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THE MINERS MAGAZINE

INDEPENDENCE
EDUCATION ORGANIZATION

Published Weekly by the

WESTERN FEDERATION OF MINERS

Denver, Colo.
Jan. 25th
1912
Volume XII,
Number 448



WEALTH
BELONGS TO THE
PRODUCER THEREOF



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DON'T GO TO THE MINING CAMPS OF SO. DAKOTA

Where members of Organized Labor are Locked Out because they refuse to scab and sign the following pledge:

"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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Nothing but the best. Prices the lowest consistent with Quality. Everything for Everybody.

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CENTENNIAL WIENER BEER

Best Brewed in Butte — None But Union Labor Employed — On Draught at All First-Class Saloons

EDUCATION INDEPENDENCE ORGANIZATION

MINERS MAGAZINE



Published Weekly
WESTERN FEDERATION
OF MINERS

Denver, Colorado,
Thursday, January 25, 1912.

Volume XII, Number 448
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UNIONS ARE REQUESTED to write some communication each month for publication. Write plainly, on one side of paper only; where ruled paper is used write only on every second line. Communications not in conformity with this notice will not be published. Subscribers not receiving their Magazine will please notify this office by postal card, stating the numbers not received. Write plainly, as these communications will be forwarded to the postal authorities.
Entered as second-class matter August 27, 1903, at the Postoffice at Denver, Colorado, under the Act of Congress March 3, 1879.

John M. O'Neill, Editor
Address all communications to Miners' Magazine,
Room 605 Railroad Building, Denver, Colo.

HARRIS AND BLANK, proprietors of the Triangle Shirt Waist factory, through criminal negligence, murdered 147 human beings and were acquitted in the courts.
The McNamaras were charged with an explosion that killed 21 and are in the penitentiary of California.
"We are all equal before the law."

THE ELECTION in Germany has struck horror into the heart of the *divine right* Kaiser. The Reichstag on the re-ballot will have at least 100 Socialist representatives, and the thunder of Socialist oratory in Germany's hall of national legislation will cause the Kaiser to feel the truth of the old proverb:
"Uneasy lies the head that wears the crown."

ANDREW CARNEGIE, in his testimony before the House steel trust investigating committee, openly declared that the day of competition had passed away, owing to the ability of Big Business to fix and maintain prices.
Such a declaration, coming from a man of the financial magnitude of Carnegie, should forever seal the lips of pigmies who are ceaselessly shouting for competition.

DURING the last twenty years 30,000 miners were killed and 80,000 injured in the United States. This makes all the American wars during that period look like Sunday school picnics. Andrew Carnegie still has the nerve to use \$10,000,000 of the money which these miners baptised in their blood for the promotion of "peace." Mining is closely allied with the steel business. Reliable statistics on the number killed in the actual manufacture of steel are not available. The steel trust has no time to waste on keeping track of its dead.—Western Clarion.

THE SON of Julius Kruttsnicht, the railway magnate, has become a "hero." As assistant superintendent of the Tucson Division of the Southern Pacific railroad, he donned the overalls of a workingman and became an engine-wiper in the place of a striker.
Young Kruttsnicht is loyal to his class and that is more than can be said for a vast number of laboring men who become scabs and strike-breakers.
Another instance of class-loyalty was shown, when fifty students of Harvard University took the places of longshoremen recently and unloaded a steamer of its cargo.

THE JUDGES of the Supreme Court of the United States have received an increase in wages. The Chief Justice is allowed \$15,000 per annum, while the others will have to get along on \$14,500 per year. The increase granted to the royal-robed dispensers of justice, is based on the grounds that the cost of living is soaring towards the stars. The working man, who is employed, must fortify his *independence* on a few hundred dollars a year, but as there is great *dignity* in being classed with the horny-handed sons of toil, he can afford to get along on a smaller salary than a judicial parasite.
The "dignity of labor" is worth something.

SOME ONE has sent us a marked copy of the International Cigarmakers' Journal, bearing postmark of Chicago, which contained some correspondence between John S. Kirshner and J. Mahlon Barnes, both members of the Cigarmakers' Union. The correspondence between these two members of the same organization brings into print the name of the editor of the Miners' Magazine, and the party sending us this

Card of the Homestake Mining Co.

Lead, S. D. 19..

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

Occupation
.....

Signed
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Department
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NOTICE TO FORMER MEMBERS OF SWANSEA MINERS' UNION NO. 156.

Those holding claims against The Clara Consolidated Mining Company of Swansea, Arizona, should take action to file labor liens against the above company, as ninety days is the limit in Arizona for the filing of such claims. Henry Wischmeyer, Bouse, Arizona, will render you any further information desired.
ERNEST MILLS.

THE SOCIALISTS have polled more than 4,000,000 votes in Germany. Is Socialism a "dream"?

A STATISTICIAN has reached the conclusion based on a careful estimate, that the income of John D. Rockefeller amounts to \$67.30 per minute. The high cost of living will scarcely discommode the hairless magnate of Standard Oil.

SHOULD THE UNITED STATES and Japan lock horns in battle, the beef trust will be furnished another golden opportunity to kill patriots with embalmed carrion. The egg trust of New York will be able to unlock its warehouses and unload on "Uncle Sam" those 300,000 dozens of eggs of doubtful age that have been held in storage for these many years.

Eggs decomposing with age and beef that was slaughtered when patriots were boys, should arouse men of heroic mould to "fight, bleed and die" for their country.

"marked copy" anticipated, in all probability, that the editor would again bombard Barnes, who was exiled from his official position in the Socialist party. The editor of the Magazine accomplished his purpose and refuses to waste any rhetoric on the *ill-smelling thing* that became so *foul* that even an *affinity* could no longer afford to smother his depravity.

POVERTY, the poverty of civilized man, which is everywhere co-existent with unbounded wealth and luxury, is always ugly, repellent, and terrible either to see or to experience; but when it assails the cradle it assumes its most hideous form.

Under-fed, or badly-fed, neglected, badly-housed and improperly clad, the child of poverty is terribly handicapped at the very start. It has not an even chance to begin life with. While still in its cradle a yoke is laid upon its after years, and it is doomed either to die in infancy, or, worse still, to live and grow up puny, weak both in body and in mind, inefficient and unfitted for the battle of life.

And it is the consciousness of this, the knowledge that poverty in childhood blights the whole of life, which makes it the most appalling of all the phases of the poverty problem.—John Spargo.

A QUESTION has been asked as to what is the difference between chattel slavery and wage slavery.

There is some difference between the chattel slave of days gone by and the wage slave of today.

The chattel slave had a place to sleep, was furnished food regularly, was clothed and when taken ill, had the services of a physician.

The wage slave when unemployed is usually homeless, hungry, ragged and when ill, is without medical attendance.

A master had an *interest* in a chattel slave, but a master has no *interest* in a wage slave, for his place can be filled so easily by the victims of hunger and want. The chattel slave was *owned*, but no exploiter wants *ownership* in a wage slave.

The wage slave of today is a cheaper commodity than the chattel slave of a half century ago.

THE PATRIOTIC PRESS of our country frequently waste columns of editorial space in an effort to impress upon the members of the working class that there is no such thing as classes in this country. The editor of the daily journal filled with enthusiasm for the interests of his pay master, taxes all his cunning ingenuity in an attempt to delude the workers into the belief that under the folds of the starry banner and beneath the blue-vaulted dome of an American sky, there can be no class struggle between employer and employe.

Such sophistry may appeal to the superficial mind, but the man or woman whose mentality is equipped to analyze conditions as they exist, will repudiate the fallacies of the paid chattel of capitalism.

If there are no classes and no class struggle, then why are millions of men and women in almost every nation of the world, identified with organized labor? Why are there Employers' Associations, Manufacturers' Associations, Mine Operators' Associations and why do the organizations of the employers of labor keep on their pay roll detective agencies, whose spies and spotters are instructed to report all matters that take place in the organizations of employes?

If there is no class struggle, why are there any strikes or lock-outs, and why do employers call for armed troops to awe and intimidate the workers, when slaves refuse to yield obedience to masters? The class struggle is going on in every nation on earth and will continue until capitalism is dead and buried and *Justice* reigns throughout the earth.

THE STRIKERS in the laundries of New York have asked the preachers why they have delivered no sermons mentioning the conflict between the bosses and their slaves.

The laundry workers are somewhat surprised that ministers of the gospel in the city of New York have remained blind and indifferent to the grievances of 30,000 men and women, who have been worked 14 to 15 hours per day at wages that border on the hunger line. The average expounder of scripture is no more interested in the material welfare of the victims of wage slavery, than a master class that imposes conditions that breed a strike. The preacher, as a general rule, is as much of a coward as the Spaniel dog in human shape who falls upon his knees to worship a boss. The preachers, like men of other vocations, are moved by what they conceive to be their material interest and the vast majority of ministers know that laundry workers who are paid but a few paltry dollars per week, are not financially equipped to make huge donations to the temples of God.

The preacher must use diplomacy and pander to that element that can afford to be *charitable* with the surplus profit extracted from the misery of ill-paid and over-worked victims of wage-slavery. The preacher cannot afford to take chances on losing his job. The preachers who are silent on the strike of the laundry workers of New York, know that the man in the pulpit who lifts his voice for the oppressed, becomes a tramp and is forced to lead the life of that Man of history, "who had not whereon to lay his head."

The majority of preachers would rather smother their honest convictions than become soldiers in the cause of justice.

THE EDITOR has frequently urged each local union of the Western Federation of Miners to select a press committee, in order that such committee might forward a monthly communication for publica-

tion in the official organ. The members of the organization are more or less interested in the industrial conditions that prevail in mining camps covered by the jurisdiction of the Federation, and it is only through a press committee that such industrial conditions can be made known to the membership.

The editor has no means of presenting conditions as they actually exist, except through a communication compiled by a press committee. It is important that the membership should know something of conditions as they exist in the various mining districts, as members out of employment would only be too glad to know in what district or mining camp, there is a chance for employment.

The miner who is thrown out of employment in one mining camp hesitates to pay out money from a lean reserve fund for transportation to some other mining camp, when he is unacquainted or in doubt as to conditions that prevail in the mining camp which he contemplates visiting in the hope of obtaining employment.

The Miners' Magazine can be made a medium through which valuable information can be furnished to the membership, and press committees of the local unions can make it possible for members out of employment to save thousands of dollars annually, if they are only acquainted with conditions in the various mining districts throughout the West.

The editor would urge that every local union select a press committee and that such press committee be instructed to make a monthly report to the official organ.

