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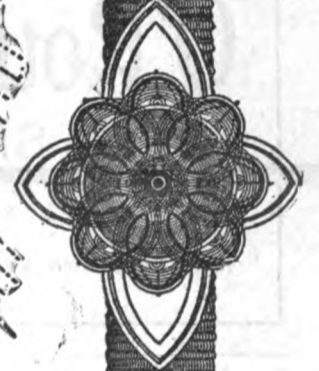
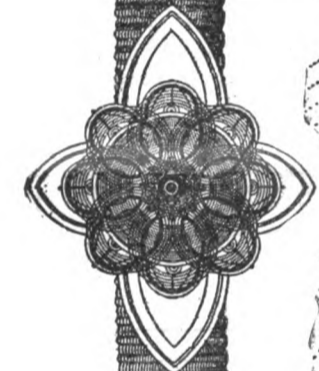
THE MINERS MAGAZINE

INDEPENDENCE
EDUCATION ORGANIZATION

Published Weekly by the

WESTERN FEDERATION OF MINERS

Denver, Colo.
July 18
1912
Volume XII.
Number 473



WEALTH
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EDUCATION INDEPENDENCE ORGANIZATION

MINERS MAGAZINE



Denver, Colorado,
Thursday, July 18, 1912.

Volume XII., Number 473
\$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 Communications not in conformity with this notice will not be published.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.

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John M. O'Neill, Editor

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

Card of the Homestake Mining Co.

Lead, S. D. 19..

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

Occupation

Signed

Department

ALL LABORERS and miners are requested to stay away from Hurley, Wisconsin, as the employes of the Montreal mine are striking against starvation wages.

STAY AWAY FROM BLAIR, NEVADA.

THE COAL MINERS are still making a gallant fight in West Virginia. Mother Jones is in the thick of the fight and doing great service in planting courage in the hearts of the faltering.

TONOPAH, NEVADA, has suffered a loss of \$500,000 by fire. Tonopah is probably the greatest producer in the state of Nevada, and it is only a question of a short time when the district swept by fire will be rebuilt.

JUDGE HANFORD, who disfranchised Olson, has declared that the constitution is infallible. If Hanford was only infallible, Olson would have remained a citizen.

The Judge is a Freak.

THE LAWYERS of Maryland, who are members of the Maryland State Bar Association, passed resolutions at a banquet denouncing the recall of judges. The lawyers of Maryland are class-conscious and should be congratulated on their loyalty to a class whose bank accounts make it possible for lawyers to secure corpulent fees.

No one expects the legal profession, as a body, to favor the recall of a Hanford or an Archbald.

THE SUPREME COURT of the state of Illinois handed down three decisions during the month of June which uphold the constitutionality of the women's ten-hour employment act, the chauffeurs' license automobile act and the right of labor unions to call strikes or take any lawful steps in promoting the interests of organized labor.

FRANCIS FEEHAN of District No. 5 of the United Mine Workers of Pennsylvania has tendered his resignation as president and the same was reluctantly accepted by the executive board of District No. 5. Feehan has made a record as a fighter and even his bitterest enemies were forced to concede that he was a man of ability. Feehan made warm friends and bitter enemies.

THE SUPREME COURT of the state of Minnesota has handed down a decision upholding the law prohibiting an employer from discharging an employe on the grounds that such employe is a member of organized labor.

Such a decision may cause the corporations of Minnesota to favor the recall as applied to the courts.

AT THE LATE MEETING of the mining department of the American Federation of Labor held at Indianapolis steps were taken to bring to the mining department the International Longshoreman's Association and the Associated Union of Steam Shovel Men. It is probable that in the very near future both of these organizations will become amalgamated with the mining department.

This is the kind of industrial unionism that can measure swords with greed.

THE METROPOLITAN LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY of New York has become patriotic and as a result of such patriotism has issued the following order:

Militia service being a duty of the citizen to the state—voluntary in times of peace, but compulsory whenever the proper authorities may order for cause—this company will hereafter encourage in every way feasible, the attendance on parade, drills, target practice and camp maneuvers of its national guard employes.

All employes of this company who belong to the organized militia will hereafter be excused from business duties for all military duty ordered. The company will not deduct such employes' salaries when they are away from business in the performance of such military duties. But employes of this company who are members of the organized militia should arrange their annual vacations to cover their camp tours.

The Metropolitan Life Insurance Company knows the value of employes that are trained to kill and has reached the conclusion that its hired slaves must become soldiers in order that the reign of exploiters may be upheld by gattling gun and cannon.

Other combinations will follow the example set by the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, and while magnates of wealth will revel in the spoils of legalized robbery, the slave on a salary will be patriotic and wear a uniform and carry a rifle to protect the interests of patriotic oppressors.

THE RESULT of Judge Hanford's impeachment proceedings may be a beautiful coat of whitewash. It is no easy task to remove from office a federal judge. In the history of the country there have been only about a dozen cases of impeachment against federal judges and, if we remember rightly, only two have been removed by impeachment. It is one thing to be morally certain of the guilt of a federal judge and quite another thing to beat the system in court. Whatever the outcome of the Hanford proceedings, the people of Wash-

ington will not forget the decisions of this particular judge and he will be pronounced guilty before the bar of public opinion. In theory we can get rid of an unfit judge by impeachment; in practice it is as hard as the proverbial passing of a camel through the eye of a needle. Recall of the judiciary is the plain remedy for judicial cussedness and the Hanford proceedings will probably accentuate the assertion. "Recall of judges" may be anarchy. If it is, we plead guilty to being "anarchists."—Labor Journal, Everett, Washington.

The recall of judges may be branded as anarchy by the mouthpieces of capitalism, but the recall is based on the fundamental principles of

democracy and real, genuine democracy is destined to prevail in this country, regardless of capitalism and all its degenerate allies.

When Patrick Henry declared: "Give me liberty or give me death," it is possible that George the III and his Tory supporters looked upon him as a criminal and a traitor, but the sentiment which he uttered crystallized until king rule was swept from the shores of a new world.

To demand the recall of judges may arouse the wrath and indignation of the class who own and control the courts, but the facts and evidence that are growing out of the investigations carried on in the Archbald and Hanford cases, are making the recall of judges inevitable.

Report of President Moyer to the Officers and Delegates of the Twentieth Annual Convention of the Western Federation of Miners, at Victor, Colorado

Victor, Colorado, July 15, 1912.

To the Officers and Delegates to the Twentieth Annual Convention of the Western Federation of Miners—Greeting:

In accordance with the constitution of our organization it again becomes my duty to submit an annual report. In so doing I shall not burden you by detailing the many occurrences which might appear trivial, yet require the attention and take up the time of your representatives, but shall confine myself to the several important matters which have confronted our organization during the past twelve months and vital questions which, in my opinion, demand the most serious consideration of this convention.

All recent conventions of our federation have been of great importance, yet I feel that there are responsibilities involved upon the delegates of this, our twentieth annual gathering, that have never confronted us before, responsibilities that must be met unflinchingly; questions that require the earnest thought of each and every delegate; problems that must be solved in an intelligent and positive manner if we expect to again place our organization on such a basis as to insure the best results for those we have the honor to represent. As we meet annually in these conventions, it is customary for your representatives in reviewing the year just past, to give as their opinion that in importance it has far surpassed the preceding ones, and looking back over the short time since we last met in convention at Butte, Montana, I feel justified in saying that our organization has passed through an experience such as it has never confronted before, and I sincerely trust will never again be called upon to experience. As long as the wage system exists the conflict between capital and labor will go on. Labor organizes to secure the recognition from the employer that the individual is helpless to command. These two forces coming together, capital bent on securing the greatest possible returns for its investments, labor striving to secure more of that which it produces, create a world-wide, never-ending contest, out of which comes the strike, the boycott, the lockout and the many other methods resorted to by the contestants, therefore the purpose of coming together as we have here today is to earnestly consider the most adequate policy for the government of our organization—a policy that when systemized can be put into practical operation to meet the conditions and insure the most beneficial results for the workers in our industry.

In speaking of the unusual experiences of our federation during the past year, I am not to be understood as referring to any extraordinary occurrence which has transpired between our employers and the organization; but I feel that this short space of time has developed a menace far more dangerous than the open hostility of the employers. That there has been a well-organized conspiracy within our organization for the past four years which had for its purpose the rule or demoralization of our movement has been apparent to any man who has kept in touch with the internal affairs of the federation. When we look back over the history of the metal miners' organization for the past twenty years, a period of continuous struggles, suffering and sacrifice of human lives in its defense, the viciousness of this work of destruction becomes so pronounced as to be almost beyond belief. As a subterfuge to accomplish the desired ends, those responsible have carried on a campaign of misrepresentation based upon the claim that the policy of our organization is defective and unless radical changes were brought about the Western Federation of Miners would become absolutely impotent, in fact, that it was now "floundering on the rocks of destruction." Although offering nothing tangible to take the place of the present and past policy of our organization, this coterie has diligently, in person and through circular matter, warned such of our membership as they could reach that unless the present policy was changed, secession from the miners' organization was the only practical thing for them to do.

