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THE MINERS MAGAZINE

INDEPENDENCE
EDUCATION ORGANIZATION

Published Weekly by the

WESTERN FEDERATION OF MINERS

Denver, Colo.
March 14,
1912

Volume XII.
Number 455



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EDUCATION INDEPENDENCE ORGANIZATION

MINERS' MAGAZINE



Denver, Colorado,
Thursday, March 14, 1912.

Volume XII., Number 455
\$1.00 a Year

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 Communications not in conformity with this notice will not be published.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

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

John M. O'Neill, Editor

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

Card of the Homestake Mining Co.

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

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Occupation
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Department
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THE CHILD LABOR BILL of Massachusetts raising the school age to 15 years was defeated by a vote of 131 to 77. The mill owners likewise own the majority of the lawmakers of this prominent state of New England.

THE STRIKE of the coal miners of Great Britain has paralyzed the industries of England, Scotland and Wales. With 1,000,000 miners involved in the strike, 5,000,000 of men in other industries are affected. Every effort is being made to adjust differences, but at the present writing no settlement is in sight.

TEDDY AND BILLY are already waging their political campaigns for the presidency. Their campaigns are directed among the governors, and at last reading, Billy had two more governors than Ted. His Royal Fatness smiles no longer at the wind-bag with the abnormal molars, even though Ted with the Teeth made him his political heir four years ago.

THE DIAMOND WORKERS of Amsterdam, London, Germany, France and Switzerland have secured an eight-hour work day. The international organization has a membership of 9,000. The Diamond Workers, less than fifteen years ago, worked twelve hours a day, but unity of action has redeemed this craft from the greed of hungry exploiters, who ignored every moral right of laboring humanity.

Education and organization mean liberty and independence for the working class.

TAFT, HITCHCOCK & CO. seem to be in for a drubbing, as a report from Washington says that the right of postal employes to organize will be recognized in the current postoffice appropriation bill, the committee deciding to include in the bill a provision nullifying the various "executive gag rules." Kirby, Post & Co. won't like to hear this, either, after several years of diligent, unselfish and painstaking effort to keep Congress posted on what to do.—Cleveland Citizen.

THE STRIKE of the coal miners in the Northern coal fields of Colorado was partially settled last week. The American Fuel Company settled on the basis of a compromise, and 400 miners are already at work, and it is expected that fully 1,000 miners will be again in the mines in the course of a few days. The scabs and strikebreakers have been discharged. The strike has lasted for nearly two years.

THE WHEELING MAJORITY, a weekly labor journal published in West Virginia, has been converted into a daily paper to espouse the cause of the working class. The Majority becoming a daily publication is conclusive evidence that the working class is slowly but surely reaching the conclusion that labor is in need of a press that will not hesitate to measure steel with the daily organs of industrial tyrants.

WILLIAM G. GALLIVAN, Boston's chief school physician, has declared that 65 per cent of the 35,000 school children attending the public schools of Boston are physically defective. The vast majority of children who attend the public schools are the children of the working class, and their physical defects are due to unsanitary surroundings and lack of nutritious food. The statement of the Boston physician is a glorious tribute to our Christian civilization.

CHIEF STONE of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers and Chief Lee of the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen paid a visit to Washington recently to assure "Injunction Bill" that organized labor would march to the polls in solid phalanx next November and roll up a few millions of votes in support of "God Knows" having another four years' lease on the White House. When Stone and Lee pledge the labor vote of America to the political plutocrat who shook hands with the blood-stained but dethroned Diaz of Mexico, there is nothing else for the callous-fisted sovereign to do but yield obedience to those "labor leaders" who in every labor convention protest against bringing "politics into the unions."

IN THIS ISSUE of the *Miners' Magazine* we publish an editorial taken from a recent issue of the *Labor Clarion* of San Francisco, under the caption, "Dire Poverty and Great Wealth." This article shows the conditions that prevail in San Francisco and sounds a warning to idle men to keep away from the city in which is to be reared the buildings for the exposition which takes place in the year 1915. The enemies of organized labor of California have formed a combination and raised a fund to pay for glowing advertisements that appear in the daily press of the East, with the object in view of luring countless thousands of the unemployed of the Eastern states to wend their way to the coast, so that exploiters of labor in California may be able, through an idle army, to reduce wages and destroy the power of the labor movement in the Golden State. Capitalism in California is using every agency to shatter organized labor on the coast, and the union men and women of the Eastern states should use every means within their power to make public the *real industrial conditions* that prevail throughout California.

THE FOLLOWING is an extract from a letter addressed to Secretary-Treasurer Mills from the secretary of Hedley Miners' and Millmen's Union No. 161 of Hedley, British Columbia:

"There were two young men killed at Hedley a short while ago, and while they were not in good standing, they were both good union men, but were a little careless and did not keep their cards in good standing. I would like to find out what local union initiated W. H. Coward, height, about 5 feet 10½ inches; complexion, dark; age, about 29 years. If you could have it advertised in the Magazine in such a way that the secretaries would look up the application forms, it might help me to find out where his father or mother lives. He is from England somewhere. Thanking you in advance for the trouble I am putting you to, I remain, Yours fraternally, T. R. WILLEY, Hedley, British Columbia."

The membership of the organization as well as the secretaries are requested to give every aid to T. R. Willey, the secretary of No. 161, in obtaining the information desired.

GEORGE R. KIRKPATRICK, who has written "War—What For?" has seen nearly 30,000 copies of his book sold in fourteen months. This volume from the pen of Kirkpatrick is a word painting of war in all its hideous brutality and should be read by every father and mother in this country who belong to the working class.

The great reason that "War—What For?" should be read by the working fathers and mothers of the land is owing to the fact that from labor is drawn the armies of the nations of the earth. Any man or woman of intelligence who reads Kirkpatrick's work on war will feel no thrills of so-called patriotism firing the heart to deeds of murder on fields of battle. The bugle blast of war will become a dirge and flags unfurled with soldiers marching will become a spectacle that can only bring anguish to hearts that are not yet dead to the value of human life.

"War—What For?" has created a sensation throughout the country, and the sixth edition that is now coming from the press, enlarged and improved, should appeal to the readers of the class who have been fighting the battles of the world. Single copy, \$1.20; two copies, \$2; three copies, \$2.40. Address George R. Kirkpatrick, Lock Box 473, Madison Square Station, New York City, New York.

THERE SEEMS to be some confusion as to the identity of the Judge Pitney elevated to the United States supreme bench from the state bench of New Jersey by President Taft.

There are two Judge Pitneys—Judge Pitney, the elder, and Judge Pitney, the appointee.

One of the Judge Pitneys rendered a decision, in which he held:

"Any person who works for another is a servant in the eyes of the law. Now, the relation of master and servant being shown to exist, the law is quite clear that no person has the right to entice away another's servant. The right of the master to have his servant continue in his employ without molestation or enticement by any third party is a property right, so recognized by the law."

This decision, we are told, was made by the judge's father. If that is the case, it is quite apparent that Mr. Taft appointed the wrong judge. For precedent bears out the decision.

It is one of the undying glories of our judiciary that it derives its inspiration from the dead and that its mission is to halt and hamper the living, lest in a moment of frenzy and popular passion, the people, possessed by the fury of the mob, should disregard the wisdom of the fathers and deprive the riparian owner of the fruits of his industry.—Milwaukee Leader.

THERE ARE TWO MEN in this valley for every job. What are the idle ones going to do? Taft says he does not know and puts it up to God to furnish the means. But that answer cannot keep him blameless for the condition into which the country has fallen through the aid that capitalism receives from the government. Let you workingmen vote to own a job and Mr. Taft will then discover that the bread and butter question is not the duty of God since his creatures on this earth have put the screws to labor.—Toilers' Defense.

The above editorial paragraph published in a labor journal at Coal Dale, Pa., reveals not only the condition that prevails in that great coal valley of the Keystone State, but the paragraph can be truthfully applied to almost any part of this country.

Two men for every job under the present industrial system makes it easy for a master class to dictate the terms and conditions under which those who are employed are permitted to work. The man dependent on a job does not own the job and can only work for another when the party owning the job gives his consent, and yet, men in America boast of the liberties which they enjoy beneath the starry folds of Old Glory.

It is idle and but a burlesque for men to talk of liberty, who are but the slaves of economic masters.

THE ARIZONA UNIONISTS have fallen in line with the workers of California. A State Federation of Labor was organized at Phoenix, during the past month, and three principal demands were formulated and adopted almost unanimously as follows:

"We demand from the national government that in connection with the postoffice the government shall organize financial exchanges, safe deposits and facilities for deposits of the savings of the people in small sums and that the national banking system be abolished.

"We demand the enactment of laws establishing the collective ownership by the people of all means of production and distribution.

"We demand the principle of the initiative, referendum and recall of all public officials elected or appointed, thus recognizing the right of direct legislation."

The president of the convention was a miner and the secretary a printer, and, as the active workers of the new state are largely composed of miners, printers and building trades men, their war cry, "Arizona for Socialism" becomes a pretty serious slogan in view of the fact that there are not many votes in Arizona, that the plutes are few in numbers, that the spirit of human freedom is rampant, and that the men who do the work are overwhelmingly in number. Keep an eye on Arizona this fall.—Cleveland Citizen.

THE FOLLOWING significant news comes from Schenectady, New York:

"Schenectady, N. Y.—When the old parties were still in control of the local city council, a franchise was given to the street car company for a certain street, which did not exist, for \$200. The Socialists secured an injunction against the council, but it was served two hours late.

"An injunction was then secured against the board of estimates and apportionment, enjoining them from accepting any money from the company or executing the contract.

"The matter was laid over till the Socialists went into office and now Mayor Lunn has refused to sign the franchise grab. The company is trying to get a mandamus and force Lunn to sign the franchise.

"Watch me do it," said Lunn. "They wanted me to put a double track in a street that didn't exist. They have been used to mayors with automatic fingers—press the corporate button and the executive fingers would work. My fingers work from my head."

Mayor Lunn in a number of instances has furnished the proofs that he is a preacher with backbone and that his spinal column can neither be bent or broken by the autocratic power of combinations that are sometimes licensed to steal by law. Mayor Lunn as a Socialist is giving corporations to understand that he is the servant of the people and that the interests of the people will be protected against the mercenary hyenas who feed upon profit drawn from the slavery of labor and the corruption of public officials, who sell themselves to the highest bidder.

Lunn has shown that he has some courage, and the fact that he has merited the condemnation of the subsidized press is conclusive evidence that he scorns to be a chattel of a class of privilege.

THE FOLLOWING is taken from "The Toilers' Defense" of Coal Dale, Pa., relative to the Mining Department recently formed by the United Mine Workers of America and the Western Federation of Miners and chartered by the American Federation of Labor:

"One of the greatest movements in the world of organized labor in recent years has been consummated. The Western Federation of Miners and the United Mine Workers of America have been chartered as a department of the American Federation of Labor. Charles H. Moyer of Denver has been elected president of the new mining department and if the plans outlined by the department go through he will be the head of the biggest department labor organization in the country. In two years he believes the membership will be at least 500,000 workmen. It already numbers over 300,000, comprising the two organizations.

"Mr. Moyer will continue as president of the Western Federation of Miners and, for the time at least, will serve as chief executive of the new department without pay. Edwin Perry of Indianapolis has been made secretary of the department. He is an officer of the United Mine Workers, and the department headquarters will be retained at Indianapolis.

"The executive board of the department is composed of John P. White, president of the United Mine Workers; Frank Hayes, vice president, and Edwin Perry, secretary-treasurer of the same organization, and Charles H. Moyer, Charles E. Mahoney and Ernest Mills, representing the Western Federation.

"The department charter has already been received from the American Federation of Labor. The annual convention will be held in Rochester the same week as the convention of the national body. The next meeting of the executive board will be subject to the call of the chairman. The organizations do not lose their individuality by the new combination.

"President Moyer and Secretary Perry have already started a campaign of correspondence to bring into the department the steel workers, the longshoremens, the steam shovelers and the railroad men who handle ores in the states of the Northwest, and those who work on coal-bearing roads of Pennsylvania and other Eastern states. A conference is to be held in Chicago in the near future to further outline this campaign of amalgamation.

"The combination of coal and metalliferous miners will make a strong combination. According to President Moyer, it is the intention to insert in the annual contracts a clause which will provide that the coal miners will refuse to dig coal for the smelter which refuses to recognize the metalliferous miners' union and to treat them with its idea of fairness as to wages, hours and other conditions of employment.