AT LAWRENCE, MASSACHUSETTS, 15,000 mill operatives went on strike against a reduction of wages, and last week eight companies of state militia were forwarded to Lawrence to suppress the strikers. Martial law was immediately declared in order that no barriers might be in the way of the state soldiers giving the strikers, the *sovereign citizens* with votes, a taste of the brutality administered by the Cossacks of Russia. The strikers were looked upon as a *mob*, and the *mob* was charged with fixed bayonets. A boy was fatally injured and a number of strikers were the recipients of souvenirs from the *patriots* of Massachusetts, who seem to be brave and heroic warriors, when waging war against unarmed men, women and children.

In Lawrence, Massachusetts, there was no more disorder or violations of law, than usually follow a strike of such proportions, and the civil authorities were in supreme control of the situation. But the barons of the mills recognized the fact that soldiers with rifles, backed by gatling guns and cannon, would be more formidable, and that soldiers would have less hesitancy in executing the orders delivered by a master class.

A judge named Mahoney, whose ancestry was probably forced to become exiles, proved himself a valuable ally of the mill operators, for when twenty-seven of the strikers were brought into the presence of the Caesar of the local bench, three were condemned to serve two years in the House of Correction, while twenty-four were given a year to meditate on the glorious privileges enjoyed beneath the stars and stripes by workers, who dare to rebel against the mandates of an oligarchy, who hold in their custody the legal right to impose upon slaves unbearable conditions.

These mill operatives who are now striking against starvation wages, have aided by their ballots to prolong and perpetuate the industrial system that keeps them in poverty and bondage. Some day the wrongs from which they suffer may teach them to cast a ballot for the interests of the slave instead of the master.

FROM THE LATE REPORTS that have been appearing in the daily press, it is reasonable to presume that there is a probability of a war between the United States and Japan.

It has been discovered that 35,000 Jap soldiers garbed as laboring men are residents of Hawaii, and it has leaked out that these 35,000 soldiers wearing the livery of working men, will soon raise the flag of Japan over the United States territory.

The government at Washington has taken cognizance of the conditions that present themselves in Hawaii, and armed forces of the government have been ordered to proceed towards this fertile island, where American exploiters have been coining fabulous dividends for so many years.

From present indications it is probable that in a very short time appeals to *patriotism* will be made by the organs of capitalism, making known that the *honor* of the nation is at stake, when only *profit* is at stake for the benefit of a few heartless exploiters who can summon the armed forces of America, to protect them in minting dividends from ill-paid toil.

The conditions in this country are ripe for war. Industrial paralysis, followed by commercial congestion, has glutted the labor market with several millions of unemployed and the majority of the idle army can be easily moved to sing "My Country 'Tis of Thee" and shout for the Star-Spangled Banner, even though for months, they have felt the pangs of hunger under the folds of "Old Glory."

The workingmen of America have had no quarrel with the 35,000 Japs who have settled in Hawaii, but a comparatively few exploiters looking into the future, can see their interests threatened, should Japan take possession of Hawaii, and because the interests of a few are in jeopardy in Hawaii, the bugle of war is to be sounded, summoning the citizens with callous hands and shoddy clothes, to go forth to battle to protect the interests of a few multi-millionaires.

If there is any fighting to be done to hold Hawaii as a territory of the United States then those who are most interested should do the fighting.

The slaves of America whose liberties have been strangled by judicial dictums, purchased laws of legislative bodies, and by declarations of martial law, when state militia and federal troops were called upon to uphold the despotism of industrial czars, have no grounds to be patriots for the sole purpose of protecting the legalized robbers, who have fattened on the natural resources of Hawaii.

THE MAN who boasts that he shot a Spaniard in the back now tries to settle the labor problem by shrieking "murder is murder!" He would have us believe that by this phrase he means that every sacrifice of human life must bring bloody vengeance in its wake. He does not mean this. He and the class for which he speaks always make exceptions to this rule. Murder is not murder to them when it brings profits. When half the children of the workers are killed before they reach the age of five by poverty and its accompaniments, he and his class see no murder done if sweatshop employers and tenement owners are profited.

The crushing and mangling of a half million men in the prime of life by the wheels of industry is no murder so long as the products dyed with their blood sell for profit.

When miners at Briceville, Tenn., are roasted by slow fire and strangled by foul gas until reason gives way and the survivors dash their heads against the stone walls there is no talk of murder. By such means unions have been kept out of West Virginia, United States Sen-

ators made and foreign dukes enriched. Therefore, it is not murder. This is the view of the courts.

As the gates of San Quentin were closing upon the McNamaras the courts of New York were placing the stamp of innocence upon the owners of the Triangle shop.

It is almost a year since that March day when helpless working girls clawed hopelessly at locked doors until flames burned out the screams in their throats, while others leaped and fell as living torches to crush their tortured nerves to insensibility upon the stones of the streets.

These girls were locked into this torture chamber in violation of the laws of Legislatures and of humanity; that property might be protected and profits forthcoming.

A jury has just declared that this killing was not murder. Not one word of protest has come from those who screamed murder at maddened workers who struck out blindly and foolishly against the class responsible for such crime.

The Socialists deny that profits absolve from murder.

They appeal from the decision of boasting man hunters and murderous class courts to the great tribunal of majority rule that makes and unmake institutions.

Before this tribunal we bring the murderous system for which Roosevelt and his class stand and we find it guilty. On that system the workers of the world are going to pass the sentence of death.—A. M. Simons in Coming Nation.

Report of the Executive Board of the Western Federation of Miners

Denver, Colo., Jan. 16, 1912.

To the Officers and Members of all Local Unions of the W. F. of M. Sirs and Brothers:

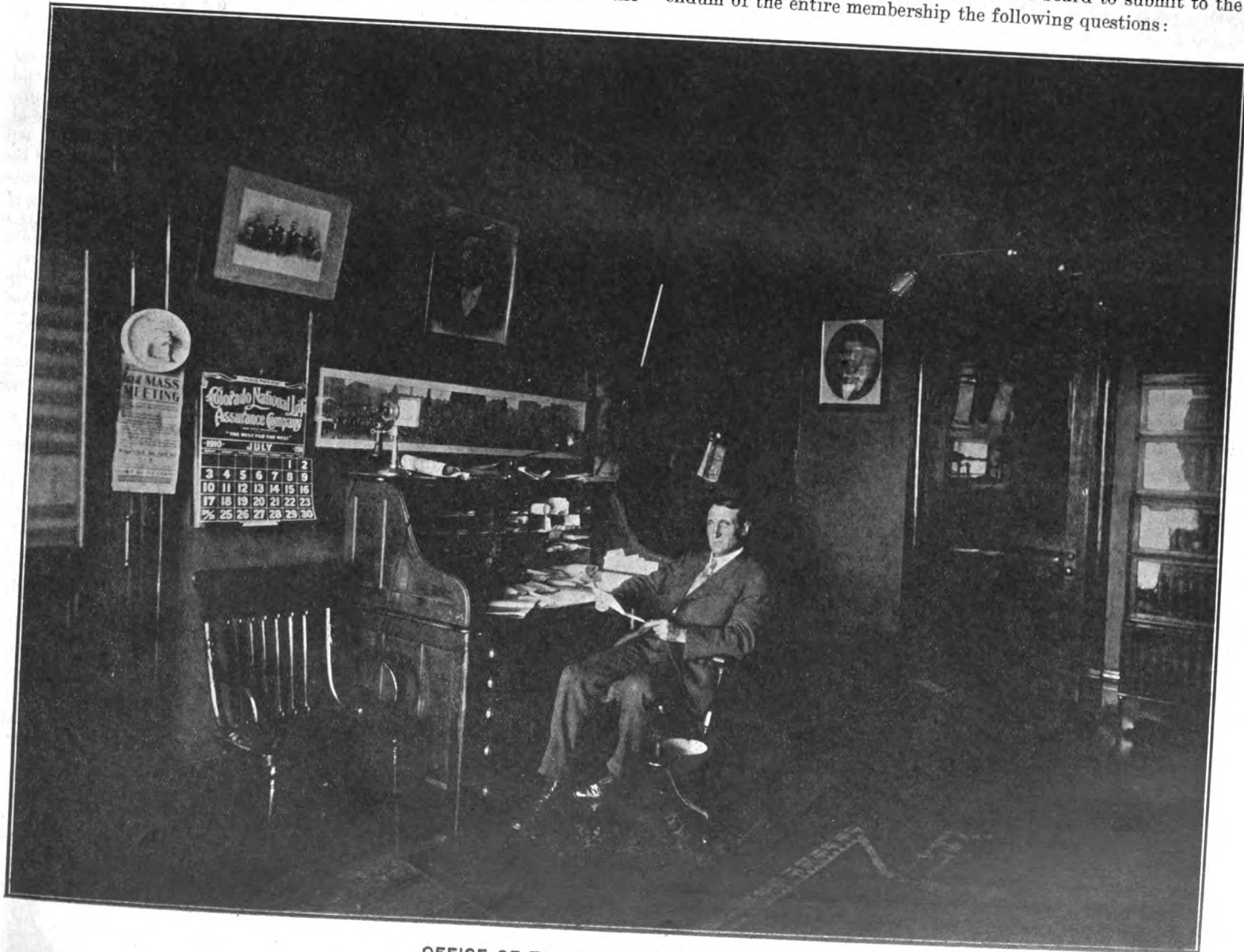
In compliance with a call issued by President Moyer, your Executive Board convened January 4, 1912, for the purpose of auditing the books and accounts of your organization and transacting such other business as might properly come before them.

We have audited the books and accounts of Secretary-Treasurer Mills from July 1, 1911, to January 1, 1912, checking all entries, receipts and disbursements, examined all checks, vouchers and receipts, and find the same correct in every detail. We have also verified the

statements from banks and certify to the correctness of the amounts deposited in same, and highly commend your secretary-treasurer for the efficient and able manner in which he has conducted the affairs of his office.

We have also checked up the Black Hills relief account and find that the parties in charge of same have accurately accounted for all monies paid out by them in connection with issuance of the relief to our locked-out members in the Hills.

The Executive Board found on file at headquarters two petitions, one from Cobalt Local No. 146, and one from the Porcupine Local No. 145. The one from Cobalt petitioned the board to submit to the referendum of the entire membership the following questions:



OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT, W. F. M.



GENERAL SUPPLY AND PACKING ROOM, W. F. M.

First.—Are you in favor of the W. F. M. applying in a body into the U. M. W. of A.?

Second.—Are you in favor of the locals of the W. F. M. retaining their present measure of autonomy?