In going into this matter I shall endeavor to show to the delegates and our membership beyond a question of doubt the insincerity of these men, fixing a time when the campaign was planned, why it was inaugurated and its purpose, also show that the present policy of the Western Federation of Miners is practically the same as has been in vogue since 1896 and that it is not a change in our policy that is desired by them, but a campaign to undo that which was done by a referendum vote of our membership taken in 1908, and that the ultimate object is not to change our policy, but to change the attitude of the

Western Federation of Miners in the organized labor movement of this country. Let us ask the question: Can anyone who is sincere in his advocacy of industrial unionism favor a change in the following, which we find in the preamble and constitution of the Western Federation of Miners?:

PREAMBLE.

1. We hold that there is a class struggle in society and that this struggle is caused by economic conditions.
2. We affirm the economic condition of the producer to be that he is exploited of the wealth which he produces; being allowed to retain barely sufficient for his elementary necessities.
3. We hold that the class struggle will continue until the producer is recognized as the sole master of his product.
4. We assert that the working class, and it alone, can and must achieve its own emancipation.
5. We hold, finally, that an industrial union and the concerted political action of all wage workers, is the only method of attaining this end.

CONSTITUTION.

Section 1. This organization shall be known as the Western Federation of Miners, and shall be composed of all persons working in and around mines, mills, smelters, tunnels, open pits and open cuts, organized into unions paying per capita tax to the federation.

Sec. 2. The objects of this organization shall be to unite the various persons working in and around the mines, mills, smelters, tunnels, open pits and open cuts, into one central body, to practice those virtues that adorn society and remind man of his duty to his fellow man, the elevation of his position and the maintenance of the rights of the workers.

This is the policy of our organization adopted by the referendum of our membership, and yet those who represent themselves as sound industrial unionists send out a warning to our membership that unless this policy is changed and a more progressive one adopted the ambitions of the men of the mines can never be satisfied. What are the ambitions of the men of the mines? What do they expect to accomplish through their economic organization? If there be two arms to the working class movement, the economic and political, then the purpose of the Western Federation of Miners is, first, to secure under the present system the greatest compensation possible for our labor, to reduce the hours of toil, to strive to procure the introduction and use of any and all suitable appliances for the preservation of life, limb and health of all employes, and to labor for the enactment of suitable laws for our protection and the proper enforcement thereof. This being the primary object of our organization, we hold in our preamble that an industrial union is the only method of obtaining our ends and in defining our meaning of an industrial union, we say that it shall include in its jurisdiction all persons working in and around mines, mills, smelters, tunnels, open cuts and open pits, in fact, all wage workers necessary to the operation of the metal mining industry in any of its branches. Is this policy defective? Is this idea of organization unsound? I have no hesitancy in saying that I voice the sentiment of practically our entire membership when I say "No."

If this be true, then what is the proposed change in the policy of our organization on the economic field? The tenth annual convention of the Western Federation of Miners declared in favor of a policy of independent political action and a vigorous policy of education along the lines of political economy. Do sound industrial unionists desire to change this policy? If not, then I reiterate that the advocates of a change in our policy are not sincere but that while attacking our policy and offering nothing substantial to take its place, that their sole aim is to again change our attitude in the labor movement.

Going back to the inception of our federation we find that we were organized in 1893, and for three years, or until May, 1896, we were an independent organization; that is, we held no affiliation with any national organization of labor. In 1896 it was decided to change our attitude and affiliate with the American Federation of Labor. This affiliation continued until 1898, when we again changed our position by discontinuing such affiliation and attached ourselves to what was then known as the Western Labor Union. I shall not go into the history of the Western Labor Union; suffice to say that our affiliation

continued until its dissolution in 1905, and that it was formed on the industrial union plan.

In 1905 our organization in convention, realizing that the Western Labor Union had failed, took part in initiating another movement known as the Industrial Workers of the World. While the working policy of this organization differed in some respects from the Western Labor Union, yet the idea of organizing the workers in industries was identical. The Western Federation of Miners continued to take an active part in the affairs of this organization until its second annual convention, when developments in its management were such as to cause a referendum vote to be initiated in our federation which resulted in its repudiation, the membership declaring by their ballot that it should not longer be recognized as a bona fide labor organization, and so, in 1908, the Western Federation of Miners again changed its attitude, and was without affiliation until May 9, 1911, when it re-affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. During this entire period the miners' organization adhered strictly to its idea of industrial organization, yet during that time, we, as stated, on seven different occasions, changed our attitude in the labor movement. Has this been for the best interest of the men of the mines? Has our organization prospered because of these various changes? Have they been a medium for the organizing of the workers of our industry? Let us in all seriousness ask ourselves, and especially those who are loud in their denunciation of the present attitude of our union, whether it might not have been well for the metal miners to have adhered more strictly to a definite position, as has our sister organization, the United Mine Workers of America?

After twenty years of experience, looking over the territory covered by our industry and seeing the army of unorganized workers, the question that we should consider is, has the system of conducting the affairs of our organization been deficient? If so, let us earnestly endeavor to find a remedy. Let us study the manner of transacting the affairs of other organizations, and if their adoption would insure more beneficial results it is our duty to recommend them to our constituents. To again change our attitude in the labor movement would only mean a continuance of that shifting program which I unhesitatingly say has not been beneficial for the metal miners' organization. As to changing our policy of organization, there is no reason for its consideration. Industrial organization of the workers as advocated by the Western Federation of Miners, and practiced as far as conditions would permit, is the only practical idea of bringing the workers together on the industrial field. Industrial unionism is the paramount issue in the trades union movement today. Craft unionism has done much for the workers, but experience, which is the best of teachers, is causing the trade unionists to ask themselves the question: "If in union there is strength, why not unity in the fullest sense? Being wage earners, our interests must be identical, then why this segregation into crafts in our industry?" As a result of these thoughts, we hear of such action as was taken by the international unions of the printing trades in convention, the stereotypers, the electrotypers and the bookbinders, resolved as follows:

"That we go on record as favoring the idea of one union of all the printing trades crafts.

"That all of the present organizations in the industry shall be amalgamated into one industrial union."

This sentiment is not confined to the above organizations, but is fast crystallizing in the many craft organizations which compose the American labor movement, and no power on earth can stop its onward march. To hold that an individual representing a labor organization, or any part of it, can prevent the evolution that is so rapidly developing throughout the world on the economic and political field, is an idle assertion. The workers of the world are becoming aroused to a realization of their class interests. They are coming to understand that their craft organizations are not what unite and make one, but that, in fact, it means segregation of the workers, and that under its policy united action becomes impossible.

As I have said, experience is the best of teachers, and as the different craft organizations become engaged in conflict with their employers and either go down to defeat, or, after a long-drawn-out struggle, are compelled to surrender and return to their employment under the same conditions, those who have continued to work in the same industry, perhaps for the same employer, with union cards in their pockets, although imbued with the spirit of unionism, yet bound by the policy of their organization to assist the employer in defeating their fellow unionists, are asking themselves the question: Are we securing the best results from this kind of unionism? Is this united action of the workers? Will we not be the next, and if so, can we expect to fare better than our brothers? Was it for our best interest to reap the benefit of a few days' wages while a part of the labor movement was being destroyed? Or would it not have been well for us to have cast our lots with them, recognizing that as wage-workers our interests were identical, that an injury to one was the concern of all? Developments are fast forcing an affirmative answer to this question, and as experience and conditions crystallize this sentiment among the rank and file of the labor movement, so-called leaders will either keep pace with the same or be swept aside. A working class that depends on leaders will never emancipate itself from the bondage of wage slavery. Labor once awakened to a realization of its rights and its power to secure them, there may be a place for representatives, not leaders.

Going back to 1908, I have said that a conspiracy was entered into to undo that which had been done by a referendum vote of our membership, said vote being on the question as to the attitude of our organization toward the Industrial Workers of the World, the result being its repudiation. To secure control of the Western Federation of Miners for this repudiated movement, the following plans were outlined—good, reliable men with ability were to be selected and placed in our local unions for the purpose of getting to be delegates in our

annual conventions. To accomplish this they were to adopt the sentiment of the membership in the locals to which they became attached. If the local was what they chose to term a "Moyer" local, or the sentiment against their so-called organization, they were to be Moyer men—they were to outdo the best of them in deluding the membership as to their real purpose. If the local was indifferent, they were to be likewise, but they were to be—what? Elected as delegates. For what purpose? To secure control of the offices of the Western Federation of Miners for the Industrial Workers of the World. Surely a laudable mission for a member of our organization who had taken a solemn pledge to be a true and faithful member, to support and obey all of our laws, rules and regulations—a noble position for a member of organized labor to occupy in his union, a sleuth worming his way into the confidence of his fellow members, striving by fair or foul means to gain their trust, only to betray it; preaching democracy and majority rule while pursuing the tactics of a Pinkerton hireling to overthrow the will of the majority as expressed through the ballot. The primary object of these plans being to control the offices, they must have a program which conformed with their purpose. They must poison the minds of the membership against those who were selected as representatives of your federation who were not agreeable to them, and so, regardless of who the individual might be—unless he was an advocate of the Industrial Workers of the World—he immediately became the object for attack from these honorable, sound, industrial unionists. Men whose veracity had never been questioned; men whose sincerity in labor's cause was recognized throughout the country, men whose only crime had been loyalty to the working class, up to the time this referendum vote was taken, immediately thereafter became in the eyes of this coterie, reactionists, labor fakirs, grafters and perpetual office seekers. With this campaign of vilification inaugurated, the next move was the agitation for the election of officers by the referendum. This was no new proposition in our organization, as it had been discussed in many past conventions and considered not practical by men who would hardly be classed as reactionary by the ultra-progressives in the Industrial Workers of the World, but coming from the source that it did at that particular time, the motive was apparent, as subsequent developments have proven.

