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# THE MINERS MAGAZINE

INDEPENDENCE  
EDUCATION ORGANIZATION

*Published Weekly by the*

## WESTERN FEDERATION OF MINERS

Denver, Colo.  
Jan. 11th  
1912  
Volume XII.  
Number 446



WEALTH  
BELONGS TO THE  
PRODUCER THEREOF



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"I am not a member of any labor Union and in consideration of my employment by the HOMESTAKE MINING COMPANY agree that I will not become such while in its service."

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EDUCATION INDEPENDENCE ORGANIZATION

# MINERS MAGAZINE



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

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

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

## Card of the Homestake Mining Co.

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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

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Signed

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Department

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THE DELEGATES to the convention of District 6, of the W. F. M., which covers British Columbia, by a vote of 19 to 6, became a part of the British Columbia Federation of Labor.

THE MEMBERS of the executive board of the Western Federation of Miners convened in Denver January 4th. The books of the secretary-treasurer have been audited and matters affecting the organization have been receiving the consideration of the board.

HENRY M. TICHENOR, the poet of the National Rip-Saw has paid the following poetic tribute to the "Men and Religion Forward Movement:

"Ho, all ye worn and weary ones in all this blessed land, sing Glory Hallelujah, for Salvation is at hand. Your miseries shall fade away, your troubles all shall hie—Saint Pierpont and his pious bunch are marchin' down the pike. They're comin' with their chloroform and theologic dope and handin' out large packages of holy hot air hope; they'll fill you full of slobberin' hymns and Billy Sunday rot, and teach you how religion means "contentment with your lot." No matter if your tenement is cold this winter night, no matter if your daily bread has climbed clear ou of sight, no matter if your stomach is a 'tuchin' your backbone—you'll be a pippin when you die and sit up next the throne. Saint Pierpont has his downy couch to rest his tired head; the Lord takes care of Pierpont NOW—you get yours when you're dead; Saint Pierpont has his autos—YOU can have a pair of wings if you pin your faith to Pierpont and his New Jerusalem things. Stop agitatin' for a chance to live while you're alive; just wait until your summons to quit livin' shall arrive; then you will be fixed proper, you will have a plenty then, forever and forever, and

forever and amen. There's one thing, tho', I'm leery of—I don't know how you feel—I say this tho' I'm somewhat bum and run down at the heel—I hope that if they make a bloomin' cherub out of me, I won't look like Saint Pierpont, or Andrew Carnegie. It may be swell to be an angei, and sport a golden hat—but shucks t'would make me hunt a hole to wear a mug like that."

DURING THE HOLIDAYS the "down and outs" of the Bowery, New York, were granted the priceless privilege of listening to oratory of Bishop Darlington and Martin W. Littleton, one of New York's brilliant lawyers. The homeless wretches who were gathered together in the Bowery Mission to gulp down the oratory of a well-fed bishop and high-priced lawyer, must have entertained the opinion that they "struck it rich," when permitted to hang on the pathetic words of a bishop and lawyer, who had no solution for their misfortune save a little sympathy which is about the cheapest thing that can be offered a man who like Christ, is "without a place whereon to lay his head."

The addresses of the bishop and Littleton were about as consoling and as comforting as that masterpiece delivered by Taft who, when asked a question by a "down and out" arose to the sublime heights of supernatural wisdom, by declaring "God knows."

THE PROPRIETORS of the Triangle Shirtwaist Company of New York, in whose death-trap 137 people lost their lives, have been acquitted.

The proprietors belong to that upper class of society whose social position makes them immune from the penalties of the law, when victims of their cupidity meet death in the production of profit.

The men and women who were suffocated and burned to death, belonged to that great mass of humanity whose poverty prevents them from having any standing in court, when such standing conflicts with the interests of hungry exploiters.

It matters not that helpless and impoverished mothers were dependents on the paltry wages of those who were foully murdered through lack of necessary safe guards, for under our humane and glorious civilization, the reign of the profit system must be upheld, even though our judicial tribunals are prostituted to serve the Mammon God.

THE PRESS has recently contained some sensational stories relative to the scandals that have arisen from the white slave traffic in Paris, France.

Bankers, wealthy manufacturers and prominent editors are implicated in the traffic, and the evidence shows that these pillars of the social set of Paris, established an agency whereby innocent girls might be brought into the clutches of millionaire libertines.

A number of bankers, government officials, manufacturers and literary celebrities have been arrested, and arrangements have been made to make judicial investigation behind closed doors.

The infamy and debauchery of the cream of society must not be disclosed, for in the opinion of the courts, such moral leprosy on the part of the aristocracy of society, might have a bad effect on the moral standards of the common people of France.

But the investigation behind closed doors is not to protect the morals of the common people, but to smother the depravity of those leaders in society, whose bank accounts give them a license to use dollars to shatter the honor of womanhood.

The subsidized organs of capitalism clamor for blood when a member of organized labor, through desperation wreaks vengeance by imbruing his hands in human blood, but when libertines who dwell in palaces, murder virtue and establish agencies to glut their carnal appetites, the press and courts are anxious to smother the crimes of that patrician gentry, that sneers at the misery of laboring humanity.

Justice will some day sit upon her throne and the wrongs of centuries will be righted.

THE NEW YORK CALL, in a recent issue published a condensed report of an address delivered by a labor evangelist, known as Rev. Charles Stelzle. The last paragraph of the report contained the following:

"In the course of his remarks Stelzle said he was originally a machinist and while working at his trade thought he knew all about labor. Since he studied for the ministry and became a clergyman, however, he had learned far more."

There is no one who has observed Stelzle will dispute his statement that he *knows* far more as a preacher than when he was a machinist.

As a machinist he was eligible to membership in a labor organization, but as a preacher he is not eligible, but Stelzle *knows* enough to keep in good standing, regardless of the fact that he has not worked as a machinist for a great number of years.

As a preacher, why does he remain a member of the Machinists' Union? There is but one answer to that question, and the answer is that Stelzle *knows* that it pays.

Does Stelzle pay his dues to the Machinists' Union actuated by no motive save to aid the organization, or does he pay his dues in order that he may be given a hearing in the conventions and councils of labor organizations for the *good* that he may do for *those* who have discovered that salaries paid to the owners of glib tongues are good investments?

Stelzle's "dope" mixed with unionism and religion, is nauseating to men of intelligence, who can detect the ring of the counterfeit.

THE FOLLOWING is the form of the non-union oath taken by the employes of the King-Ryder Lumber Company of the State of Louisiana:

I, ....., solemnly swear that I am not a member of any labor union composed of men working in the lumber industry, and that I will not contribute any money, or any other thing of value, neither will I lend my moral support to any such union while in the employ of the King-Ryder Lbr. Co., and that I am not now in any manner obligated to join or affiliate with any such union or organization.

The above is the truth, so help me God.

Witness: .....

State of Louisiana,  
Calcasieu Parish.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this.....day of  
.....1911.

Notary Public.

The above oath taken by the slaves of the lumber trust of the State of Louisiana, precludes the possibility of the *sovereign citizen* clad in the livery of labor, to believe even by the utmost stretch of his imagination that liberty dwells beneath the canopy of our boasted republic.

The man who is a dependent on another for the privilege to earn the means of life and who believes that he is a free man, is hugging a delusion to his breast and should be looked upon as a weakling mentally, whose brain stopped growing in his infancy. The above oath is taken in a state where the Democratic party wields the sceptre, and yet, there are millions of working men in America who are proud to acknowledge themselves as Democrats. Let us pray for the intellectual regeneration of the benighted dupes, who are drugged and hypnotized by the sophistries of political swindlers.

## Industrialism

A CORRESPONDENT asks us to "give reasons why the A. F. of L. is opposed to industrial unionism."

In return we ask, "Who said the A. F. of L. was opposed to industrial unionism?" Just because this claim is made does not make it so. If our friend were acquainted with the A. F. of L. and the manner of its formation, he would pay less attention to an untruth which we agree can be repeated so often it will, in time, be even accepted by honest men.

The A. F. of L. is merely a delegate body, formed by representatives of various unions. These representatives are either elected by a referendum vote of the rank and file or by conventions. They, in turn, elect officers who have absolutely no power to tell affiliated organizations how they shall conduct their internal affairs. There is nothing to stop the Iron Molders, Machinists, Metal Polishers and Pattern Makers, for instance, from forming one body—except, the members themselves, who unite just as fast as their intelligence permits.

Twenty years ago the International Typographical union was an industrial organization. In its constitution it laid claim to complete supremacy over the printing industry. In the early 90's, because of dissatisfaction, the Printing Pressmen pulled away and claimed they could secure better results alone. In 1898 the Stereotypers were given permission to withdraw for the same reason. This was followed by the Bookbinders and the Photo Engravers uniting in craft internationals.

The position of the A. F. of L. in this matter, which is not exceptional, is: Who has the right to deny these workers the right to do as they elect? Who is greater than they? Who should sit in judgment over them, and who should tell them they do not know their business?

So the one industrial union in the printing trades was split into four internationals. And they exist today. The reason for this division is that the times were not suited—economic conditions did not permit—of one body. Today the printing trades are closer than ever in their history. They have had their quarrels. They have indulged in bitter internal war. But the membership is slowly accepting the dictum that they must "pull together." The cry for industrialism is as old as the American labor movement, which is called upon to face problems not confronted by workers in other lands, who have one language, one set of traits and characteristics, while we have scores, because of immigration alone peculiar to our country. All this the American Federation of Labor is conscious of, and its policy of refusing to rely on force, but rather to depend on the intelligence of the units, has proven the soundness of its judgment—has proven its correct interpretation of the American workman's moods, and has resulted in sweeping all competitors from the industrial field.

The failure to reckon with these conditions was the real reason for the downfall of the Knights of Labor, which had the most glorious of all watchwords, "An injury to one is the concern of all." But the mere enunciation of principles will not suffice, and the Knights of Labor failed, not because of internal dissensions, nor because of politics, but because the times were not ripe, nor the members developed, for an organization that would include within its ranks "the butcher, the baker and the candlestick maker."

There is nothing new in industrial unionism. It is coming just as fast as the intelligence of our members will permit it. This has been the policy, steadfastly adhered to, by the A. F. of L. A deep consciousness on the part of the rank and file will alone make it possible, and not the shrieks of those who would tear down the A. F. of L., or change its policy, which is a continual breaking of old shells and the forming of new lines, in a steady, quiet and orderly manner. The Building Trades department, the Metal Trades department, System Federations and other forms of solidarity are evidences of this theory. Men may oppose them. Men may criticise and find fault with them, but after the last word is spoken, workers will express their solidarity in terms that suit THEM, and the wise man will encourage them, when he sees them HEADED in the right direction, rather than spend his time trying to dam Niagara Falls with a toothpick and insist that men who have spent their lives in the trade union movement are blind to evolutionary forces, and have failed to build their organizations along definite lines.

The American Federation of Labor does not oppose industrial unionism any more than it declares black is black and white is white.—Toledo Union Leader.