Third.—Do you favor a joint meeting of representatives of both organizations to formulate plans and to draft a constitution acceptable to the membership of both organizations?

While Porcupine petitions for the submitting of the question as to the advisability of an immediate consolidation of our federation with the United Mine Workers of America.

In filing the petitions, neither local has designated the constitutional provision under which they have proceeded, therefore the Board was at a loss to know whether the locals believed a vital circumstance not otherwise provided for had arisen which could not in justice be deferred until the assembling of the next convention, as set forth in Art. 10, Sec. 1 of the general constitution, and were so calling the same to the attention of the Board for their consideration, or whether they desired to be understood as making a demand on the Board for the submission of a vital proposition not otherwise provided for, as set forth in Sec. 2 of the same article. If under the first section, then the Board is agreed that under no consideration could the subject matter be considered a "vital circumstance which had arisen and could not be deferred until the assembling of the next convention;" but if under Sec. 2, the question to be determined is as to whether or not the subject matter contained in the petitions has been otherwise provided for, and as the required number of endorsements under this section had not reached headquarters, the Board feels fully justified in submitting to the membership a full review of the action already taken by your organization to bring about the results desired by the applicants for referendum, and in order to do so we will go back to the 17th annual convention where we find the following resolution introduced, discussed and adopted:

"That the Western Federation of Miners issue a call to all labor organizations in the mining and correlative industries to convene a joint committee for the purpose of drafting a constitution under which all the workers in the mining, coal, metalliferous and correlative industries can unite for common defense and other purposes."

After the adoption of this resolution we find that a motion was made and carried that seven delegates be elected from the floor to issue a call for and attend such conference. The committee met after the adjournment of the convention, drafted an invitation addressed to the United Mine Workers and other organizations whom they considered correlative to mining, earnestly requesting a conference with them as proposed by the resolution. As has been stated in a report submitted by this committee, the United Mine Workers of America was the only organization accepting the invitation, and it was decided that a conference between the two miners' organizations should be held at the time of the United Mine Workers' convention, which convened in Indianapolis, January, 1910. The Federation committee was in attendance at the convention and at their request the convention appointed a like committee composed of seven for the purpose of joint-

ly discussing the relationship between the two organizations and the possibility of carrying out the ideas as expressed in the resolution adopted by our convention. The result of this conference was submitted to the convention of the Mine Workers and received their unanimous endorsement, and was later submitted to your Executive Board and by them to the entire membership of our Federation for their consideration by referendum, receiving the approval of our membership by a large majority of those voting.

The joint committee gave the question of consolidation of the two miners' organizations earnest thought and after so doing were of the unanimous opinion that owing to the wide difference of opinion as to policy which existed between the two organizations, that to undertake a consolidation, instead of bringing about the desired end, would in all probability, prove disastrous, leaving the two organizations farther apart than they were when negotiations for a closer alliance were first initiated. Among other things it was pointed out that the United Mine Workers of America believed in and practiced the contract system, the Western Federation of Miners opposing the same to the extent of placing a clause in their constitution prohibiting it. The United Mine Workers believed in the check-off system, the Western Federation of Miners being bitterly opposed to the same, condemning its practice by the Mine Workers in no uncertain way. These were some of the many reasons pointed out by the representatives of the United Mine Workers as to why a complete consolidation was not advisable and the delegates of the Western Federation of Miners had in mind the time when the coal miners of Colorado, Wyoming, Montana and British Columbia were affiliated with our organization and the many difficulties which continuously confronted us, resulting in the coal miners finally withdrawing and going back to the U. M. W. of A. As a consolidation of the two organizations would mean one organization of miners naturally governed by the majority, and the United Mine Workers having a membership of more than 300,000, and the Western Federation of Miners less than 50,000, the committee could see the same dissatisfaction on the part of the metal miners as prevailed among the coal miners of the West when they were in the great minority in the Western Federation of Miners, therefore, they deemed it wise that instead of the Western Federation of Miners losing its identity, which it must if a consolidation took place, and the United Mine Workers chartering our locals, that it would be for the best interests of all concerned, at least for the present, for both organizations to preserve their identity, continue the mutual interchange of transfer cards and co-operate in the work of organizing in every way possible.

The joint committee, among other recommendations, reported in favor of forming a mining department, and as we have already said, their report was adopted by the United Mine Workers and later by the largest referendum yet taken by the Western Federation of Miners, and the following communication from the Executive Board of the United Mine Workers forwarded to the 19th annual convention of the Western Federation of Miners should be sufficient evidence that that organization believed that the Western Federation of Miners knew what they were doing when adopting the joint committee's report and were desirous of putting into effect the policy as outlined.

Letter from Executive Board United Mine Workers.

Indianapolis, Indiana, July 7, 1911.

Western Federation of Miners, Denver, Colorado.

Dear Sirs and Brothers: Pursuant to the action of our executive board in this city on the 30th, I hereby officially notify you of their action. The following motion was carried by unanimous vote: "Moved and seconded that we recommend to the Western Federation of Miners that they join with us in extending an invitation to all the international organizations who will form the Mining Department and that our delegates representing the United Mine Workers of America in the next Federation of Labor convention are hereby authorized to meet with you and perfect a Mining Department of the character herein indicated."

Expressing the hope that this will meet with favor from the delegates to your next convention and with best wishes for the future success of the Western Federation of Miners, I am, Fraternaly yours,

EDWIN PERRY,

Secretary-Treasurer United Mine Workers of America.

You will note again in this letter the same recommendation by the Executive Board of the United Mine Workers to the Western Federation of Miners as is found in Clause 5 of the Joint Committee's report, which was to organize a Mining Department and which had been adopted by a referendum vote of our membership. The nineteenth annual convention accepted the invitation and proceeded to elect four delegates, instructing them to meet with the delegates of the United Mine Workers at Atlanta, Georgia, and perfect a Mining Department of the character indicated in the resolution. Your delegates went to Atlanta, and while in conference with the representatives of the Mine Workers, and about the time that the draft of a constitution and by-laws to govern a Mining Department was agreed upon and an application being made to the American Federation Council for a department charter, these petitions were going out from our locals.

Let us sum up for a moment. First we send seven representatives to Indianapolis at a large expense to confer with the organization which it is now proposed to consolidate with. That organization tells us in no uncertain way that they do not believe consolidation or amalgamation practicable, but recommend the following:

First—Continuing of the present agreement of mutual interchange of transfer cards.

Second—Co-operation of the organizers of the two unions in organizing the non-union coal miners and metal miners in every section of the American continent.

Third—That the Western Federation of Miners make application for affiliation with the American Federation of Labor.

Fourth—That a Mining Department, to control the mining industry of the American continent, be organized.

We accept their recommendations and agree to act jointly with them. Application is made to the American Federation of Labor for a charter which is granted; the Mining Department is organized and preparing to put into effect its general policy, when it is proposed by the petitioners to simply wipe out the entire effort of more than a year and a half and practically begin where we started in 1910, and in face of the fact that not later than November of the year just passed seven of the most prominent men of the United Mine Workers, representing that organization at the Atlanta convention, again advised the representatives of the Western Federation of Miners that as far as the Mine Workers were concerned they were not in favor of a consolidation of the two organizations at this time, but that their organization was in hearty accord with the plans as outlined in the Joint Committee's report, which had finally been perfected.

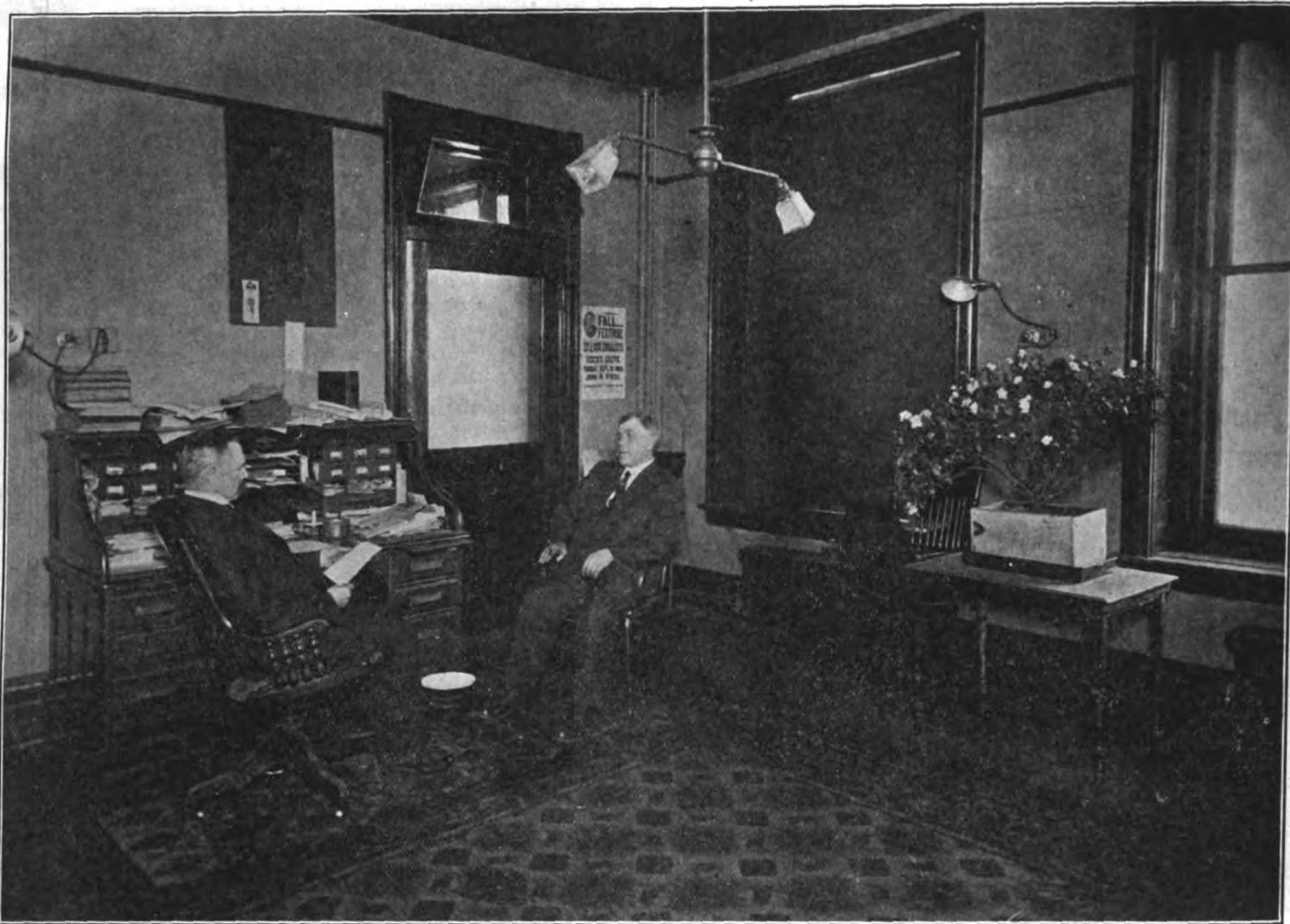
It is not the intention of the Executive Board to argue this question with the membership, but simply to point out the fact that the Porcupine resolution provides for nothing other than the securing of the sentiment of our membership. We will suppose that the question proposed by No. 145 should be submitted and it was found that the sentiment of the majority of those voting was in favor of a consolidation with the Mine Workers. We would then find ourselves in the identical position that we were when your seven representatives journeyed to Indianapolis, Indiana, to confer with the United Mine Workers of America for the purpose of outlining plans for a closer alliance. We take it that the representatives of the United Mine Workers have reaffirmed their recommendations in their communication which was adopted by the Nineteenth Annual Convention, and again in the month of November of the year just passed, when, meeting with your representatives and perfecting a Mining Department, which should be sufficient evidence that they had not changed their views and that we might expect the same answer, the same advice which they gave your committee in 1910.

