can not only expect a fat federal job, but he has the chance to make a tidy little sum in fees. The avenues are thrown wide open for graft by the instructions which are given to the deputies. "Uncle Sam" has instructed his officers that the "use of decoys shall be recommended when other means have failed, and that no artifice shall be neglected in order that the traffic shall be broken up."

If it can be proven that a deputy had given an Indian the money to buy the whisky with, and had concealed himself to watch his stool-pigeon bribe some poor, hungry vagrant to get the liquor for him and then stepped out and made the arrest, it would make no difference, as the deputy can produce his instructions and the judge would be obliged to instruct the jury to disregard the evidence and bring in a verdict of guilty. Naturally, when such practices have been encouraged by the government it may be expected that an enterprising deputy who is working for promotion and extra fees will even stoop to manufacture a case when times are dull and it is alleged that a certain case was manufactured in our own jurisdiction, the victim having refused to give up, and the decoy resorted to a ruse to get hold of the liquor, rushing up and snatching it out of the man's hands.

The Indians in this country do not need to give two dollars for one to get whisky, nor to ask hungry wanderers to get it for them. If they want booze they can buy it at wholesale and take it to their camps and drink it in peace, and the people who sell it to them need never have any fear of arrest. It is not the purpose of the deputies to stop the sale of whisky to the Indians, but to make as many arrests as possible. If they were to stop the sale of liquor to the Indians their occupation would be gone.

I have carefully watched the business and tallied on Indian drunks and have found that when there were no possible suspects in camp that an Indian always could get the liquor if he had the money, and I have no hesitancy in making the statement that out of every 100 Indians who are running around trying to bribe some hungry wanderer to get them a bottle of booze, that ninety-nine are stool pigeons and that any man who buys it for them has just one chance in a hundred of missing a five-year term in the state's prison. The jails are full of them and every day new ones are brought in.

For heaven's sake, get wise to yourselves sometime. The "reign of graft" in California was never anything like this and the arrests will now be double the former amount, as the appropriation for that purpose has been doubled.  
W. R. CARTER.

**SCHOOLS FOR SCABS.**

(By Robert Hunter.)

Some days ago the bosses of the printing trades met in their annual session.

They objected to class consciousness, of course, and then fell to discussing various plans for warfare on the unions.

They have tried out certain methods, apparently with no great success, but at last a new plan has been devised.

They are going to establish schools for scabs.

Donnelley of Chicago aroused immense enthusiasm among the delegates by telling them that his company maintains an industrial school.

He turns out of that school thirty journeymen yearly who, he says, are not only perfect workmen, but absolutely free from the evil influences of the trade union.

"We get the boys at the age of fourteen," said Donnelley, "and this means they come straight from school to be put under our influence."

"Let me warn you," he shouted, "don't join any movement for public industrial schools.

"My experience has taught me that it is best for us to have the employers in absolute control of trade schools."

Now, that statement ought to make the unions sit up and take notice.

Millions upon millions are being donated by our rich men to establish private industrial schools.

Carnegie, Armour and many other millionaires say long ago the need of corrupting the mind while training the hand of their wage-earners.

They don't want public industrial schools like those of Germany.

They want private industrial schools for training scabs.

As I read the newspaper account of this meeting of the bosses of the printing trade the journal of the Society of Amalgamated Tool Makers came to my desk.

It is an English journal, ably edited and always full of valuable matter.

In that journal is a letter from a tool maker in Detroit.

He also tells how the bosses in that trade are scheming to cut wages and to break the unions.

He tells of an industrial school started in Detroit for the purpose of training tool makers.

Upon inquiry he found that the object was to get the boys to work in that "school" fourteen hours a day at about one-third the wages paid to skilled men.

The boys are engaged for three years to learn a trade.

They work day and night at miserable wages and are turned out at the end of their term union-hating scabs.

The principal of an industrial school in Chicago recently told a writer for one of the Socialist papers, "Our object is to train the boys to become perfect workmen and to plant in their minds hatred for labor leaders and labor organizations."