The above editorial in the Toledo Union Leader is well worthy of consideration. The advanced and progressive men in the labor movement have realized that as the labor movement is at present constituted, it is unable to win decisive battles on the industrial field. With the labor movement divided into craft regiments and these craft regiments striking one at a time, it is impossible to wrest but little concessions from the clenched hand of corporate might. The strike by regiments of labor is almost an absolute failure, and men are realizing as never before, that the solidarity of labor must be brought about, ere labor can cope successfully with a master class. But the question arises, how can the present form of the labor movement be changed so as to be equipped to meet the enemy on the economic field?

Will resolutions drafted and adopted by the American Federation of Labor cause the craft form of organization to vanish and the industrial form to appear in its place?

Resolutions amount to but little. If resolutions were potent, then labor would have been emancipated long ago, for the history of the labor movement shows that millions of resolutions have been drafted and adopted, and yet, labor is still groaning beneath the burdens imposed by capitalism.

It is not expected that men can read before they learn the alphabet, nor will members of organized labor become industrial unionists until they recognize the weakness of craft unionism.

The missionary work must be done among the rank and file, for real industrial unionism can only come when the majority of the membership of the labor movement become convinced that craft unionism belongs to a past age, and that industrial unionism is the hope of the future.

The work of education must go on, for as labor advances in intelligence, labor becomes more powerful and better fortified to protect the class interests of the workers.

## The Year 1912

WE ARE NOW in the morning of the year 1912. A vast number of men throughout the country have made many resolutions as a means to guide them until time ushers in another year. Resolutions without determination are as ephemeral as the morning dew before the rays of a torrid sun. To accomplish or to achieve anything, requires effort, and effort must be backed by a determination that knows no surrender.

The year 1911 has added a number of chapters to the history of the labor movement. There have been many battles fought and the labor movement bears the scars of the conflict.

In a number of places a master class has scored victories and the flag of organized labor has gone down to defeat. In other places, heroic men and women fighting the battle for more industrial liberty, through unity of action and a firm resolve to wrest some justice from the hands of exploiters, have been able to halt industrial tyranny in its invasion upon the rights of labor.

But the year 1911 has passed into history and we are now looking into the months of 1912, asking ourselves many questions as to what another year may bring forth.

We know that the Posts, the Kirbys and the Otises of the opposition, will continue to wage relentless war upon unionism.

We know that Employers' Associations, Manufacturers' Association, Mine Operators' Associations and all their allies, will continue to use every weapon to weaken every movement of the working class, that has for its object, the amelioration of the conditions under which the toiling millions groan in misery and poverty.

We know that the organizations of exploiters will show no quarter, and will continue to fight with that desperation born of greed, that can recognize no principle of justice, when such principle threatens a shrinkage in dividends. The blows that have been struck by the enemy in 1911, should cause the brave and courageous men in the ranks of labor, to stand more firmly on their feet with their faces to the foe, making known to the upholders and advocates of the "open shop," that the cause of humanity is more priceless than profit, and that the *liberty of man* is more sacred than the *harvest* that is reaped from the sweat, blood and tears of wage slavery. Many battles that have been fought are recorded on the pages of the world's history. A review of these battles where men have marched into the jaws of death to wrest freedom from the hands of tyrants, cause the blood to leap through the veins and make the heart beat quicker, but the battle that must be fought ere humanity reaches the summit of economic liberty, is the battle of all the ages, and will require the best intelligence and courage of the race, to slay the system that enslaves a world. Men and women with dauntless hearts, with a determination to leave the world better than they found it, will press on in the struggle, knowing that the battle against wrong and injustice, must ultimately triumph, and that *man* "the noblest work of God" will never flinch or falter, until there is established on this earth an industrial democracy, where the Brotherhood of Man and the Sisterhood of Woman, will become a living reality. Soldiers in the ranks of labor will show Spartan courage in the year 1912.

## Beggars Never Command Respect

IN THIS ISSUE of the Miners' Magazine appears some interesting correspondence from the new state of Arizona. It will be remembered that it is but a short time ago since the citizens of Arizona marched to the polls and cast their ballots for the candidates of the different political parties. The laboring man of Arizona was likewise given the opportunity to express his sentiments at the ballot box, but it seems that labor is dubious about the honesty and integrity of the candidates elected, and a call has been sent out from Phoenix, Ariz., urging the labor unions to select delegates to a labor conference, in order that such legislation may be enacted as is provided by the constitution that was recently ratified by the people.

This proposed convention of labor of Arizona is supposed to appoint legislative watch-dogs as a means to halt members of the coming legislative body, from catering or pandering to those potent agencies, that sometimes make "servants of the people" forget their obligations to their constituency. To "lock the stable after the horse is stolen" reflects but little credit on the wisdom of the man who has lost a horse through theft.

For labor to call a convention to create a legislative lobby, in the hope that laws can be enacted favorable to labor by lawmakers who are

doubtful after election, is as injudicious as the action of the "Rube" who has lost a horse.

If laboring men desire legislation that protects or advances the interests of the working class, such legislation cannot be secured by a legislative lobby created by a labor convention, but men must be elected to a legislative body who are of the working class and who, under all circumstances, will stand loyal to the interests of the class to which they belong. A legislative committee, selected by a labor convention to solicit the enactment of laws favorable to labor, is nothing more nor less than a *committee of beggars*, and while such a committee may receive the *pity* of a lawmaker, yet, it should be thoroughly understood that a *beggar* can never command *respect*.

If labor is to be respected, labor must strike a blow for its class interests *before election*, and if labor is to receive legislation that protects and promotes the interests of the workers, then labor must send men of its *own class* to legislative bodies, and then labor will not be calling labor conventions to create begging committees, to plead for laws for labor.

The man in a legislative body who is *against labor*, will not heed the pleadings of a begging committee, and the man who is *for labor* will be insulted by the presence of such a committee.

## Why the Hearst Newspaper Assail Noted Labor Leaders

WILLIAM RANDOLPH HEARST is at his old trick of using his newspapers to punish men who have declined to join in the unpatriotic work of promoting his political ambitions. Samuel Gompers and all other influential officials of the American Federation of Labor had often been solicited to get behind a Hearst-inspired movement to make William Randolph Hearst the Democratic nominee for president of the United States. Gompers and his associates naturally regarded such a movement as a joke, and refused to have anything to do with it. Immediately the names of numerous labor leaders were inscribed in Hearst's "black book," and, incidentally, the name of Samuel Gompers led all the rest.

Hearst, who is the Indian of American journalism, bided his time. He laid low until the federal government started its crusade against dynamiters, and then he began to strike. He didn't wait for evidence incriminating his enemies. All he wanted was a chance to "get even." He thought he could accomplish his purpose by printing articles intimating that noted labor leaders were involved in a nation-wide dynamiting conspiracy. With this plan in view he began to publish stories which, although having no basis of fact, were designed to arouse suspicion and prejudice against the men he wanted to ruin. Day by day he has hammered away, determined to crush the men who would not bow to his will. A paragraph from a recent edition of *The Examiner* will serve to illustrate his method:

"So far no evidence has been developed to connect directly any leading official of the American Federation of Labor with the conspiracies, but it is confidently expected that the department of justice will produce evidence in the grand jury hearings which will establish the moral, if not legal, certainty that high officers of the federation knew of the organized dynamiting."

As a matter of fact, only William Randolph Hearst, "confidently expects" any such evidence. Many enemies of labor hope for such an

outcome of the government's investigation. William Randolph Hearst, inspired by personal malice, is cunningly trying to convey the impression that such evidence exists and that only a perversion of justice can prevent it from being brought out. The lies of the Hearst papers about the labor leaders, the many slurs and sneers from the same source, are all a part of the plot to "get even." Nothing is charged directly, but much is conveyed by innuendo. All is as plain as if Hearst were declaring under his own signature: "I've got my chance now. These men who would not help me in my fight for the presidency are down, and I'm going to kick them while they are helpless."

These men may not be helpless, but Hearst thinks they are, and therefore he cries, "Have at them."

This is the old Hearst game: Befriend labor when it is in high favor and turn against it when it is beset by foes. Meanwhile labor continues to support his string of newspapers by giving them the patronage which makes them a power. How long this will last is uncertain, but surely his latest outbreak should convince labor that of all its false friends he is the most dangerous.—San Francisco Bulletin.

The above editorial in the Bulletin of San Francisco, is worthy of due consideration from the members of organized labor throughout this country. There is no question of doubt, but that the subscriptions to the Hearst papers from the members of the labor movement, have made it possible for Hearst to prosper in the field of journalism. A vast majority of members of organized labor seem to be without a memory for they seem to forget the treachery of the hypocrite, who, in every conflict between exploiter and exploited, shoots from ambush to cripple the efforts of a class that is fighting against the wrongs of industrial despotism. Hearst posing for years as "the friend of labor," has been labor's most dangerous enemy. Through his journals he has been able to drug countless thousands of laboring men, whose

vision has been unable to penetrate the mask that concealed his duplicity.

Hearst is far more dangerous to labor than Post, Otis or Kirby, for such men stand out in the open and assail organized labor without any pretense of entertaining a feeling of fraternity for the working class, Hearst gloves his hand and sheathes his dagger, but when the oppor-

tunity presents itself to strike labor a blow in the dark, the aspirant for political honors never fails to strike like a midnight foot-pad or assassin. Labor has the power in its hands to administer some jolts to the flim-flamming, double-crossing Judas, that he would never forget and the time is now when the vision of labor should become so clear that no enemy, masked or unmasked, should escape the penalty of his acts.

## Resolutions of District No. 6, W. F. M.

SINCE THE LAST CONVENTION of the Western Federation of Miners held at Butte, Montana, there has been no solicitor in the field for the official organ of the Federation. The former field agent has been working in the Lead Belt of Missouri building up Women's Auxiliaries, and the fact that the membership of the organization have been called upon to pay some assessments to support the families of locked-out miners in the Black Hills and to render aid to other local unions that have been on strike, it has been deemed injudicious to send the field agent among the local unions, canvassing for subscriptions. Again, industrial depression has been felt in many of the mining camps covered by the jurisdiction of the Western Federation of Miners, and quite a number of old subscribers, through lack of employment, have been forced to husband their little resources in order to keep the wolf of hunger from the door.

The member who is jobless and who feels the stress of financial stringency, cannot be expected to buy literature in preference to the necessities of life. "Self-preservation is the first law of nature" and men can seldom satisfy their mental needs until they are in a position to care for themselves physically.

The editor of the Miners' Magazine in looking over the proceedings of the Fourteenth Annual Convention of District Association No. 6, W. F. M., held at Ymir, British Columbia, during the month of last December, finds the following resolutions which were adopted by the convention:

"Resolved, that the delegates in attendance at this convention urge upon the membership of the local unions in this district the need of

supporting the Miners' Magazine. It costs only one dollar per year, and we know of no better investment. We support indirectly; why not directly. We believe the Magazine to be better now than it has ever been. Further

"Resolved, That a copy of this resolution be sent to the Miners' Magazine."