In the face of clause 3 of our constitution, which provides that this constitution shall not be amended except by a majority vote of all delegates assembled in convention, or by initiative petition of at least ten locals representing at least five per cent. of the whole membership, the same to be approved by referendum vote as described in Section 1, Article 9, demands were made from different parts of our jurisdiction where these progressive gentlemen had been most active that the executive board submit to the membership an amendment to the constitution providing for the election of officers by referendum, going so far as to introduce into their local union resolutions as follows:

"Be It Resolved, That this local refuse to continue to meet its financial obligations to the Western Federation of Miners until such time as the executive board submits a proposition to the membership for this ratification whereby we may elect our representatives by referendum."

The signers of this resolution, ten in number, knowing full well that there was no such power vested in the executive board, there can be but one explanation as to their purpose, which was to represent to the rank and file that the board were opposed to a democratic form of government.

One year ago the delegates in the nineteenth annual convention, acting under the authority of the constitution, initiated an amendment providing for the selection of officers by the initiative and referendum, and the subsequent tactics employed in the nomination and election of officers to serve our federation for the ensuing term by Industrial Workers of the World advocates or sound industrial unionists, so-called, are the best evidence of my assertion that through this medium they expect to consummate their plans to land the Western Federation of Miners back into a real working class movement—a movement that is so progressive that it fails to see the necessity of permanency in the organization of workers; that scoffs at initiation fees, dues and assessments and other mediums adopted by unions to create a treasury, yet in the past two years has surpassed any other movement on the American continent in its appeals for donations from such treasuries; a movement that preaches direct action and practices it in conducting their internal affairs, not even permitting their organic law to stand in the way and not consulting their membership, yet when their identical tactics are applied to them, their cry of persecution is heard throughout the entire country, and those whom they have slandered and vilified, whose reputations and standing they have endeavored to ruin, are expected to rally to their assistance.

Not having been successful in controlling the officials of the Western Federation of Miners through the slimy tactics which have been outlined, and believing that the remedy for the prevailing evil—to use their own language—was now in their hands, to-wit, the election of officers by referendum, these disciples of democracy who believe in a clean, non-political, non-machine controlled organization, all sound industrial unionists, all swearing allegiance to the Industrial Workers of the World, bethought of a plan which was outlined in the following call to arms of all those who agreed with them that the tricksters and liars who had been selected by the nineteenth annual convention as representatives of the Federation must go if the ambitions of the membership were ever to be satisfied.

Butte, Mont., January, 1912.

To All Members of the Western Federation of Miners Who Believe in the Principles of Industrial Unionism and Correct Form of Organization:

Fellow Workers—You are undoubtedly aware of the fact that it is utterly impossible for your ambitions to be satisfied, or even maintain

what little semblance of industrial unionism that exists in the Western Federation of Miners today as long as the present policy or the policies that have been carried out for the four or five years of your organization are pursued.

Every workingman who has made a study of the industrial union question and knows the history of the Western Federation of Miners is undoubtedly acquainted with every thing in connection with the game that has been so successfully played by our enemies as to place on our shoulders the white elephant that we are compelled to bear at the present time. Then you must be aware of the fact that we have been tricked into this trap by the officials of our organization, by making a majority of the members believe that they were going to form a great industrial union of all those dependent upon the mining industry for their livelihood.

Now, the lie on the part of these men, when they attempted to make it appear that this was their object, must be plain when their action at the recent American Federation of Labor convention and the report of President Moyer and the constitution of the new organization to be known as the Mining Department of the American Federation of Labor are thoroughly studied out. Then the purpose of it all must be plain to any one and unnecessary of much further explanation from us.

Therefore, we, a part of the membership of Butte Miners' Union No. 1, Western Federation of Miners, who believe in the principle of real industrial unionism, having made a study of all the above-mentioned facts, claim that our national officers are responsible for our organization being placed in its present helpless position; we believe that the remedy for the prevailing evil is now in the hands of the membership (the election of the national officers by referendum), and have taken upon ourselves to form a campaign organization to see if the first obstacle in the way of progress cannot be removed and the Western Federation of Miners placed where it belongs, by putting its affairs in the hands of sound, industrial unionism.

Therefore we appeal to you to join hands with us for the purpose of carrying this campaign to success. In the first place, in order to carry on a successful campaign, it is necessary to have an organization with headquarters somewhere, and we believe Butte is a suitable place for headquarters for this campaign organization.

We have elected a central committee of ten who we believe are all sound industrial unionists with instructions to communicate through a corresponding secretary with every man that we can get a line on who is desirous of getting into action for the purpose of changing the present policy of the Western Federation of Miners and resume a more progressive attitude.

Now it is up to you to organize a committee made up of members of your local who you believe are sound on the industrial union question as part of this campaign organization, and we will see that all available material throughout the jurisdiction of the Western Federation of Miners is put into action along these lines for the purpose of nominating and electing one clean slate for the coming June election, and if you desire to see a change then get into action and see that we are supplied with names of the right kind of men qualified for the different offices and we will put up to all the other committees or the entire campaign organization to make up a slate and be prepared to have a sufficient number of locals nominate each candidate and then carry on the campaign to elect them.

Delegates to the American Federation of Labor convention may also be considered, but is not at the present time considered by us as of as much importance as the administration of the Western Federation of Miners.

Trusting that we may succeed in arousing your interest in this campaign, we are, Yours for industrial unionism in fact. (Signed)

PHIL. CHRISTIAN,
JOHN MATTHEWS,
J. E. BRADY,
FRANK CURRAN,
WILLIAM POWELL,
JOE SHANNON,
JOE GUELFY,
JOE LITTLE,
TOM COX,
THOS. CAMPBELL, Sec'y.

Central Committee Industrial Union Organization.

P. S.—Address all communications to Thos. Campbell, Box 652, Butte,

I have fully discussed the question of policy of our organization and shall not give it further consideration, but as this document has gone broadcast throughout our jurisdiction, it becomes an important event in the history of our federation which must engage the attention of this delegation. Our movement has withstood the attacks of the common opponent of organized labor for the past twenty years. We have no power, nor will we have under the present system, to permanently eliminate that opposition, but we have it in our power to demand, and enforce the same, that members of our organization conform to their obligation and the principles of the Western Federation of Miners. The above document is in line with the 1908 plans to create dissension in our ranks by insinuating that the membership were being deceived by their officers. You will note in the document just read that attention is called to a game that has been played. By whom? Our enemies. Here is a specific charge, brother delegates. The officers of your organization are named, they are still your officials. This convention is the highest tribunal of our organization. I here and now waive all of my rights in my local union, place myself in the jurisdiction of this body representing all of our locals, and demand either condemnation or exoneration at your hands. If I am an

enemy of the membership of the Western Federation of Miners, as charged, if I am a traitor to my class, then I have no place in this convention, no place in the Western Federation of Miners, and should be branded as such and banished from the society of honorable men. The committee to whom this report is referred shall be furnished with the records of every transaction with which I have been connected as an official, committeeman and delegate to the American Federation of Labor convention, and I shall ask that they be read to this delegation so that it may be determined as to whether one single act is deceptive, or whether the purpose of these chosen ten sound Industrial Workers is plain to anyone and unnecessary of much further explanation.

For the purpose of record, I embody the following:

Butte, Mont., March 5, 1912.

To those members and Local Unions of the Western Federation of Miners Who Desire to See a Change of Officers Which Will Mean a Change in Policy in Your Organization:

Fellow Workers—After ten weeks of labor trying to look up material in our organization to make a slate, the central committee of the industrial union campaign organization have the following ticket to submit for your consideration to be endorsed or nominated by your local. Now let me explain the reason why there are so many on this slate from Butte: The reason is, that those outside of Butte that we have been communicating with have left the matter of selecting a ticket almost entirely to this committee and those that could qualify and would accept which were suggested from the outside are only the three that you will find on the ticket for officers of the Western Federation of Miners. The following names were suggested to this committee for the office of president: William D. Haywood, Charles H. MacKinnon of Virginia City, Nevada, Jos. F. Hutchinson of Millers, Nevada, Joseph Shannon of Butte, Montana. Under the section of our constitution governing the election of officers, William D. Haywood could not qualify, Charles H. MacKinnon is practically placed in the same position, Joseph Shannon and Jos. F. Hutchinson could not be induced to accept, while it is up to myself to accept and was selected by the committee. But now let it be understood that if there is any other industrialist placed in nomination for the position who is vouched for by men whom I know to be sound industrial unionists, then I will not hesitate in stepping down and out in his favor and will do all that I possibly can to have the industrial unionists in our organization lined up solid on one slate.