The bosses are right, of course, in not wanting public industrial schools.

The school teachers over the country are more and more coming into line with the organized labor movement.

More and more they are coming to share the aspirations of the labor movement, and in some cities they are even today affiliated with the labor movement.

In any case the public school teachers of this country are not yet sufficiently dominated by capitalism to preach hatred of trade unionism.

And so Donnelley's warning is justified: "It is best for us to have the employers in absolute control of trade schools."

And that statement should be noted by Labor so that Labor can answer: "If there are to be industrial schools they must be public industrial schools, free from the philanthropy that teaches hatred of labor organizations, free from the influence of bosses who seek to degrade Labor and free from that class of selfishness which desires to see that every industrial school is also a school for scabs."

**INTERNATIONAL LABOR LEGISLATION.**

(By Robert Hunter.)

At Berne in Switzerland is the office of the International Association for labor legislation.

The work of this body is to try to obtain in all countries practically the same kind of labor legislation.

International conferences are held for the purpose of discussing the labor legislation of the various countries.

Special meetings are called of official representatives of the various countries to discuss common international action for the protection of labor.

Four years ago I attended a conference held by the International body at Geneva.

There were delegates in attendance from almost all countries in the world who discussed for several days the possibility of obtaining a kind of international code of labor legislation.

The matter was of such importance to labor that many Socialists attended the gathering, some representing various national associations for labor legislation.

It is said that the International Association is supported largely by German funds.

The Socialists of Germany have forced the German government to adopt the most advanced social and labor legislation in the world.

The German nation, therefore, faces a serious situation. Her legislation is so advanced that she has begun to fear that it will affect her ability to compete with other countries in the world market.

She is not sure that she can go on protecting her workers, and at the same time compete with those other countries that refuse to protect their workers. That is one thing.

The other thing is this: that if she does not respond to the demand of the German workers for further protection, she will face at home something like revolution.

As a result, the German nation is endeavoring to bring other countries up to her standard of labor legislation.

She is really today sending out missionaries to other countries for the purpose of urging them to improve their social and labor legislation.

She is endeavoring to get international agreements in order to prevent other countries from horribly exploiting their wage workers and in this manner taking away from Germany her international trade.

Nor is Germany alone in this desire to obtain an international code.

Nearly all European countries are being driven by the Socialists to adopt radical reform measures.

Governmental insurance, old age pensions, workmen's compensation, housing reform and other such measures are being forced upon the governments of Europe.

A few years ago the continental governments feared England, knowing that if she did not adopt more advanced social legislation she might undersell the continental countries.

That feeling has largely disappeared since the British Labor party has forced upon the British government laws protecting the working class.

The European governments now fear America only.

When the various governments of Europe decided in 1906 to prohibit the use of white phosphorus in the match making industry, America made no pledge.

When international conventions are held for the purpose of discussing an international code, America takes no official part in those conferences; and America not only refuses to take part in international agreements—it has thus far made no step toward radical social or labor legislation.

There is no adequate workmen's compensation act in America; the labor laws are not enforced.

Old age pensions are not discussed, and governmental insurance against

sickness, old age, invalidity and death does not exist, while insurance against unemployment is not even dreamed of.

And so this question presents itself to the capitalists of Europe. Will the workers of America continue to allow themselves to be robbed and exploited in order to allow the capitalists of America to underbid the capitalists of Europe?

In other words, America is today pretty much like a scab shop knocking the stuffing out of another shop where the boss has been forced to grant union conditions.

#### DEBS AT FITCHBURG, MASSACHUSETTS.

On the 7th of June Eugene V. Debs, the peerless orator and tireless agitator, addressed a large audience in Fitchburg, Massachusetts, this city being one of the many in the East in which he has made stirring addresses on the general subject of the attempt to send Fred Warren to jail for circulating seditious literature. The Worcester Daily Telegram gives the following extracts from the speech:

Mr. Debs, after introductory remarks, said that in every age there have been men in advance of their time and because their new ideals and ideas were not understood by the masses, they were regarded as foolish and visionary, if not vicious and dangerous, and he said they were misrepresented, persecuted and sometimes put to death.