The board also feels that it is justified in calling the attention of our membership to the fact that a consolidation with the United Mine Workers means the sinking of the identity of the metal miners' organization and the chartering of our local unions by the United Mine Workers, because the United Mine Workers is not going to sink its identity, nor is it going to change its policy because, after many years it is unable to see at this time a better way of dealing with their employers.

Then again the board would call your attention to the fact that the United Mine Workers has a district form of organization. And all locals in said district must be affiliated with the same, therefore, under a consolidation there could be but two possible ways of conducting the affairs of the metal miners—first that the local unions of metal miners would become a part of the district organization, or second that there would be a district of metal miners, which would mean, owing to the



OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY-TREASURER, W. F. M.



OFFICE OF THE EDITOR MINERS' MAGAZINE.

scattered condition of our locals, that the district would be composed of all locals in the United States and Canada, for with the exception of possibly one state, there would not be a sufficient number of locals to maintain a district as provided for by the United Mine Workers.

Then again it has been claimed that a consolidation with the United Mine Workers would eliminate the expense, especially that of maintaining headquarters and salaried officials. But when it is known that the United Mine Workers, instead of having but one headquarters, one set of salaried officials, as has the Western Federation of Miners, have twenty-seven district organizations, each with a salaried president and secretary and an executive board, and many sub-districts with their salaried officers and that if the metal miners were districted, which they undoubtedly would be, by the United Mine Workers, that the same or similar headquarters as we have now and the same number of officers would be necessary to conduct the affairs of the district, then both the argument of a reduction in expense and an elimination of salaried officers falls flat.

As to the obligation of the individual member, it might be well for our membership to know that the per capita tax provided for in the constitution of the United Mine Workers is 25 cents per month, with such assessments as in the opinion of the Executive Board may be necessary to levy. The minimum monthly tax to the district organizations is 15 cents per member with such assessments as the District Executive Board deems necessary to levy, and in addition to this, is a sub-district tax of from 7 to 10 cents. Thus you will see that the per capita tax alone which would be required from you as members of the United Mine Workers would be approximately one-half more than you are required to pay into the Western Federation.

The board feels that had the petitioners been acquainted with the facts as set forth they would not have stated that "by said amalgamation it would obviate the necessity of having two sets of officers and that the expense to our membership would be greatly reduced." Neither would they have proposed a joint meeting of representatives of both organizations to draft a constitution acceptable to the membership of both organizations which is identical with the resolution adopted by the Seventeenth Annual Convention, which action has resulted in a number of conferences between representatives of the two miners' organizations with the result that a Mining Department has been organized, the executive board of which will hold its first meeting the latter part of this month. Your Executive Board is unanimous in their wishes for a closer alliance with the United Mine Workers, yet having in mind the preliminary work that has already been done and the progress made toward that end and the positive position taken by the United Mine Workers' representatives in conferences already held, the board would ask the petitioners and the membership in general what they can expect to accomplish by setting aside the work already done and beginning anew.

Since the adjournment of the Nineteenth Annual Convention the work of organization has been carried on as far as it was possible with the limited funds available. The work of organizing the men employed in the mining industry is the most important problem confronting our organization. The membership of local unions should co-operate with

local officers in building up local unions until the closed shop is established in all localities where partial organization now exists. Without this co-operation it becomes difficult for your organizers or officers to accomplish the desired results.

In compliance with instructions of the convention, a representative of your organization in conjunction with representatives of the United Mine Workers of America, visited Old Mexico to investigate the possibilities of organizing the mining industry of that country. The report submitted by your representatives indicates that the work of organization can be successfully carried on in that country, the present government of Old Mexico showing a friendly attitude towards the working class.

We would urge on all local unions to become affiliated with state and central bodies as early as possible as considerable can be gained by co-operating with such bodies, and urging on them the necessity of utilizing concentrated efforts with legislative parties to secure direct legislation and other measures that would be of interest to the working class. This phase of working class activities has been sadly neglected in the past and we hope that all organized labor within the political boundaries of states and provinces will become united and concentrate their efforts in securing favorable labor legislation.

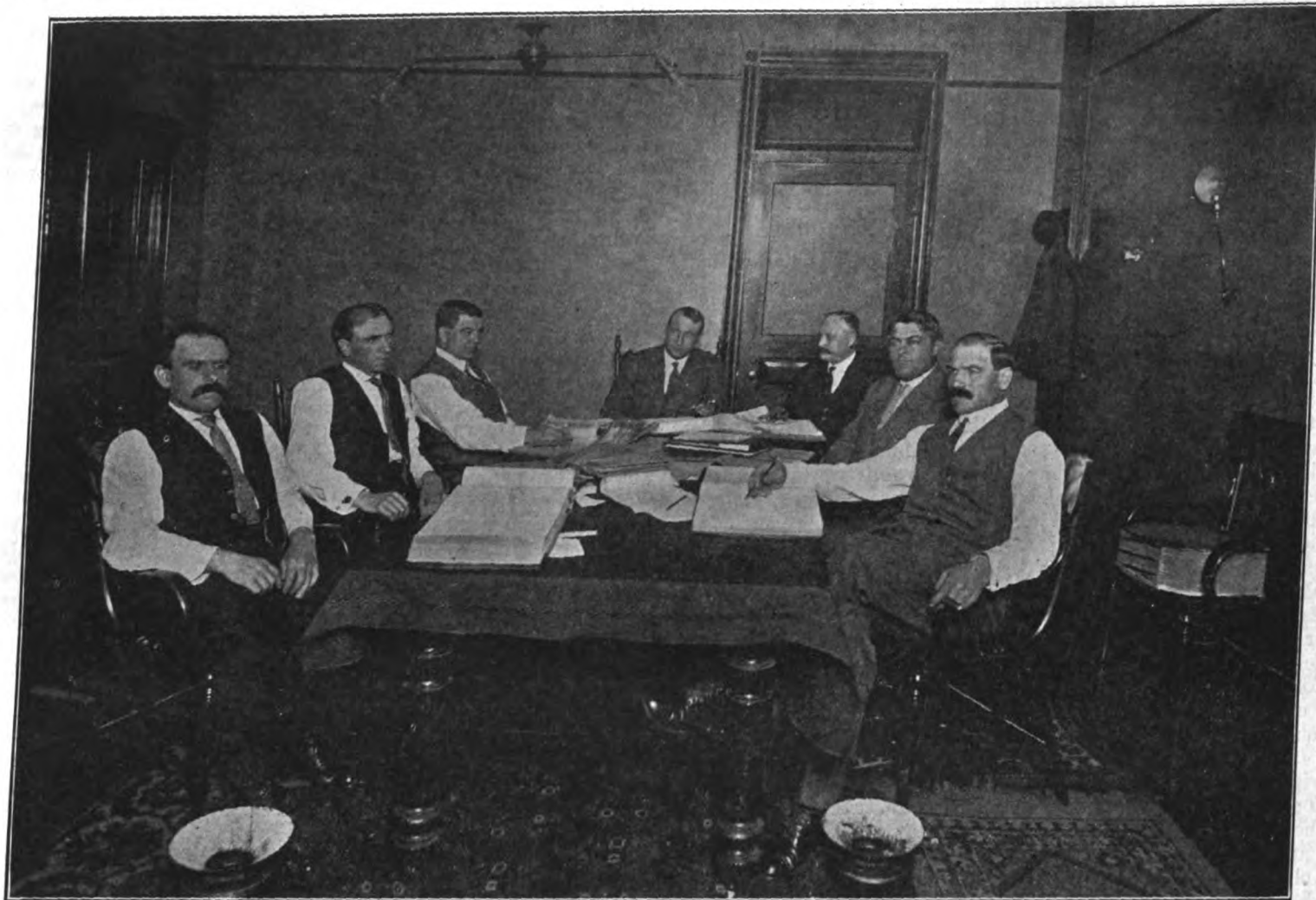
There has been no strikes or lockouts inaugurated in the jurisdiction of your organization since the adjournment of the Nineteenth Annual Convention. The strike that was then on against the City of Los Angeles in connection with the construction of the aqueduct, has been terminated through the Metal Trades Council of Los Angeles declaring the work fair and the Executive Board of your organization concurring with said action. The strike inaugurated against the American Zinc and Lead Smelting Company at Caney and Dearing, Kansas, is still on and union men are requested to stay away from those points until notice of a settlement is given.

The situation in the Black Hills of South Dakota is unchanged. The lockout is still on and the conditions confronting your organization in that district are practically the same as outlined in former reports sent out to the membership. Board Members Brown, Sullivan and Terzich will go to the Black Hills immediately after adjournment to investigate conditions, put into effect such changes in connection with the conducting of the affairs of the organization in that district as they deem warranted at this time.

The Black Hills assessment has been discontinued for the month of February, 1912. This does not mean that the expense of caring for our locked-out members in the Black Hills has terminated, but the board thought it advisable to relieve the membership of the assessment for one month at least. We earnestly request all locals indebted for back assessments to forward same to Secretary-Treasurer at once that the work of your organization may not be hampered through lack of funds.

Preston and Smith Cases.

The Pardon Board of the State of Nevada granted a parole to Joseph Smith in November, 1911, and preparations are being made for the renewal of the petition for M. R. Preston and there is every reason to believe that the same will be favorably considered by the Pardon Board of the State of Nevada in the near future.