I will further say that if this slate is elected, I guarantee that a majority of the executive heads of the organization will be solid industrial unionists and men that will set forth every effort to place all the good material available in harness pulling for real industrial unionism.

The ticket is as follows:

For President, Thomas Campbell, Butte Miners' Union No. 1.
Vice President, Harry C. Lapping Butte Engineers' Union No. 83.
Sec'y-Treasurer, Thomas Reilly, Anaconda M. & S. Union No. 117.
Executive Board—Joe Guelfi, Butte Miners' Union No. 1; John Peura, Butte Miners' Union No. 1; Leslie Turner, Wallace Miners' Union No. 17; Albert Nap Gauthier, Cobalt Miners' Union No. 146.
Delegates to A. F. of L. Convention—Dan Leary, Anaconda Local No. 117, Anaconda, Mont.; M. J. Scanlon, Local No. 121, Tonopah, Nev.; Thomas Campbell, Butte Miners' Union No. 1; Harry C. Lapping, Engineers' Union No. 83.

These names are the complete slate.

Hoping that it will meet with your approval and with best wishes, I remain, yours for industrial freedom,

THOMAS CAMPBELL.

I now ask you, brother delegates, is this the purpose for which we amended our constitution? Is this the initiative and referendum in operation? The sound industrial campaign committee says, first: "We have established a machine in Butte, Mont., and we call upon all sound industrial unionists who are opposed, as we are, to machine rule in our federation to organize a branch machine in each local," to do what? To act in conjunction with the head machine in nominating and electing a slate. I have just read to you the results of the operation of a sound machine. "We have selected the following, Thomas Campbell, Harry C. Lapping, Thomas Reilly, Joe Guelfi, John Peura, Leslie Turner, Albert Nap Gauthier, Dan Leary, M. J. Scanlon, as machine candidates to fill the offices of the Western Federation of Miners for the ensuing term," signed by the master mechanic, Thomas Campbell.

We have heard much of machines. Here is one with its working clothes on, established to secure control of the offices of the Western Federation of Miners, each of its selection, as I am informed, being a sound advocate of the Industrial Workers of the World, and so we make our connections with the plans as outlined in 1908, "let them be elected delegates so as to secure control of the offices for the Industrial Workers of the World," and in 1912 none shall go on the ticket until his qualifications have been passed upon by the industrial campaign committee. I think it would not be amiss to propound the question here: Will this machine cease operation if successful, will the tactics that were responsible for securing control be applied in retaining it and manipulating the affairs of your organization? Of course this is a hypothetical question, and we may not expect an answer.

The question may be asked: Why review the past? Let us plan for the future, and no one would be more pleased than I were this possible. Had we any assurance that these influences that have tended to discord and strife in our federation were in the past and would remain there, I could approach the work of this convention with a much different spirit; I could take part in our deliberations for the future welfare of our unions with far greater confidence, but conditions in

certain parts of our jurisdiction which I shall later lay before you and which are traceable to the same forces compels us to take notice of the past in dealing with the future. Let it also be remembered that these same forces have heralded throughout our jurisdiction and to the entire country that our organization is practically a failure, made so by its present officers. In furnishing you with the facts that I have I shall expect you to compare them with the policy pursued by your representatives, which has been to adhere strictly to the law, rules, regulations and principles of our organization, exercising every effort in their power to educate and organize the workers in our industry, and after so doing, the duty devolves upon you to say to our membership which has been the most beneficial for our unions.

One year ago, one of the recognized leaders of this rule-or-ruin program took great pains in pointing out to the membership of one of our locals which had sent him as a delegate to our nineteenth annual convention, and, having published in our official organ that all those who failed to agree with him were either dishonest or fools, that while there had been elected two members of the executive board who met with his approval, there were grave doubts as to whether they would be able to withstand the evil influences of their associates but whether they did or not the membership could expect nothing from their organization, it being questionable whether it could survive the year. Not one word of encouragement, no promise of support, but a hurried return to Montana, there to encourage dissatisfaction, and, with others, embarrass the administration in every way possible, ultimately assisting in organizing a political campaign in our federation such as has never before, to my knowledge, been resorted to in the history of the labor movement of this country. I want to say to you now, and to the membership of our organization, that an organization is what its members make it, and nothing more. If the policy adopted by our organization is sound, and the movement has failed to progress as you would have liked, then there must be a reason. There is an old saying that a house divided among itself will surely fail. The Western Federation of Miners may not fail, but if it should, the cause will be found as coming from within. United we will withstand the combined forces such as have been hurled against us in the past, but the continuance of the internal dissensions which have been going on during the past year must be eliminated if we expect to continue to retain our position in the labor movement of this country and maintain what we have determinedly struggled to secure for these past twenty years and preserve a medium for the education and organization of the workers.

When the nineteenth annual convention adjourned it left in the hands of the incoming Executive Board what has been commonly called the Black Hills lockout. This lockout had then been in progress more than two years. After discussing every phase of it, the convention unanimously endorsed the position of our members in South Dakota in the struggle they were making in defense of the right of the miners to organize, levying an assessment for August for that purpose and instructing their Executive Board to levy such further assessments as might be necessary. The delegates appeared to recognize the far-reaching importance of this struggle. They seemed to realize that the miners of the Black Hills were engaged in a conflict not alone for their rights but were fighting the miners' battle, and incidentally the workers, regardless of what occupation they might follow. They seemed to be able to see these men without employment for this long period of time, without a dollar in the world, their wives and little ones deprived of even the limited comforts of life enjoyed by those dependent on the wage-workers under the most favorable conditions, but, strange, to say, the vision of a certain per cent of our membership seemed to be obscured, they appeared to be unable to view the Black Hills situation as it actually exists, they were unable to imagine themselves and their families in a like position, after a long period of non-employment, in the midst of a severe winter, and so they began protesting against contributing a dollar per month for this purpose. Your board, believing that it would be no credit to the Western Federation of Miners to desert these people, continued to carry out the instructions of your convention, levying such assessments as were required, for which they have received the most severe criticism, especially so during the late campaign that has been waged by sound industrial unionists; your present president was charged with being alone responsible for past assessments.

There are only two ways for your organization to finance strikes and lockouts, which will occur as long as the system necessitates a labor movement. They are, to support your motto that "an injury to one is the concern of all" with your dollars, or permit those involved to become objects of charity through appealing to other organized workers for assistance. Your organization has no established strike fund or other sources of revenue other than the per capita and such assessments as your convention or Executive Board may levy. This is a pure and simple business proposition. The conditions under which the working class live and the wages received prohibit any accumulation of money, therefore when thrown out of employment they must either move on, seeking another master, or receive the necessities of life from their organization. The position in which your Executive Board and officers are continuously placed because of levying the necessary assessments is uncalled for and unfair. You should determine some other system for raising revenues, or failing to do so, discontinue the inconsistent criticism of men who are compelled to raise the same either by carrying out your instructions in convention or acting under the authority of the constitution.

Your Executive Board will, undoubtedly, in their report, review the Black Hills lockout during the year, and its status at the present time. Suffice for me to say that much credit is due hundred of our members in South Dakota who have unflinchingly, under the most adverse circumstances, fought on and on in defense of the rights of the miners to organize. If men ever contended in a just cause, it was the workers in the Black Hills. Had the Western Federation of Miners failed to have rendered them such assistance as was in its power, it would have

left a blot on the record of our organization that could never be effaced. Whatever the outcome may be we have the satisfaction of knowing that we contested as best we could to maintain our unions, and the conditions of the mines of the Black Hills to-day and the vast sums of money expended by the operators is the best evidence that it has not been altogether a one-sided contest. It is reported that Thomas Grier, the superintendent of the Homestake mines, may soon pass to that great beyond. We wonder if, in looking back over the past three years and reviewing his work, whether the heroes of the Homestake mines whom he praised a few short years ago after they had offered their own lives in defense of the property of which he was manager, will occupy his thoughts. Will he, in his passing hours, see these same heroes driven from their homes through his orders, their only offense being that same loyalty to their union that they displayed toward their employers when they were in sore distress. Will he see before him the wives and little ones of those who had served him well thrown out in the dead of winter to starve or perish for aught he cared? If so, he may hear his master's voice—William Randolph Hearst—saying "Well done, my good and faithful servant." But will he be satisfied with this reward?

While the nineteenth annual convention was in session the newly organized unions of smelters at Caney and Dearing, Kansas, were forced to strike against discrimination. Our members involved, with few exceptions, although new in the movement, proved to be true to the principles of unionism, standing firm for their right to organize, but owing to the fact that the employes of these plants were not all members of the union, some of them continuing to work, and with the importation of men from Kansas City and other points, the company was able to resume operations, and while working at a great disadvantage for some time and undoubtedly suffering considerable loss, they ultimately manned their works and our people were compelled to go elsewhere to seek employment.