"All great movements," he said, "are organized by the few and in their inception their principles are misrepresented and their leaders compelled to pay the penalties which have always attached to those who have paved the way to better conditions for the human race."

He spoke of Fred D. Warren, the Socialist newspaper editor, whose case is pending in court, and then referred to many men who were once looked upon as criminals and accused of treason and other crimes.

"What was regarded as crime while they lived," he said, "has now become their glory, while those who condemned them, if not utterly forgotten, are now execrated as the real criminals."

"The world's progress has been achieved through a series of mighty struggles, and in all these struggles the leaders met with the same common fate. The war of the American Revolution is now regarded as a glorious event, but the heroic few whose agitation led to it, were all denounced and condemned by the Tories and their press, who ruled the colonies a century and a half ago."

"You are teaching your children to honor the memories of the Revolutionary criminals, while all the conservative and respectable people who condemned them sleep in forgotten graves."

"History repeated itself in the struggle to abolish chattel slavery, the infamous institution that for more than two centuries cursed the American soil."

"During all this time chattel slavery was regarded by most people as a respectable institution, just as wage slavery is today."

Mr. Debs then went on telling of Elijah Lovejoy, who was murdered after he vigorously attacked slavery in a newspaper that he started. The speaker referred to Garrison, Wendell Phillips and John Brown, and the elimination of chattel slavery.

"Chattel slavery has disappeared," he continued, "but freedom has not yet been achieved. The working class is still in slavery."

"In the evolution of the present industrial system, the capitalists have come to rule far more corruptly and heartlessly than the slave owners ruled, half a century ago."

"The capitalists own all the sources of wealth and all the machinery of production; they control all our legislatures and all our courts. From the spoils wrung from the working class, upon whose exploitations our present social institutions are based, these capitalists maintain corrupting lobbies at all the seats of power."

"In this system the capitalists are the economic masters, and therefore the political rulers, while the working class, which produces all the wealth, is in a state of servile subjection."

"The Supreme Court at Washington, consisting of corporation attorneys, is the court of the capitalist class, and its decisions are uniformly in the interests of that class. The same is true of all other federal courts."

"Federal judges are not elected by the people, but appointed by a President nominated and elected through the power and influence of the ruling class, and these judges are accordingly the salaried servants of that class. This whole system, based upon the exploitation of the working class, is venal and corrupt. Graft abounds everywhere. The politician is under suspicion, even though he be perfectly honest, for the people instinctively understand that capitalists pollute everything they touch."

"To speak out against this system, to expose its crimes, is treason, today, as it was treason half a century ago, to oppose the rule of slave power and treason a century and a half ago, to oppose the rule of King George."

Debs got back to the Warren case, in which he was sentenced. He told of envelopes sent through the mails for the kidnaping of ex-Governor Taylor of Kentucky, and his delivery in that state, where, it is alleged, he was indicted by a grand jury on a charge of murdering Goebel, who was contesting Taylor's election.

"Every honest man, whether he agrees with Warren or not," said Debs, "will at least honor him for having the courage of his convictions and battling unflinchingly for his principles."

"He knows, if nobody else knows, that his only crime is having exposed crime; he knows he is fighting the battle of the downtrodden in the greatest war in the history of humanity; he knows that he is absolutely right before God, and therefore he is serene and faces his fate unafraid."

"Thousands of people all over this country have their eyes open."

#### PRESS PROSECUTIONS IN THE UNITED STATES.

We wonder how many of our readers are aware that at present journals are being prosecuted in American courts for alleged crimes against public order. The prosecution by public officials of obnoxious newspapers or magazines is so inseparably associated in the mind of the average citizen with the practice of monarchical countries that we are sure it will come as a shock to many to learn that in the state of Pennsylvania, in this Republic, just such prosecutions are at present in full swing. Yet such is the case. Here in brief are the facts:

In the county jail of New Castle, Lawrence County, Pa., are six working men, finishing a term of three months' imprisonment; and still fighting in the courts there against being condemned to the same punishment, are six other workmen charged with an offense similar in terms to that for which the first are suffering. The reader will no doubt wonder for what crime against law and morality, or for what conspiracy against the civil order, these men have been thrown into prison. Read then and learn how respect for law and order is being enforced in this case.