"On the other hand, the metal miners will refuse to handle the products where the owners of the metal mines insist on using coal mined by unfair workmen. In the Northwest the longshoremens haul the ores dug by the metal miners, the trainmen handle the cars, the

steel workers are employed in a correlative industry and the steam shovelers likewise. The plan is one of the most comprehensive ever outlined by organized labor in the country.

"It is considered by President Moyer another great step in advance in the cause of industrial unionism for which he has worked for many years."

Delaware Disgraced

ANOTHER OFFICIAL OUTRAGE has been perpetrated in the state of Delaware. A civilization that lifts man above the brute creation should shudder at the barbarism of a law that almost puts to shame the atrocities committed in the dark ages. We boast of the refinement and culture of the twentieth century, but any civilization that will tolerate the lash and the whipping post should be consigned to eternal infamy. The following in a press dispatch from Wilmington, Delaware, demonstrates that Delaware is unfit to remain in the constellation of the American flag, and this commonwealth should be notified by the people of the nation that "inhumanity to man" is a *crime* even against the *criminal*.

The dispatch is as follows:

"Wilmington, Del., March 2.—A man was tied to a crossed post in the jail yard here this afternoon. His feet were fastened together with leg irons. His hands were manacled to the arm of the cross with glistening steel chains. From the waist up he was naked, although a biting wind swept across the enclosure.

"Across the yard walked Warden Crawford, carrying a stick shaped like a police riot club. From the end dangled nine leather thongs. Taking position beside the pinioned individual, the muscular 'officer of the law' raised his arm and the thongs descended. As they fell across the shrinking flesh of the chained man, the heavy-set warden drew the weapon toward him, and the leather thongs curled like living snakes.

"Again and again the warden's hand rose and fell. Slowly and methodically he counted 'one,' 'two,' 'three,' and so on. At thirteen, great red welts showed on every inch of the naked back. Then the warden changed to the opposite side of his bound victim. Again the instrument of torture was raised, and again it fell.

"For a time the man retained his composure. But no human

could stand the torture, and soon the great tears were pouring down his cheeks.

"Finally Crawford reached the 'forty' and dropped his hand. A woolen shirt was dragged over Wright's head, and he was led back to his cell, his shirt stained with blood.

"The man was Richard Wright. The law of Delaware had declared him an habitual criminal, and he was sentenced to fourteen years in prison and to receive seventy lashes on his bare back. A week will be allowed to elapse, and then he will be given the remaining thirty blows on a skin that will hardly have healed after today's terrible punishment."

The reading of the above is enough to cause the blood to surge in rebellion in the veins of every man and woman in this country in whose heart remains a vestige of sympathy for human suffering.

The man condemned to torture by the lash was judicially branded as an "habitual criminal" and was sentenced to serve fourteen years behind the walls of a prison. But that punishment was not enough, but he must be publicly flogged in the biting winds of an icy winter, in order that *justice* might be appeased in *Barbarous Delaware*. Had this man been a "frenzied financier," had he been a banker and swindled thousands of depositors out of their surplus earnings, had he stolen an empire of land from the public domain or had he been a millionaire libertine whose lust had wrecked homes and written upon the brow of virtue the scarlet letters of shame, his standing in society would have precluded the possibility of him being condemned by a court as an "habitual criminal." But Wright belonged to the disinherited class, and being practically friendless and penniless, he was condemned to outrages that would bring tears to the eyes of a Nero or change the laugh of a hyena to a sob.

Delaware would disgrace Russia and should have no place on the blue field of "Old Glory."

The Struggle for Bread and---Law

AGAIN WE ARE CONFRONTED with the spectacle of a great government refusing to take cognizance of an abuse of constitutional powers in the interest of corporate wealth. Lawrence, Massachusetts, has been the scene of one of the greatest industrial struggles of modern times, and co-incident to this struggle we have been brought face to face with some of the worst abuse of powers, on the part of city and state officials, that has ever blackened the pages of American history. There has been no attempt on the part of the authorities to quell the abuses inflicted on working people, but on the other hand, they have worked hand in hand with the American Woolen Trust to further crush the spirit of their workers. That there was no violence on the part of the striking mill workers of Lawrence until they were practically forced in self-protection to resist the outrages inflicted upon them, is already a matter of history. In this state, first marked by the landing of the Pilgrims on its shores, made famous by the settlement of religious and civil refugees from the old world, we find an intolerance that has scarcely been equaled in the history of civilization.

Twenty-two thousand mill workers forced to strike to resist a decrease from an already inadequate wage, have been hounded and abused by soldiery and the mill owners' thugs alike, without a protest nor an attempt to remedy these wrongs on the part of those in authority. Senator Miles Poindexter of Washington made a quiet trip of personal investigation last Sunday and his statements of the conditions in that city verify the most radical accounts hitherto received. He charges that the "mill owners, backed by the police, the militia and judicial authorities, are conducting a campaign of starvation of women and children;" he found that men, women and children were being seized and beaten by the police of Lawrence for no other crime than "peacefully standing on a station platform waiting for a train." He compares the conditions existing in Lawrence with the Spanish concentration camps in Cuba and the campaign in which the British Empire extinguished the liberty of the Boers by the starvation of the women and children. He says that the administration of law in this city "forcibly reminded him of Russian and Turkish brutalities to the Jews and Armenians;" and, further, that such an occurrence in America "shows how far our institutions have been degraded by avarice. The authorities in Lawrence have 'out-Peabodied' Peabody in their over-riding of the constitutional rights of the workers in their town.

Even this infamous governor, during his campaign of deportation and abuse of the miners in the Cripple Creek District, during the year 1904, when men were ruthlessly torn from home and deported beyond the boundaries of the state, exhibited some consideration toward the children. During the reign of terror and intimidation conducted in the Cripple Creek District under his administration of state affairs, children were at least considered sacred from the fiendish abuse by the soldiery. It has been left to Massachusetts, the cradle of American liberty, whose soil has been made sacred by the first landing of our forefathers, whose Faneuil Hall has resounded with the forensic efforts of Wendell Phillips and other great abolition leaders, whose Bunker

Hill is revered in American history as the seat of the first battle for American freedom; it has been left for this state to blacken the pages of her history with the starving and beating of the women and children during a great struggle for economic justice.

Poindexter has well said that "if crowds of peaceable people can be assaulted by officials of the government, brutally treated and incarcerated without any charge of violation of law being made or sustained against them, instead of being a constitutional government of liberty under the law, it becomes one of money and force, and people everywhere will soon be adjusting themselves to this new condition. It is of most vital significance. If in exercising the right to the peaceful pursuit of their domestic affairs, these people can be arrested, without warrant * * * then any of us can be treated the same way by those having the physical power, whenever they please to do so. If we can be detained within the city we can also be deported forcibly from the city when it is desirable for those having power to do so. If these people can be kept in the city of Lawrence, where the mill owners can force them to work at starvation wages, then they are virtually slaves, and it is not desired by any of us that slavery should be re-established in this country."

To those of us who have not forgotten the imprisonment and persecution of miners in the Couer d'Alenes in Idaho, the forcible separation of husband and wife, father from child, and their deportation from the great state of Colorado to the barren plains of New Mexico and western Kansas, the situation at Lawrence presents the natural evolution of capitalism. So long as one man or group of men own and control the machinery of production; so long as the laws of the country are written and enforced to protect this ownership, so long must those dependent upon the use of this machinery in order to eke out an existence, work under the conditions and for the wages stipulated by these owners, aided and abetted by governmental power. The growth of Socialism presents no mystery to the student of economics. For every Poindexter and Beveridge in the ranks of the dominant party there are two Heyburns and Lodges who will continue to fight for the interests of the financial master. So long as the oppression of the workers continues; so long as the arbitrary misuse of governmental power is exercised in behalf of those who would squeeze the last drop of blood from the bodies of our producers; so long as the cries of the oppressed and exploited workers of the country goes unheeded while the powers of pulpit, press and government are extended in behalf of the captains of industry; so long as the wail of the widow and hunger cry of the orphan goes unheeded while the master class becomes further entrenched, so long will Socialism continue to muster recruits from the ranks of those who are fighting for justice.

The Roman Empire was overthrown when the master class failed to respond to the cries of the populace; the French Revolution, with its oceans of blood and thousands of dead, was brought about by the oppression of the aristocracy; the American Revolution was the protest of a people against the arbitrary rule of Britain's king. Who

can fail to foresee the day when these United States, firm in the grasp and control of greedy money lords, will be visited by another war? Past history tells us that in that period when the governing powers fail to respond to the entreaties and demands for justice of the governed, government was overthrown. The power of church, press and plutocracy has always been raised against those who demanded better

conditions, and the episode at Lawrence may be the last act before the falling of the curtain on the "Tragedy of Capitalism." The dawn of a better day is approaching, when those who bear the burdens of government will administer its functions. How long this day will be deferred depends on those who are now "in the saddle."—Colorado Industrial Review.

Just Tramps

THEY WERE just plain tramps, but they rescued Toledo from the clutches of King Blizzard last week.

Streets were impassable, and night cars were standing helpless before snow drifts that piled higher and higher.

"Few factories will run in the morning," said those in charge of the battle with wind and snow.

And then some one thought of the tramps.

Hurried calls were made on the barrel houses and slum lodging places, where the price of a "flop" is 10 cents. The East Side police station, where men sleep "spoon fashion," to save space, was turned inside out, while the relief stations, with their statistical charity, sounded the glad refrain, "There's work for all."

Out they came, shivering and blinking at the sudden change from the foul atmosphere of "booze" joints and police stations. The icy blasts chilled them through and through, and their rags were a joy for northern winds that penetrated every fiber.

But they were just tramps. What matter if feet, illy shod, were soaking wet in a few minutes?

What matter if fingers were cramped and ears tingled at the assaults of a biting, snarling wind?

Hungry and numb, the tramps toiled on. They talked of "dough-skee" in the morning, and discussed whether a "hammer of red eye" or a "bowl of Java" would bring the best results to a half-frozen man. They talked of a "good feed" and exchanged views on "the hash house that would give one a run for his money." Some of them may have other thoughts—if they only had a steady job; or of other days when they were not routed out of police stations to work, cold and hungry, at these unseemly hours; or of a society that hunts them like wild beasts and then calls on them for aid.

But they toiled on. They opened the lines; they cleared the streets.

The next morning people were surprised at the fall of snow, and all of us made much of little inconveniences getting to work or reaching down town.

And the tramps, you ask?

Oh, they are forgotten, save by police, who are paid to watch this undesirable element, again buried in underworld haunts that are as foreign to society as any other sewer.—Toledo Union Leader.

The above editorial in the Toledo Union Leader is worthy of serious thought, not only on the part of laboring men, but on the part of those fortunately favored members of society, whose tapered fingers have never been soiled by the toil of menials.

That class of people whose shoddy garb excites the suspicion of a police force and who are watched closely by detectives was the power upon which the upper strata of society depended to make the streets of Toledo passable. No one presumed that *gentlemen* robed in broad-cloth would grab shovels and render such necessary service to a community that found itself blockaded by great drifts of snow, but it was the class from which come the tramps that was relied upon to clear the streets of a city discommoded by a snowstorm.

The class that cleared the streets of Toledo do the labor of the world, and yet, this class remains bowed beneath the yoke of wage slavery. The labor of this class makes it possible for society to enjoy every necessity and comfort, and yet, the class that ministers to the needs of humanity, bears with patience the contumely and insolence of a class whose vanity scorns the representative of bone and brawn, whose labor keeps in motion the wheels of industry in all the nations of the earth.

When will this class that *cleans the streets* rise in its united strength and overthrow the hellish system that robs labor and fills the earth with millions of tramps?

When will the victims of exploitation arise from their knees and stand upon their feet in the full stature of manhood, demanding that slavery shall die and that *man* shall in reality become "the noblest work of God?" "Education and slavery cannot exist together in one land," and when labor reaches that summit of intelligence which will enable the working class to see clearly the wrongs from which labor suffers, the present civilization that outrages *justice* will be swept from the earth.

An Investment for the Unsophisticated

The following interesting letter was received by the editor of the Miners' Magazine, and as the letter shows the modern methods that are utilized to separate the susceptible from their coin, we deem such a letter worthy of publication:

"Miners' Magazine, 605 Railroad Building, City:

"Gentlemen—There are good and sufficient reasons why you should be a member of the Advertising Club of Denver.