It having been brought to our attention that there was a law in the state of Kansas for the protection of employes, we sought redress in the courts. The act is as follows:

"That it shall be unlawful for any individual or member of any firm or agent, officer, or employer of any company or corporation to coerce, require, demand or influence any person or persons to enter into any agreement, written or verbal, not to join or become or remain a member of any labor organization or association as a condition of such person or persons securing employment or continuing in the employment of such individual, firm or corporation."

Under this act we caused the arrest of the general manager of the company and although our evidence was conclusive that he had in an address to his employes urged them not to join the union, threatening them with discharge if they did, following by the discharge of a large number of them, the court ruled against us and we again witnessed the act of a state legislature swept aside by one man in the interests of a few to the great injury of the many.

During the year there has been several strikes in our jurisdiction which were of short duration, leaving conditions practically the same.

At the present we have a strike at Blair, Nevada, and Owingsville, Kentucky. On date of May 6th a notice to the employes of the Pittsburg Silver Peak Gold Mining Company at Blair, Nevada, was sent out from the company's office, as follows:

"Blair, Nevada, May 6, 1912.

"To the Employes of the Pittsburg Silver Peak G. M. Company:

"It is with considerable regret that the management finds it necessary to place the proposition of a reduced wage scale before you. The matter has been considered for some time, the step having been delayed from month with the hope that something would occur whereby the reduction could be avoided. As you probably all know, this property is low grade and if it was not for the excellent equipment we have it could not be operated successfully, even upon a reduced scale of wages. The new company requests all employes not working on a salary basis to express through the medium of the ballot their opinion regarding this matter, all votes to be in the Blair office not later than the 15th of May. The schedule will take effect on the 1st of June, 1912. The following will be the new scale of wages."

Then follows the wage scale, which is approximately a reduction of 50 cents per day, the notice concluding as follows:

"The management asks you to consider this question carefully and to give a fair and liberal expression of opinion and answer.

"Pittsburg Silver Peak Gold Mining Company,

"Per Wm. Bradley, Gen. Manager."

You will note that this notice is addressed to the employes and not to the union, although the management knew full well that the men were practically all members. The purpose of the company was readily recognized by the men and instead of being caught in the trap laid for them, they took the matter up in their union, petitioned their Executive Board to take a strike vote, which resulted in rejecting the proposed reduction and after several conferences with the management in which they offered to accept the Tonopah and Millers scale, a strike was declared on June 1st, the date on which the reduced scale was to take effect.

The amusing feature of the company's position in this matter was their positive notice to their employes that their wages had been reduced and the new schedule would take effect on June 1st, yet requesting them to express through the medium of the ballot their opinion regarding the same: the polling place was to be the company office, the judge of election, Mr. Bradley, general manager of the company. It is to be presumed the judge would know how each employe voted. The vote was to be in not later than May 15th, a very clever plan indeed to weed out those who voted against the reduction of their wages and fill

their places before the time set for the new scale to go into effect, thereby preventing the closing down of their property.

I arrived in Blair May 28th, and after conferring with the union at Blair, which is composed of the mill workers and the union at the mine, I was fully in accord with the sentiment of the men to resist the proposed reduction, as the cost of living there is much higher than in other parts of Nevada, and the proposed scale is much lower than that of Tonopah and Millers. Executive Board Member Cannon has been on the ground advising with the men and will report the situation at the present time.

The president of this company is one ex-Senator Flynn of Pennsylvania. The country has heard much of Mr. Flynn, especially during the Republican convention lately held in the city of Chicago. A progressive of progressives, not second even to Teddy, yet, he would see the slaves of the mines and mills in his employ on the deserts of Nevada forced to labor under starvation conditions. We would say to Mr. Flynn, if his mine at Silver Peak is not a paying proposition, for God's sake, close it down, but don't take part in establishing a reduced scale of wages for the men of the mines in the surrounding districts.

On June 19th I received a telegram from Secretary Bailey of the Craigs Miners' Union No. 245, Salt Lick, Kentucky, notifying me that our members were on strike at that place and asking for advice. I requested Organizer Miller to go there, which he did, making an effort to negotiate a settlement with the management in which he was unsuccessful. The following notice, sent out by the union, will give you an idea of the conditions under which some of our fellow miners are compelled to labor in a state where slavery was supposed to have been abolished many years ago.

STRIKE.

When a corporation insists upon the right of a foreman to curse its employes and refuses ANY raise in wages so low that the workers cannot buy the necessaries of life, much less its comforts, then the workers can do but one thing—throw down their tools and ask every self-respecting workingman to refuse to work for the ROSERUN MINING COMPANY in any capacity.

We, the employes of the Roserun company, appeal to the workers everywhere to aid us by keeping away from the works of the Roserun company until they have settled with their employes. A minimum wage of \$1.10 leaves us hungry while working. The longer a man works at such a wage, the poorer he becomes. There are men who have been with this company for from 15 to 30 years—they have nothing but empty hands and a wasted life for years of heart-breaking toil.

The manager admits that the wages are very low, but he has made a contract and cannot pay more. It means that he will not until he has to.

A CONTRACT THAT CALLS FOR A WAGE THAT GIVES A FREE WORKER LESS THAN A SLAVE RECEIVED, OUGHT TO BE BROKEN.

Let us all go out together and stay out until we can go back at a higher wage and under better conditions.

COMMITTEE,

Craig Miners' Union, No. 45, Owingsville, Kentucky.

One dollar and ten cents for ten hours' labor. Prosperity! We have heard of it before—Republican prosperity. We are soon again to hear it proclaimed throughout the land. Human beings hidden away in the bowels of the earth, shut out from God's pure air and sunshine, taking their lives in their hands for the munificent amount of one hundred and ten cents per day with which to provide food and clothing and educate the future citizenship of this, our boasted land of the free and home of the brave! Taft prosperity! Will the working class in exercising their franchise this fall vote to perpetuate it or will they unitedly march to the polls and cast their ballots not for the overthrow of a government, but the abolition of a system under which the producer must beg for his very existence, a system which places the destinies of thousands in the hands of one or a few individuals, a system which is responsible for ignorance, destitution and crime. The people who do the work of the world have it in their power to regulate the distribution of their production. How much longer will they permit themselves to be deceived by the embodying in party platform planks favorable to labor? How much longer will they pin their faith to pledges and promises made during a campaign, only to be broken, or if kept and enacted into laws, to be declared unconstitutional by a corrupt judiciary. The protest which is heard today as never before from the workers throughout the land augurs well for a future in which there shall be no place for a master and servant.

The time has arrived in the history of our federation when we must more seriously than ever before consider our unorganized condition. Is there a more feasible plan for bringing about the organization of the army of workers in our industry than we have pursued in the past? If so it should be adopted. I have estimated the number of workers in the metal mining industry at approximately three hundred thousand. Among this great number we have but a small per cent. in our unions. While we have, as far as our resources would permit, propagated the principles of unionism, yet our funds have not been available for the placing of organizers in the many mining states in the East and South, where large numbers of men are employed. That our organization is no stronger than its weakest point has been brought forcibly to our attention in each conflict with our employers. Miners working for \$1.10 to \$1.65 per day, unorganized, uneducated, ever on the outlook for employment that promises a greater remuneration, fall an easy prey to the unscrupulous, misrepresenting agent. Our progress in entrenching our position depends almost entirely on our success in organizing and educating these workers. The past must convince us that the wage workers as a rule, left to themselves, while they at time may rebel against suppression, fail to initiate a permanent organization or

any movement that promises united action. Literature, if the workers can be induced to read, does much in laying the ground-work for organization, but after all is said and done, success depends on the personal representative. As I have said, there is a spirit of unrest among the workers at the present time in localities where men have been dormant for these many years. They are arousing from their lethargy and demanding recognition and humane conditions. As evidence of this in our own industry we see the men organizing in Kentucky, of which I have told you. Organizer Crough, of our organization is now in the state of New Jersey, where at Perth Amboy, there has been perfected a local composed of smelter and refinery workers with a membership today of more than five hundred. At Minesville, New York, the miners have organized in a federal union and received recognition from the operators. We expect to charter these workers in our federation in the near future. It is imperative that we take advantage of this sentiment, but to do so ways and means must be adopted by this convention. It matters not how fully your representatives may realize the importance of this work, it matters not how progressive they may be, the fact remains that to this date there have been no volunteers from our ranks offering their services without compensation, therefore, the scope of operation depends absolutely on the finances at their disposal. I trust that this convention will realize this and outline some plan whereby this vitally important work can be more aggressively prosecuted.