The resolutions adopted at the Fourteenth Annual Convention of District No. 6, W. F. M., have the right ring, and such resolutions are highly appreciated by the man who has the honor of wielding the editorial pen on the official organ.

It is encouraging when delegates in a district convention recognize the need of building up a journal, through whose columns labor has a voice in the expression of its sentiments. The editor entertains the hope that the resolutions adopted by District No. 6 in convention will not only stir the membership to action throughout British Columbia, but that all over this jurisdiction of the Western Federation of Miners the membership will immediately become interested in the success of the Miners' Magazine, and give such effort, as will place it in the van of the labor publications of this country.

Do not throw away this issue of the Miners' Magazine, forgetting the importance of the resolutions adopted by District No. 6, but let every member of the organization and reader of the Miners' Magazine resolve to secure a few subscribers, and if each one will make an effort in this direction, the year 1912 will see the Magazine exerting a more powerful influence than ever.

Do your duty, and the Magazine will be a success, financially and otherwise.

## Soldiers Never Desert a General

THE FOLLOWING was wafted from Washington, D. C., last week and appeared in the majority of the daily journals:

"Washington, January 2, 1912.—The war department has come into possession of evidence of apparently a flagrant outrage on the part of labor leaders on the Pacific coast involving an insult to the American flag.

"The most direct evidence appears in photographs received by Major General Wood, chief of staff of the army, and by Major General Ainsworth, adjutant general of the army. These photographs show Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor, standing on the American flag at a meeting of laboring men which he was addressing.

"Another photograph is that of John A. Kelly, president of the Building Trades Council of San Francisco, also standing on the flag and making a speech at a labor meeting.

This occurrence was at Oakland, according to official reports.

"Stood on the Flag.

"The Army and Navy Register, a semi-official gazette of the military service, publishes this week the photographs and the following articles in part:

"It has been known for some time that enemies of the army were conducting a campaign by means of street harangues and defamatory posters with a view of prejudicing public sentiment against the army and discouraging enlistment. The latest reports have to do with disturbances in Los Angeles and Oakland, Cal. At the latter place two prominent labor agitators—Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor, and John A. Kelly, supervisor of San Francisco and president of the Building Trades Council—were specially active.

"The war department is in possession of photographs showing these speakers standing on the American flag and addressing their audiences. The photographs are sent officially and duly authenticated. At Los Angeles such a feeling prevailed on the part of the people who had been prejudiced by the attacks on the army that the officers on recruiting duty in that city felt obliged to exercise extraordinary precautions against molestation.

"Anarchist Agitators.

"As a matter of fact the recruiting office had to be placed under guard. Officers and men attached to the office were treated with contempt."

"The officers at San Francisco and Los Angeles say in their reports to the war department that they do not regard the insults that have been put upon the army as being ordered by the labor organizations. They state there has been on the Pacific coast during the past year a larger number than usual of socialistic and anarchist agitators, who seem to be the source from which the outrages on the flag and the insults to army men emanate."

The subsidized organs of the corporate and commercial pirates of

America are more brazen today in their assaults upon organized labor than ever in the history of the country. The McNamara confession has become the basis upon which the mortgaged sheets of capitalism justify their venomous slanders upon the reputation and character of any man in the labor movement, whose standing may be questioned, with the object in view of striking a blow at unionism in America.

In the above dispatch sent out from the capitol of the nation, it is made to appear that Samuel Gompers stood upon the flag and therefore must have insulted our so-called emblem of liberty. These mortgaged sheets that are frothing against Samuel Gompers are endeavoring to prove too much, and consequently, prove nothing.

If Samuel Gompers or any other official in the labor movement looked upon the American flag with contempt or disrespect, it is reasonable to presume that the flag would not have been present in the building in which Gompers delivered his address.

The very fact that the flag was in evidence on the rostrum, from which Gompers made his speech, is absolute proof and sufficiently convincing to unbiased and intelligent men, that Gompers is guiltless of the damnable accusation that is brought against him.

The flag, like patriotism, "is the last refuge of the scoundrel" and when hungry and mercenary despoilers of liberty hiss their venom at Gompers under the pretense that they revere the flag, the limit of shameless depravity has been reached, for capitalism reveres no country and respects no flag.

Every hireling and paid vassal of the combinations that are fighting organized labor, have been busy endeavoring to cast suspicion on the executive head of the American Federation of Labor, for the sole purpose of planting the seeds of distrust among the rank and file, but the conspiracy that has been hatched to shatter the reputation and character of Gompers will react upon the conscienceless scoundrels who are paid from the coffers of a master class, to spew their slime upon a man whom labor has honored and trusted for more than a quarter of a century.

Even the leading prosecuting attorney of the McNamaras has come out with the declaration that Gompers could unseal the lips of the men who are now in the penitentiary, causing them to make a clean breast of everything in connection with dynamite explosions. If all the legal talent identified with the prosecution, aided and abetted by the money-hungry sleuths of the Burns Detective Agency, have failed to uncover everything connected with the acts of the McNamaras, then upon what grounds can the presumption be raised that Gompers can accomplish more than the salaried henchmen of the combinations that spared neither money nor effort, to lay bare all the acts of the McNamaras?

Such declarations on the part of the fighters for the "open shop" have been made in the hope that the membership of organized labor might turn on Gompers and crucify him in the closing years of his life, but the conspirators are doomed to meet with disappointment.

Men who have disagreed with Gompers and who have not been in harmony with his policies, will rally to his defense and stand by him until the last shot has been fired from the guns of the enemy. Whatever may be the faults of Gompers, no honest or fair-minded man can successfully charge him as a breeder of disrespect for the law.

His language in every public address has been of that conservative character, which has often brought criticism from men, who en-

tertained the opinion that he was pandering to the interests of a class that draws its sustenance from the ill-paid victims of wage slavery.

Let capitalism hurl its shot and shell against the president of the American Federation of Labor, but when the smoke of battle has died away in the distance, the *Old Man* of the labor movement will be found serene and smiling in the consciousness of the fact that *soldiers* never desert a *general* in the hour of battle.

## Ballots, Not Bullets, Must Ultimately Rule

**A** GAIN AND AGAIN this paper has warned the workingmen of America that economic development, the introduction of machinery and demolition of the skill and independence of the toilers, the influx of woman and child labor into the various branches of industry as competitors, and the rapid centralization of capital into trusts and combines, have increased the difficulties of pursuing the work of organization and gaining improved conditions with the crude and primitive weapon of the strike.

It has been pointed out, times without number, that battling capitalism upon the industrial field, with the positions of vantage—the legislative, judicial and administrative functions of the government—in the hands of the opposition, to be used mercilessly against labor whenever the slightest demands for better conditions were made, was almost suicidal, particularly where national efforts for improvements were contemplated.

But those who had neither eyes to see or ears to hear, or the inclination to analyze the conditions (not the theories) that exist, were prone to scoff and ridicule and insisted upon applying the same methods that were used generations ago, before the revolution of the present economic system occurred.

Quite naturally, as the difficulty of gaining advantages under the old strike methods of ceasing work increased because of the monopolizing power of capitalism, the McNamara brothers, regarding political action as "too slow" and ineffective, decided upon a policy of terrorism to beat back the crushing forces of their oppressors, and their present pitiful plight is the outcome that might have been foreseen.

But the day has long passed when the bow and arrow can be successfully used against the modern ordinance of capitalism.

*This is a country in which ballots and not bullets or dynamite bombs will rule!*

The time has come when the great organizations of labor must be converted into political schools to teach the science of government, the strike at the ballot-box, the raising of the mass in an intelligent and civilized way; just as the workers in Australia and Europe are doing at this very moment.

Whether the old leaders like it or not, the scene of battle for working class emancipation has been shifted from the industrial to the

political field, and the rank and file should take an emphatic stand upon this proposition.

Labor is the vast, overwhelming majority. It can seize the political powers of this nation and turn this capitalistic sheol into an earthly paradise if it only will.

Let the working people of this country rise to the occasion and demonstrate the fact that they possess the intelligence to conduct this nation for all the people who are inhabitants thereof.—Cleveland Citizen.

The above editorial in the Cleveland Citizen, contains some statements that will not be disputed, but when the Citizen assumes the position that "the scene of battle for working class emancipation has been shifted from the industrial to the political field, and the rank and file should take an emphatic stand upon this proposition," there are some men in the ranks of labor who will question the logic of the position assumed by the editor of the Citizen. The scene of battle on the industrial field is fiercer today than ever, and the weakness of the labor movement to achieve victories, lies in the fact that labor as at present constituted, lacks industrial solidarity. It is idle and but a waste of time to talk about unity at the ballot box, while the workers on the industrial field are divided and disunited through the obsolete policies of craft and trade unionism.

Men must know their class interests on the economic field, before they will vote their class interests at the ballot box. As long as a member of a Typographical union works for a master, against whom a pressman is striking, as long as an engineer handles the throttle of an engine belonging to a railroad corporation, against whom a machinist, a boilermaker or blacksmith is striking, or in other words, as long as craft unions shackled by separate contracts expiring at different periods of time, remain at work while other crafts in the same industry are fighting a battle against employers, it is absolutely impossible to unite such men to carry the *strike* to the ballot box. Before there can be political solidarity among the working class, there must be industrial solidarity. It is beyond the dream of the most optimistic to conceive of the working class making a united strike at the ballot box, while divided and scattered on the industrial field. The fight must be made, not only in the political arena, but on the industrial field, and through the unity of economic and political power, labor can be emancipated.

## Trot Out the Big Criminals Next

(By W. S. Morgan.)

Now, that the dramatic farce in the Los Angeles court is over the public is entitled to a change in the program.

Trot out some of the big criminals.

Let us put some of them in jail or admit that they own the government.

Let the bloody butcher of sick cows and vendors of canned tuberculosis be dragged before the bar of justice.

Let the slick thieves that are at the head of the Sugar Trust, and have already confessed as much of their crime as can be proved against them and disgorged over one million dollars of their plunder, be made to suffer for their crimes as are the underlings whom they hired to do the dirty work.

Let the greedy, crafty mine owners, who through criminal negligence, have murdered hundreds of men be brought into court to answer for their crimes.

Let the employers of women and children who are daily coining into dividends the lifeblood of their innocent victims be called to account for their crimes against God and humanity.

Let the manufacturers who adulterate your food and drink and are stealthily poisoning men, women and children by the hundreds of thousands every year be brought to trial with the same aggressive force that drove the McNamara brothers to their doom.

Let the owners and heads of the railroads of the country whose hands are red with the blood of thousands of innocent victims, through criminal negligence and overworking their employes, be tried as common criminals and punishment meted out according to the magnitude of their guilt.

Let the men who are responsible for the merger of the United States Steel Company with that of the Tennessee Coal and Iron Company, including Roosevelt, Root and Gary, be indicted as common criminals and made to feel the strong arm of justice.

Let the men of wealth and in high position be made to feel the strong arm of the law the same as the poorest man in all the land.