"Twentieth century advertising conducted in a twentieth century way is the biggest investment that any business man can make to insure the future of his business.

"The yearly dividends are big, while the good will and reputation have liberal cash values at almost any period after the investment is once begun.

"The Advertising Club of Denver is an organization of men engaged in advertising writing and designing, of men who are at the heads of their businesses and of others who have merely a student's interest in advertising.

"These classifications will include yourself, and the fact that the membership of the club is enthusiastically for the work that the club is doing is the best proof that any man could wish to assure him of the value of a membership in the Advertising Club.

"The business man of today can better afford to overlook his daily food than he can to overlook advertising or than he can to overlook a constant study of its development, of the new and original ways in which it is being applied, of the ways in which advertising today is being made to increase profits and prosperity.

"The Advertising Club of Denver is holding weekly luncheons at which live and pertinent topics related to advertising are discussed, not by an individual, but by all who have ideas to express, bringing out the best thoughts of the men who have become experts in their lines.

"To neglect further to secure and to use a membership in the Advertising Club is to pass by the biggest, the most vital, the most important thing, namely, advertising, in the future success of your business.

"I speak as a member, as a man who knows.

"The enclosed card gives you the price, fill it out and get your check to the secretary today. The sooner you get started, the sooner will you begin to get your returns. JOHN L. HUNTER,

"Vice President the Advertising Club of Denver."

The above letter dictated by the vice president of the Advertising

Club of Denver, was accompanied by an application card for membership, in which the editor was respectfully requested to send his check for \$10 to pay initiation fees and likewise \$2.75 for quarterly dues. The editor is a human being who is willing to consider any proposition that secures reasonable remuneration on an investment. But as the statements of the vice president of the Advertising Club of Denver are merely based on *wind*, we shall gracefully and courteously decline to bring about a shrinkage in our bank account by handing over \$12.75 for the privilege of masticating a weekly lunch with the *boosters*, whose only assets are "hot air."

The letter, in the first paragraph, declares: "There are good and sufficient reasons why you should be a member of the Advertising Club of Denver." It is somewhat strange that the official promoter of the Advertising Club of Denver, who has been authorized to manufacture *bait* to catch *suckers*, neglected to set forth in his letter *substantial reasons* as to why the editor of the Miners' Magazine should divest himself of \$12.75 to become initiated in an organization whose members meet weekly at the *feed-trough* to discuss the best methods by which business men can be cajoled by a combination of lunch-fiends to part with their money.

But the professional *booster* for the club says: "Twentieth century advertising conducted in a twentieth century way is the biggest investment that any business man can make to insure the future of his business."

It is again singular that the *booster* for the club did not reveal in his letter the "twentieth century way?" Why hide such *light* under a bushel, when revealing the "twentieth century way" might swamp the club with applicants for membership? Why not disclose the "twentieth century way" by which a business man by advertising could "insure the future of his business?" Why cover the "twentieth century way" with a mask when its disclosure to business men, if found logical, would insure membership in such a club?

The letter declares, "The yearly dividends are big," but the letter is not accompanied by any statement of dividends that have been paid to those who have invested. Promises are not dividends, and men with brains in this day and age are not investing hard-earned cash on the glittering promises of a scribbler who has a command of a vocabulary from which he can extract fascinating phrases to tempt dollars from their coffers.

But the most significant paragraph in the letter is the following: "The business man of today can better afford to overlook his daily

food than he can to overlook advertising or than he can to overlook a constant study of its development of the new and original ways in which it is being applied, of the ways in which advertising today is being made to increase profits and prosperity."

Advertising may increase profits, but advertising never increased prosperity. Advertising produces no values and without values produced there can be no prosperity. But the literary artist of the club tells the business man that he can better afford to overlook his daily diet than to overlook advertising, and that means that he cannot afford to be outside the pales of the club, whose members meet weekly to have a feast while the "twentieth century way" is discussed as to the best methods to obtain membership and secure the coveted \$12.75.

The Advertising Club of Denver through the letter dictated by its vice president insults the intelligence of every man to whom such a letter is sent. Men with brains want *facts* and not *wind* resolved into diction, to flim-flam ducats to support an aggregation whose capital consists of verbal fodder, which when analyzed, is as convincing as the slobbering idiocy of a mental imbecile.

All bona fide business men need not the services of a combination that is only interested in initiation fees and dues. The *real business man* needs no agents to give him advice and counsel as to the manner in which he shall advertise his wares, and if he never wins success in the commercial field until an advertising club "insures the future of his business," then he will be numbered with the failures that have gone down to wreck and ruin.

Men who are a success in business are the men who understand their business, and no cheap skates in a so-called advertising club indulging in "chickory and forget-me-nots" weekly, will be able to exercise that hypnotic spell that will part them from their cash to maintain an institution that is built on wind.

Men who are a success in business have no time to meet with the failures, who under the name of an advertising club are sending out circulars pleading for membership, to secure initiation fees of \$10.

The advertising Club should send its circular letters to the insane asylum at Pueblo.

Dire Poverty and Great Wealth

WHILE the streets of this city are daily lined with hungry and idle men, pages of newspaper space are devoted to chronicling the theft of \$50,000 worth of jewelry worn to a society function at one of our leading hotels by the wife of one of the city's wealthy men.

The brazenness of the thief who stole the jewelry does not appeal to this wealthy man, who attends a polo game calm and unconcerned the next day after the robbery. He says in an interview:

"I do not so much object to the theft of the jewelry as the manner of the theft. In this case, the thief sneaked into an apartment and carried away the jewelry. He did not make any show of force. He was not brave. He was just a sneak.

"But that happened a day ago. That is past; possibly the jewels will be returned. If not my friends say I was lucky to be able to own them for a time."

Why should he worry about the loss of a mere \$50,000? He can easily accumulate that amount by driving a few thousand workmen to the brink of starvation.

While disreputable institutions in this city are endeavoring to flood the labor market in all lines in order to be able to reduce wages to satisfy their greed, one of their kind plucks them for \$50,000 in one fell swoop, and in direct conflict with the expression of the gentleman quoted above, we have more respect for such a thief than for the men who constantly rob unfortunate toilers. It is true, this thief was a sneak and not brave, but so are the men who insert false advertisements in Eastern papers, sneaks and cowards, and added to their sneaking cowardice is the fact that they produce hunger and misery among thousands of innocent women and children. Why, the thief who stole the De Sabla jewelry is an angel prince in comparison with the despicable creatures who are thus filling the United States from the Atlantic to the Pacific with misery and want merely to satisfy their greed for gain.

On every hand the pampered daughters of wealth are building better than they know, for every practical illustration of the inequity of the present scheme of things brings forcibly to the attention of the struggling toilers of the land the absolute necessity for a change which will give to those who do the world's work the things they produce and deny to the idler, the loafer and the trickster the opportunity to live in luxury at the expense of the toil of others.

While this woman went to a society ball bespangled with diamonds, pearls and jewelry, valued at \$50,000, other women, just as deserving,

just as pure, just as lovable as she, sat in hovels with hungry children and wept hopelessly because of the deceit which enables some women to live in idle luxury while others struggle in dire poverty.

What we desire to bring to the attention of the people is the utter heartlessness of the insane scramble for wealth. The men and the institutions now engaged in inducing the men and women of other states and other nations to come to California know full well that there is nothing here for them to do, and that they will be thrown into want and misery and tears because of their vicious lies, yet they continue to urge them, brutally heedless of the cries of hungry children, unmoved by the tears of weeping women, cold, callous, satanic in their greed, as they say, "What are you going to do about it?"

Now, something must be done to counteract the false advertisements which are being spread throughout the world urging workmen to come to this city, because they are coming in thousands hoping to secure employment on exposition work, when as a matter of fact there is not a dollar being expended in construction of any nature whatever, and no immediate prospect that there will be.

There are between 35,000 and 50,000 idle men in this city today and no prospect of relief in sight, yet men are invited, through fake advertisements, to come and swell the army of the unemployed.

These lies are readily believed by anxious men in search of employment because of the fact that the Panama-Pacific Exposition is to be held in this city in 1915.

The Associated Press and the United Press service could do much to prevent these false stories being effective by simply circulating stories descriptive of the actual conditions existing here, and by so doing would be rendering a service not only to San Francisco and California, but to the helpless men and women in all parts of the world who otherwise must fall victims to the greed of designing men.

Every man and woman in this section of the country having friends located elsewhere should help to stop the flood of workless men from coming here to be victimized by writing letters portraying existing conditions in a truthful manner.

There is food for thought in the statement of Mr. Gary recently made in a speech in New York: "Unless capitalists, corporations, rich men, powerful men, themselves take a leading part in trying to improve the conditions of humanity, great changes will come, and they will come mighty quickly, and the mob will bring them."—Labor Clarion, San Francisco.

A New Orleans Redeemer

A READER of the Miners' Magazine of New Orleans, Louisiana, has sent us an issue of the New Orleans Item of a late date with the following marked article, and requested us to comment on the same:

"New Orleans has 10,000 idle, able-bodied men, white or black. If these men were among the producers, instead of being merely consumers, the price of food in this section would be less. I propose to advance railroad fare to the workers who will come to my plantation, give them food, shelter and a reasonable wage. I can take from thirty to forty men.

"I think that there are a number of other heads of plantations who would be perfectly willing to do likewise. If these men will help in this movement we can clear several thousand idle men from the city, and at the same time reduce the cost of living."

This was the proposition, big and yet simple, of the manager of a large sugar plantation in Lafourche parish, Monday when he visited the city on business. He walked over many of the streets, he said, and everywhere he turned he saw idle men. "Not sick or cripple," he insisted, "but just plain loafing."

HUNDRED LOAF AROUND ONE CORNER.

In the immediate neighborhood of Franklin and Perdido he declared he counted more than 100. Other sections were nearly as bad.

"The very fact that these men are idle in the city, and that they are consumers without being producers shows one reason why food stuffs are as high as they are.

"There are without doubt several thousand of these men who would rather work than remain idle. Also a great number would rather work than depend upon charity. It is these men that the plantation owners should provide an opening for, and allow them to go to work without any expense.

"I use about 200 men on my plantation, and can use from thirty to forty more. I know a neighbor who can use the same number. I advance railroad fare, and they pay it back when they can.

WORK HARD BUT RESPECTABLE.

"Work on such plantations is outdoor, physical labor—hard work. There are no snaps. The food is not fancy, but there is plenty. I furnish board and lodging and fuel and water and a wage of 80 cents a day. It amounts to as much as \$1.25 in the city, for there are not 'bills' to pay at the end of the month.

"For how long? For all the year around, if they want to stay. When man and wife come to live on the plantation—to stay—we give them a house to themselves. The single men live in larger sleeping houses.

"I think that the Salvation Army and other charitable institutions, instead of supporting men for weeks at a time, would do better to buy them a railroad ticket to these places. Any one of the larger charitable institutions—say the Charity Organization Society—could act as a clearing house between the planters and the men wanting work."

The above article is based on the statements of an exploiter who

owns a plantation in the state of Louisiana and who usually employs 200 disinherited victims of poverty.

The Southern planter on his visit to the city of New Orleans discovered that there were ten thousand idle men, and as this planter needed forty more slaves to do work on his plantation, he concluded that he would use the columns of a daily journal to advertise the fact that hungry, penniless outcasts of society could secure employment in his private penitentiary, providing that they would work under the conditions dictated by this lord of the soil, who is absolute warden of this plantation prison.

The reputation of the planters of the Southern states is well known, and men shelterless, penniless and hungry, would rather take their chances on the streets of a large city looking for employment than consent to be isolated on a plantation, where peonage is enforced by the modern slave-drivers of the profit system.

This Southern planter declares that he will pay 80 cents a day and will advance the railroad fare of the mendicants for jobs, but he says: "They pay it back when they can."

The statement that "they pay it back when they can" will not be disputed by any unfortunate wretch whom poverty and hunger have driven to a Southern plantation. Pay it they *must* ere they are permitted to escape from servitude. The wage of 80 cents per day will certainly have a fascination for a laboring man out of employment, who is looking into the future with the hope that some day he will sit by his own hearthstone and feel the joy and happiness that come from looking into the loving and laughing eyes of wife and children.