EXECUTIVE BOARD OF THE W. F. M. IN SESSION.

What Is Socialism?

(W. E. P. French, in Machinists' Magazine.)

Socialism is the religion of humanity. It was begotten in hope, conceived in charity and born in honor. It was nourished in the milk of truth, swaddled in the robes of justice, rocked in the cradle of equality, and lighted and warmed by the eternal fire of the torch of liberty. It was prophesied in the past, it is being fulfilled in the present, and it shall be the glory of the splendid future. It is the creed of the just mind, the prayer of the generous heart, the commandment of the kindly soul. It is love, and love is God and fulfilling of the law.

Socialism is the theory and practice of humanism, mutualism and we-ism.

Socialism is the science of the commonweal and the commonwealth, and the art of voluntary co-operation. It is the law of evolution applied to society. It is the realization of a righteous political economy. It is a hope, an aspiration, a demand for something better, higher and holier. It is a living force moving onward and upward, and its motto is: "Forward!" It is a progression from evil to good, from want to plenty, from misery to happiness, from cruelty to kindness, from stagnation to movement, from hate to love, from distrust to confidence, and from death to life. It is a growth away from falsehood and toward truth, from injustice toward justice, from folly toward wisdom, from fraud toward honesty, from artifice toward art, and from deformity toward beauty.

Socialism is Americanism in the sense of the founders of the Republic, for it reaffirms, in fuller measure, the Declaration of Independence, asserting that all children, women and men are, and ever will be, free and equal.

Socialism is the antithesis of anarchy and autocracy, and the apotheosis of Democracy. It is the ripe fruit of democracy, "The Republic of Man, Woman and Child."

Socialism is the highest patriotism, for it embraces the whole world, holding the welfare of the race above the rancor, avarice or ambition of ruler, priest or politician, but ready and willing to fight to the last ditch in defense of its own country, or in aid of any other land threatened by wrong, cruelty or oppression. It is the negation of national and individual selfishness and isolation, and the affirmation of the interdependence and solidarity of all humankind. It believes that disputes between nations and individuals can be honorably adjusted without murder, and it holds that war is justifiable in three cases only—to defend threatened liberties, to seize withheld liberties, and to succor the victims of tyranny.

Socialism is progress. It is the raising of humankind above money, of people above property, of humanity above humbug and hypocrisy. It is a social uplift from darkness into light. It is the denial of the gospel-of-getting, the assertion of the gospel-of-giving. It is the grave of the corrupt body of selfishness, the resurrection and immortal life of the shining spirit of altruism. It is progress, progress, progress: eternal progress from night to day, from cloud to sunshine, from ignorance

to knowledge, from fear to hope, from sleep of conservatism to the awakening of thought, from the coma of reaction to the conscious splendor of action and creation, from the madness of individual competition to the sanity and peace of collective effort, from sordid commercialism to big-hearted co-operation, from the crime of monopoly to the common sense of the collectivist commonwealth, from envy to emulation, from malice to mutual and kindly understanding, from the swamp of poverty to the sun-kissed uplands of universal prosperity, from the earthly to the ideal, from the hell of the rule of gold to the heaven of the golden rule.

Socialism is the evolution of the human race from cannibalism and savagery to fraternalism and philanthropy, from the infamy of the swine to the splendor of God.

Socialism is the kingdom of righteousness, wherein little children, emancipated from toil, ignorance, hunger and exploitation, shall be raised by loving care, in school and playtime, to healthy, happy, useful citizenship; wherein women, absolved from shame, servitude and inequality, shall be enfranchised, owners of themselves, and full partners in every right and obligation; and wherein men, masterless, joyous and free, shall work gladly for family and home, sure of what they earn, unafraid of the morrow, unhaunted by the fear of illness or unemployment, safe from the scrap pile of trade, ennobled by the dignity of toil that pays no tribute to taskmaster.

Socialism is the communion of art and industry, the marriage of beauty to strength and skill, the baptism of labor by pleasure. And from these sacraments shall spring the "joy of the working," the mere "joy of living," and the right to create and enjoy—the inalienable right of every human being to do the work that is worth while and pleasant in the doing.

Socialism is law and order, cause and effect, the logic of right reasoning from right premises. It is creation by disintegration and reintegration; for it tears down only that it may build better. It is the conservation of energy by the co-ordination of effort and need, as opposed to production in competition or for mere profit.

Socialism is common sense and common decency. It recognizes that the producer is superior to the thing produced; that the creator owns the creation, and that (in the words of the great Lincoln), "Capital is only the fruit of Labor." It is thought, not a blind belief; for it denies that property, commodity, material wealth, is the foundation of national or individual welfare, and questions the world-old theory that the right-to-have is the basis of equity of true social science. It is a fact, not a fancy, for it is based upon the eternal truths that the whole is greater than any of its parts; that the greatest good to all is of more importance than the selfish aggrandizement of the few, and that strength lies in unity, not in division. It is human nature blossoming under rational environment. It is the garden of humanity where every young shoot is given equal right to sun and soil and rain, and where all growing

things are protected from the cut-worm of commerce and the blight of the fungus greed.

Socialism is a community of interest for the community, not for a few gentlemen-by-the-grace-of-gold. It is the final universal corporation of labor, the indissoluble union of the brain and brawn of the body politic, the head in partnership with the hand. It is the solution of the problem of production and the answer to the question of distribution.

Socialism is the philosophy of the right of enjoyment for all. It is the inheritance by humankind of its birthright in force and matter, its "vested interests" in "the earth and the fullness thereof."

Socialism is a trust "of the people, for the people, and by the people"; a trust whose unwatered stock will be the united labor of united states; a trust which will produce enough for the producers and for a neighboring people in need; a trust whose policy will be honesty; whose wages will be the normal earnings of the co-partnership of industry and intelligence, whose hours of toil will be the shortest compatible with doing the needful work of the community; a trust which will neither rob nor deceive producers or consumers; a trust of open doors and open books; a trust amenable to the laws of the land, not skulking under class-made legislation; a trust managed by women and men of the highest integrity, not grafted by gamblers, promoters and wreckers; a trust not at the mercy of a self-seeking, greedy and unscrupulous clique of bankers, brokers and underwriters; a trust not affected by inflation, depreciation, liquidation and spoliation; a trust backed by the credit of nations; a trust without lobbies, bribery, corporate counsel or the corrupting influence of a stock market, and without oily saints, anthracite angels, insurance philanthropists, packers of poison, kings of grand larceny or million-dollar presidents; a trust managed for the benefit of the public, not for mere capital; a trust "with malice toward none, with charity for all"; a trust to insure "life, liberty and pursuit of happiness" to every child and adult; a trust which will take, in voluntary, self-chosen, joyous labor, "from each according to ability," and will give "to each according to need"; a trust which will guarantee to every one the right to work and play, to think and to be free, with abundant leisure for the highest individual development; a trust whose officers will be the servants of the people, subject to the people's will, and paid by law; and a trust that will make of this weary, toil-wrung, poverty-stricken old world a fit habitation for human beings too long cheated of their rightful heritage of justice, happiness and comradeship.

Socialism is collective ownership and operation, for use, not profit, of all natural and artificial opportunities that are inherently monopolistic in character, or that are in any sense public utilities. It is the common, democratic management of the great instruments of production, distribution, exchange and communication, through public service corporations, belonging to the people, administered by their directly chosen servants (whose salaries, promotions and tenure of office will be fixed by law, not by themselves), safeguarded by direct legislation and proportional representation, and further secured from financial, political or bureaucratic corruption by the initiative, referendum, sovereign recall and imperative mandate. It is government by the will, direction and command of the whole people of the people's servants in the national household. These servants will be removable at the pleasure of the public; they will serve the state, not rule it; and their highest duty

shall be obedience to the mandate of the commonwealth. It is the government of the representatives, the agents, the mouthpieces of a united people by the master that employs them, not the rule by elected, appointed or self-constituted executives, legislatures, judiciaries or bureaucrats (irresponsible, irresponsive, and clothed with dangerous power), of the citizens of a free state. It is government of the few necessary servitors in each nation's house by the householder, not the subjection of the owners and employers to the dictation and coercion of the hired domestics. It is the protection of all citizens against the tyranny of the minority of power and wealth; and it is the protection of the minority in their rights to life, liberty, opportunity and happiness against possible aggression or oppression by a social, industrial, political or religious majority.

Socialism is the extreme of democracy meeting the extreme of individualism. It is the noble and uplifting public life of communism in which broad and loving fellowship shall lead the whole race to the heights of mental and material accomplishment, but from which the individual may, can and will withdraw to the sacred penetralia of home, there to commune with the good, the true and the beautiful, to think, to dream, to work in golden leisure, to do the thing that seemeth good and to live the exquisite dream-life of philosophical anarchy with the great and gentle souls of Morris and Tolstoy.

Socialism is the encourager of capacity, the discourager of rapacity; it will reward genius with the opportunity to create, and ability with the power to achieve; and it will crown creation and achievement with honor; but it will not give to talent the labor or the labor product of its fellows, nor will it make a swine out of the possessor of a great brain. Rather will it say to those who are hall-marked with a great mentality: "Freely ye have received, freely give," and "if thou hast much, give plenteously."

Socialism is friendship, fellowship, comradeship. It is joint ownership in rights, duties, privileges, immunities, obligations of the entire human family, children, women and men. It is practice of the doctrine, "United we stand, divided we fall." It is the application of the law, "In union there is strength." It is the meaning of America's motto: "From many, one."

Socialism is the proclamation of emancipation to all who labor and are heavy laden.

Socialism is equity, the even-handed justice that deals impartially by all.

Socialism is the antidote of human suffering.

Socialism is freedom in its final analysis.

Socialism is fate and manifest destiny.

Socialism is certainty and salvation.

Socialism is the inheritance by all the children of men of the kingdom of happiness here and now.

Socialism is the religion of humanism.

Socialism is the trinity of love, justice and truth.

Socialism is the gospel of the atonement of humanity for "man's inhumanity to man."

Socialism is the second coming of "the elder brother."

Socialism is faith in the motherhood of God, hope in the comradeship of humankind, and charity for all the world.

Legalized Brutality

WE BOAST of what civilization has done for man, and we elaborate on the results of the influences exercised by Christianity on the human race, but the following in the telegraphic columns of the daily press sent out from Wilmington, Delaware, will cause thoughtful people to ask themselves, if man in a barbaric age was more merciless than the refined product of the twentieth century?