The men in prison are the editor, manager and press committee of a paper named "Solidarity," and owned by the local union of the organization known as the "Industrial Workers of the World"; the men still contesting the case in the courts are the former editor, manager and press committee of the "Free Press," a paper owned by the Socialist party organization of the district. The crime alleged against them is the heinous one of not having the full names of the individual owners upon the editorial pages of their respective papers. The law does not take into account the possibility of a journal owned by a voluntary association of some hundreds of members; it presumes that all papers are and forever will be private property, and hence neglects to make provision for the case of a paper, the common property of hundreds of

men and women. For this neglect of the law-makers these workmen are branded as lawbreakers and treated and herded along with criminals.

As it would be an impossibility to place the names of hundreds of owners upon their papers these men showed their good faith by printing the name of the editor and manager and also printing the fact that the paper was the common property of their respective bodies. A majority of the papers published in Pennsylvania are, and have been published without the information required by law, but no action was taken against them. Only the working men were persecuted, fined and imprisoned.

An explanation of this curious procedure on the part of the courts, it is alleged, can be found in the fact that the journals in question, had championed the cause of the workmen in the strike against the steel trust.

Intolerable as the above facts are to the sense of justice of any fair-minded person, yet they do not convey a full idea of the fight at present being waged in that district upon the liberty of the press. Against the former editor and press committee of the Free Press another prosecution is being directed. This time the charge is Seditious Libel, a charge well known to old common law of England, but generally understood to have been abrogated in this country by the Revolution. The information in this case cites many paragraphs published in the Free Press, during the strike, these being for the most part exhortations to the strikers to stand firm and to regard their class interests as superior to all considerations affecting the welfare of their employers. Now, Socialist readers would object to such advice, and even many Socialists would deprecate the language, but no one who understands and values the right of free publication of opinion, including the right to publish criticisms of government and the administration thereof, can be otherwise than alarmed at this attempt of public officials to imprison those who dared to criticize or condemn their actions.

Our readers should realize that outside of the charge of "armed sedition" no other kind of sedition is or can be known to the laws of a free country, and in this case, although the information states that the defendants by "force of arms, unlawfully, falsely, wickedly, maliciously and seditiously did write and publish and cause to procure to be written and published certain false and malicious," etc., yet no endeavor is anywhere made to cite the use of force. And to the mind of the thoughtful citizen or lover of liberty, the association of the terms "by force of arms" with the writing of an article in a journal is positively laughable.

Yet on this laughable "information," this supremely absurd indictment, six men may be sent for long periods to prison. We understand that a sentence of twelve years is possible. Remember that the offense is unknown to the statute law of America; it is a revival of the old Common Law of England before the time of Cromwell. But if it is now applied in the United States a powerful government may at any time erect this case into a precedent to justify its prosecution of its political rivals. To allow this crime to be perpetrated may mean for the people of America taking the first step on a toboggan down which will slide all American liberties to destruction.

We ask you to aid us by your protest. Let every local, every union, every association, every individual who loves liberty, write at once to the President of the United States, to the governor of Pennsylvania and to Thomas W. Dickey, district attorney, Lawrence county, Pennsylvania, for protection against these attempts to punish working men for the neglect of lawmakers to recognize the rights of associations in their publishing laws, and against the insidious attempt to subvert the American constitution by establishing the right of officials to imprison those who dare to criticize them.

Call public meetings everywhere to denounce this outrage, pass resolutions expressing your sentiments and send them to the officials named. Let the country ring with denunciations.