In order that laboring men of the North may have a conception of the workers' life on a plantation, it is only necessary to state that the slave emerges from a bunk-house at 4 o'clock in the morning and

keeps going until darkness ere he is permitted to stretch his weary limbs on a bed, whose feathers will not remind of the days of his prosperity. The slave on the plantation has usually but two pay days per annum, and when his bills are figured up at the commissary department that is under the management of the plantation, the slave is usually confronted with a bill for indebtedness.

It is no wonder that this planter suggested that the "Salvation Army" and other charity organizations become clearing houses whereby the fare of slaves might be paid to plantations, for this exploiter realized that a slave on a plantation seldom has enough coming to him on a plantation to liquidate railroad transportation.

Again, this planter declares that "work on such plantations is hard work. There are no snaps." No one who has ever worked on a plantation will ever question the truth of the above statement. This planter must be given credit for such brutal frankness, and let no one dare to call him a liar for giving publicity to such an undeniable fact.

Again, this planter intimates that putting the idle men to work—making them producers as well as consumers, would reduce the cost of living, but this planter does not advance any proof to sustain such an assertion.

The planters have no voice in naming the price that shall be paid for the products of their plantations. The products of the soil are controlled by combinations in the commercial world, and those products being monopolized by the various food trusts, name the toll which the people must pay for the necessaries of life.

This planter should attend a kindergarten where old men with infant minds could be instructed relative to the modern methods by which commercial highwaymen hold up the public without the use of a "forty-five."

W. R. Hearst Denounced

THE FOLLOWING RESOLUTIONS have been adopted by the Chicago Federation of Labor:

"Whereas, William Randolph Hearst, through his string of newspapers, has tried to develop and control public opinion in such a way as to satisfy the egotism which possesses him that he is a great politician, and as such he should be regarded as a 'Moses' to take the toilers of America out of misery and want if they would hearken to his editorials and elect him President of the United States, and

"Whereas, In order to satisfy this all-consuming nation that he is a great statesman, William Randolph Hearst set out to control the labor unions of the country, so that he might use them for his political aggrandizement.

"First, he got behind weak unions and espoused their cause.

"Second, he stood for the strong unions, proclaiming their right to higher wages and shorter hours.

"Third, he got behind all strikes and dedicated his newspapers to their success.

"Fourth, any officer or member of an organization, no matter how insignificant, who would declare that Hearst was 'Presidential timber' would be heralded as a great leader, and columns of the Hearst papers would be used to show how deeply the labor movement was interested in Hearst's political ambitions, and

"Whereas, After several years of the above tactics, Hearst had an awakening; he learned that labor unions could not be bought nor controlled, and that it is impossible for a politician to use them for partisan purposes, and that neither his newspapers nor his gold would avail him in his efforts to make them deliver up their votes to him, and

"Whereas, Since this awakening Mr. Hearst reversed the attitude of his newspapers toward the labor movement and for the last few years his string of newspapers has teemed with the most maliciously vicious lies, distorted facts, innuendo of the most scurrilous type, truths half told (the most unmanly way of lying) in which weak unions were undermined, strong unions vilified, strikes ridiculed and declared wanton, and officers and members of labor organizations from one end of the country to the other hounded, stigmatized, decried, accused of crime real or supposed, slandered, browbeaten and intimidated, and

"Whereas, All of the foregoing is proved by the attitude of the Hearst papers in this city during the street car men's strike, the teamsters' strike, the stock yards strike, the garment workers' strike and the Illinois Central railroad strike, when the scare headline of seven-inch red-inked type was followed by a well-guarded story of some wild-eyed scheme in which the union or some striker was involved, and misshapen implements of all descriptions were pictured as the only possessions of the strikers, all of which was done to discredit the unions and influence public opinion against our movement, because Mr. Hearst could not cajole or lure the labor unions into his political camp, and

"Whereas, This same kind of a campaign has been carried on by Hearst against organized labor in Boston, Mass., Los Angeles and San Francisco, Cal., and the Miners' Union in the Black Hills employed by the Hearst estate, and which is evidenced by the fact of the action taken against Hearst and his interests by the unions at the places mentioned; therefore, be it

"Resolved, By the Chicago Federation of Labor that we condemn the vicious and lying attacks upon the officers and members of unions and upon labor organizations, and more especially the vilification heaped upon the President of the American Federation of Labor by the Hearst newspapers; and, be it further

"Resolved, That we deem it a certain mark of esteem and truly an exhibition of devotion to the cause of the workers, and that it should surely merit the confidence of the rank and file of our membership, for any officer or member to be attacked by the Hearst papers, knowing full well that only honest, fearless men, who refuse to become Hearst's chattels or who refuse to deliver themselves and their fellows to Hearst's political hallucinations, will ever be so attacked, and be it further

"Resolved, That Mr. Hearst's character and conduct, industrially, politically and journalistically, are so saturated with egotism, ambition and avarice as to place him outside the pale of influence with any self-respecting, liberty-loving organization of men, and be it further

"Resolved, That the Secretary of this Federation be instructed to send copies of this resolution to the affiliated unions, the official and friendly labor press, the American Federation of Labor, the state branches and all city central bodies in this country."

School Funds for Military Purposes!

I DESIRE to enter a protest against a recommendation by the State Land Board favoring a loan of state school funds for military purposes. The act under which the board is urged to make such a recommendation passed at the last session of the General Assembly I believe to be unconstitutional. It is at any rate violative of the spirit of the constitution and a repudiation of the state's contract with the federal government as set down in the enabling act.

Section 7 of the Enabling Act reads:

"The sections numbered sixteen and thirty-six in every township, where such sections have been sold or otherwise disposed of by any Act

of Congress, other lands equivalent thereto in legal subdivisions of not more than one-quarter section, and as contiguous as may be, are hereby granted to said state FOR THE SUPPORT OF THE COMMON SCHOOLS.

Section 3 of Article IX of the Constitution of the State of Colorado reads:

"THE PUBLIC SCHOOL FUND OF THE STATE SHALL FOREVER REMAIN INVIOLEATE AND INTACT; the interest thereon only shall be expended in the maintenance of the schools of the state, and shall be distributed amongst the several counties and school

districts of the state in such manner as may be prescribed by law. No part of this fund, principal or interest, shall ever be transferred to any other fund, or used or appropriated, except as herein provided. The state treasurer shall be the custodian of this fund and the same shall be securely and profitably invested. The state shall supply all losses thereof that in any manner may occur."

You are to decide, then, gentlemen, whether the act of 1911, undertaking to authorize a recommendation by you to the state treasurer for a loan of the school funds to the Military Board is in harmony with the constitution and the contract the state bound itself to with the federal government as set forth in Section 7 of the Enabling Act.

I contend that the legislative act is in conflict with both the section of the enabling act and the constitution. For any authority to justify action such as is urged by the military board recourse must be had to the clause in the constitution which reads that the school fund shall be securely and profitably invested as may by law be directed.

Granting that such clause is literal authority for this legislative act, it then becomes your duty to investigate the soundness of the proposition which is presented to you.

Is the military board a good risk? Would past experience in the matter of loans from the school fund justify you gentlemen in taking a chance with those funds? Let us see:

The military department receives approximately \$75,000 annually from poll taxes. It has further an appropriation of about \$30,000 from the federal government, but none of the money from the latter source may be used for building armories.

It is extremely difficult to get a line on the manner in which the military fund has been and is being administered. I was informed, by one of the military attachés, that the military board has not issued a report in six years although the statute expressly provides that a report shall be made by the adjutant general biennially. Good business would seem to demand also, that an accounting be rendered to the people, semi-occasionally. I have been forced, therefore, to make independent inquiries for the facts which I shall present to you.

I find that bills and claims against the military fund average at all times \$5,000 in excess of the funds on hand. I am advised that merchants and others who do business with the National Guard list it as a bad, or, at least, a very slow, account.

As an evidence of the lack of capacity shown in the administration of the military fund I direct your attention to the policy of carrying no insurance on the stores and other supplies owned by the Guard. In the recent fire at Victor a loss of \$700 was sustained, none of which was covered by insurance.

And yet if you gentlemen recommend, and the state treasurer shall loan the military board \$150,000, it will mean an annual charge of \$7,500 on interest account, and a further annual payment of \$10,000 on the principal debt, to say nothing of other fixed charges, such as insurance, heat, light, water and general upkeep. The latter will be especially heavy owing to the nature and weight of the military stores and supplies which will be a strain on the building. The additional obligation will easily run above \$25,000 a year.

Would you gentlemen in the conduct of your own private business consider a proposition from a person to loan an amount that increased his liabilities by \$25,000 when his present capacity was insufficient to meet current obligations?

A careful trustee considers not only the present condition of the applicant for loan, but also looks into the future for a cold, impartial survey of such applicant's prospects. And that brings us to consideration of the permanency of the chief source of income of the military board—the military poll tax. You must know, gentlemen, that the military poll tax is most unpopular, and, to my mind, the most iniquitous and indefensible of our many forms of taxation. It is a relic of the dark past that cannot and will not long survive. It has been abolished in Oregon, and I divulge no secret when I promise you that a proposition will be submitted to the voters, under the initiative, for its removal from our system in Colorado.

With the loss of the poll tax, from which under the act, the school fund is to be reimbursed, how is the debt to be adjusted? Are you gentlemen ready to assume the responsibility for a bond issue to make good the loss that is bound to occur to the school fund? The situation will present no worries to the then military board. They will be in possession of their armory, erected at the sacrifice of many school-houses throughout the state, and the means for payment of the debt will be no especial concern of theirs.

Whatever steps taken to pay the debt, the people will have had no voice in the contracting of it. The people do not come in until after the damage shall have been done, and then they come in to pay the bill.

Perhaps all these thoughts have occurred to the military officials. It is not improbable that they fear the voice of the people on their

proposition. And right here I want to read to you how the people of a sister state registered the regard in which they held respectively education and the military. This is taken from a speech delivered in the United States Senate by Senator Jonathan Bourne of Oregon, his subject being "Popular versus Delegated Government":

That the people can and will study measures and vote with discrimination is shown by the record on two appropriation bills passed at the legislative session of 1907. One of these bills proposed to increase the annual fixed appropriation of \$47,500 for the State University to \$125,000. The other bill appropriated \$100,000 for the construction of armories for the National Guard. The referendum was demanded on both measures and both were submitted to a vote of the people at the general election of 1908. There was full and fair discussion through the press, at public meetings and at sessions of the Grange. The bill increasing the appropriation for the university was approved by the people by a vote of 44,115 to 40,535. The armory appropriation bill was defeated by a vote of 33,507 to 54,949."

It used to be a very popular jest only a few years ago that the supreme authority was vested in the people, that the people were sovereign—*Vox Populi, vox Dei*. Recently this jest has been divested of much of its humor, and the old-time pleasantry is assuming aspects of stern reality. I especially commend to the members of the board consideration of this Oregon case, backed as it is by the supreme authority of that state.

I should like to direct your attention to past investments of the school funds—investments made by officials who are willing to take a sporting chance with the children's money. It is a story you have heard time and again, but one which never grows softer in the telling—the investment of more than half a million dollars in warrants that went to liquidate the crooked deals of the Robber Seventh and of other bandits who gripped the state by the throat.

Here are the figures: The public school fund has tied up in those warrants \$463,432.43, and interest on that sum to the amount of \$597,779.58. The Agricultural College account is \$2,547.04, interest \$2,577.99; the State University \$27,763.87 and interest \$35,065.10. Adding the amounts due the internal improvement permanent and internal improvement income funds and there is an indebtedness of \$522,655.70 principal and \$674,208.56 interest, or a total of \$1,196,864.26. Do you want to run the chance of adding \$150,000.00 to the amount now owing the school fund?

Of course we all believe that this loss will ultimately be made good. The constitution commands that it shall be made good. But how? Only by adding more and heavier burdens of taxation onto the shoulders of the people. The mischief has been done, the money has been squandered and the grafters who shared the plunder are beyond reach. It might be well to remind you gentlemen of the board that the crooked schemes could have been balked if those who were charged with the custody of the school funds had refused to join in the rape.

It would have been much more commendable if the military authorities had gone in straightforward fashion to the Legislature and asked for a direct appropriation for their armory. There has never been in the history of the state an administration which has proved itself so liberal as the present or next preceding one. It is our boast as Democrats that during Governor Shafroth's first administration \$1,000,000 in permanent improvements was added to the wealth of the state—enduring monuments in brick and stone. If the desire of the military board for new armories contained merit they need have had no fear from the last two assemblies.