If this is not done, if the spirit of American liberty has been crushed between the mill-stones of greed and graft, let us complete

the foul crime by painting the flag black and on it place the following inscription:

**THE DOGMA THAT DECLARES THAT "ALL MEN ARE BORN FREE AND ARE ENTITLED TO CERTAIN INALIENABLE RIGHTS AMONG WHICH ARE LIFE, LIBERTY AND THE PURSUIT OF HAPPINESS," IS A LIE.**

Let "old glory" be buried with the departing spirit of American patriotism.

Let her sacred folds not be desecrated by being made to represent an oligarchy founded upon greed and perpetuated by graft.

No one believes that the criminals who serve the "big interests" will be made to suffer the penalties of imprisonment.

They own the government and why should they permit the government which they own to incarcerate them in jail?

Occasionally they permit the government which they own to fine them; then they collect the fines from the people through the toll-gates of special privileges, pay them over to the government which they own and go on with their violations of the law.

The Republicans have the beef trust on the gridiron; but the gridiron is not hot.

The Democrats are probing the United States Steel Trust; but the probe is not deep.

It's all for campaign thunder.

It's capitalism's Punch and Judy show.

"The interests will not be hurt by adverse legislation," says the "bulletins" from Wall Street.

And the "bulletins" know.

They are issued by the men who own the government.

No big criminals will go to jail.

Mark that prediction.—National Rip-Saw.

# "The Ox Knoweth His Owner and the Ass His Master's Crib"

A NUMBER OF READERS of the Miners' Magazine of Butte, Mont., have sent us copies of the Butte Daily Miner of the issue of December 25th, which contained a lengthy synopsis of the sermon delivered by Bishop Carroll in the pulpit of the Sacred Heart Church.

The bishop selected for his subject, "The Laboring Man," and as the subject selected by the bishop is as broad as the earth, the dignified disciple of Christ found a fertile field to exploit, which he did to the entire satisfaction of that element in society who love to hear the chains of wage slavery clink upon the limbs of labor.

The bishop may be a moral philosopher and may have probed into the marrow of theology, but as a student of economic questions, he shows a superficiality which would reflect no particular credit on the grey matter in the cupola of a stranger to common sense.

But the situation in Butte, Mont., from a political standpoint, has become somewhat desperate as viewed by a few potentates who are beneficiaries of the Copper Trust, and these magnates who realize the potency of Socialist sentiment in the great copper city of the West, felt that it would be a strategic move to bring a Catholic bishop to the "Gibraltar of Unionism" and have him utter his clerical denunciation of the doctrines of a movement that is haunting capital with a nightmare in almost every nation on earth.

Capitalism does not hesitate to use the church to combat the progress of any movement that threatens to wrest the sceptre from the clenched grip of greed. Capitalism in its lust for dividends, does not even scruple at conspiring to use the bishop of a church to chloroform the mentality of his auditors, and experience and observation are rapidly teaching us the forcible truth, that bishops, like laymen, are frail human beings and are sometimes susceptible to the influences exercised by that class of privilege that is licensed by law to levy tribute on the many.

The bishop's sermon is somewhat lengthy and the editor will only touch upon a few of the most important features of the sermon that so flagrantly slanders Socialism.

In the first paragraph of the bishop's sermon is found the following: "The real essence of Socialism consists in the destruction of the right of private property and the common ownership of all means and instruments of production."

The above paragraph is a mixture of truth and falsehood.

Socialism does not consist in "the destruction of the right of private property but Socialism demands the social ownership of those tools of production and machines of distribution that are *now privately owned* in order that through the social ownership and collective use of such means of production and distribution, the people may become the owners of *private property*.

Under the present industrial system the comparatively few are the owners of the tools of production and the machinery of distribution and through that *private ownership* of the means of production and distribution, the many are practically disinherited. Through the *private ownership* of cold-storage plants, the egg trust holds 300,000,000 dozens of eggs in the state of New York, and the people, regardless of such a supply, were forced to pay 50 cents per dozen under the beautiful and humane system upheld and defended by the bishop of Montana.

The bishop again says:

"Who would work if the state were to confiscate his earnings? Who would drudge day after day in the field, in the factory and down in the mine if his toil were to remain unrequited? Even from an economical standpoint Socialism degrades labor, lowers the dignity of the laboring man, deprives him of his rights and would bring back again upon the earth (were it not, as it really is, an empty dream) a condition more debasing than that of slavery, which Christ and his church have destroyed forever."

Where is the *dignity* of the laboring man who must ask another for the *right to work*?

Where is the *pride* and *dignity* of him who must come into the presence of a master class and humbly ask for the privilege to earn the means of life?

The man who owns a *mine* in Butte, Mont., owns the miners who work in that mine, just as much as a master owned a slave in the antebellum days. The bishop may say that the *miner* is not *owned*, that he may *quit his job*, but we want to impress upon the bishop that if the miner *quits his job*, then brutal necessity will force him to seek another job and he has merely changed masters and is still a *slave*.

If Socialism is an "empty dream," then why does the bishop waste a sermon on a dream?

If Christ and His church have destroyed slavery forever, then why did the bishop give utterance to the following:

"It is, moreover, destructive of the freedom which has been guaranteed to every man by the constitution of the United States. Its doctrine of equality is diametrically opposed to American liberty. American equality does not mean that all men are absolutely equal in all things and are to be kept absolutely equal in all things. It means that all men have equal rights and opportunities, a free field and no favor. This is the reason why the oppressed and down-trodden of every nation come to our shores feeling sure that their ability and energy will be amply rewarded in this land of unlimited opportunities."

If Christ and the church destroyed slavery, then why should there

be "*downtrodden and oppressed*" coming from every nation to our shores?

If Christ and the church destroyed slavery, then why do the oppressed of Italy, Spain and other nations cross the waves of the sea to seek refuge in America, and why is there peonage in Mexico?

The man who is not economically free is a *slave*, regardless of all the verbal tributes that the bishop may pay to the *dignity* of the laboring man.

If there is *dignity* to labor under the present industrial system, then why are so many men using all the faculties of their brain to escape being honored with such *dignity*?

Labor can never *dignify man*, but man can *dignify labor* when the earth and all of its machinery of production and distribution become the collective property of all mankind. There can be no *dignity* in *wage slavery*.

The bishop in the course of his sermon declared: "They tell you also that labor creates all wealth." This is another lie, a damnable lie. The next time you hear this, use this argument, you workingmen: "God created this world. He gave us the land, the forests, the minerals and all sources of wealth."

Good!

But let the editor suggest to the workingman while using this argument of the bishop to ask himself how much of the *lands*, the *forests* and the *minerals* the workingman can lay claim to? The lumber trust owns the forests, the steel trust has a mortgage on the iron, the coal trust on the coal. Standard Oil has a strangle hold on oil and what the workingman has in lands, forests or minerals is not apparent to a man with intelligence.

The bishop in his tirade on Socialism will have to use something more convincing and powerful than mere statements to shatter the sentiments that are now being crystallized against a system that holds labor in absolute bondage. The church has had nineteen hundred years to make this old earth better, and yet, now in the morning of the twentieth century millions of hopeless and helpless human beings are slowly starving to death, and beneath the sky of every nation can be seen a standing army equipped with gatling guns and cannon to prolong the reign of plunder that has bequeathed to labor the legacy of wretchedness and want. The philosophy of the bishop belongs to an age that is dead and buried, for labor can no longer be drugged by that hoary chestnut from Scripture: "Blessed are the poor, for they shall see God."

It is somewhat strange and singular that men whose brows were never moistened with the sweat of manual toil are about the only ones who steal gems of rhetoric from the English language to crown labor with *dignity*. The man who works in a sewer with the rags that cover his nakedness dripping with filth and slime, feels no *dignity* and is animated by no desire to boast of his calling. The man who works in a mine bereft of sunlight and breathing the poisoned air of the black dungeons of the earth, feels no *dignity* as he drags his weary feet homeward after a strenuous day of labor. The man standing before the red glare of a furnace inhaling the deadly fumes that are slowly but surely hastening him towards "the silent city of the dead," feels no expansion of his bosom as he realizes that he is one of those sons of toil, whom fulsome flatterers laud as *dignified*.

The ill-paid girl of the department store, mill or factory, feels no *dignity* as her scanty wages force her upon the street in the hours of the night to tear the crown of virtue from her brow and offer her chastity for sale.

The child in the mills, denied an education and robbed of the joys of a playground, feels no *dignity* as the stunted and dwarfed victim of insatiable greed realizes that the bastille of profit is a prison, and that there is no rest save in the grave.

But it remains for a bishop, a supposed follower of Christ to be equipped with that keen and penetrating vision that is able to discern *dignity* in the labor of a slave who must yield mute obedience to a boss.

The bishop should be given a *job* in one of the hot stopes of the Amalgamated mines of Butte, in order that he might become more fully cognizant of the *dignity* which a man feels as the slave of another.

"The church," the bishop declares, "has ever espoused the cause of the poor and down-trodden and if that be true, it is somewhat peculiar that the workingman of every nation have failed to recognize the *truth* of the statement made by the bishop and severed their allegiance to the labor movement and put their trust in the church to redress the wrongs from which they suffer. If "the church has espoused the cause of the down-trodden and oppressed," then there should be no "down-trodden and oppressed," for the church has been in business for nineteen centuries, and yet, notwithstanding the declaration of the bishop, the moans of the oppressed and down-trodden can be heard in every nation on the globe. It is because the church has failed in its mission, because the church has made no effort to wipe out the hellish system from which are bred the diseases in our economic life, that labor has turned to Socialism, feeling and believing that in Socialism lies the emancipation of the race.

The bishop talks about reform. It is not possible to reform the social wrongs that are bred from capitalism.



To wipe out wrong, it is necessary to overthrow the system in whose womb is born the despotism that chains the masses of the people in servitude.

Can the bishop reform the redlight districts of every city of the world, that are bred from wrong economic conditions? Can the bishop reform the mills of the cotton kings, where the innocence of childhood is coined into dividends?

Can the bishop reform the legislatures that are debauched, the courts that are corrupted and the public officials that are bribed to commit treason to the masses of the people? If he can, then let him launch his reform work immediately, and quit indulging in dreams about what the church has accomplished for the poor, the down-trodden and the oppressed.

The sermon of the bishop is but a chapter from a volume of fiction.



ARE URGING INDUSTRIALISM.

Whereas, The American Federation of Labor in convention assembled at Atlanta, Georgia, November, 1911, did pass a motion which made the initiative, referendum and recall and direct election of officers laws of the federation; therefore, be it

Resolved, By Local No. 72, International Union of Steam Engineers in regular session, December 7, 1911, that we thoroughly indorse the action taken by that convention, believing it to be a great stride toward better things; be it further

Resolved, That the methods heretofore used by organized labor in its struggle to free the workers from exploitation, do not now meet the requirements of the class struggle.