#### CRUSADE TO PROTECT LABOR FROM INDUSTRIAL DISEASES.

A significant feature of the growing discussion of workmen's compensation for injuries received in the course of employment, was the meeting Friday evening, June 10th, at the Auditorium hotel, in Chicago, of the first National Conference on Industrial Diseases ever held in this country. Delegates designated by the governors of states, representatives of many national trade organizations, members of the state commissions in New York, New Jersey, Ohio, Minnesota, Wisconsin and Illinois, as well as individuals from the Russell Sage Foundation, insurance companies, universities, manufacturers' associations and trade unions, joined in the discussion of the problems of industrial hygiene. Recent investigations show that industrial poisons, such as yellow phosphorus, for which harmless substitutes have long been in use in Europe, are still employed in this country, and that thousands of people suffer and die every year from preventable occupational diseases.

Dr. Henry B. Favill, president of the Chicago Tuberculosis Institute, presided, and spoke earnestly of the need of a wider interest in the health problems of modern industry. "It is pretty near axiomatic," said Doctor Favill, "that the modern labor problem is a health problem," and he urged the importance of careful investigations by men trained both in physiology and economics, in order that effective means might be discovered for the prevention of the human waste in industry.

Prof. Henry W. Farnam of Yale University, in opening the conference, said that the International Association for Labor Legislation had, since its formation, in 1900, conducted many important investigations, and a few years ago secured the services of scientific experts in preparing an elaborate list of industrial poisons, which has recently been reprinted by the United States Bureau of Labor. Dr. Thomas Oliver, the leading authority of the world on the subject of occupational diseases and dangerous trades, is the president of the British section of this association. In this country the association is back of a movement to bring about safe conditions here.

"In this warfare against industrial diseases," said Mr. Farnam, "we need the co-operation of many different people, and one of the purposes of this organization is to facilitate this work and prevent a waste of energy. This is a warfare in which science, labor, business enterprise and the government must all unite. The recent decision of the Supreme Court of Illinois in upholding the ten-hour law for women is an encouraging sign of the times."

Dr. John B. Andrews, of New York, writer of a recent government report on "Phosphorus Poisoning in the Match Industry," spoke hopefully of the possibility of eliminating many causes of industrial disease. "Through the initiative of the International Association for Labor Legislation," said Doctor Andrews, nine of the leading industrial countries of Europe have signed a treaty agreeing to absolutely prohibit the use of poisonous phosphorus in the manufacture of matches. A harmless substitute has been found for the poison, and American manufacturers will gladly use it just as soon as Congress passes the bill introduced last week by Representative Esch, providing for uniform regulations to put all manufacturers of matches on equal footing with respect to necessary patents. The disease "phossy jaw" not infrequently re-

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quires the removal of an entire jaw by surgical operation and there have been many horrible deaths.

An investigation of fifteen match factories, made last year by the United States Bureau of Labor, in co-operation with the Association for Labor Legislation, disclosed the fact that in spite of modern methods and precautions, sixty-five per cent. of the employes were exposed to this danger, and women and children are more exposed than are the men. "The United States is practically the only commercial country of any importance," said Doctor Andrews, "which has not taken definite steps to prohibit the use of this poison in the manufacture of matches."

Prof. Charles R. Henderson, of the University of Chicago, and Secretary of the state commission, in outlining the work planned for the investigation of industrial diseases in Illinois, said, "Undoubtedly the time is not distant when industrial states must take up the problem of legislation upon sickness insurance." To provide a scientific basis for such legislation Governor Deneen appointed a commission of nine members to make "a thorough study of the kinds, causes and extent of diseases among work people, and the most modern methods of protection, prevention and insurance." This is the first state commission on the subject in the United States, but the conference will immediately begin a campaign to secure the appointment of similar commissions in other states.

Dr. Alice Hamilton, of Hull House, medical investigator and member of the Illinois commission on occupational diseases, spoke of her study of lead poisoning in Illinois smelters, white lead works, varnish and paint shops, and the manufacture of storage batteries. "Much of the labor employed in these trades is unskilled," said Doctor Hamilton, "and the men tend to drop out as soon as they have had from one to three attacks of lead poisoning." Protective measures within the factories in many cases are inadequate.