It certainly does not show good faith on the part of the military gentlemen when, confessing the weakness of their cause, they dare not ask a direct appropriation from the Legislature, but, instead, slip through that body a measure that opens the way for a raid on the most sacred fund of the state.

JOHN I. TIERNEY.



INFORMATION WANTED.

Information is wanted of the whereabouts of Patrick Buckley, who worked at the Camp Bird mine at Ouray, from August, 1907, to March, 1908, and who afterwards worked at the Gunnison tunnel. He is about 33 years of age and is a native of Ireland. Anyone knowing his present address, will please write to Peter Buckley, Selwyn, Mt. Elliott, via Townsville, North Queensland, Australia.

INFORMATION WANTED.

Information is wanted of Charles H. Clark, whose wife and two children live at Custer, South Dakota. Clark worked at Creede, Colo, last summer and left Creede for Ouray. Since then nothing has been heard of him. His description is as follows: Height 5 feet, 8 inches; black eyes; dark complexion and weight about 140 pounds. His wife and children are now in destitute circumstances, and anyone knowing his present address, is urgently requested to address Mrs. Charles H. Clark, Custer, South Dakota.

STAY AWAY FROM TONOPAH, NEVADA.

Tonopah, Nev., March 6, 1912.

To the Miners' Magazine: Tonopah Miners' Union, W. F. of M., wishes to advise all men looking for work to remain away from Tonopah.

At the present time there are 300 unemployed men here and no prospects of any more being employed.

There are many coming in every day and spending what money they have, and leaving here "broke."

Living expenses here are higher than in many other places, and we would advise all to take warning and remain away.

GEORGE W. ROBB,
MIKE SHEA,
JERRY DONOVAN.
Press Committee.

T. McMANUS, Secretary.

A SONG BEFORE SUNRISE.

I have builded your towns and cities,
And over your widest streams
I have flung with a giant's ardour
The web of strong steel beams.
I have carved out the busy highways
That mark where your commerce reigns;
With hammer and forge and anvil
I have wrought your golden gains.

I have girded the rock-ribbed mountains
With rails for the iron steed;
I have delved in the old earth's bosom
To answer the great world's greed.
I have clothed you, housed you, fed you,
For thousands of years gone by;
I have stepped to the front when duty
Has called, and I've answered "I."

I have wrung from the soil denied me
Your toll of the golden grains;
I have garbed you in silks and satins
And fettered my limbs with chains.
I have given my sweat and muscle
To build for you, stone on stone,
The palace of ease and pleasure—
The hut I may call my own.

For a thousand years you've driven—
A thousand years and a day;
But I, like another Sampson,
Am giving my muscles play.
My brain is no longer idle;
I see with a clearer sight,
And piercing the gloom about me
I'm seeing, thank God, the light.

I see in the days before me
My share of the things I've wrought;
See Justice no longer blinded,
The weights of her scales unbought.
I see in the not far future
The day when the worker's share
Is more than his belly's succour;
Is more than a rag to wear.

I see on the morrow's mountains
The glints of a golden dawn;
The dawn of a day fast coming
When strivings and hates are gone.
Lo, out of the vasty darkness
That fetters my limbs like steel,
I can hear the swelling chorus
That sings of the common weal.

For a thousand years you've driven—
For a thousand years and one.
But I'm coming to take possession
Of all that my hands have done.
And cities and towns and highways
I've builded shall be mine own;
And Labor, at last unfettered,
Shall sit on the world's great throne.

—WILL H. MAUPIN.

THEY KILLED THEM.

By J. O. Bentall.

It was on Friday when they did it. Ghastly headlines and horrible details in the hideous capitalist newspapers shrieked forth that five men were being hung. One was a negro, four were white.

Had these four men committed a crime? Had they been brutal? Had they wantonly murdered an innocent farmer? Had they chopped his body and crushed his bones? Had they been deaf to his pleadings and dead to his cries for his wife and baby?

Certainly. All that.

Can no excuse be offered for their unspeakable inhumanity? Was there no circumstance that might bear witness in their favor?

None.

Agreed then that the crime committed by the four slayers can in no way be excused, what further can be said?

Simply this: These young men and boys have been brought up in an environment that made them brutes. They had been and heard all that is vile and vulgar.

Society, organized, civilized, Christianized society, had thrust among them the robber who holds up the worker at the pay window and loots his pay envelope. Who drives the victim with the last of necessity till his body is bent, his bones broken, his life crushed out. The robber who pounces upon the little girl and the little boy and hurls them into the mill that grinds them into dollars. The robber who has no scruples, no fears, no conscience. The robber that is protected by law, by government, by society.

This robber, the greatest of all robbers, who steals the sweat and blood of the toilers, who brutalizes and dehumanizes every soul upon whom his breath falls was thrust by society, organized, civilized, Christianized society, among four little babies whose mothers loved them because of their sweet soft bodies, their bright sparkling eyes and their gentle baby cooings.

And this great robber began to breathe upon these babies. He breathed the breath of the dram shop, and the breath of the brothel, and the breath of the gambling den, and the breath of the corrupt politician, and the breath of religious hypocrisy, and the breath of poisonous ignorance, and the breath of the yellow press.

The babies grew and became young men. They had breathed the atmosphere that society, environment had supplied them with. They took on the forms of the robber that society had thrust among them. The robber that organized, civilized, Christianized society had hurled upon them. The robber that city government, that state government, that national government supports, protects, encourages.

So these babies when they became men became brutalized, dehumanized, criminalized, just like the big robber that robs the toiler at the pay widow and picks his pocket with fingers of the dram shop, the brothel, the gambling den, the yellow press.

Then they killed a man. They killed a good, honest farmer. They did it in a brutal way, the same brutal way that the big robber kills the man in the mines, the women in the shops, the boys in the mills, the girls in the factory, with the permission and protection of the mayor, the governor, the president.

Then the state, the protector of the big robber who robs the toiler at the pay window, took the four men and hanged them by the neck till they were dead.

One of them, a mere boy, was not heavy enough to break his neck by the fall, so one of the state's servants put his arm around the dangling boy and pulled down so as to help in the process of strangling.

It's a merry stage.

The state first criminalized these men and then killed them.

That is the noble deed of the state. The state expects to expiate its crime by killing its own product. It expects to warn others and make them take heed.

But the next morning in Chicago more crime had been committed than before the hanging.

No. No.

You can't make criminals by a bad environment and then make them good by hanging them.

Socialism proposes a system in which there shall be no big robber who robs the toilers at the pay window and who teaches the people how to be bad by the use of the dram shop, the brothel, the gambling den, the yellow press.

Socialism proposes a clean, just, decent environment in which it will be easy to do right and hard to do wrong.

Socialists do not believe that society can rid itself of crime by killing the criminals, but rather by doing away with the conditions that produce criminals.

A LETTER THAT WAS FORWARDED TO SENATOR BORAH.

Leadville, Colorado, Feb. 28, 1912.

Hon. William E. Borah,
U. S. Senate, Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir:

I have just now received your letter of February 20, addressed to John Powers, President of Burke Miners' Union No. 10, Western Federation of Miners.

Mr. Powers has forwarded me your letter with the request that I reply to same, which I will do with pleasure.

In your letter you ask Mr. Powers whether he and his friends are in favor of reducing the tariff on lead. In reply to the question I want to state that we are not for the tariff nor against the tariff. High tariff, low tariff or no tariff at all, does not concern us as wage workers in the least. Our condition as wage workers with a high protective tariff is no better than those of the English workers with practically no tariff at all.

The claim that the high tariff is protecting the American workingman against cheap foreign labor, has long ago exploded like a bubble. The high tariff is responsible for the many American multi-millionaires and for the present high cost of living.

The American manufacturer is so interested in the welfare of his American workingman when he needs his vote and approval to any high tariff measure, that they almost believe it themselves when they, or their politicians tell the workers that high tariff will protect the workers. But let me call your attention to the fact that when the American manufacturer and employers of labor have secured their high tariff measures, they invariably invade Europe, Asia and Mexico to secure cheap labor and import them here to compete with the (dupe) American workingman. See for yourself, Mr. Borah, if it is not the fact that the American employer has imported millions of foreign workers of all nationalities to compete with the American workingman, and the same employers are importing today thousands of cheap laborers to compete for jobs with the jobless millions that there are in America today.

These jobless millions of human beings are scouring the country in its full length and with looking for a chance to work in order that they may earn enough to keep body and soul together. But there is no work to get. The market is glutted with idle men and women. The unemployed army increases every day by leaps and bounds. This army of unemployed is a menace not only to the workers of this country, but to the whole nation itself.

As wage workers, we are not concerned in the tariff question, that is a good enough question for politicians to play with and again fool some of the workers to vote for the same old thing, the same old system that keeps us ever in poverty and degradation.

Take a look at the industrial conflict, Mr. Borah, that constantly goes on between employer and employe of this country and then you will see that the tariff question does not concern the workers of this country whatsoever.

Take notice of the thousands of strikes and lockouts that are taking place in every branch of industry of this country. These strikes are the direct result of low wages, long hours of labor and intolerable working conditions.

The strike of the textile workers of Lawrence, Massachusetts, is one example. These workers after many years of labor for starvation wages, have finally concluded that it was far better to starve to death in the attempt to gain a few more cents that would enable them to buy a little more bread and other necessities of life for themselves and their little children, than to die of hunger while producing richness for their masters. What is true of the textile workers is true of the cotton mill workers of the whole country. The 1,500,000 little children employed in the cotton mills of the South, is another instance where starvation wages claim thousands of the little victims every year.

The coal miners of this country under a high protective tariff finds it just as difficult to exist as the coal miners of England with her free trade policy. The one is facing a possible and bitter struggle, with the coal barons at this time just the same as the other.

Therefore, I say again that the tariff question has nothing to do whatsoever with the economic conditions of the wage workers of this or any other country, and the reduction of the tariff on lead at this time will not effect the economic condition of the workers in part or as a whole.

For example I will cite you two instances, from 1893 to about 1900, lead sold for an average of \$3.50. The miners of the Couer D'Alenes of Idaho, received in wages \$3.50 per day. Since 1900 lead steadily increased in value until it reached the high water mark of \$6.20 per 100 pounds, in 1906-7 but the miners' wages never raised one single penny. Now then who got the dif-

ference of this enormous increase? The mine owners, of course, and the smelter trust.

So you can readily see sir, that it matters not to the workers of any country whether there is a tariff or no tariff, on the production of their labor.

What prompted Mr. Powers and myself to protest against the protest of Burke Miners' Union, No. 10, is the fact that said resolution was not the result of the feeling of the rank and file of the Burke Miners' Union on this question, but it was the creature of a few employes of the Hercules Mining Company, inspired (if not instructed) by said company to act as they did.

In support of this statement I will call to your attention to the fact that when Mr. Powers, as president of said union, called a special meeting for 2 p. m., Sunday, February 11th, following the regular meeting at which said resolution of protest adopted, the Hercules Mining Company laid off their trusted men at noon, February 11th, with full pay, with instructions to attend said special meeting to uphold their former action, while retaining at work those that were opposed to it. Again you will notice that not another local union of the Western Federation of Miners, out of 256 that we have, has sent a like protest, and you well know that this organization covers all of the states where lead is produced. Their failure to do so is not because they do not realize the importance of the question, but it is because they refuse to do their master's bidding.

In the Couer D'Alenes we have five local unions namely, Mullan Miners' Union No. 9; Gem M. U. No. 11; Burke, No. 10; Wallace M. U. No. 17, and Murray Miners' Union No. 45, and neither one of them (outside of the one in question) could see their way clear to make any protest against the reduction of the tariff on lead nor could they see any benefit in it for them to do so.

On the other hand the Industrial Union of Kellogg, Ida., (organized by the mining companies in opposition to that of the workers, and officered by officials of said companies) were persuaded upon to send a representative of their own to Washington in company with the delegation of the Mine Owners' Association.

Now, sir, under the circumstances, I am justified to state that said representative and the resolution of Burke Miners' Union does not represent the sentiment or the interest of the Couer D'Alene workers, and that it was the position taken by Mr. Powers and myself and that is the position upon which we stand now.

High tariff, low tariff or no tariff at all, it matters not to the workers.