Also that the capitalists have already organized the workers into vast industrial armies which take in all men and women of all crafts as well as unskilled laborers, and that the interests of all these workers are identical and opposed to the interests of the capitalist class; and, be it further

Resolved, That the changed conditions in the industrial field now demand that these industrial armies of workers should be organized into industrial unions, taking in all men and women employed in each respective industry; be it further

Resolved, That we request all unions in the American Federation of Labor to either indorse these resolutions or draw up similar ones, thereby lending their aid in bringing into existence a more effective and harmonious organization with which to fight the battles of the working class.

(Seal).

SOME JOY AMONG THE LOCKED-OUT.

Lead, South Dakota, December 29, 1911.

In 1910 the Ladies' Auxilliary of Rossland started a movement for a Christmas tree for the children of the locked-out miners of the Black Hills. The movement found favor among the rank and file of the W. F. of M. and rapidly grew to such proportions as to guarantee to each child a good time and a happy remembrance of the season. This year, 1911, the Ladies' Auxilliary of Lead not hearing of anything being done as a year ago, decided early in December that the children of Lead should have a tree and as good a time as possible. With a little money cleared from the second annual ball on November 24, 1911, the raffle of a quilt given by an old lady 70 years old, and the use of a little money out of the treasury, they set to work, so that by the time word came from Denver with a check for money for a tree, their work was well under way.

The members of the Ladies' Auxilliary went forward with their work, and on Christmas eve made glad the children by distributing three hundred and twenty sacks filled with nuts, candy and fruit. The tree was beautifully decorated with colored electric lights, blue, red and white adding to its brilliancy and beauty. A nice program was rendered, consisting of recitations, songs, piano and violin solos. Altogether the evening was one long to be remembered.

The money sent by the W. F. of M. was later distributed equally among the children affording them an opportunity to purchase a toy or something to keep them warm, as they saw fit. For while this is our third winter of lock-out for a principle (the right to organize) it is also one of the severest winters known in this section thus far, and unless all signs fail, it promises a continuance.

Hoping that the coming year will be one of victory and prosperity for the W. F. M.

LEAD LADIES AUXILIARY.

OVERCOME THE DIFFICULTIES.

By Eugene Derue.

We are beginning a new year. Let us all hope that it will bring to us joy, peace, prosperity and justice.

The year which has just ended was not a very prosperous one for those who by their daily toil are compelled to earn a livelihood for themselves and families. The scarcity of work predominating on all sides and here and there conflicts between capital and labor helped to make social conditions bad indeed.

Organized labor, none the less was successful in attaining many victories, and have gained a much stronger foothold in the United States than ever before recorded. The individual unions have increased their membership, and there has also been noted that that class of men who sell their souls to the corporations for a few paltry dollars are gradually becoming scarcer. This infamous class cannot forever remain in ignorance; they gradually are being convinced of their wrongdoings; they are being shown the error of their ways, and in many cases are entering the folds of organized labor to become good members.

Of course there are exceptions, but in the world there is a certain number of impenitents of all kinds who can never be redeemed, try as we might; they are lost to the civilized world; they are but stumbling blocks in the path of progress. They might promise to mend their ways—to become good citizens, but their promise is made but to be broken; they have no willpower,

no self-respect, no honor for themselves or for their families. They are a disgrace to their fellow men and much better would the world be without them.

As time goes on we will without doubt leave behind this putrid class, who have only been a menace to the successful termination of a grand and glorious victory which organized labor will yet attain.

The year 1912 should prove a year of progress without end for the knights of labor; they are now organized to a higher degree than ever before; they now better understand what is expected of every individual one of them; they now are aware of the fact that they must work in unison with their officials if they ever hope to record a victory.

All of this does not mean that the propaganda must cease; most assuredly not. Stress must be laid to the education of those who are now in ignorance as to what is expected of them to aid the movement. We must add the unorganized at any cost to the ever-increasing list of the members of organized labor. We need greater power and this is one of the best ways of gaining it.

We will have during 1912 the national election, and in different states the choosing of congressmen and senators. Let labor have a voice; let them for once vote for their emancipation; for the end of the tyrannical rule of the corporation bosses.

Knights of labor, make the resolution that during 1912 you will be a laboring man, an upholder of your rights in all of its meanings; that you will aid your fellow-man in surmounting the difficulties which present themselves, and you will by so doing not alone help your associates but yourself, and you will become a pillar on which the laboring class can depend upon to bear its weight.

Let us all league together, and a victory will be ours.

AN INTERESTING COMMUNICATION FROM TONOPAH, NEVADA.

At Tonopah, Nevada, the West End, Halifax and Midway mining companies presented each of their employes with turkeys during the holiday season, which, of course, were duly appreciated by the diggers.

It is presumed that the directors of the Tonopah Mining Company and of the Belmont Company were too busy counting their dividends to bother about the Christmas cheer of the poor diggers who earn these dividends, and, therefore, no turkeys or other remembrances were forthcoming from these greedy corporations, save a few machinemen, who were handed time checks by the scab bosses for failing to make the company's standard footage for the week.

According to the official report issued by the Tonopah Mining Company, they have secured by the wage-slaves over \$8,000,000, but it is not known that they ever handed one cent to the many diggers who have contracted miners' consumption while eating the deadly dust and gas of the Mizpah and Silver Top mines. It was in these mines that the "speeding up" system was first inaugurated by a scab foreman, and conditions are such in these mines today that the average miner is unable to last any length of time.

It will be remembered that seventeen miners were murdered in the Belmont last February, as a result of a tyrannical foreman, who had no better horse-sense than to order the miners to descend a subsidiary shaft to go to work.

Since the true facts of this terrible occurrence have never been published, it might be interesting to know the truth.

The fire was known to exist at 6:30 in the morning, and the engineer on graveyard shift notified Fitzgerald, the foreman; Long, the master mechanic, and Bradshaw, the superintendent, upon their arrival at the collar of the Belmont shaft at about 15 minutes to 7, and notwithstanding this information and the fact that smoke was coming out of the shaft, the miners were ordered to descend the subsidiary shaft, which they did with the mentioned result.

The miners at the Belmont are always new men. Had they been old hands, thereby having some acquaintance with the underground workings, many of those now lying in their graves would have had a chance to escape. But no miner has a chance to become an old hand under the regime of such an incompetent, inexperienced and big-headed fool as is Tommy Fitzgerald.

The coroner's inquest, or rather the company's inquest, was a complete fizzle. In spite of the efforts of J. Grant Miller, attorney for the Miners' Union, and the state mine inspector, no testimony was permitted "under the rule" except that favorable to the company.

Every miner in the camp volunteered to fight the fire. They performed heroic work in rescuing the dead and injured for a continual period of three days and were praised by every citizen in Tonopah. While this rescue work was going on, not one officer of the law had the manhood to place any of the company's officials under arrest. That they were guilty, at least technically guilty, of involuntary manslaughter, goes without saying. Instead of making any arrests, the sheriff and constable acted as body guards and permitted and does now permit the tyrannical Tommy to carry a gun.

These same "friends of labor," including the Judas who presided at the inquest, will again be up for election this coming fall, and in all likelihood will stand around the shaft collars waiting for the diggers to come off shift, when they will distribute the usual amount of hot air, moonshine, whiskey and scabby cigars.

What a brazen insult to the intelligence of the Tonopah miners!

### WHAT IS THE MATTER WITH OUR STATE AND NATIONAL SOCIALIST ORGANIZATIONS?

Every member joining a local of the S. P. finds certain positive duties to perform, if nothing more than payment of dues regularly; and as such member becomes interested in the movement and organization, more and more duties are added, such as local official positions to fill, taking interest in referendums, helping to provide meeting places, attend meetings, rustle a crowd for propaganda meetings, pay their share of collections for various purposes to meet the ever-present deficiencies, etc., etc. Those are positive duties, which members must perform or no organization is possible. Now, I would like to find out what are the positive duties which the officials of a state or national organization of the S. P. are bound to perform, aside from accepting the dues collected for them by the various locals?

The greatest bane of our present civilization is this condition of duty-bound individual members and dutiless officials and organizations, upon which such individuals depend to gain their points or principles.

This is the age of organizations. Nothing very great comes any other way. It is true that organizations accomplish great things, but only for the benefit of a few. It seems inherent in the present methods of organization that the many hope for great things and the few get them out of such organizations—in church, lodges, farmers' organizations, political organizations, etc.

What are those methods? They are nothing else than a duty-bound membership on one side, and dutiless officials and organizations formed by such individuals on the other side. Any organization based on those methods is bound to disappoint its members; is bound to develop an autocracy at the head, whose main effort seems to be to load up the individual members with more and more duties constantly, while removing itself beyond the control of such individual members.

Our state and national Socialist organizations are fast drifting in that direction. It is almost as hard to correct abuses or incorporate fundamental duties for the organizations, inside those organizations as it is to change the constitution of the United States. I know some will scoff at this remark. "Why, have we not the initiative, referendum, recall, etc., etc.?" Yes, we have all those things, but you just try to effect a change through those tools of democracy, and you will find out how they work. Just as well give a sewing machine, cloth, etc., to a lot of Hottentots and expect them to don modern clothes, without teaching them how to properly use the machine and materials, as to expect good results from those modern tools of democracy without understanding their proper uses and final goal for humanity. What is that goal? It is the establishment of true democracy in place of simple ballot autocracy. Are we using our tools for that purpose? If not, we are similar to the Hottentots with the machine.

Here are the facts: Our state and national organizations have no positive DUTIES to perform. Their various executive committees take notions to do something, some times one thing and some times another; nothing positive.

Recently a great campaign was fought; we hear of Los Angeles, Columbus, Butte, Schenectady, Milwaukee, Indianapolis, St. Louis, etc. Great battles! Did you hear what the state and national organizations were doing at this same time, except urging individuals to help? Why, nothing! Milwaukee is alive, but the state organization of Wisconsin is dead. Los Angeles is alive, but the state organization of California is dead. Schenectady is alive, but the state of New York is dead. Butte is alive, but the state of Montana is dead. What is the trouble? It is this: The individuals and locals have positive duties to perform, and set out to do it properly. But the state and national organizations have no positive duties, therefore, their work is ineffective, transitory, changeable and without results. What duties should be assigned to our state and national organizations? I. TARKOFF.

Montrose, Colorado.

### NEWS FROM WASHINGTON, D. C.

(By National Socialist Press.)

Washington, January.—Political promoters are now busy staging a fight between Congress and Wall Street. The gong will be sounded in the middle of January and the "contest" will not end until after the votes cast in the 1912 presidential election shall have been counted.

The first round will be an investigation of the money trust. The wizards of finance will be summoned to Washington to tell the investigating committee everything their lawyers will permit. Nothing that can incriminate the witnesses will, of course, be allowed under the "rules of evidence."

The second round will be an investigation of the ship trust. There are a few senators and congressmen who could give excellent testimony on this subject. Their colleagues, however, will spare them from such an ordeal.

The third round will be a probe of the harvester trust. This combination is known in financial circles as a stepchild of the steel trust. So the Washington statesmen think an investigation of the harvester trust might give them some front-page space in the daily newspapers.