"In many trades," said Frederick Hoffman, statistician of the Prudential Insurance Company of Newark, N. J., "one third of the deaths recorded are due to one specific disease, and at a conservative estimate the money loss alone in the United States in one year, due to preventable occupational disease, is nearly a billion dollars. Medical practitioners will realize some day the practical advantage of special knowledge of diseases of occupation. The truth requires only to be known to produce a remedy for intolerable or needlessly injurious conditions. Employers of labor are now doing much to ameliorate conditions. An awakened public conscience is at last being aroused. It is the duty of those qualified to do so to ascertain the truth of industrial conditions affecting the physical well-being of American wage-earners, and it is a hopeful sign of the times that this conference has been called."—From the Syndicate Letter.

**In Memoriam.**

Bisbee, Ariz., June 9, 1910.

Whereas, In the mad rush for profits, the lives of two of our members, Brothers Everett Kuhn and Hugh Jones, were sacrificed to satiate the greed of a master class; and

Whereas, Through the loss of those two brothers, Bisbee Miners' Union is deprived of two who were faithful and true to the cause of unionism and can ill afford the loss; therefore, be it

Resolved, That we, the membership of Bisbee Miners' Union, tender our sincere sympathy to the sorrowing relatives and friends of our deceased brothers and that a copy of these resolutions be spread upon the minutes of our meeting, a copy sent to the relatives of each of our deceased brothers, and a copy to the Miners' Magazine for publication.

W. E. STEWART,  
E. M. SPILSBURY,  
Committee.

(Seal)

**IN MEMORIAM.**

Tonopah, Nev., May 21, 1910.

Whereas, The Supreme Ruler of the Universe has seen fit to remove from our midst our esteemed brother, Thomas Manion; and

Whereas, Brother Manion was an honest, upright man, imbued with the true principle of unionism; therefore, be it

Resolved, That we, the officers and members of Tonopah Miners' Union, extend to the sorrowing relatives of Brother Manion our heartfelt sympathy; and be it further

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be sent to the Miners' Magazine for publication, a copy be sent to the relatives of the deceased brother, and a copy be spread upon the minutes of this local.

G. R. STONE,  
WILLIAM BUCKLEY,  
T. W. TRUDGEON,  
Committee.

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**IN MEMORIAM.**

Resolutions of Condolence re Death of Bro. John S. Loucks,  
Cobalt, Ont., June 12, 1910.

Whereas, Death has again invaded our ranks and removed from our midst our esteemed brother John S. Loucks, who died on June 4, 1910, from the effects of a premature dynamite explosion; and

Whereas, We, the members of Cobalt Miners Union, through his untimely death are losing a faithful and devoted brother; therefore, be it

Resolved, That we offer the bereaved relatives and friends our heartfelt sympathy in the irreparable loss sustained; and be it further

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be sent to the bereaved relatives, a copy sent respectively to the Miners' Magazine and the Cobalt Citizen for publication, a copy spread on the minutes of our local; and be it further

Resolved, That we drape our charter for a period of thirty days.  
COBALT MINERS' UNION, NO. 146, W. F. M.  
JOSEPH GORMAN,  
H. B. DUKE,  
ALBERT NAP GAUTHIES,  
Committee.

(Seal)

Deadwood, S. D., June 8, 1910.

Whereas, God in His Infinite Wisdom has removed from our midst our beloved member, Comrade Freeman Knowles; and

Whereas, the Socialist Party has lost a faithful and efficient comrade; therefore, be it

Resolved, That we, the Socialist Party of Deadwood, in executive session, do express our regret at his taking away; and

Resolved, That we extend to the sorrowing family our heartfelt sympathy; and

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be spread on the minutes of this meeting, and a copy sent to the grief-stricken family.

A. J. CAMMACK,  
M. J. FOLEY,  
J. A. WICKHAM,  
Committee.

Committee.

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