What concerns him is to get as much as he possibly can under the present system, go after some more and never quit until he is the sole owner of the product of his labor.

Trusting that I have made our position clear to you, and thanking you for the interest shown, I remain,

Very truly yours,

TOM CORRA,
Organizer, W. F. M.

"DIRECT GOVERNMENT" IN THE SOCIALIST PARTY—WHAT DOES IT STAND FOR?

(By I. Tarkoff, Montrose, Colo.)

There are three classes of organizations in society.

The first is what is known as government, and is supposed to foster and protect all human and property rights.

The second is what is known as a corporation. The corporations are supposed to deal in, foster, and protect property rights, only.

The third are voluntary or popular organizations, such as political, educational, or humane organizations; which are supposed to foster and protect ideas and human rights, only.

The second, or corporation forms of organizations are the most interesting right now for they are undoubtedly the most successful in carrying out the work for which they are created or formed; and seem to be able, not only to hold their own, and carry out their mission, but are also able to paralyze or smash up all other organizations which try to hinder them, or aim to interfere with their operations. Therefore, it behooves us to examine and find out the reason why this is so; and see if we can not learn a good lesson from them for the benefit of other organizations.

After a thorough study of corporation methods and forms of organization, we find the two following fundamental principles on which they organize.

1st. That they are absolutely the only organizations in existence today, which work or operate on an absolute "Majority Rule" of their stockholders; those financially interested parties in such corporation, on a stock basis. Are you not aware that a corporation is legally required to have a majority of its entire stock (representing the property rights), represented at all special or regular corporation meetings. Their managements are only permitted legally to operate on and carry out the established rules; but not make new ones.

2nd. Are you not aware that in all corporation organizations, no change can be made legally in their organic instrument or their organization papers, (which corresponds to the declaration of principles and constitution to carry them out, in human-rights organizations) EXCEPT WHEN two-thirds of the entire corporation, vote to do so?

Here are the two main pillars of strength and endurance in all corporation organizations; and the lack of those two points in all other organizations, is their main cause of weakness and paralysis; resulting in confusion, fights, plots and final abandonment of such organizations. They reform again and again, only to find the same results again confronting them long before they have begun to accomplish their purpose.

Do you know what those two legal points of organization mean for the good of corporations? They mean this:

1st. Harmony in their operations, by a **decisive authority**.

2nd. Concentration of efforts in whatever work they are engaged.

3rd. "Direct Government" or true representation in all their affairs.

Now, since it is an established fact that corporations have had more to do in framing all our laws than any other factor known, we can readily see that they have built their own organizations on a solid "Majority Rule" foundation to enable them to accomplish their purpose; and have also seen to it that all other organizations which aim to curb them, or oppose them, ARE NOT on such a solid democratic organization basis. That is the reason we find all other organizations, (which are supposed to oppose corporations or to safeguard the people's interests or human rights) in such a deplorable shape for accomplishing their purpose. Corporation interests are looking after it that such organizations are fundamentally undemocratic: poorly and loosely organized; so that at the first class or difference of opinion among their members the harmony and needed authority for strengthening and maintaining such organizations at a critical time, IS LACKING AND THEIR POWER DISAPPEARS.

The corporations have also fortified themselves with a simple contrivance (which helps them to do all their work with promptness and dispatch); namely, the "Proxy" or "Power of Attorney." In all other organizations, the referendum takes the place of the "Proxy." But they ignore "Majority Rule" which is the main strength and producer of harmony in all organizations.

Without this no organization can endure long or meet internal strife and settle it right.

The Socialist party fell in the drag net set by corporations, for all organizations which oppose them, and are organized loosely on the same flimsy undemocratic basis as all church, charity, or petty benefit organiza-

tions. That it is unable to accomplish much, can be readily seen in the internal strife and bickerings of the leaders. We are already leader-ridden; and as THERE IS NO DECISIVE POWER OR AUTHORITY (such as majority rule of the entire membership) inside the organization the chances are that the American Socialist movement will go through the same experiences as all European Socialist organizations have had and are still having.

England has 6 Socialist parties at present.

France has 8 Socialist parties at present.

Germany has 4 Socialist parties at present.

Italy has 10 Socialist parties at present.

Belgium has 4 Socialist parties at present.

Russia has 12 Socialist parties at present.

Austria has 6 Socialist parties at present.

Hungary has 4 Socialist parties at present.

The U. S. has 2. From the above we can readily see that unless we build up our Socialist organizations on the solid democratic basis of absolute majority rule of the entire membership, we have no decisive power for harmony or endurance; and we will divide and split up as our leaders disagree, divide, or split up. Nothing can save us as long as we work on "Minority Rule" or a majority of those voting, instead of an absolute majority rule of the entire membership.

Now do you grasp the aim of the "Direct Government Plan" of organization in the Socialist party or movement?

Come, let us quit fooling ourselves! Let us join the only move which can save us time, energy, and means. Let us be practical and sensible, retrace our false steps before it is too late or too costly in human sufferings and human rights.

You may point to other nations with pride. Germany, for instance, which is apparently pushing Socialism to the front; but let me assure you: 1st. That Socialism in Germany, victorious as it may look to us, is as yet powerless to help or relieve the working class except insofar as the UNIONS there are able to enforce some concessions through their economic organizations, strikes, etc., just as they are doing here; only the unions there are composed of Socialists and therefore the Socialist organization is getting a good deal of credit for it, and justly so for they furnish the brains and generalship to the unions.

2nd. The Socialist movement of the U. S. will have a hard struggle to attain even the strength of the German movement, for several reasons: (A) Because the people of the U. S. do not understand each other like the Germans. We are a nation in the melting pot of civilization. We have yet to fuse races, languages, creeds, sects, nationalities, colors, habits, "Americanitis," etc. I realize that economic stress and pressure is melting and fusing the mass with red hot heat; but when thrown together loosely and in weak and indecisive organization, we can not stand the first shock of misunderstanding or mistrust, and at the first opportunity all our prejudices and original divisions and traits flare up as a detriment to the movement. Therefore the direct government plan of organization and absolute majority rule is far more a necessity in the Socialist movement in the U. S. than in any other civilized country on the face of the globe.

(B) The U. S. is a leader-ridden country. Nowhere do intelligent people follow leaders so blindly and without reason as in the U. S. That is one of the strongest tools used by corporations to scatter all opposition. Leaders are hatched by corporations for a purpose. To divide and mislead is one of the greatest functions of leaders. Many times the leaders themselves in popular organizations are not aware of the part they are playing; but they are accomplishing results for the benefit of corporations just the same. As long as there is no way to settle disputes between leaders authoritatively and decisively, it will cause division among the leaders first and among the rank and file afterward. The only remedy is "Direct Government" through the referendum and absolute "Majority Rule" of the entire membership. The accomplishment of this, is the mission of the Direct Government movement of the Socialist party. Send for literature on this subject, to "The Organizer," Delta, Colo.

THE TRADE UNION AND THE SOCIALIST PARTY.

IV. The Industrial Union.

By Robert Hunter.

The Socialist party convention of 1904 declared that "neither political nor other differences of opinion justify the divisions of the forces of labor in the industrial movement."

We have seen that the Socialist Labor party attempted to divide trade unionists on political lines. The clericals of Europe have repeatedly attempted to divide trade unionists on religious lines. The Industrial Workers of the World attempted to divide the workers into craft unionists and industrial unionists. The Socialist party, true to the traditions of the movement in all countries, condemned all such divisions.

Industrial unionism has made enormous strides in the last few years, but nowhere has this idea awakened such bitter controversy as in America. The idea itself could only have attracted the mass of craft unionists. But when it was presented by those who sought to crush all existing labor organizations, the idea unfortunately became identified—as Socialism had been before it—with division, dissension and disruption.

That this was the danger in the Industrial Workers of the World was clearly pointed out by various European labor organizations in letters to the first convention of that organization. The French and German organizations refused to take a stand for the new movement, and the Danish unions decidedly rebuked the Industrial Workers of the World. "The theoretically right form," writes the chairman of the Danish unions, "perhaps is the organizing according to industries. This form will presently evolve from underlying conditions, if they are not, as in Germany and Sweden, for instance, already in practical force. We believe, however, that it were rather a dangerous step to attempt to force with one blow a certain theory, even though same may be absolutely correct. This may be conducive of breaking the unity of action of the workers against the manufacturers, and this, so we think, would be far more detrimental than the faults of an antiquated form of unionism, which cannot hold its own when its usefulness ceases. For these reasons it appears to us that the attempt of your Congress may have dangerous results for the American trades union movement in general."

This rebuke was not heeded, and the Industrial Workers of the World set out once again upon the thorny path of dividing the workers of the world. It was soon split into fragments, as we all know, and did for the great idea of industrial unionism about the same harm that the political union had done for the great idea of Socialism.

The slow progress that both Socialism and industrial unionism have made in America is not at all due to any innate antagonism on the part of the American workers. The chief reason for that slow progress lies in the almost criminal manner in which these ideas have been presented to the American worker. The fact that both Socialism and industrial unionism would have been today the two most dominant ideas in the labor movement of America, had they been differently presented to the workers here, is, it seems to me, proved by English experience.

Keir Hardie has conquered the British unionists for Socialism by never allowing himself to be placed in opposition to them. Tom Mann is today conquering the British unions for industrial unionism by the same method. In a few months he has done a work that is simply astounding. In fact, he has

done more in two years to promote industrial unionism in England than all the anti-union Socialists, anarchists and Industrial Workers of the World have done in this country by years of rival unionism.

The great British industrial strikes of today are chiefly due to the ideas and activities of Tom Mann. But contrary to the policy of the industrial unionists of this country, Tom Mann sought the co-operation of the existing craft unions. Speaking of the Industrial Workers of the World convention of 1905, Tom Mann says:

"Whether or not the decision to ignore the existing unions and to build up an entirely new organization on scientific lines is the best method of procedure for the workers of America, is a matter for the Americans themselves to decide. But whilst entirely endorsing all main principles laid down by the I. W. W., and knowing well the shortcomings of the British trade unions, I do not believe that it is the best way for us to achieve industrial solidarity. I have given close attention to the arguments submitted by those who adopt this view, and I consider them insufficient. I know it will be a formidable task to get the existing unions to unite wholeheartedly and share courageously in the class war. But I believe that it can be done. And I am confident that the proposed alternative would be even more formidable and less likely to succeed. I hold that such entire reconstruction would result in years of bickering; entailing all the present sectionalism, and probably adding thereto by drawing large bodies into an even more reactionary position that they occupy now. In Australia, where the situation is precisely the same on a smaller scale as that which prevails in Britain. I associated my efforts with those who strongly defended industrial unionism—but not with those who attacked the existing unions, seeking to establish a new force. Moreover I am entirely satisfied that the right course to pursue in Britain is not to show hostility to the existing unionists movement."

The position of Tom Mann is that of the leaders of the French movement as well. We hear a great deal in this country about the industrial unionism of France and we are urged to follow in the footsteps of the French General Federation of Labor. Yet the present anti-Socialist, direct action, leaders of the French movement never at any time declared war on craft unionism.

The original craft unions in France were only a few years ago dominated by the "political" Socialists. The anti-socialist industrial unionists preached their gospel in the Socialist craft unions and finally brought them into antagonism to the Socialist party. The French syndicalists worked in the French unions exactly as Tom Mann worked in the British unions. However, it may be well to point out that their chief point of difference with the old leaders was not as to the form of the union, but as to the political basis of the union. They opposed politics in the union.

Emil Pouget, one of the ablest of the French syndicalists, in his official instructions to the workers as to methods of organization, says: "One question agitates the militants, namely, organization by crafts or organization by industry. The first of these modes of organization one may reproach as perpetuating the narrow spirit of craft; but whatever may be the preferences of any one, it is necessary to prevent the union from becoming a sect." He condemns, therefore, what he calls the "Union of Affinities," which is merely a grouping together of "ideas," of "opinions," rather than a grouping together of "interests." However much theoretically he may prefer a union by industry, he seeks the building up of the movement even though it may be by crafts.

And in fact the working class of France is divided far more than we are. In Paris alone there are six trade unions of jewelry makers, nine of lemonade venders, twelve of bricklayers and stone masons, nineteen of painters, six of locksmiths, nine of train and omnibus workers, seventeen of printers, nine of bakers and six of plumbers. The form of organization, therefore, plays a small part in the so-called French syndicalism. It allows no politics in the unions and condemns any division of the working class on lines of organization, or religious faith, or of political opinions. The resolution, therefore, of the Socialist party has the sanction not only of every European Socialist party but of every so-called industrial unionist who has done anything to build up the actual working class movement.