Nobody in the national capital actually believes that the proposed investigation will in any way harm these trusts. In fact, the trusts have everything to gain by these probes. It gives them a chance to incorporate in the records a great deal of matter which laud these combinations to the skies. Recently the steel trust investigating committee permitted George W. Perkins to insert in the record several booklets about the trust's "welfare work" among its employes.

It may be safely predicted that as a result of the proposed investigation of the money trust a law will be passed to regulate finance, but which will in effect legalize the lootings of the Wall Street pirates. The Mann-Elkins act of 1910, which was the result of the agitation against the railroads, is today the greatest boon to the kings of transportation.

Republicans in the Senate and Democrats in the House all agree that the political pot must be kept boiling. The dear people must be furnished with plenty of excitement until next campaign is over, or else their minds may wander to other subjects, some of them "really dangerous."

So, then, three more congressional investigations of the lords of industry and finance are now in order. That makes twenty-seven congressional investigations on the docket. Everything is being investigated, and everybody is happy.

### Want Public to Pay for Injuries.

The crafty railroad magnates are now putting through a deal in Washington which surpasses for "nerve" anything they have attempted or consummated before. They have a record for "raw deals," too.

The railroad lobbyists have succeeded in convincing the Federal Workmen's Compensation that only by extracting more money out of the public can they afford to pay for the killing and maiming of their tens of thousands of workers every year. The commission, it is said, will shortly recommend to Congress that the Interstate Commerce Commission allow the railroads to raise their passenger and freight rates.

That the commission should accept such an infamous offer is not surprising when it is noted that Senator Sutherland of Utah, the arch-reactionary of the upper house, is chairman, and W. C. Brown, president of the New York Central railroad, is a member of that body. In fact, the entire body is packed with reactionaries.

There is nothing in the proposed workmen's compensation bill which requires any sacrifice on the part of the railroads. In fact, it is a wishy-washy

affair, originally drafted by the hypocritical Civic Federation. The railroads have the best protection in all the provisions of the proposed bill.

### Capitalists Watch Washington.

Organized capital has a strong grip upon Washington. Besides having its picked men in the White House, Congress and the Supreme Court, organized capital maintains a number of lawyers and sleuths to see that its interests are not neglected. The head office of organized capital is in the Union Trust building of this city, and the man in charge is James A. Emery.

Emery represents the National Association of Manufacturers, the National Erectors' Association and about a dozen other national manufacturing associations, besides being the official Washington representative of over a hundred state and city organizations of various kinds of employers.

Whenever a bill involving labor is argued before a committee of Congress, Emery, or one of his agents, is sure to come before the committee and ask that "the side of business interests be heard." Of course, the committee is only too glad to have him come. It generally uses his arguments afterward as an excuse for turning down the proposed labor laws.

Whenever "public opinion" is needed to defeat a labor measure, Emery gets it, and gets it in a hurry. The members of Congress often express surprise as to the perfect and prompt workings of the Emery machine. Very often Emery gets hundreds of telegrams pouring in on members of Congress within twenty-four hours of his wire to the various employers' organizations.

This man Emery is not only an able lawyer and an orator, but is thoroughly posted on social and labor legislation. Recently he toured Europe to get arguments against the proposed bill for workmen's compensation. And he seems to have a pretty good grasp of the philosophy of Socialism, although he does not hesitate to twist and misrepresent its principles whenever he finds it advantageous to do so.

Emery is an ideal capitalist retainer and apologist.

### Social Reforms Optimistic.

What was dangerously similar to a Civic Federation atmosphere prevailed the boudoir-like lecture hall of the fashionable Raleigh hotel during the session of the various sociological association in this city.

The uplift note was prevalent. Dismal statistics on every conceivable subject could not dampen the cheerful optimism of the middle-class radicals who came to Washington to patch up and keep running the present economic system. They all agreed that something had to be done or else the country would go to the bow-wows, or what seemed to many a much worse fate—Socialism.

Some of the performers had the real stuff with them, but on the whole, the meetings were dry, academic, lacking both in moral force and conviction.

### WHOM THE GODS WOULD DESTROY.

By W. S. Morgan.

Before the magazines began to tell the truth about official corruption in high places, and to expose the corrupt practices of the great trusts, they had no trouble about getting through the mails at second-class rates.

The old foggy magazine was a very tame thing.

It was edited on stilts.

It was either away behind the procession or away ahead of it.

It had a few advertisements.

It also had few subscribers.

Then Ida Tarbell broke into one of them and began to tell things about the Standard Oil Company.

The public stood aghast at the disclosures she made.

The public had questioned these, but they had never been made quite so plain as Miss Tarbell made them.

All the coloring she gave them was the proof.

It was a new step in magazine journalism.

And the public responded heartily.

Subscriptions came in by the thousands.

Then came Tom Lawson with his exposures of "Frenzied Finance" and "The System," and his excoriations of the Standard Oil crowd at "No. 26 Wall Street."

Nothing in the way of magazine literature, either before or since, has been quite so spectacular as Lawson's debut in Everybody's Magazine.

Lawson was turning state's evidence.

He had been one of the conspirators.

He knew every avenue of "The System."

He was acquainted with its details, its dialect and its diabolism.

He set the country afire with the exposure of the high-handed methods used by Wall Street pirates to fleece the public.

The sensation caused by the publication of his articles resulted in an increase in the circulation of the magazine that had no parallel.

The advertising patronage increased in proportion.

Then other magazines began to exploit this new field of literature.

It was a rich one.

The muckrake was kept busy, and the muckrakers reaped a rich harvest.

They bribed private secretaries of great industrial captains, purloined letters which made the most astounding disclosures, and probed to the inmost recesses of strong private vaults.

The great galleys vied with the magazines in the muckraking contest.

The corrupt practices of the Standard Oil Company were laid bare.

The rotten methods of the insurance companies were exposed.

The criminal acts of great corporations were given in detail and proof furnished that ought to have put the officers behind prison bars.

For once the public was getting the worth of the money it paid for its reading matter.

It was a veritable crusade against predatory wealth.

The deification of great fortunes reached its climax with the dawning of the twentieth century.

Public sentiment has changed.

The public conscience has been aroused.

There is a demand that the rich thief shall be put in jail the same as the poor thief.

There is a feeling that wealth is perverting justice and subverting the objects of government.

The magazines have contributed largely to this feeling.

And now the power of wealth is turning against them.

A strong effort was made in the last Congress to increase the rate of postage which they are now paying as second-class matter.

This effort was headed by Hitchcock, who has made himself the most unpopular postmaster general the country ever had.

But it failed.

Had it not failed, the burden would have fallen upon the reading public instead of magazine publishers.

It was practically an effort to kill the dollar-a-year magazine by forcing the publishers to increase the price to the public, and therefore cut down its circulation.

It was a senuous effort to suppress a free press and prevent the people from knowing the true condition of things.

Hitchcock is making the fight under cover of the necessity of wiping out the deficit in the postoffice department.

To this end he is making a demonstration by reducing the wages of the women who scrub the floors in the postoffice buildings, and by increasing the amount of work on the clerks and the mail carriers.

This has caused the army of mail carriers and clerks to put on the war paint and go after Mr. Hitchcock's scalp.

In the meantime the whole country is aroused and many are calling for a full investigation of the postal department's affairs.

It is alleged upon good authority that the government is paying about eight times as much per pound to the railroads for carrying its mail as the railroads charge the express companies for carrying its packages.

The Democrats themselves would like to take a look at the books; not that they would make any change in them, for they expect to stand with their stomachs up against the political pie-counter after the elections of 1912.

But they can make some political capital out of it for use in the next political campaign, and then manage to have any remedial legislation defeated by the practice of some of the many hocus-pocus tricks so familiar to statesmen (?) of both political parties.

However, they may try to put Taft and Hitchcock in a box, for that will be glory for them and still leave the leaks open that they may be able to fill their own maw when they shall again have become the dominant party.

Hedged in on all sides as they are, President Taft and Postmaster General Hitchcock show signs of ill humor.

It has been so common in years past for the Republicans to pursue the way pointed out to them by capitalism without protest in their own party, especially among the postoffice employes, that the big guns of the party can not help show great displeasure at the signs of discontent and rebellion in their own ranks.

There has hitherto been a solidarity in Republican ranks that was hardly without a parallel in the history of political parties anywhere.

There are as clearly two factions in the Republican party today as there has been, and ever will be, in the Democratic party.

"Whom the gods would destroy they first make mad."

Disintegration has set in.

Old systems must give way to new in order to meet the new conditions which are the inevitable result of a progressive civilization.

The gods are busy.

Old fogyism is tottering on the throne.

The triumph of justice is near.

The Anastatic day is dawning.

There is too much intelligence, courage and patriotism in this nation to see it "perish from the earth forever."

TEN REASONS WHY I AM A SOCIALIST.

By R. A. Dague.

First.—I am a Socialist because I am not a standpatter. The law of evolution has brought the world to the threshold of a new industrial era or cycle. We cannot go back to the hand tools and simple methods of our grandparents of producing wealth. This is an age of steam, electricity and machinery. We must readjust our industrial system so that it may fit the new order of things. Standpatism is stagnation, is degeneracy, is death. Socialism is progression, is evolution, is life.

Second.—The human family has made greater progress the past sixty years than had been made in three thousand years previous to 1850. Every class of people has been greatly benefited, except the working people. They, too, have reaped some benefits, but are still largely slaves to a few kings and plutocrats who exploit them. The wage-slave is not so well provided for as was the negro slave. The owner of the negro was required by law to feed, clothe, shelter, and, in case of sickness, to provide for his chattel. Not so with the wage-slave. When he is worn out, aged or crippled, he is cast out to beg, steal or starve. Now one worker, by the aid of machinery, produces as much wealth as fifty workers could create sixty years ago, but while the wealth of the world has increased enormously, the workers who create all wealth receive but about one-fifth of what they produce. The speculator, the stock-waterer, the interest-gatherer, the profit-taker, the capitalist, get about four-fifths of it, and that, too, without returning an equivalent therefor. In the United States we produce annually two and a half billions (\$2,500,000,000) more wealth than we consume. Instead of sending it across the ocean to market, Socialists propose a system of honest distribution, which would give to the worker the full value of his labor, thus enabling him to buy back this surplus.