The dispatches from Wilmington read as follows:

"Wilmington, Del., Jan. 13.—With hands tied to the extended arms of a cross and with backs bared to the zero gale, two men were mercilessly lashed in the court yard of the county workhouse here today, part payment of the toll the state exacts for their crime.

"John Brewington received forty lashes with a cat-of-nine-tails, in addition to which he will serve two years in state prison for highway robbery.

"Arthur Johnson received twenty lashes and will serve one year for larceny.

"The men suffered frightfully from the cold, and from the blood-letting lashes, and staggered, semi-conscious, back to their cells. The whippings, as are all Delaware whippings, were public, and a morbid crowd stood against the prison walls and saw the heavy leather strap with its nine thongs cut deep into the quivering flesh of the wretches.

"The men were to have been lashed early today, but the two degrees below zero weather chilled Warden Crawford himself to such an extent that he postponed the whippings until the day warmed.

"In the afternoon, when a four-degrees rise in the temperature was noted, Crawford bundled himself up in a fur-lined overcoat, put on heavy gloves and ordered the men brought out.

"Each wore a heavy blanket wrapped about his neck and hanging down across his chest—but his back was nude. The prisoners' hands were encased in gloves as their extended arms were lashed to the cross—but the winds bit and the snow pelted against their naked backs.

"Brewington was whipped first. His back, blue from cold, shivered and shook as the first blow of the strap fell, cutting nine bloody welts, straight across. Ten times the scourge fell, straight down, and

ninety livid welts showed on his quivering back. Then, by moving his position, Warden Crawford made the strap strike at an angle.

"Ten blows thus, and the angle was changed, until, when the forty cruel blows had landed, a perfect grill of embossed flesh, torn and bruised, showed across the wretch's back.

"Not a sound did Brewington utter, though his lips were bleeding from the bites he gave as the scourge swished through the air and he stiffened himself for the coming pain.

"His arms were freed and he staggered, back from the cross. Guards seized him. Without washing away the blood, they drew a heavy, coarse, woolen undershirt over his body and rushed him, half-frozen, back to his cell.

"Johnson, nude to the waist, stood by all the while, shivering with cold and fright; involuntarily he braced himself as each blow landed on Brewington's shoulders, as though he could feel the pain himself. Then, when Brewington's torture was ended, Johnson was led to the cross, pilloried and lashed."

The above in the columns of the daily press, puts the brand of infamy on the civilization of which we boast.

The savage, in his war paint, taking the scalp of his victim, was no more heartless than the prison warden who wielded the pitiless lash that cut into the flesh of the helpless victims whom the law condemned to corporal punishment and the legislative body that passed such a law were as brutal as the dehumanized Cossacks of Russia, who are looked upon as being as dead and callous to human suffering as though they were bereft of hearts and souls.

Legalized brutality is even more monstrous than that brutality that is administered by the hand of the barbarous savage, for the refined ingenuity of cruelty has been put into the instrument of torture, and the trained administrator of punishment becomes a master in the use of the weapon that reflects deathless glory on the vaunted civilization that has had the benefit of nineteen hundred years of Christianity!

We look back to the ante-bellum days and we feel pained at the chapters of American history that reveal the cruelties that were perpetrated in the days of chattel slavery, but no dealer that ever traf-

ficked in the flesh of the African race can show more heartlessness than the official fiend who plied the lash to the backs of his victims at Wilmington, Delaware, and no body of lawmakers on the face of the earth is any more infamous than the brutal aggregation that legalized the

whipping-post in Delaware. The victims, whose backs now bear the scars of legalized brutality, are *gentlemen* compared with the monsters who enacted such a law and the incarnated imp who put such a law into execution.

His Frailties Disclosed

THERE HAS BEEN quite an effort made on the part of a number of prominent politicians of Democratic faith to shower laudations on the governor of New Jersey in the hope that he might develop into a presidential possibility, but it seems that Wilson shows a shrinkage the more he is hailed as an eligible standard-bearer for national Democracy.

The Mining Expositor of Ely, Nevada, seems to be afflicted with illness over a suspicion that Wilson is being slandered by political enemies or rivals.

The Expositor, under the heading, "Misrepresenting Position on Judiciary Recall," had the following to say, editorially, to keep Wilson's political boom from collapsing:

"Some of those who are opposing Woodrow Wilson's candidacy for the presidency are either deliberately misrepresenting his position on the recall, or speaking of it so loosely as to make it appear that he favors every kind of recall. On the contrary, Governor Wilson took pains in California itself, where, as the recent election has proved, the great bulk of the population is in favor of having the power to recall judges, to set forth his steadfast opposition to anything that might weaken the independence of the judiciary. Not Mr. Taft himself has been more outspoken in his opposition to recalling judges. Now, if the allegation of some of his journalistic critics were true, that the governor changed his position on the initiative and referendum, not because of an honest conviction, but because he thereby sought political popularity, he should in San Francisco have advocated the recall of judges. Californians are certain to let any visitor to the state know how they feel upon that issue. Yet it was easy for Governor Wilson to take the unpopular side as it was for Mr. Taft."

Let us not mince matters relative to Governor Wilson of New Jersey:

Wilson is a political coward, whose spinal column is as limp as a watersoaked rag.

In the presence of industrial masters, commercial princes and financial kings, the New Jersey product, whose political growth has been of the mushroom type, is as gentle and as submissive as a mongrel cur in the presence of a thoroughbred dog.

The Expositor endeavored to pay him a compliment on the grounds that Wilson, while in California, took the unpopular side of the recall by assuming an attitude in opposition to the people having the power to recall a judge from the bench.

Wilson, in taking such a stand, placed himself in line for the ap-

proval of trusts and corporations, for these great combinations that furnish funds for campaign expenses recognize the courts as "the bulwarks of American liberty."

Governor Wilson has at times, recently, been lauded as a "friend of labor," but these disgusting flatterers in the field of journalism who attempt to crown Wilson as "the friend of labor" seem to forget the speech delivered by the presidential aspirant in the year 1909 before the graduating class of the Princeton University in which he said:

"You know what the usual standard of the employe is in our day. It is to give as little as he may for his wages. Labor is standardized by the trade unions, and this is the standard to which it is made to conform: No one is suffered to do more than the average workman can do in some trades and handicrafts; no one is suffered to do more than the least skillful of his fellows can do within the hours allotted to a day to a day's labor, and no one can work out of hours at all or volunteer beyond the minimum.

"I need not point out how economically disastrous such a regulation of labor is. It is so unprofitable to the employer that in some trades it will presently not be worth his while to attempt anything at all. He had better stop altogether than operate at an inevitable and invariable loss. The labor of America is rapidly becoming unprofitable because of its present regulations by those who have determined to reduce it to the minimum. Our economic supremacy may be lost because the country grows more and more full of unprofitable servants."

The above sounds like the sentiments that would be expected from such men as Kirby, Post, or "General" Otis, those valiant "friends of labor," who have not only resorted to every function of government to destroy the labor movement, but who have entered into every conspiracy possible to thwart the efforts of the laboring class in securing humane conditions for those who toil for another.

Developments in the field of politics and the external weakness of men of national repute, who are being groomed for the highest political honors of a nation, are revealing to the people the class struggle, and the influence of that class struggle on men who aspire to wield the executive sceptre over 90,000,000 of people.

The day is rapidly approaching when real issues can no longer be obscured by the official organs of Democracy and Republicanism, for the fight is on between exploiter and exploited and there can be no peace until the last vestige of industrial despotism is dispelled by the sunlight of an economic liberty that will resolve *slaves* and *masters* into *men*.



PHILOSOPHY OF VOTES FOR WOMEN

(By A. R. Cooper.)

Are not those writers and rulers who are trying to prevent the coming of woman's suffrage overmuch puffed up with the conceit of their own power and importance? Certain it is if they had been as far-seeing and governing as they conceive themselves to be, there would have been no such movement. Though they have always opposed it with all the weapons at their command, yet the movement has gone on and now rages in full blast over the civilized world. Plainly then, the course of events is beyond the control of ultra-conservatism. The signs are that the time has come for investing women with more definite political power, not with the idea that it will bring the millennium, but in the belief that social betterment lies in that direction. We are beginning to see that change, which is the law of life, involves women the same as men, and that the pressure is upon us for material readjustments in their political relations. It would seem that the same trend of events that made men voters is now bearing women onward to the same goal. At least there can be no question that the tide is strongly set in that direction, with as great a show of actual brilliant triumphs, as its fights are splendid on many unwon fields.

As regards the question, then, our dear old fogies are playing their usual part of fighting for a lost cause. They are never able to see that there is nothing so sure to pass away as their own cherished environments of exclusive benefits and ideals. There are no open doors, so they seem to think for any ideas or changes which they dislike or forbid. Such things they regard as outside the pale of fitness and yet history teaches no plainer lesson

than that if we would forecast the course of events with surest vision, we have only to study the things which their class most strongly condemns.

And so it is that the able editors who are writing against votes for women, quite fail to realize that the issue that confronts them is nothing less than a radical feature of the general trend of social evolution. Certainly their attitude towards it of scornful and easy-going depreciation, is as vain and futile as Mrs. Partington's broom against the waves of the sea.

Though they may seem to show in a hundred ways that time honored customs and the nature of things are against the new departure, yet while they write and resist and scold, so surely are existing sentiments and arrangements being effaced before their very eyes, that their good old world has all but vanished, and the newer order which they do not like nor understand, is already fully here in spirit, and to a great extent, as an accomplished fact.

Mighty is the eternal force of evolution, and all that those who oppose it get for their pains is to be swept away. Much happier are they who see, or think they see, amid the strifes of the times, the lines on which this force is moving, and so feel that the same "necessity which moves the stars in the sky, moves the emotions of their minds."

Let us be sure there is no withstanding the sequence of events. No matter who we are, or what we think, it is not us, but that law which shapes the future. The pressure upon us to give woman the vote is no mere transient flurry, but the natural demand of an abused and worsted half of society for fuller opportunities of life and happiness.

GET NEXT, MR. MINER.

The Zinc Ore Producers' Association recently took a hand in saying what the price of ore should be, gauged by the spelter market. And the price of ore went up.

They acted like intelligent men. They used the power of their organization and got results. They did not claim that they could not make a profit on \$45 ore. They pointed to the price of spelter and said "come across, or no more ore."

They saw the ripe persimmon of larger profits and brought it down. So much to the credit of the operators' union.

That demand could not have been made without organization. That is the first step toward doing big things.

They were ready for a shut-down; in other words, they were ready to strike for higher prices for ore. Nobody talked about the operators being misled by unprincipled agitators, as they would have done, if the miners had made a demand for higher wages. Everybody recognized that they were shrewd business men, looking for all that was coming to them.