As a remedy, the political Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance was infinitely worse than the so-called disease of pure and simple unionism. As a remedy, the factious group of affinities calling themselves the Industrial Workers of the World was infinitely more reactionary than the so-called craft unionism which it sought to displace. In fact, Pouget strikes at the very root of the evil of all such rival unionism when he calls it the "Union of Affinities," in contrast to the "Union of Interests." "There is in such unions," he says, "Intellectual cohesion, moral communion, identity of aspiration, but the material base is lacking, which alone can give to such groups a durable vitality."

Craft unionism has at least this firm foundation, that it is based on the material interests of those who are organized. Any effort, therefore, to form a rival union means to attack the material interests of the organized. You threaten whatever progress has been made toward shorter hours and higher wages. You threaten to bankrupt the funds that have been laid by to protect the union members in time of sickness, unemployment, or death. By any form of rival unionism, you fly in the face of the most fundamental principle of Marxian Socialism and array against you in open warfare the material interests of the organized section of the working class.

In the Socialist party convention of 1904 one of the delegates, opposing the trade union resolutions, declared: "Some one said our only hope was in the trade union movement. My friends, if that is our only hope, we have got a dismal outlook for Socialism. I am a trade unionist for one purpose only: It is my material interest. My material interest compels me to be a trade unionist if I want to eat. I belong to the Typographical union, and my scale of wages has been increased twelve dollars a month. For fifty cents a week I get twelve dollars a month."

This was the argument used to persuade the Socialist party to condemn craft unionism. This delegate endeavored to range the Socialist party in bitter opposition to the immediate material interests of two million working men. Had the party taken that stand, it is possible that he and a few other sentimental visionaries might have remained Socialist. But when it comes to be the policy of any alleged working class movement to fight the immediate material interests of the working class, or any portion of the working class, then that movement is doomed. That indeed is the reason why rival unionism can never be successful; and that is the chief reason why the political union of the Socialist Labor party and the industrial union of the Industrial Workers of the World were so soon destroyed.

This is no place to discuss the merits of industrial unionism. My argument is wholly upon the position taken by the Socialist party in its trade union resolutions, which is that no differences of opinion justify divisions in the industrial movement. Both the Socialist party and the trade unions have separated themselves from capitalist organizations, but they cannot separate themselves from the working class. "Those who say, 'We will have nothing to do with organizations that have not been organized on the clear-cut, class-conscious basis,' will practically take the position of saying, 'We will have nothing to do with humanity.' To ignore the unions does not commend itself to experienced men as a wise method of procedure." These are the words of Tom Mann. But such wisdom is not shared by the impossibilist why by tactics of division and dissension has done much to prevent both Socialism and industrial unionism from being discussed on their merits.

NEWS FROM WASHINGTON, D. C.

(By National Socialist Press.)

Washington, March 2.—Never in the annals of the United States Congress was there a day of so many revolting revelations, of so many startling sensations as today. The gripping and tragic facts of the industrial conflict as

exemplified in the Lawrence strike were laid bare before the House committee on rules by Victor L. Berger, the only Socialist in Congress.

In the largest and most luxurious committee room in the House office building a story of starvation and wretchedness was simply yet dramatically told. Amidst scenes that beggar description a workingman in ungrammatical English vividly described the cruelty and oppression to which he had his comrades have been subjected. Congressmen who never hesitated to legislate against those who labor drooped their heads as the witness, Samuel Lipson, told of women about to become mothers having been clubbed by the Lawrence authorities. Wives of the wealthy who amuse themselves by attending congressional hearings could not keep their guilty eyes away from the pallid, thin-faced and stunted child slaves who came to the national capital to bear witness against an unjust and cruel industrial system.

Seated at a long table were practically the entire membership of the rules committee. In front of them sat the man who forced Congress to take note of the barbarities of the Massachusetts city. Near him sat George E. Roever, the attorney for the strikers. And sitting on the other side of the table, sitting with his face to the committee, was Samuel Lipson, a striker who supported a family of six on a wage averaging less than nine dollars a week. Back of him sat the thirteen little mill hands, three adult strikers, and a committee of Philadelphia Socialists who were manhandled in the outrage at Lawrence last Monday.

Lipson gave a graphic description of that outrage and the brutalities of the Lawrence police and militia generally. But more sensational than anything else were the reactionary remarks made by John Golden, the president of the textile workers, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

At first confining himself with faint praise of the efforts of the mill owners to better their conditions, Golden soon showed his colors. While telling about the clubbing last Monday, Golden revealed the fact that he was opposed to the sending of the children out of Lawrence. Pressed by Representative Stanley, Golden practically condoned the brutal acts of the authorities on the ground that the I. W. W. was an organization which "aims at the destruction of my organization."

"The Ettors and Haywoods are anarchists," declared Golden. "They are responsible for the occurrences at Lawrence."

Many of the striking children loudly protested against this characterization of their loyal leaders. But Henry rapped for order, threatening to clear the room in case of further interruptions.

Later, Stanley, who exhibited a great deal of sympathy for the strikers, asked this pointed question:

"You are afraid that the I. W. W. will in time absorb your organization? And is this not the reason why you object to the sending of the children outside of the city?"

Golden hemmed and hawed, but did not make a direct answer. Stanley continued:

"Supposing these strikers were pure and simple anarchists and they wanted to send their children outside of the city so that they would not be massacred, would you object to their right of so doing?"

"I would," replied the so-called labor leader, while on every face in the room including those of the committee, there was visible the expression of an opposite belief to that of the hardened reactionary.

Golden was put on the stand by Representative Wilson. According to an admission Golden made he came to Washington at the telegraphic request of Gompers. Following Golden Timothy Healy, president of the Stationary Fireman's union, took the stand. He made a short speech in favor of an investigation but agreed with Golden that Wilson's committee on labor should have charge of the work.

The entire day was practically taken up by Lipson's testimony as to conditions in the Lawrence mills. It came out at the hearing that the mill owners and a "citizens committee," attempted to cross-examine Lipson, but gave it up when he found his witness not easy to get tangled up. A Lawrence missionary, was scheduled to testify later.

The rules committee appears to be favorably disposed to have an investigation of the strike. Chairman Henry stated that the committee would devote Monday and Tuesday if necessary to the completion of the testimony.

At the suggestion of a capitalist reporter, who was deeply impressed with the testimony, a collection was taken up in the committee room immediately after adjournment for the purpose of providing the witnesses during their stay here. Josephine Liss, a girl striker, who was roughly handled by a soldier at Lawrence, passed the hat. Cox, the mill owners' lawyer, was about to drop in a dollar when Berger intervened.

"Don't take his blood money," said Berger. "We don't need his dirty money. We will provide for the strikers ourselves."

Robert McCartney, a member of the Lawrence citizens committee, heatedly asked Berger if Cox's money was "not as good as yours."

"No, it is not," replied the Socialist congressman. "We don't want money from the mill owners."

Berger was about to turn away when McCartney grabbed hold of his sleeve.

"Go away from me; I don't want to talk to you," replied Berger. "I know you. You are some underling of the American Woolen Company." McCartney let loose a lot of profanity and Berger walked away.

Thirty-five dollars was collected, many congressmen contributing. The rest of the expense will be borne by the Washington Socialists.

Following a short speech by Representative Wilson of Pennsylvania, in which he favored an investigation of the Lawrence strike by the labor committee, Representative Berger opened the hearing with a few introductory remarks.

"The American Woolen Company," he said in part, "has for years been the recipient of a government subsidy in the form of a high tariff. It has been claimed that this high tariff is levied in order to protect labor. Yet in spite of this claim it is generally conceded that these operatives are among the lowest paid of those of any industry in America. It is also conceded that they are imported from sections of Europe where the standard of living is lowest.

"An investigation of the American Woolen Company is properly within the jurisdiction of this House. It is surely justified at least as much as the investigation of the Steel trust, the Sugar trust or the Money trust. The average wage which the Wool trust has established is even below those of the Steel and the Sugar trust, and certainly very much below the wages paid by the Money trust."

Pointing out that the strike in Lawrence is the result of unbearable conditions Berger then began to question his witness.

"Why did you go on strike, Mr. Lipson?" asked Berger.

"I was unable to make a living for my family," he replied. "I am a skilled worker, but I never average more than \$9 a week. I have a wife and four children to support. This would not be so bad if we had steady work, but there are many weeks when I earn only \$3 or \$4 a week. We then live on bread and water. We never use butter, but use a kind of molasses. We eat meat twice and three times a week and on holidays.

"But I am a skilled weaver and live better than the rest of the workers. Now then, when the cost of living is increasing, the mill-owners without notice decrease our wages, do you blame us for striking?"

The spectators were taken by surprise when Lipson asked a little girl—one of the strikers to stand up. "Two years ago," said Lipson, "this girl went to work in the mills. She had a beautiful head of hair, but three weeks after she went to the mills the machines were speeded up so fast that her hair was caught and her scalp torn off. She has been under the doctor's care ever since. But she has been working in the mills, too, because her father is poor and there are seven in the family."

Going into the details of the calling of the strike, the arriving of the militia, Lipson declared that no trouble occurred till the soldiery began their intimidation and oppression.

Lipson then came to the station outrage. He described how the parents had filled out identification blanks for their children giving them permission to go to Philadelphia. He testified that after about 200 children had gone policemen went about asking the strikers to recall them. "Is the policeman the father of my child?" exclaimed Lipson. "Is not my wife the mother of my children?"

Lipson then told how he, together with the women and children and the Philadelphia committee, went to take the 7:11 train. Marshal John J. Sullivan said to the party: "You are not going to send any children. No child will leave Lawrence this morning."

"What law did he tell you you would violate?" asked a member of the committee.

"Ask him," said Lipson, "he's here," and he pointed to red-faced official.

At this point the witness was sharply cross-examined by the committee. It was brought out that they had hired a car from the Boston and Maine railroad, a corporation doing interstate business, to take them to Philadelphia; that the police knew that they were bound for Philadelphia; and that they acted as they did without any warrant.

Lipson described dramatically the beating up of the women, some of whom were in a family way. At this point Representative Harris of Massachusetts rose and objected in the name of the commonwealth of Massachusetts. The committee, however, overruled his objection, and Lipson was asked to give a list of those who were clubbed. This he did, and accompanying the list was a physician's certificate showing that some of the women are still in the hospitals.

Louis S. Cox, postmaster of Lawrence, captain of the militia, and attorney for the mill people secured permission to cross-question Lipson. Cox asked a lot of questions concerning the beginning of the strike, the formation of the I. W. W. local and the coming of Ettor. In the midst of his inquiries Stanley brought him back to the subject in hand, when he said: "Did Ettor have anything to do with preventing the children from leaving Lawrence?"

It developed during the afternoon session also that the strikers had committed no acts of violence other than throwing snowballs at the windows, and that they cut the cloth peacefully as they always did when they knocked off work. Lipson caused the audience to applaud him when he said to Cox, "Why, you were there yourself, and you know it was only boys who threw snowballs at you." After several more futile questions Cox took his seat.

John Golden of the Fall River (Mass.) United Textile Workers then took the stand. Golden went into the history and statistics of the textile industry and told how efforts of his organization to organize workers in Lawrence had failed. He severely criticised the I. W. W. because it was an "anarchistic" body. He told of the methods of his union which he contrasted with those of the strikers. Golden grew very hot and addressed the children when he charged Ettor with having suggested buying guns. The children, not frightened by the dignified committee, cried "Shame, shame!" and "That's a lie" so that the chairman had to rap for order.

SIXTY-FIVE YEARS OLD.

I'm sixty-five years old today; ah, how the years have flown!
My limbs, which once were lithe and strong, have limp and feeble grown
I'm not the active man I was some twenty years ago,
But I could earn my living yet had I the chance, I know.
From morn to night I tramp the streets, I search the city through,
But no one wants to hire me know; there's nothing I may do.
Each one I ask to give me work but smiles and turns away,
As though my asking were a joke; I'm sixty-five today.