Third.—In 1850 the producers owned 62½ per cent. Of the total wealth of the country, the non-producers owned 37½ per cent. In 1911 the producers owned but 10 per cent of the total wealth; forty-five millions of the American people are propertyless; twenty-five thousand capitalists own more property than half the inhabitants of the country; 52 per cent of the people are born into poverty; two millions of children are worked like slaves in the mills and factories; ten millions of working people do not have enough to eat; sixty thousand girls—children of the working class—are annually forced into prostitution to live, and two millions of marriageable young men remain unmarried because they know they cannot, as wage-workers, receive enough to enable them to marry and assume the responsibility of supporting a wife and children; therefore, houses of assignation are multiplying; homes are being broken up, family life is disappearing, and the fear of race suicide is spreading. Socialists prove by irrefutable statistics that this alarming condition of things is due to our industrial system of competition which does not fit this new age of machinery—a system which has permitted a few shrewd men to acquire the private ownership of the machinery and other means of creating wealth, and to pile up mountains of unearned riches, while the millions of workers are in hopeless poverty. Moreover, they clearly show that if our industrial system is not readjusted, this nation, as well as other civilized countries, will, at no distant day, be plunged into a bloody revolution. Socialists propose to peacefully change our system of individualism into one of collectivism, or Socialism, and thus prevent impending riots and war. They propose to inaugurate a system of public ownership of all the means of production and distribution, to be conducted democratically—a system under which every able-bodied adult will be required to work with head or hand in some industry suitable to his skill and physical condition, in harmony with rules wisely framed, and in departments at the head of which are competent and worthy managers or superintendents, and all workers shall receive the full value of their labor.

Fourth.—Owing to the monstrously unfair system of distribution of the wealth produced in the United States, the working people find it so difficult to live that since 1850 crime has increased 600 per cent and insanity 700 per cent; suicides have doubled in number; millions of business men and others honestly disposed have been driven into dishonest practices, hence we have shoddy goods, short weights and measures, adulterated foods and medicines, and lying and cheating in every department of business. We have defalcations, grafting, perjury, bribery, election frauds, swindling and a loss of confidence in the integrity of every one for his fellow-man. Socialism would change all this by establishing a co-operative commonwealth founded on "Equal opportunities to all, special privileges to none." By abolishing the competitive system of business, eliminating interest, rents and profits, and guaranteeing to every worker the full value of his toil, all the evils above mentioned would vanish like a fog before the morning sun.

Fifth.—The defenders of our present competitive system of business

insist that "no legal restraint shall be put upon the incentive of the individual to privately own all the wealth of the earth if he can acquire it by speculation, profit or war, and transmit such wealth to his heirs, even though neither he nor they created a dollar of that wealth. Socialism says that competition, strife, contention, selfish greed—"the law of tooth and claw"—were necessary to the beasts of the jungle and to the cave-dwellers of prehistoric times, but that system does not fit this age of steam, electricity and general intelligence. It has, in fact, become a gigantic evil in the hands of the few greedy exploiters of the masses, and must give way to a better system. Socialism says there are higher incentives than greed and a desire to get something for nothing. Socialists, therefore, propose to establish an industrial system in which every person shall have the right to do whatsoever he wishes, provided that in the doing thereof he infringes not the equal freedom of any other person. Socialism would thus put a curb on the incentive of the human hog for the good of mankind, while at the same time it would stimulate the incentive of all to deal justly with their fellow-men. Socialism does not advocate equality of wealth, but equal opportunities to acquire wealth. Such opportunity cannot exist in an industrial system under which a few adroit schemers can acquire the private ownership of all the land, the power of steam and electricity and the labor-saving machinery, and monopolize all the means by which the masses must live, thus forcing the millions into the wage-working class, where they can own nothing but their labor power.

Sixth.—I am a Socialist because Socialism says, "No man can advance his best interests by trampling others down, for God or Nature has so interwoven the happiness and well-being of every human soul into one inseparable bond of unity and inter-dependence, that what is the natural right of one is the natural right of all—that an injury to one is the concern of all."

Seventh.—I am a Socialist because Socialism is opposed to war and has high ideals. It appeals to man's sense of justice and right. I oppose the competitive system because it champions war and contention and has low ideals, and makes its appeal to the selfish in men. Socialism says: "One for all—all for one." Competition (or individualism) says: "Every fellow for himself and Satan take the hindmost."

Eighth.—I am a Socialist because, while Socialism deals exclusively with economics and civil government and says nothing about religion, a careful examination of its principles reveals the fact that it is in strict harmony with the life and teachings of Jesus Christ.

Ninth.—I am a Socialist because Socialism squares with the Golden Rule; it stands for justice; it opposes war; it would abolish poverty; it protects children and other dependent persons; it fosters the incentive in all to deal justly and kindly with their fellow-men; it would take the children out of the mills, shops and mines and put them in school; it would pension and make comfortable the aged; it would enfranchise women; it would abolish monarchies and plutocracies and establish pure democratic governments, and by preventing monopoly and guaranteeing a just distribution of wealth among all the people rewarding every adult according to his labor, would establish a righteous government.

Tenth.—Socialism is a world-wide movement; it stands for the same things everywhere; it now numbers fifty millions of adherents; it is coming because the time is ripe for it; the law of evolution is bringing it; no human power can stop it; it is the next logical step to be taken by civilization. When it has arrived in all its fullness, kings, plutocrats, monopolists and all selfish robbers of their fellow-men will have disappeared; there will be no strikes, nor blacklistings, nor dynamiting, nor war; there will be no unemployed; poor girls will no longer sell their bodies for bread; the jails and insane asylums will contain few or no inmates; there will be no beggars in the land, and no festering slums in our cities; there will be no pale-faced, half-starved women working in sweat-shops; no tender children enslaved in shops and mills. Then labor will receive its just reward; peace and prosperity will cover the earth; then will life be worth the living. For these and other reasons I am a Socialist.

Tacoma, Washington, January, 1912.

ECONOMICS—EX-CATHEDRA.

"Socialism is the greatest enemy of the laboring man, and that is why the church hates it."

"Who would work if the state were to confiscate his earnings? Who would drudge day after day in the field, in the factory and down in the mine if his toil were to remain unrequited?"

The above literary gem is an extract from a twentieth century Christmas sermon, delivered in Butte, in the year of grace 1911 by Bishop John P. Carroll. While freely admitting that comment is entirely superfluous, also the obvious fact that it is not customary to take ecclesiastics seriously at this age and time, I can not refrain from indulging in a few passing remarks anent some luminous samples of antiquated sophism contained in the bishop's literary rara avis labeled "The Christian Laboring Man." The high ecclesiastical source from which this broadside on Socialism emanates would indicate that the forensic volley was fired from the strongest weapons now remaining in the storm-beaten ruins of the once powerful arsenal of a declining faith, which has seen better days.

Contemplate for a moment the sublimated audacity and gall-surface involved in the statement that Socialism proposes to have the state confiscate the product of the worker's toil in field, mine, mill and factory! I seriously question whether it were possible, even for a bishop, to convince a single grown man or woman in Butte that such is the aim of the only economic system under the sun which demands for the worker every vestige of the wealth created by his efforts. It certainly can not be assumed for a moment that the statement was made in good faith by the bishop. To do so would be a rude reflection on his mental attainments—practically a demand for a "lunatico inquirendo."

But, bear in mind the bishop was addressing an audience of workmen. He must do his duty. Socialism must be ridiculed and denounced. This could be done only by a systematic distortion of every tenet of the system—a brazen substitution for the real philosophy of Socialism—by a vile spurious imitation, and the prelate was equal to the emergency. How could he, confronting an audience of workmen, denounce and declare anathema on economic doctrine which today is the only star of hope for the man who works with his hands, except by a laborious misrepresentation of the whole issue? Evidently impossible. Professional dogmatists are often confronted with this kind of a dilemma. Under such conditions no course is open but the bold substitution of sophism for argument, and a strenuous endeavor to make up in verbiage and loudness of noise for what is lacking in soundness of logic and clearness of thought. While laboring under this kind of a mental handicap, this hefty clerical wheel-horse on the rickety chariot of capitalism, lustily grabs an oratorical Roman candle in each hand and proceeds to make sparks as follows: "Under the sway of Socialism the laboring man could never acquire capital, invested for the future protection of himself and his family, and the ambition to develop himself along human lines—material, mental and moral—would die out of his heart forever."

"To make all property and all the instruments of production belong to the state is to deprive the laboring man of what justly belongs to him—to make life and toil unbearable; to crush out of his breast the hope of providing for the future of his wife and children."

If the instruments of production justly belong to the laboring man, as the bishop states, whether he meant to say it or not, why object to the laboring man taking possession of them, as he proposes to do under the co-operative commonwealth, with a view of crushing out of his breast forever all fear of want and poverty for himself or any other man, woman or child?

"Socialism is moreover destructive to the freedom which has been guaranteed to every man by the constitution of the United States," continues the bishop, and adds, "Which means that all men have equal opportunities, a free field and no favor."

Theoretically we are all economically free—lamentably so. We are free to rob each other to a finish, to invent all kinds of diabolical devices to snatch the bread from the mouths of the needy. We may combine, conspire, trustify and manipulate law and legislation to secure for ourselves the wealth which thousands have labored to create. Yes, we are all free to do these things, if we can. But it is at this point we come in contact with the workings of capitalism and find it is the system we are up against and not the government, which, as now conducted is merely the teeth and claws, which have been evolved by the system to meet functional requirements.

What constitutes the vaunted freedom guaranteed to the workers under the capitalistic government of today? Briefly, this: He is free to hunt for a master who is in a position to make a profit by employing him, and who is willing to give him a portion of the product of his labor sufficient to sustain his precarious existence. Is he not free to reject his prospective master's terms? Decidedly so. Also and likewise, he is free to crawl off somewhere, where he will not be bounced for trespass, and quietly starve to death. There is nothing he can claim as a right; nothing he can legally demand, with the exception of one claim on the state, which he must die to be able to command: the state must bury him.

What a glorious system of economic freedom which results in an army of unemployed numbering millions, even under normal times, under which countless thousands have been so reduced by starvation that disease carried them off, while other thousands have depleted their vitality, in the fierce struggle for existence, to a point where life became a burden, and have committed suicide in defiance of the law. Economic freedom, equality before the law, equal opportunities! What a mockery! How hopelessly callous the man who utters such blasphemy against humanity and its noblest aspirations.

What a ghastly irony in these inane phrases when viewed in the light of the life experience of countless thousands of thwarted, crushed and toll-broken victims of a cruel and unjust industrial system—a system which continues to linger only because the masses, who would be benefited by its overthrow, are not as yet fully awakened after an age-long slumber, superinduced by an exclusive diet of denatured theology and primitive traditions.

It is just beginning to dawn upon the workers as a class that the lingering fag-end of medieval ecclesiasticism constitutes today the chief mainstay of the oppressive system—one of the last remaining pillars supporting the rotten structure of capitalism.

In the history of the evolution of priestcraft the student reads the record of the chief factor in the enslavement and exploitation of the human race. The frantic efforts of clerical dignitaries to uphold and defend an economic system that has outlived its usefulness, indicates that they feel their destinies to be so closely linked with exploitation, despotism and oppression that there is little hope for the survival of their institutions after their powerful patron and ally, capitalism, meets its Waterloo at the hands of a victorious Socialist commonwealth. Clerics of the Carroll type are largely to thank for the rapidly growing conviction among workmen that the church is a sordid, cunning and sapient material institution, and nothing more. Hence those who wield and direct her activities are treated with scant respect, while to her honest votaries with whom the church is a religion, all yield the fullest measure of respect and consideration.