While considering the question of organization this convention should give careful thought to the policy which our organization has pursued in the past in dealing with our employers. From a business standpoint—and permit me to say that regardless of whether we so recognize it, the negotiations of wage scales and the many other questions that arise between employers and employes are considered by the employer and the public as pure and simple business affairs—has our procedure as outlined in our constitution been such as to best conserve the interests of our members, organize our industry and establish that business relationship between the employer and our federation which appears to be necessary for success in other organizations? We have probably heard more of the United Mine Workers of America during the past year from some of our own locals and members than from any other source. Our sister organization has been proclaimed a successful organization by those in our federation who wish to be recognized as ultra-revolutionary, the policy of the Mine Workers apparently appealing to them to the extent that they were willing to sink the identity of the metal miners' organization and become a part of the U. M. W. of A. If this be true and the coal miners' organization occupies a stronger position than does the metal miners, the question arises, Why? Not because of the difference in their idea of organizing the workers in their industry, as both organizations declare for an industrial form of organization. Not because the coal miners have been more progressive than we have. Therefore we have a right to infer that their success, at least to some extent, is responsible for their policy in dealing with their employers. Let us study this policy. Let us counsel with the fraternal delegates from the Mine Workers who are with us. Let us study our constitution and if we find that it fails to meet the needs and requirements of our organization, let us initiate practical amendments and send them out to our membership with a concise statement as to why they should be adopted.

In the matter of legislation, since our last convention, the legislature in the newly admitted state of Arizona passed a number of bills favorable to labor, among them being one regulating the hours of labor in the mining industry. This is one of the broadest and most specific acts of the kind that has yet been placed on the statutes, and as far as I am informed, has become operative without questioning its constitutionality. How different in the state of Colorado! The last general assembly of this state passed the following eight-hour bill:

Section 1. Employment in all underground mines, underground workings, open cut workings, open pit workings, smelters, reduction workers, stamp mills, concentration mills, chlorination processes, cyanide processes and coke ovens, is hereby declared to be injurious to health and dangerous to life and limb.

Section 2. That the period of employment of men working in all underground mines, underground workings, open cut workings, open pit workings, smelters, reduction works, stamp mills, concentrating mills, chlorination processes, cyanide processes and coke ovens shall not exceed eight hours within any twenty-four hours except in cases of emergency where life or property is in imminent danger.

When we remember that the people of Colorado several years ago, by a large majority vote amended the constitution so as to provide for eight-hour legislation and instructed the legislature to pass a law regulating the hours of labor for men in mines, mills and smelters, and bearing in mind the fact that this state occupies a position in the front ranks for "law and order," placed there through the determined efforts of the employing interests of the state, we may well ask the question, why has a law that has been declared constitutional by the Supreme Court of the United States failed to become operative in Colorado? Not because of the efforts of the working class, as it will be remembered that they were classed as violators of the law and undesirable citizens because they demanded compliance with this same act. Not by Senator Guggenheim, although he represents large smelting interests in the state, yet he represents all the people—a law-maker himself, surely he would not become a party to prevent legislation that would prolong the lives of a large number of human beings. Yet, strange to say, somebody has sneaked in and taken advantage of the right of the people to refer an act of the legislature to the referendum, thereby making the law inoperative for a period of two years. Not satisfied with this, these same interests have caused to be circulated and secured the required signatures thereto, a petition to submit to the referendum at the same election that the act of the legislature is submitted the following:

AN ACT

TO REGULATE AND LIMIT THE HOURS OF EMPLOYMENT IN ALL UNDERGROUND MINES, UNDERGROUND WORKINGS, OPEN CUT WORKINGS, OPEN PIT WORKINGS, SMELTERS, REDUCTION WORKS, STAMP MILLS, CONCENTRATION MILLS, CHLORINATION PROCESSES, CYANIDE PROCESSES AND COKE OVENS; TO DECLARE CERTAIN EMPLOYMENTS INJURIOUS TO HEALTH AND DANGEROUS TO LIFE AND LIMB; TO PROVIDE A PENALTY FOR THE VIOLATION OF THE PROVISIONS OF THIS ACT; TO REPEAL ALL OTHER ACTS AND PARTS OF ACTS IN CONFLICT WITH THIS ACT.

Be It Enacted by the People of the State of Colorado:

Section 1. Employment in all underground mines, underground workings, open cut workings, open pit workings, directly attending smelting furnaces reduction works, stamp mills, concentration mills, chlorination processes, cyanide processes and coke ovens, wherever such employment is continuously in contact with noxious fumes, gases or vapors is hereby declared to be injurious to health and dangerous to life and limb.

Section 2. That the period of employment of men working in all underground mines, underground workings, open cut workings, open pit workings, or directly attending smelting furnaces, reduction works, stamp mills, concentrating mills, chlorination processes, cyanide processes and coke ovens wherever such employment is continuously in contact with noxious fumes, gases or vapors, shall not during any one month exceed an average of eight hours within any twenty-four hours, except in cases of emergency where life or property is in imminent danger.

You may ask when or how were these signatures secured? We may answer without hesitation that thousands of them were secured through misrepresentation and fraud. These law and order advocates who are responsible for the same have paid for them and it mattered not how they were secured. When the petition to refer the act of the act of the legislature was filed we instituted an investigation with the result that hundreds of names were found to be fraudulent. We secured affidavits from many whose names appeared on the petition to the effect that they had never seen the petition and had authorized no one to sign for them. We furnished the secretary of state with this evidence as well as other state officials, yet no action has been taken as far as we know, and the petition has been filed and the act will be submitted.

You will again ask, then why the petition to initiate, and the question may well be asked, and answered by referring you and those in the state who are interested to sections 1 and 2 of the act and the same sections of the proposed law. Section 1 of the act provides that employments in smelters is injurious to health and dangerous to life and limb. Section 1 of the proposed law says "employment directly attending smelting furnaces or wherever such employment is continuously in contact with noxious fumes, gases or vapors is hereby declared to be injurious to health and dangerous to life and limb." Do you see any difference in the provisions of the two acts? Smeltermen will have no difficulty in detecting the joker in this proposed law. Then again, in section 2, you find a repetition of section 1 with the following: "shall not during any one month exceed an average of eight hours within the twenty-four." The purpose of this provision is so plain that it should require no explanation whatever. The eight-hour law in all other states where it has been adopted specifically provides that the period of employment of men following these occupations shall not exceed eight-hours within any twenty-four hours, excepting in cases of emergency where life and property is in imminent danger. Under this proposed law men may be worked the twelve-hour shift or any number of hours for a part of the month, or the property may suspend operation for a few days during the month, or many other subterfuges resorted to in order to avoid the law, in fact, it is not an eight-hour law and no one more fully realizes its defectiveness than those responsible for its initiation.

The men of the mines of Colorado have waited long for this relief in their efforts to secure that which the great majority of the people of the state conceded to them. They have been persecuted as have been few workers of this country. In the face of the favorable decisions from the United States Supreme Court, every district and the Supreme Court of the state has ruled against them. Practically all of the western mineral states have taken steps through legislation to protect the health, life and limb of this class of workers, and I recommend that this convention instruct their incoming executive board and officers to take such action as may be necessary to enlighten the voters of this state so that they may be fully informed as to the methods resorted to by the opponents of eight-hour legislation and that such other steps be taken either legally or otherwise to establish the eight-hour law, not only in the state of Colorado, but in all other territory covered by our organization where such laws have not been enacted.

I am pleased to report a substantial growth of our unions in the state of Missouri. I have been privileged to meet with our membership there and the sentiment among the workers not only promises thorough, but permanent, organization. Several months ago a voluntary increase of wages was given by the operators of that district, but after an investigation I feel that such increase was not in the amount that the price of their production would justify. The miners and smeltermen of Missouri are entitled to a higher wage and I would recommend that this convention authorize our executive board to open negotiations with the employers of the lead belt for the purpose of

establishing a just scale of wages and defining the future relationship between them and the organization.

In the state of Michigan, curtailment of production during the winter season and the many other obstacles with which we have had to contend has made organizing difficult indeed, yet progress has been made and as we are all familiar with the magnitude of the mining industry of that state and the importance of organizing, it would appear unnecessary for me to urge a continuance of our efforts and a more progressive campaign in that district, if that be possible.

On page 11 of this report I made mention of conditions in certain parts of our jurisdiction to which I should refer later. In the month of April your headquarters was informed, first, through the public press and later by personal communications that there had been a controversy precipitated in Butte, Montana, between the company and the miners' union because of the latter's claim of discrimination against its members, a number having been discharged. I shall not undertake to discuss the merits of this contention or the disposition that was made of the matter, for, as I have said, the executive board or officers had no official notice from Local No. 1, or any other local, that anything out of the ordinary was occurring in Butte, neither has any notice to that effect reached headquarters to this date, the union apparently being satisfied that they were able to handle the situation without any assistance or advice from their general representatives, and had it not been for later developments there would be no necessity for me to encumber this report with the following:

To the President and Executive Board of the Western Federation of Miners—Greetings:

We the Butte Finnish miners, have been up to now, the most faithful and worthy supporters of the Western Federation of Miners. We have honestly believed that the Western Federation of Miners will give to all brothers a fair and impartial and just defense, including the Finns, and will defend its brothers according to right and union principle, when there is a question of the employers' unhuman conduct toward its employes without the slightest cause. But the occurrences of the past few days in Butte have shown to us that in the above we were bitterly dissatisfied.