Once I could swing a trowel with a quick and steady hand,
Could raise a lead or spring an arch with any in the land;
To do my share upon the wall was quite an easy task;
And if I wanted work to do I needed but to ask.
And when the boys began to rush they very soon would find
That I could keep the racket up till they were left behind.
But I was young, and rushing then was naught to me but play;
And now I'm rushing to my grave; I'm sixty-five today.

We often hear that in this world are equal rights for all;
Then how is it so many men are crowded to the wall?
How comes it some men are denied the simple right to live,
While others may enjoy the rights which hoards of wealth can give?
Why must the poor man ever be the rich man's willing slave,
And end his course by choosing 'twixt the poorhouse and the grave?
His rights are gone and all denied when he is old and gray;
He cannot live, he must not die; I'm sixty-five today.

For other men I've risked my life and quite destroyed my health,
And by my toil I've added to their luxury and wealth,
By profit from my labor they are bountifully fed,
While I'm rewarded in the end with but a crust of bread.
In palaces I've helped to build their happy lives are spent;
Tomorrow I'll be homeless, for I cannot pay the rent.
The sport of unrelenting Fate, I must her law obey;
No work, no food, no home, no friends, and sixty-five today.

I wonder if we have a life upon another sphere,
Where we must suffer all the woe which is our portion here?
Does Error reign, and is the truth regarded as a lie?
Are men when broken down, like brutes left on the field to die?
Does virtue bow to gilded lords, and Mercy hide her face?
Does Wealth get all the honors there, and Poverty disgrace?
If such it be, the lamp of hope sheds but a dismal ray;
To live or die is one to me, though sixty-five today!

—Chicago American.

WANTED: A REVOLUTION.

By E. Moyle.

The nineteenth century has passed away. It now belongs to history. In history it will live. One thing at least that eventuated during that period will mark it conspicuously above all the centuries that preceded it, and that is the great "industrial revolution" that took place. The productivity of the people increased so rapidly that one writer is able to comprehensively show the magnitude of the revolution by briefly stating that whereas population in a given period increased to twice the number, wealth-production increased to seven times the amount. The same writer says that could it have been predicted that such a marvelous change was going to take place, the truth of such prediction would have been sufficient for the assertion that at the end of the nineteenth century poverty would be absolutely impossible. It is not necessary to hie back one hundred years to note the wondrous things that have transpired. A decade is sufficient, for the rapidity of the change, like the rapidity of a falling body under the influence of the law of gravitation, is an accelerated one, so that each decade that passes more clearly demonstrates the means that are at hand for simplifying the producing of life's requirements. Great as the industrial revolution of the nineteenth century was, improved methods are not by any means exhausted, and at this period, early in the twentieth century, it can safely be asserted that the twentieth century industrial revolution is going to eclipse the one that has already taken place. On the strength of knowing this, dare one assume that poverty will be unknown when time again places on record the wonderful skill and dexterity of human-kind? To you proletarians, to you wage slaves, and to no other, the great industrial revolution that your father and his father witnessed, and the one that you are witnessing today, has something to reveal. Listen! It is not enough that you should marvel at the wondrous change. Your kind have lived through it. You are living in it. After noting the progress that has been made on wealth-production by making the inorganic matter of the world more easily comply to the wishes of humanity, ask yourselves: What about humanity?

At the beginning of the nineteenth century the mass of the people were held in bondage to be the servants, the tillers of the soil, the laboring class. The few, the nobles, took for themselves the treasures and the pleasures; the many had each one blighted hopeless life to struggle through. The few enjoyed the life of ease and comfort that was available at that time. The many had upon their shoulders the burdens of a ruthless system.

At the close of the nineteenth century, after the great industrial revolution had been recorded, where was humanity? Where is now that section of humanity worthy the name? Is there a sign that in the twentieth century industrial revolution the passing of the workers' troubles is inevitable?

Proletarians, marvellous as the change has been, wonderful as the present industrial revolution will be, the two combined are not to be compared with the great industrial and social revolution that will be evidenced when you are regarded as men and women and not as beasts of burden. You have remained stationary; nay, 'tis not true for you have physically degenerated. The human productive machine has deteriorated during the period of mechanical progress. You have been ill-thought of. The extortion of your labor-power has been the only attention that has been paid to you. Your bodies have been and still are an encumbrance. It was a dead loss to the nineteenth century industrial revolution that you should have required sustenance. How to get your labor or its equivalent without your bodies is the aim of those who dominate industry today.

Revolution on such lines will not do. It is corrupt. It is not sound. The great industrial revolution has yet to come, and the proletarians of the world will bring it about. There must be no interference by anyone outside them, and none of them should refuse to take their place. They will rely upon nothing but just the power that they alone can fully control; and this power, purified by sifting from it the foreign matter that makes attempts by the working class movement abortive at present, will reveal itself.

In revolutions of the past the workers have been utilized by others than themselves, and the result has proved totally unsatisfactory for the workers. In this revolution the workers will rely entirely upon themselves, and in the march of such a consolidated body, having complete understanding as to its objective: the full control of industry by the workers, there is not an obstacle that can withstand the pressure; the enemy will not make a stand, and the fullness of victory will be realized in the taking of the world from those who abuse its bounteousness. "The world for the workers and a world of workers"—such is the pending revolution.—International Socialist.



"THE MAN OF SORROWS."

Tired and weary from the weight of years; confined to his room and much of the time to his bed by the insidious attack of disease; chained to a body that for nearly 71 years of toil, the restless spirit of my beloved friend as well as all humanity's servant, is the soul of R. A. Dague of Tacoma, Wash. This noble man for more than forty years with voice and pen has been the staunch defender of human souls that are weak and poor in spirit.

Friend Dague, like the man of "Sorrows," has always been progressive; his deep insight into the law of infinite love renders him capable of great forensic knowledge and a marvelous perception of a just dispensation of human energies. A child in temperament, with a spirit so pure and sensitive that the afflictions of his fellowman weigh heavily on his feelings. So delicately is his soul attuned that the griefs and heartaches, the poverty and distress which darken the lives of so many of earth's children, find a responsive chord and so vibrate in sympathy as to make for him a cross of sorrow to bear. Dague is a living Aeolian harp; the influx of spiritual righteousness so pervades his soul's atmosphere as to peal forth sublime truth, garland in love's sweetest flowers. Even the acrimonious gibes of contemporary critics, whose stultified consciences seek to play on the baser notes of material greed, and whose revelries are like the garrulous laughter of the damned all find a sympathizing tone of peace in the soul of this great man of "Sorrow."—I. N. Richardson.

SLAVERY.

Slavery includes all other crimes. It is the joint products of the kidnapper, the pirate, thief, murderer and hypocrite. It degrades labor and corrupts leisure.

With the idea that labor is the basis of progress goes the truth that labor must be free. The laborer must be a free man.

I would like to see this world, at last, so that a man could die and not feel that he had left his wife and children a prey to the greed, the avarice, or the cruelties of mankind.

There is something wrong in a government where they who do the most have the least. There is something wrong when honesty wears a rag and rascality a robe; when the loving, the tender, eat a crust, while the infamous sit at banquets.

The laboring people should unite and should protect themselves against all idlers. You can divide mankind into classes: The laborers and the idlers, the supporters and the supported, the honest and the dishonest. Every man is dishonest who lives upon the unpaid labors of others, no matter if he occupies a throne.

We need free bodies and free minds—free labor and free thought, chainless hands and fetterless brains. Free labor will give us wealth. Free thought will give us truth.

There will never be a generation of great men until there has been a generation of free women—of free mothers.

When women reason, and babies sit in the laps of philosophy, the victory of reason over the shadowy host of darkness will be complete.

The rights of men and women should be equal and sacred—marriage should be a perfect partnership—children should be governed by kindness—every family should be a republic—every fireside a democracy—Robert G. Ingersoll.

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LIST OF UNIONS

Table listing unions by state: MISSOURI, MONTANA, NEVADA, OKLAHOMA, OREGON, SOUTH DAKOTA, UTAH, WASHINGTON, WISCONSIN. Columns include No., Name, Meet'g Night, President, Secretary, P.O. Box, and Address.

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TO THE LEADERS OF THE "MEN AND RELIGION FORWARD MOVEMENT."

By Rev. J. C. Hogan.

You tell me that "through the gospel of your churches do we deal with the real cause of all human misery and wrong in the world, and that all human efforts at uplift and reform are treating only with symptoms; that the thing to do is to change the individual, or, in other words, get right with God."

As Socialists we contend that to improve social and economic conditions and environment will change men and give them a chance to be decent, but you capitalist preachers have failed to show any economically or politically changed men as the result of your efforts, and if the average preacher or church member is an example of the sort of changed men you have in mind we ask what advantage to society would a million a day of such so-called changed men be, seeing your churches and pulpits are already full of these changed men who are no better, socially or economically speaking, than the political frauds and capitalist thieves they vote with and support.

As Professor Giddings of Columbia university, says, "The United States, as a matter of fact, today stands for thief rule, and that by a gang of thieves worse than those Christ drove out of the temple."

Get right with God? Yes, but no man's relations with God can be right so long as his relations with his fellow man are wrong. No salvation is worth anything to society that does not put a man into right relation with his fellow men.

You call upon the people to be clean, and socially and economically speaking, give them nothing but sewer water to drink and wash in, while you yourselves are politically very dirty, the fruits of your lives and votes being proof.

There is a never ending struggle between the working class and the capitalist class as to the wages to be paid for a given amount of labor or production. The interests of the working class and the capitalist class are diametrically opposed to each other, and all the sermonizing of those preachers who guard in the name of Christ the ill-gotten gains of the rich criminals of our land—cannot make those interests harmonize, or become identical.

Is it not true that the practical working of the Golden Rule is impossible while the profit system remains in existence? How can we practice the Golden Rule under the capitalist system? Do you practice it? Are you not supporting capitalism and opposing Socialism? Is it not Morganianity instead of Christianity you are representing? Is it not veries scarcasm to talk about religion in the cannibalism of the present system in which men devour each other like hyenas and in which the millions who are robbed of what they produce sink into hopeless poverty while their sons are driven to crime and their daughters to prostitution?

Socialists believe that the real salvation of the world is impossible while a state of economic damnation exists.

We declare, and challenge you to deny that it is utterly impossible for a man to be individually righteous and collectively unrighteous. If you support by your vote and influence the present capitalistic system you immediately become partaker of its sins, vices and iniquities. If you vote to sustain a political system which is vile and corrupt, you partake of its vileness and corruption.

Prayers, sermons, songs and pious professions cannot free you from the individual and collective responsibility for existing conditions.

How do you defend your support of the capitalist system which is distinctly unchristian? or explain your indifference, ignorance or open hostility to Socialism, which is the essence of Christianity?

How do you defend your assumption of individual righteousness while you are partakers and defenders of collective unrighteousness? Can you and will you answer these questions?—New York Call.

In Memoriam.

Tuscarora, Nevada, Feb. 16, 1912.

Whereas, Death has once more invaded our ranks and taken Bro. Charles W. Hyer from his earthly home, who died at his home in Tuscarora, Nev., Feb. 15th, 1912, aged 67 years; and

Whereas, the Western Federation of Miners has lost a true and faithful member, and his family a kind husband and father; therefore be it

Resolved: That we drape our charter for a period of thirty days in honor of his memory and extend to his family our sincere sympathy;

Resolved: That a copy of these resolutions be sent to the Miners' Magazine for publication, a copy sent to his family and the same be spread on our minutes.

T. H. LISBY,
C. L. AGUIRRE,
CHAS. A. WESTE,
Committee.

IN MEMORIAM.

Tonopah, Nev.

Whereas, Death has removed from our midst our esteemed brother, William Turner; and

Whereas, In the death of brother Turner our union loses a worthy member, a just champion of honest labor and true unionism, a good man and citizen; and

Whereas, Our union teaching the hope of immortality and leading us to dwell on the beautiful traits in human nature assures us that the golden chain that binds us in life can not be severed in death; therefore be it

Resolved: That our hearts reach out in sympathy for the bereaved family and relatives, and while we fondly cherish the memory of our departed brother we will not forget his beloved family and those he loved; be it further

Resolved: That a copy of these resolutions be sent to the family of our departed brother, and to the Miners' Magazine for publication and a copy spread upon the minutes of our union.

GUSS HANSON,
M. H. PAGE,
HIRAM BILYM,
Committee.

(Seal)

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JOHN M. O'NEILL, Editor

Subscription Price
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