Everybody recognized the right of the operator to raise the market price of ore, if he could.

In your case they would have told you to go to some other employer, if you did not like the wages; but nobody suggested that they sell to another smelter.

Yet smelter owners and mine operators pay about the same price whether they are buying zinc or muscle.

Every hypocrite in the district would have been sniveling over your wife and children if you had made a demand for higher wages; but you could get just as hungry in a shut-down as in a strike.

Don't be deceived, it is not your wife and children they sympathize with, they want a chance at the dollars you get; when you don't earn you can't spend.

They are willing to see you suffer for the benefit of others. They only fear to see you think and act for yourself.

You will be an object of pity, charity and contempt as long as others do your thinking for you.

The operators united the power of their numbers and dollars, to swell their bank accounts and the community approved, but is it nobler to swell bank accounts than to protect wife and children?

If the miners of this district were united, a demand for \$3.50 per day when ore was \$48 would not close a single mine. The mine operator would listen to reason as the smelter magnates did.

What added comfort that would bring in the miners' shack; you would not stop at the question of wages alone, you would begin to protect life and health. The ambulances would not be called so frequently and consumption would not claim so many victims.

You have waited long for others to do something for you. Nothing has been done nor can be until you awake and do it for yourself.

You have seen the labor required for a day's work increase, everything goes up but your wages.

Don't talk about others not sticking, see to it that you join and stick. Education leads to organization and through organization we will achieve independence.

There are plenty of cowards and knockers, but that is no reason for your being one.

Organize. Join the union. Do it now.

Joplin Miners' Union meets every Wednesday night; Webb City, Sunday night; Prosperity, Monday night; Cartersville, Tuesday night.

GUY E. MILLER, Organizer.

HE HATES A COWARD.

Thralft, Wash., January 5, 1912.

Editor Miners' Magazine:—In your issue of December 21, 1911, you reprint editorials from many so-called Labor and Socialist journals, among which I find a scathing arraignment of the McNamara brothers in the Mine Workers' Journal. The man who wrote that editorial must of necessity be an arrant coward and wrote as he did through arrant cowardice. Let the gentleman put himself in their place and see what he would do.

The rat when cornered and persecuted will turn on its tormentors and fight with its last breath, and has often been given its coup de grace with its fangs imbedded in the quivering flesh of its tormentor.

The McNamara brothers are Catholics, and as such, have been taught better than to commit crime or sin of any kind. I am not at this time a member of organized labor, but can show you that I have been a member of the U. M. W. of A., and as a member of that organization, done my whole duty, though frequently in defiance of J. Blood and his milk sop pal, J. Mitchell.

The struggle between the classes in this nation is war, and war is H—ll. If you don't believe it is war, Mr. Editor of the Mine Workers' Journal, just stand with me at the pits-mouth at the mines of Avondale, Pa., where one hundred and ten good, brave, stout men were smothered under ground, and let me take you by the hand, as it were, and lead you from one slaughter pen to another across the intervening years to the latest mine horror in the state of Tennessee, and tell me, if you think you can follow that capitalistic trail across the years, without treading at least ankle deep in the blood of the innocents? The Avondale horror occurred on the 14th day of November, 1869, and I am not able to quote the number of murders caused by criminal negligence of the traducers of labor in the fifty-two years just closed, and remember, Mr. Editor, not all were accidental. Many of those murders were by the hands of capital's hirelings and backed and abetted by hired courts and officers of the capitalist laws. You know the foregoing facts, then knowing that, you do know them. What is your status in the estimate of even an honest capitalist? Of necessity you must be a nerveless milk-sop or a colossal hypocrite.

I do not know the McNamara brothers, but from all I can read of them and their lives before they met McManigal, I certainly believe them innocent of premeditated murder and when James said he didn't intend to kill, I believe him literally.

I am a farmer in the Pacific Northwest and am necessarily a looker-on, and will state very plainly that such vaporings as contained in the Mine Workers Journal can only have their origin in the degenerate heart of a vampire, who feeds off the working class, and if you and that human ulcer, Harrison Gray, etc., and milk-sop Mitchell were put in a sack, his Satanic Majesty wouldn't know which to choose as a boon companion.

And in conclusion, though the McNamara brothers were radically wrong, they were brave and kind-hearted, and in the future, if you can't say a kind word for the down dog, let your pen be still.

I hate a coward.

T. F. HURLTY.

THE JUDICIARY REBUKED.

"Beyond this pen erected by a bench's rule
The field of greater justice, blooming lies;
Untrod by mortal feet it holds the school,
Whose beacon light will turn the worker's eyes
To soulful love and virtues that the judge's god
Entombs to feed and mock their hunger with a clod."

So spake the Doubter in his guest of Fact,
While viewing what the Judge declared was All.
His mind a healthy food could not extract
From out the measly thought inside the wall;
It long'd to soar, to leave behind its mental death,
And win for Good the laws that hid in sky and earth.

If man, bedridden by a cheap conceit
Did claim the worlds were made to glorify his kind,
As lord of beasts, how foolish he if he compete
With plutes to prove the race was far behind
In wisdom? A monster crawling blindly to its fate,
Bemired in moral sloth and fused with brother's hate!

A thousand years the courts of blind belief
Had hissed: "Come back, the judge alone is guide,"
And rebel man, his spirit bowed with grief,
Did leave the wall but pitch'd his tent beside
Its reared stone in hopes that quick the tyrant's throne
Would leave its top when mankind climb'd to take its own.

If man did seek the secrets of his faults,
And wish'd to sweep their ill effects away;
It pleased him not to live in musty vaults,
Where laid the putrid josses fashion'd to betray
His feet? He must away to find the home of Truth,
Where Justice, free of chains, gave Good persistent youth.

The leaves that whisper'd in the summer breeze;
The flood that leaped madly in its bed;
The moral wreck, the poor consumptive's sneeze;
The flaws that with the little child were bred
Were facts that cried "Unhand Hard Toil designing judge!"
Its right to delve is staid by legal cant and fudge."

The doubter markt the sentry with his weight
Of weapons forged to tear all honest thought,
And grieved to think that men by courtly sleight
Should fall before a dread their hands had wrought.
He saw the bloody handprints on the sacred wall,
And felt the tyrant's mandate sear his aching soul.

"Ho, guard!" he cried (his rebel mind said, "Try"),
"I climb the wall to win the gems beyond;
This childish work with plague and death to lie
When, searching there, Dame Nature will respond
To twine about all finds the merit of her laws,
So we may see the cause, then solve our bitter woes."

"What's that? Dost thou, an erring toiler dare,
To threaten raid on ground where courts preside?
Away, ingrate! to church and let a prayer
Allay the wrath thy slanderous voicings chide.
Away! a cry in heaven bids the quick repent
And evermore with woosack findings sleep content."

The rebel quickly storm'd the ivy'd wall
And met the guardsman's thrust with stern, "Aside!
The bench too long has starved the aching soul;
I go to gather fruits that will provide
Its life with a greater wish to gain the sterling worth
That follows Justice's rulings on the needs of earth."

"Apostate! all lies here that man can know;
The sages found for ages what they sought
In written law, and thankful, seeds did sow
In barren minds so worthy fruits were brought
From out of want. Defy the Word and thou wilt sell
Thy stricken soul to ceaseless woe in Satan's hell."

"To say this fence contains the whole of Good;
That moral mental tact lies here complete,
Is claim that human work has reach'd its flood
And met eternal death in a last defeat.
The bench expires! the future man, in joy, will sing:
'The foe is dead! let Justice guide and sit as king.'"

He climb'd the wall and found human weal in everything.
Salt Lake City, Utah. JOSEPH ROGERS.

CAPITALISTS BEHIND THE DYNAMITING PLOTS.

By Eugene V. Debs.

John and James McNamara are at San Quentin serving sentences for dynamiting, but they are not the real dynamiters. They are only the tools of the dynamiters. I advanced this theory when they made their confession, and subsequent developments have all tended to confirm it. The following United Press dispatch from Indianapolis, under date of December 26th, points directly toward the real dynamiters:

"Secret Service operatives of the United States and Detective William J. Burns, it was learned Tuesday, are investigating threads of evidence which may involve several large independent competitors of members of the National Erectors' Association in the McNamara dynamiting conspiracy.

"These threads of evidence are said to indicate that funds used by John J. McNamara in financing dynamiting operations were largely obtained from the treasury of the International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers.

"It is learned that the federal officials thus far have failed to discover any evidence showing a direct connection between competing firms of the members of the erectors and the dynamiting funds, but that they have information indicating that prominent members of the firms fighting the erectors contributed to the Iron Workers' fund. Detectives are now working on the theory that these donations were given to finance the dynamiting operations."

The history of these dynamiting outrages extends over a period of four years and over a hundred structural iron buildings and bridges have been destroyed during that time. Detective Browne, who first suspected the McNamaras and who, in fact, planned and encompassed their arrest (for which Burns got all the notoriety), has just stated in an authorized series of articles reviewing the case that "The McNamaras left a trail behind them as wide and bright as Broadway."

This statement is extremely significant and suggestive. If the McNamaras in their dynamiting operations left such a trail behind them, why did it require so many years to hunt them down and put an end to their crimes? There is not the least doubt that the Erectors' Association had its detectives and spies in the union and that these secret agents of the steel trust were wise to what was going on long before the McNamaras were finally seized and kidnapped. There is nothing in the whole affair to indicate that the McNamaras acted on their own initiative, but, on the other hand, the magnitude of the conspiracy, the continental scale upon which its operations were carried on, the deep plotting and unceasing vigil of the active minds directing it, the vast sums of money required to finance it, the expert skill and knowledge necessary in providing and handling the destructive agencies, all combined to disprove that it was a union conspiracy to destroy capitalist property, and to prove that it was a capitalist conspiracy, which had for its object the twofold purpose of destroying rival contractors upon the one hand and upon the other wiping out organized labor.

I believe I am familiar with the average labor union and its capacity, and the capacity of its leaders, to deal with large undertakings, and I would be willing to risk whatever I have of reputation that neither the Structural Iron Workers' Union, nor its leaders, conceived this dynamiting conspiracy or engineered its operations. Apart entirely from the question of their moral culpability, the magnitude of the affair and the success with which it was carried on for so many years, put it entirely beyond their capacity. It was never conceived in their brains and the plot was never made in their office. They simply fell victims to the wiles of the decoys which were being manipulated behind the scenes. They had just brains enough to furnish a receiving agency for the consignment of dynamite, time-clocks, fuses, etc., and to be caught with the goods on their persons when the conspiracy had accomplished its ends.