Explanation: On or about March 20th, 1912, the Amalgamated Mining Company began to fire its help in bunches, comprising mostly all of the Finnish miners and seemingly without any cause whatsoever. On account of the above we, about a thousand members of the Western Federation of Miners, dependent on the Butte Miners' Union No. 1, believing that it would, as a union, give us the help promised by the constitution and ritual of the union, the union took the matter under consideration and had a referendum vote on the question, the outcome was 1,121 voted for a strike and 4,460 voted against.

So from the above the Butte Miners' Union did not give us the help and protection that should be given to all union men, but left us to fight alone against this powerful mining corporation.

Over the action of the Butte Miners' Union, we the 500 fired Finnish miners and members of the Western Federation of Miners, are forced to bring out a protest against the Butte Miners' Union and if the president and executive board do not take this under consideration and try to rectify this mistake of the Butte Miners' Union, why then we will be forced to fight openly against the Western Federation of Miners to the bitter end.

K. O. KETURI,
G. OLLIKKALA,
MATT MATSON,
J. R. PETERSON,
J. W. KNITTINN,
JACOB SUNTUNEN,
HANS KALLI,
TOIVO FREDBOR,
EIKKI LATALA,
J. E. IMPAWEN,
ANDREW RISSELL,
MATT MULARI.

Under date of April 11th I mailed the following reply:

Messrs. K. O. Katuri, G. Ollikkala, Matt Matson, J. R. Peterson, J. W. Knittinn, Jacob Suntunen, Hans Kalli, Toivo Fredbor, Eikki Latala, J. E. Impawaen, Andrew Rissill, Matt Mullari.
Butte, Montana.

Dear Sirs and Brothers—Your communication addressed to the president and executive board of the Western Federation of Miners has reached this office in due time and a copy has been mailed to the different members of the executive board and vice president.

As the communication was mailed to me it devolves upon me to acknowledge its receipt and while I shall not comment at length on the subject matter contained in the same, yet I feel justified in calling the signers' attention to the fact that to this date I have had no official notice from the Butte Miners' Union informing me, as president of the Western Federation of Miners, that there was any trouble between the employers and employes in Butte, Montana, which had resulted in the discharge of members of our organization, although it has been reported that on date of March 18th there was generally circulated among the men employed in the mines of Butte that a telegram had been received from me advising that certain action be taken. I want to make it absolutely plain to the signers of the petition to the executive board that I received no notice from the Butte Miners' Union of your discharge, neither did I send a telegram or letter to the union or any of its officers or a committee representing the union.

It has been currently reported, not only in Montana, but in the state of Michigan, that I refused to acknowledge an appeal from our

Finnish members in Butte to go to their assistance because of their being discriminated against by the employers. I desire to be distinctly understood as stating that I have received no such appeal other than the one which is hereby acknowledged and signed as above.

The committee states that the Butte Finnish miners believed that the Western Federation of Miners would give to all the members a fair, impartial and just defense. I wish to say to the committee that this has been the policy of the Western Federation of Miners since the day of its inception, which policy I am not inclined to believe has changed in the least, and that it is the sentiment of the majority of the members that it be continued, and I would again call the attention of the committee and those they represent to the fact that their international—or the Western Federation of Miners—officials were not consulted, therefore the organization as a whole cannot be held responsible for the action of a local union.

The threat contained in your letter that unless the executive board do so and so you will openly fight the Western Federation of Miners to the bitter end will not redound to the credit of the Finnish-speaking workingmen endorsing the same. A declaration of this kind is in my opinion, unwise, and if put into practice cannot help but work an injury on the Finnish-speaking people of this country, which I can assure you I would regret exceedingly. The Western Federation of Miners in the past twenty years has engaged in many determined conflicts with the employers of labor. During these years while differing as to policy with other organizations of labor, yet we have ever had their support, and I have every reason to believe that the same attitude will continue in the future. Therefore I will again say to the members who sign the communication and those they represent that they should hesitate before putting into execution the threat they have forwarded to the executive board.

As I have said, your communication will be submitted to the board I have every reason to believe that they will give it the most careful consideration.

Assuring you that my sympathies are with the men who have been thrown out of employment in Montana and that I shall in the future, as I have in the past, do everything in my power to defend and better the condition of the wageworkers, regardless of nationality or color, I beg to remain

Yours for the Western Federation of Miners,

CHARLES H. MOYER,

President.

April 12th the following reached headquarters:

These resolutions were passed at a mass meeting of the discharged and blacklisted miners in Finlander Hall, Butte, Mont., April 12, 1912.

FRANK CURRAN,

Chairman.

EVAN L. WILLIAMS,

Secretary.

Butte, Montana, April 12, 1912.

Whereas, A number of members of the Western Federation of Miners, heretofore employed in the mines at Butte, Montana, have been discharged because of their activity in the Socialist party; and

Whereas, The Western Federation of Miners stands for and advocates independent working class political action through the Socialist party, and advises its membership to engage actively in the work of the Socialist party; therefore be it

Resolved: By said discharged and blacklisted miners, in meeting assembled this 12th day of April, 1912, that we do hereby officially advise the Western Federation of Miners, through its officers and executive board, of our situation, and ask the W. F. M. to render such assistance as is required until they may either secure other employment or be sent to other places where employment may be found.

ANDREW RISSIL,

J. W. KNITTINEN,

K. O. KETURI,

GUST OLLIKKALA,

EVAN L. WILLIAMS,

FRANK CURRAN,

HENRY GEICK.

This was answered to Frank Curran by day letter telegram.

Denver, Colorado, April 23, 1912.

Frank Curran,

Care of Miners' Union, Butte, Montana.

Frank Curran, chairman of mass meeting of discharged and blacklisted miners—Your appeal for moral and financial assistance has been referred to executive board. Majority of board have instructed me to refer your appeal to your local union. Local No. 1 has not as yet asked the Western Federation of Miners for assistance.

CHARLES H. MOYER.

On even date the following was forwarded to Butte Miners' Union:

Denver, Colorado, April 23, 1912.

Butte Miners' Union, No. 1, W. F. M.,

Joe Little, Secretary.

Butte, Montana.

Executive board has received appeal for assistance from committee purporting to represent sixty-three discharged and blacklisted members of Butte Miners' Union. Majority of board instructs me to refer matter to Number One.

CHARLES H. MOYER.

This was answered by the secretary as follows:

Butte, Montana, April 24, 1912.

Mr. Chas. H. Moyer, President,
Western Federation of Miners,
Denver, Colorado.

Dear Sir and Brother—Your day letter of the 23rd was read at our regular meeting last evening and was laid on the table indefinitely by a rising vote of 78 to 64.

Fraternally yours,

JOE LITTLE,

Recording Secretary.

As I have said, I shall not discuss the merits of this controversy, my purpose is to show the inconsistency, the unfairness, the advantage that was taken of it to embarrass the executive board and officers and injure your organization. I shall be charitable toward some of those who signed these documents as they may not have realized the purport of their action, but such men as Frank Curran, chairman and Evan L. Williams, secretary knew full well that the executive board would not be justified in issuing relief to members of the Butte Miners' Union unless the request came through the local. They knew that the Western Federation of Miners had no out of work funds and that relief could only be furnished in case of a strike or lockout. They knew full well that Butte Miners' Union, with between five and six thousand members working, and a good substantial treasury, were well able to take care of their own members, yet they took part in meeting and I have every reason to believe, in causing the submitting of an ultimatum to the executive board that unless these demands were complied with they would openly fight the Western Federation of Miners to the bitter end, and subsequent developments have proven beyond a question of doubt that the so-called progressive, or I. W. W. element, in and out of our organization, has taken advantage of this unfortunate situation to poison the minds, not only of the Finnish-speaking workers in our industry, but of others of foreign birth. They have been told that the present executive board and officers had no use for foreigners; that they had refused to assist the Finnish-speaking workers in Butte and that their only salvation was to elect the sound industrial slate, and failing to do so, sever their relations with the Western Federation of Miners and affiliate with the Industrial Workers of the World. Publications edited by this direct-action, sabotage-howling coterie have lent their aid to this campaign, so callous to truth, so void of principle, they have become that they hesitate at nothing in their insane efforts to control, going so far as to circulate the report that the present president of your organization has stolen a sum in the amount of \$14,000 from the Federation. Progress! Is there a man in this hall, is there a member of our organization who, understanding these damnable tactics that have been resorted to, expects that our organization can progress? I say to you now, brother delegates, that the time for temporizing has passed. Your organization has jurisdiction over the workers in the metal mining industry. The Western Federation of Miners is the only metal miners' organization on the American continent. Men employed in this industry are either with us or against us. The membership of our organization has, by a referendum, defined its position toward the Industrial Workers of the World in no uncertain way and this convention should demand of our locals and the membership that they conform to that position or be disciplined as provided by the constitution. Our organization has spent large sums of money in the work of education and organization in the state of Michigan, yet during the past six months these forces in the guise of unionism have done everything in their power to create dissension that they might reap the benefits of our efforts. Our Federation and the labor movement have no greater enemies and they should be named and pointed out so that the union men and women could throw around themselves that protection which is necessary when coming in contact with creatures of this character. That these forces are slowly but surely undermining and destroying the power and influence of our organization must be recognized. Their success, to a great extent, can be attributed to the indifference of our membership. If the delegates of this convention are imbued with that spirit which they should be, if you are here as representatives of the Western Federation of Miners, a message will go forth to our membership which will cause them to stand erect. A message which will serve notice on "sound industrial unionists," so-called, that they have no monopoly on red blood, that while you pray for harmony it shall not be purchased with the life of our movement.