No advanced thinker expects anything remotely resembling fairness or a "square deal" from any prominent clerical dignitaries when matters pertaining to sociology are under discussion. However, it would seem to be within the bounds of reason to demand that even a bishop should deviate, now and then, from his habitual course by cultivating a speaking acquaintance with intellectual honesty and getting within hailing distance of demonstrated facts. The sermon under discussion demonstrates conclusively that there are bishops from whom even this much cannot be reasonably expected.

Listen: "Even from an economic standpoint, Socialism degrades labor, lowers the dignity of the laboring man, deprives him of his rights and would bring back again upon the earth a condition more debasing than that of slavery." In other words, labor would be "degraded" by becoming the possessor of the full social value of its product, of which it now receives a small percentage.

The "dignity" of the laborer would drop to zero if he were allowed to become the undisputed owner of everything required for his comfort and well-being as a private individual. He would be "deprived of his rights" by becoming an equal shareholder with every other man and woman in all the means of production and distribution of collective wealth. "A condition more debasing than slavery" would result from the opportunities for education, culture and recreation, which would follow the removal of the bonds of economic dependence. Little wonder that a certain devotee of the church indulged in language unfit for publication in commenting on the prelate's lecture, and administered a well-seasoned roast to our three official organs of "the Big Cinch" for making a front page display with what he termed "the bishop's violent blow-off of congested inanities."

What a perfect training in the illiberalities of official optimism is indicated by the assertion that "Socialism will crush out the ambition which has made our country prosperous, and like the juggernaut, ride rough-shod over the liberties of the masses." With "our country" he must mean the prosperous coterie of opulent barons of industry with their contingent of stall-fed clerical and secular lackeys, whose mission in life consists in devising means to separate the masses from everything except the "liberty" to compete against each other for work at any wage in order to sustain a barren and miserable existence. No mind without a strong theological bias could possibly conceive of a destruction of the liberties of the masses as a result of the establishment of a just and equitable economic system which aims to eliminate the evils of exploitation, to transform the economic peon into an industrial sovereign and give into the hands of the worker the leading-strings of the industrial world.

The bishop indulges in an audible gloat over the Simple Septimus tactics of unionism in keeping aloof from Socialism.

He says: "The labor unions evidently see that Socialism is their enemy. May this knowledge increase and spread." The bishop's pious wish is vain. That kind of "knowledge" is confined exclusively to a class which, thanks to an increasing, persistent educational propaganda, is growing smaller every day. Considering the fact that it was only yesterday the worker began to cultivate the study habit, it should be no cause for surprise that a contingent still remains whose dormant mentality render them incapable of distinguishing an economic principle from a "muck-stick"—a class which furnishes a profitable constituency for designing secular fakirs and scheming "doctors of divinity." In conclusion, may the Fates have mercy on any divinity—good, bad or indifferent—who has had the misfortune of falling into the hands of a doctor capable of compounding the vile economic "dope" contained in the package labeled "The Christian Laboring Man."

Butte, December 28, 1911.

G. A. SWENSON.

## SOME INTERESTING CORRESPONDENCE FROM ARIZONA.

Phoenix, Arizona, December 15, 1911.

This joint executive committee, officially appointed by the Phoenix Trade Council and local unions, deemed it advisable to call an advisory conference of representative union men on Sunday, December 17th, to consider the protection of the interests of the laboring classes at the forthcoming session of the legislature.

Phoenix, Arizona, December 18, 1911.

To the Officers and Members of All Local Trade Unions and Federated Bodies of Arizona:

Greeting—The conference was held, W. G. Griffin being unanimously elected chairman and H. P. Green, secretary. After full discussion, the following resolution was adopted:

### Resolution.

"Resolved, That it is the sense of this body that an immediate call should be issued to the trades unions of Arizona to send delegates to a state conference to be held in Phoenix, on January 20, 1912, at 9 a. m., authorized to form a State Federation of Labor and to take such steps as may be deemed advisable to protect the interests of labor at the session of the legislature, which will convene about February 1st. Each union or federation to be entitled to three delegates.

"Resolved, That a committee, consisting of the chairman, secretary and three members be empowered to circularize the various unions and give publicity to same."

The call is herewith issued in pursuance of those orders.

The committee desires especially to state that it was the sense of the conference that all unions should carefully consider the labor and mining articles of the constitution (18 and 19, page 33) and send delegates with instructions and suggestions as to what provisions should be embodied in the laws to be demanded by labor. Further, that no political significance shall attach to this meeting other than the protection of labor. Pledges have been given, but labor must see that they are kept.

Delegates should be provided with credentials from their union or federation and must possess a union working card. Advise us of your action as soon as possible, together with a copy of any resolution passed by your local or federation to enable us to place same on the agenda, and address all communications to H. P. Green, secretary, 12 O'Neill building, Phoenix.

Present at conference: Ed Ruppert, William Dowell, Bartenders; W. G. Griffin, Tom Adams, F. O. Adams, R. A. Moorehead, O. U. Granum, A. H. Tebben, H. P. Green, typos.; Mr. Kane, Mr. Smith, Mr. Stromberg, barbers; R. Edwards, V. Smith, painters; J. Provost, plasterers. Fraternally yours,

W. G. GRIFFIN, Chairman.  
H. P. GREEN, Secretary.  
TOM ADAMS,  
R. EDWARDS,  
G. W. R. KANE,

Committee.

We call attention to the following laws which the legislature must enact according to the mandates of the constitution.

1. An employer's liability law, "To protect the safety of all employes in hazardous occupations, in mining, smelting, manufacturing, railroad or street railway transportation, etc."

2. A workman's compulsory compensation law applicable to workmen engaged in manual or mechanical labor, etc.

Note.—This legislation is to protect laborers only "in such employments as the legislature may determine to be especially dangerous." Will you be protected by this act? Will your trade or occupation be included?

3. Mine Inspector and Mining Laws.—The office of mine inspector is established and "the legislature shall enact laws so regulating the operation and equipment of all mines in the state as to provide for the health and safety of all workers therein."

4. The "Black List" is prohibited by the constitution, but the legislature must enact laws putting it in effect, or it is a dead letter.

5. Child Labor.—Laws must be provided against.

6. The eight-hour day on all public works.

7. Contracts for Public Work.—Shall the expenditure of public money on contracts for public work be given to the lowest bidder consistent with the employment of fair and conscientious labor with just pay?

The laws regulating the public contracts affect directly every craft—printers, building trades, miners, bricklayers, electricians, bridgemen, structural workers, and so on.

8. The advisory recall on federal judges and United States senators is of importance to labor. The federal judge is the man who issues the injunctions.

9. Laws putting into effect the initiative and referendum and recall need to be carefully watched.

Brothers, shall these laws be made so as to effectively protect the working classes, or be filled with "jokers" to suit the employing classes?

Organized capital will be on the spot to draw the teeth from their laws. Shall organized labor be there and present a UNITED FRONT to protect themselves? That is the question. Fraternally,

W. G. GRIFFIN, Chairman.  
H. P. GREEN, Secretary.  
TOM ADAMS,  
R. EDWARDS,  
G. W. R. KANE,

Committee.

Cloride, Arizona, December 27, 1911.

Mr. H. P. Green, Secretary of Advisory Labor Conference, and Brothers, No. 12 O'Neill Building, Phoenix, Arizona:

Greeting—We are pleased to acknowledge your circularized communication and resolution issuing a call to the trades unions of Arizona to send delegates to a state labor conference to be held in Phoenix about February 1st, looking forward to a demand on the forthcoming legislature that the enactment of laws relative to labor made mandatory of enactment on it, being an employer's liability act, a workman's compensation act, a mine inspector and mining act, a labor "black list" act and others—be free from "jokers" and manipulation by capitalistic interests.

We are further pleased to acknowledge this union is interested in the formation of laws for the protection of labor, and that it went to the expense of sending a delegate to Phoenix last year in answer to the call for union labor representatives, which resulted in the formation of the labor party, whose twenty-seven (27) demands met with such enthusiastic interest with the progressives of all parties that the Democrats insure self-defense to maintain their political supremacy, appropriated them as their very own. And the result was an organic act for Arizona superior in progressiveness and guarantees of liberty than the constitution of any already admitted state. And was virtually won by labor at the ballot box.

In considering your request for another convention of workmen to assemble in Phoenix to influence the making of workable and efficient laws appropriate to the needs of labor we have arrived at the following conclusions:



Directory of Local Unions and Officers—Western Federation of Miners.

OFFICERS

CHAS. H. MOYER, President... 605 Railroad Bldg., Denver, Colo.
C. E. MAHONEY, Vice President... 605 Railroad Bldg., Denver, Colo.
ERNEST MILLS, Secretary-Treasurer... 605 Railroad Bldg., Denver, Colo.
JNO. M. O'NEILL, Editor Miners' Magazine... 605 Railroad Bldg., Denver, Colo.

EXECUTIVE BOARD.

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YANCO TERZICH... 605 Railroad Bldg., Denver, Colo.
DAN D. SULLIVAN... 112 W. Broadway, Butte, Montana
FRANK BROWN... Globe, Arizona.

LIST OF UNIONS

Table listing unions for Alaska, Arizona, Brit. Columbia, California, Colorado, Idaho, Kansas, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Montana, Nevada, New Jersey, New Mexico, North Carolina, Oklahoma, Ontario, Oregon, South Dakota, Utah, Washington, Wisconsin, and Wyoming. Columns include No., Name, Meet'g Night, President, Secretary, P.O. Box, and Address.

LIST OF UNIONS

Table listing unions for Missouri, Montana, Nevada, New Jersey, New Mexico, North Carolina, Oklahoma, Ontario, Oregon, South Dakota, Utah, Washington, Wisconsin, and Wyoming. Columns include No., Name, Meet'g Night, President, Secretary, P.O. Box, and Address.

STATE AND DISTRICT UNIONS.

Utah State Union No. 1, W. F. M., Park City, Utah... J. W. Morton, Secretary
District Association No. 6, W. F. M., Sandon, B. C. ... Anthony Shilland, Secretary
Flat River District Union No. 9, W. F. M., Flat River, Mo. ... R. Lee Lashley, Sec.

AUXILIARIES.

Rossland Woman's Auxiliary No. 1, Rossland, B. C. ... Ida M. Roberts, Sec.
Independence Ladies' Auxiliary No. 3, Central City, S. D. ... Lulu Grenfell, Sec.
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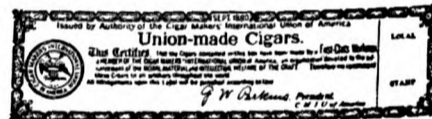
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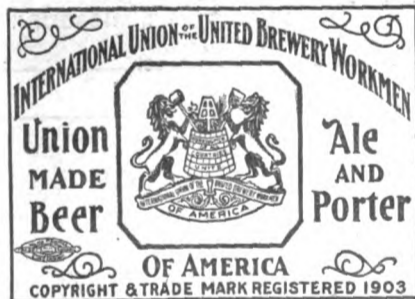
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JOHN M. O'NEILL, Editor

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