Had these dynamitings been the work solely of "criminal trade unionists" and they had left a trail behind them, as Detective Browne says they did, "as wide and bright as Broadway," is it possible that such bungling novices, such clumsy performers could have carried on their operations for years and destroyed scores of great buildings and bridges all over the country without being apprehended?

No, it is not possible, and while many may be honestly deceived, Otis and his ilk, including the Merchants and Manufacturers' Association and the criminal capitalists of California, who have for years rioted in the prostitution of that state wrought by themselves, are not among that number. They know better.

In their black hearts they know who the real dynamiters are and they know, too, that not one of them will ever be brought to justice while they are in the saddle. It is they who swore that they would not rest until organized labor on the Pacific coast was utterly annihilated, and in their desperation the lighted bomb of the dynamiter appealed to their savage psychology and their head-hunting methods of warfare as it never could have appealed to a labor union, or even to the most ignorant or depraved of the leaders.

A SNOW STORM.

(By Grace D. Brewer.)

A snow storm!

The bleak scenes are being converted into lovely, whitened landscapes. I stand by the window and gaze upon the falling flakes. No two of them alike; each a different shape. I wonder how far they fall before reaching their last resting place.

I think of the joy of the school boy; the happiness of the young lady contemplating a sleigh ride; of the pleasure of the well housed invalid watching the flakes fall; of the signs and groans of the poor.

But heedless of pleasure or pain the beautiful, soft, white flakes continue to fall. It would seem they have some pleasant task to perform and are happily hurrying thither.

Finally after bustling through the atmosphere between the earth and the cloud they join other flakes which have fallen before.

It takes many thousands of the tiny flakes to cover one blackened knoll. They cheerfully cuddle together and unite in making the bleak, dreary surface of the earth into a pleasing sight for mortal eyes that glance in that direction.

They are no longer flakes of snow. But instead we have a snow drift. Each has become a part of the whole.

Suppose each flake decided to light in a separate place; on some secluded spot, not allowing any other flake within so many feet of it?

Would the transformation of the black earth be complete? Would the beauty of a snow drift ever be realized?

It is only by co-operation that the tiny flakes of snow are able to transform the scenery and spread a blanket of purity over the earth. They must lose themselves in the whole.

So must we, as human beings and human workers, working for the good of each other and for all, lose ourselves in the whole, of which we are merely a part—only a snow flake—and by our united effort we will be able to change the blackened knolls of our social and economic system into white, healthy and useful plots.

NEWS FROM WASHINGTON, D. C.

(By National Socialist Press.)

Washington, D. C., January 19, 1912.—Victor L. Berger, the Socialist congressman, waged a strong but unsuccessful fight on the floor of the House against a scale of sweatshop wages proposed by the Democratic party for laborers employed by the Government of the District of Columbia.

"I am glad that I finally got the position of the Democratic party on the wage question," declared Berger after Congressman Burleson (Dem. Tex.) had made a speech in defense of a clause in the appropriation bill providing for annual wages for certain laborers as low as \$240 a year. "In other words," continued Berger, "you Democrats want the Government to do as badly or even worse, if possible, than the private employer does. You know wages are fixed nowadays in the open market and not by the best employer, but by the one who is paying the lowest wages."

The fact that some of these laborers are colored is no excuse for the low wages proposed, said Berger. "A colored man has red blood in his veins, and if you employ a colored man, you ought to pay him wages as you pay to a white man," declared the Socialist congressman. "I believe it is a disgrace for this great Government to pay any man a wage of \$240 a year. Of course, you can get men to work for that wage. I suppose there are some poor negroes out of work who would work for fifty cents a day."

Pointing out that private employers must make profits of their workers and that the Government is not in such a position, Berger urged the members of the House to vote for his amendment establishing a minimum wage of \$900 a year. "I believe \$900 is about the minimum wage on which a man with a family can live half-decently in the city of Washington."

"I will say," Berger said, "that if the two old parties continues as they do, the gentlemen on this side as well as the gentlemen on the other side, then we shall soon have a powerful section of about 100 Socialists in the House. And then both old parties will fall over each other to not only accept propositions of this kind, but infinitely more radical measures. That is what the capitalist parties did in Germany. But their good will came too late. The Socialists continue to grow and last week they polled four million votes.

"And in our country the Socialists will have about two million votes at the next election—maybe two millions and a half."

Berger's amendment to give workers living wages was, of course, ruled out of order. A few minutes after the House went on record against ordinary justice for ordinary laborers, Republicans and Democrats took the floor to speak for an increase of pay to the Corporation Counsel of the District of Columbia, from \$4,500 to \$5,000 a year.

As soon as this proposition came up Berger rose and said:

"If the gentleman from Texas (Mr. Burleson) should not make a point of order in this instance, I shall do so, for the reason that I will never stand by idly when men who get \$240 do not get their poor wages raised, while a man who gets \$4,500 a year would get a salary raise of \$500. That is just for the information of the gentleman."

Burleson, who had charge of the appropriation bill, could not easily escape this bit of information from the Socialist member of the House. He made a point of order. And it was sustained, too.

Carnegie Caught Lying.

"I never had a strike as long as I was in the steel business!"

This declaration was made by Andrew Carnegie, the multi-millionaire, before the Stanley Steel Investigating Committee. Two minutes after he had made this assertion Carnegie was forced by a member of the committee to admit that there was a strike at his steel works at Homestead, Pa., in 1892. A few minutes later Carnegie again gave himself the lie by admitting that there was a strike at his works at Braddock in 1887.

A statement made by Carnegie that he had never employed Pinkerton detectives to break strikes was shown to be false by the testimony of J. H. Bridge, author of "The Inside History of the Carnegie Steel Company."

Just when the hearing became interesting from a labor point of view the committee, Republicans and Democrats alike, decided that the story of the bloody Homestead strike and Carnegie's inhuman exploitation of his workers "was really extraneous to the investigation."

"Let's not open up the old sores," said Congressman Gardner, Republican, of Massachusetts.

"I agree with Mr. Gardner that it would be unkind to Mr. Carnegie," replied Congressman Stanley, Democrat, of Kentucky.

Hold "Phossy Jaw" Hearing.

Bartolomy O. Plaza, a match worker, who had to have his lower jaw removed as a result of phosphorous necrosis or "phossy jaw" was brought before the House Committee on Ways and Means, at a hearing on the Esch bill, which provides for a prohibitive tax on poisonous matches.

Congressman Payne, the author of the Payne-Aldrich Tariff law, fell asleep several times throughout the hearing. Nearly all match manufacturers damned the Esch bill with faint praise, showing that if they could have their way, no such measure would be passed.

Only one manufacturer did not play the rôle of the hypocrite. He was John T. Huner, of Evergreen, L. I. The committee had several hearty laughs, while he in a coarse and unsouth manner, boasted of his "fine brick factory," and his good-looking "young farm girls." While the members of the committee were enjoying themselves at Huner's puns and slang expressions, Bartolomy Plaza, the "phossy jaw" victim, whispered to a spectator sitting next to him in a tone audible and tragic:

"They laugh! Look at me! They laugh!"

For Government Department Stores.

Government-owned department stores for the use of Uncle Sam's 50,000 employes at Washington are advocated in a bill introduced by Congressman Berger.

The bill calls for an appropriation of one million dollars for the establishment of a number of stores organized and operated on the general lines of the commissary stores in the Canal Zone, Isthmus of Panama.

New Spirit Invades Senate.

The rising tide of Socialism has reached the United States Senate, and a Senator (Borah, Idaho) has been forced to declare that "the Constitution was not made for hogs alone, but also for men. If we are devoting over three million dollars a year to the gathering of statistics with reference to the diseases of cattle and hogs and the picking of ticks of cattle, it occurs to me that we can afford \$30,000 to collect data with reference to the disease of children."

At the end of the debate "Sunny Jim" Sherman, the President of the Senate and proprietor of doped food factories, announced that the bill would "go over," which means that the bill has been put on the table indefinitely.

In Memoriam.

Jerome, Ariz., January 10, 1912.

To the Officers and Members of Jerome Miners' Union:
Brother: We, your committee appointed to draft a letter of condolence on the death of Brother J. J. Ring, beg leave to submit the following resolutions for your approval:

Whereas, Death has again invaded our ranks and removed from our midst, Brother J. J. Ring; and

Whereas, In the death of Brother Ring, Jerome Miners' Union No. 79 has lost a true and loyal worker for the cause; and

Whereas, Brother Ring is one of the loyal union men that was locked-out on November 25, 1909, in the Black Hills, S. D.; therefore, be it

Resolved, By Jerome Miners' Union No. 79, W. F. of M., that we tender to his mother, relatives and friends of deceased, our heartfelt sympathy; and be it further

Resolved, That as a token of respect our charter be draped for a period of thirty days, a copy sent to the Miners' Magazine for publication, and a copy spread on our minutes.

WALFRID HOLM,
C. V. DILLON,
ED MASON,

Committee.

(Seal)

IN MEMORIAM.

Ontario, Canada, January 4, 1912.

Whereas, Death, the Grim Reaper, has invaded our ranks and removed from our midst one of our most faithful and loyal members, in the person of Chas. Whittier, to satisfy the greed of Organized Capital; therefore, be it

Resolved, That we extend our heartfelt sympathies to the friends of the deceased, his son in particular; and be it further

Resolved, That we drape our charter for a period of sixty days. Also that a copy of these resolutions be sent to each of the bereaved relatives, a copy spread on the minutes of this Local, and a copy be sent to the Miners' Magazine for publication.

DUNCAN J. McDONELL,
JOSEPH O'NEILL,
ARTHUR ERICKSON,

Committee.

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

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LIST OF UNIONS

Table listing unions in 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 Minnesota. Columns include No., Name, Meet'g Night, President, Secretary, P.O. Box, and Address.

LIST OF UNIONS

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

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James M. Brinson

Attorney at Law, 811-814 E. & C. Bldg., Phone, Main 5255. Denver, Colo. (Attorney for the Western Federation of Miners.)



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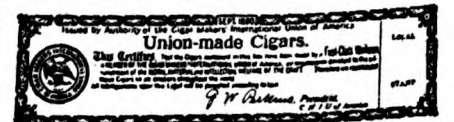
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Where members of Organized Labor are locked out because they refuse to scab and sign the following pledge:

"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."



DEMAND THIS LABEL ON ALL KEGS AND BARRELS AND ON ALL BOXES OF BOTTLE BEER.

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