Owing to the persistent efforts of those whom I have discussed to misrepresent my position, although it should be unnecessary, I have no hesitancy in declaring that I am firm in my convictions on the industrial form of organizing the workers on the economic field. I am equally convinced that only through the united political action of the workers of the world can they ever expect to permanently enjoy the full fruits of their labor. I therefore recommend a vigorous policy of education along the lines of political economy, and especially do I urge our membership to study the philosophy of Socialism. As an industrial unionist I condemn the attempt to confuse industrial unionism with syndicalism and sabotage. Labor industrially organized need not resort to violence. The unity of the workers in its fullest sense, which means to become one or grow or act together, will secure for the producers all that they may ever expect from their economic organization. Being conscious of the power of united action on the economic field, it will be but a short step to the political and the application of the same principle will overthrow an industrial system which was responsible for their economic organization.

As to the best methods of obtaining industrial unionism, I unhesitatingly say that the destruction of the present movement, which seems to be the sole ambition of some, will not advance but retard its

progress. As I have said, the trend of labor unions all over the world is making for a closer alliance. To divide our present movement, either national, international or local, only means to pit one part of the members against the other, which affords much satisfaction to the employers. The labor movement of this country, while imperfect, has been built up at a tremendous cost and sacrifice. Evolution, while it may seem a slow process, yet, aided by the thousands of industrial unionists in our craft organizations to-day, ably assisted by the bitter experience of individual failures is bound to establish that solidarity which we desire.

In organizing the Mining Department we have established a closer relationship between the two miners' organizations than ever existed before, not only this, but a number of organizations co-relative to our industries have made application for affiliation and will be admitted before the first departmental convention, which will be held in Rochester in November of this year. In regard to our affiliation with the American Federation of Labor, I took the position before said affiliation that we had nothing to lose but everything to gain. I now say, without hesitation, that it has proven beneficial to our movement. It has brought us closer in touch with our fellow unionists. They have, in many instances, recognized that our interests were equally theirs, furnished us with information that would have been difficult to secure and rendered us material assistance in the work of organization.

As one of your delegates to attend the national convention I signed a report which was published in your official organ, which should have reached each member, therefore reference to the same will not be necessary other than to say that a resolution having been introduced in the convention providing for the election of officers and the enactment of laws in the American Federation of Labor by the initiative and referendum being referred to the Executive Board for investigation with the understanding that they report on the subject to the next national convention for its consideration, and, as we believe in the principles of absolute democracy in the labor movement, I advise that this convention go on record as favoring this resolution and instruct their delegates to vote for its adoption.

In the case of Preston and Smith, confined in the Nevada state prison, it is a pleasure to report the release of Brother Smith on parole, with equal regret of our failure in securing relief for Brother Preston, but he has not been forgotten, and I have every reason to believe that justice shall yet prevail, and that the date of his freedom is not in the distant future, and I recommend that your Executive Board be instructed to continue their efforts in his behalf.

In the month of June, Executive Board Member Frank Brown tendered his resignation and I appointed to fill the unexpired term Joseph D. Cannon. Brother Cannon has been an active worker in our movement for many years and in his selection I feel that I made no mistake.

In the way of recommendation, I believe that I have discussed the important matters confronting our Federation, and as your Executive Board has been continuously in the field during the year, I have no doubt they will furnish you with a review of their observations and make many valuable recommendations.

In particular would I call your attention to the eight-hour legislation in Alaska and Ontario. In the latter an unsuccessful attempt was made during the year to secure the passage of an eight-hour measure. The Federation assisted our locals in Ontario and I recommend that all necessary assistance be rendered until a law regulating the hours for the men of the mines, mills and smelters is placed upon the statutes in that part of our jurisdiction. Alaska, having no law-making power of its own must depend on our national Congress. I therefore recommend that this convention cause to be brought before Congress the matter of an eight-hour law for the workers in that district.

The constitution by which we are governed is defective in many

ways, being susceptible to different interpretations. The necessary changes should be made so that it may be specific, thereby avoiding many unnecessary complications. If time will not permit the constitution committee of this convention to give it the required attention, then I would advise that they be authorized to proceed to headquarters after the adjournment of the convention to conclude their work, or the Executive Board be empowered to make the necessary revisions.

It would appear from the precedent established during the year that our organic law must be such as to fully stand the test of the courts and the attacks of attorneys employed by our members and local unions. We have witnessed during the year members of our organization resorting to the courts and calling to their assistance that much condemned writ of injunction to assist them in their attempt to defy the Executive Board when carrying out the provisions of the constitution. The court in this particular case, which was that of revoking the charter of No. 74, appeared to believe that our law was sound and held with us, but during this trial our attention was called to a number of provisions that might prove defective. I shall leave it for the Executive Board to review the circumstances which compelled them to invoke the constitution in dealing with this local, yet I cannot but express my regrets at its unfortunate passing. Local No. 74, Mill and Smeltermen, in its time, was second to none in this country. Its work in propagating the principles of our organization up until a few years ago, was a credit to any body of workmen. Had it not been for the fact that the management of its affairs was permitted to practically drift into the hands of one man, while seventy-four would, undoubtedly, in time have consolidated with No. 1, its demise would have been one of honor instead of disgrace.

In conclusion I wish to express my sincere appreciation to those who have been loyal to our Federation and accorded to me that courtesy and fair treatment which men have a right to expect until found guilty of some offense. To those who, knowing my record as a member and officer of our organization, who have gone out of their way to besmirch that record and blacken my reputation, I have only to say that time, which is a leveller of all things, will demonstrate to the membership of our movement, if it is not already known, whether their acts have been justified. Feeling conscious of never having shirked a responsibility either as a member or representative of my class, I can retire from the office with which I have been entrusted, feeling that if our movement has not accomplished as much for the men of the mines as it should, that I alone am not responsible. It has been my hope and constant aim to strengthen our movement by inducing the men of our industry to become enrolled in our organization to the end that we might become a more powerful force in the working class movement of this country. While we have met with many reverses, yet I am not discouraged, but firmly believe that we will yet overcome all obstacles and that the influence of the metal miners' organization will yet be felt in every state and province on the American continent.

Should our members in their wisdom see fit to discontinue my services as president, while I shall retire from office September 1st, as provided by our constitution, my interest in the success of our Federation shall continue as deep as while serving it as an official. Should it be the wish that I continue to serve in an official capacity, I shall endeavor, as I have in the past, to perform my duties to the best of my ability, guided by the constitution and the principles adopted by our Federation.

As far as I know, the most friendly relations have prevailed between your Executive Board and myself, also your vice president, and I take this occasion to express my appreciation of the courtesy and confidence manifested toward me by your present secretary-treasurer.

In closing I wish to say that the future of our organization depends largely on the wisdom of this delegation, that they will be equal to the task before them is my earnest hope.

CHARLES H. MOYER,

Sentiment Will Be Strengthened

JUDGE ARCHBALD of the Commerce Court has discovered that a J ezar upon the bench whose appetite yearns for "filthy lucre" cannot at all times escape with impunity. The record of Archbald has been before a Congressional committee, and after a searching investigation the committee has brought in the following articles of impeachment:

Article 1. Negotiation with the Erie Railroad Company for the purchase of the Katydid coal dump for Edward J. Williams, his business associate.

Article 2. Joined with George M. Watson of Scranton, Pennsylvania, in an attempt to sell the stock of the Marian Coal Company to the Delaware, Lackawanna & Western Railroad Company. The committee charged that Judge Archbald figured in the negotiations "for a valuable consideration."

Article 3. That Judge Archbald sought to lease from the Lehigh Valley Railroad Company a culm bank on the Girard estate coal property near Shenandoah, Pennsylvania. At this time the railroad was a litigant before the Commerce Court.

Article 4. That Judge Archbald sought additional evidence from Helm Bruce, attorney for the Louisville & Nashville railroad, in a case which had been closed and given to the judge for decision. Later he considered a supplemental brief from Bruce without the knowledge of the attorneys for the Interstate Commerce Commission, to meet a con-

clusion reached by another member of the court. Judge Archbald wrote the decision in favor of the railroad company.

Article 5. That Judge Archbald used his judicial influence to get a coal lease from the Philadelphia & Reading Coal Company for Frederick Warnke. It is charged that Warnke promised the judge \$500 and later a note for \$500 was discounted for the judge and has not yet matured.

Article 6. That Judge Archbald used his influence to help James E. Dainty of Scranton, Pennsylvania, purchase a coal tract from the Lehigh Valley railroad while the Lehigh had a suit before the Commerce Court.

Article 7. That Judge Archbald figured as a signer and the payee of a note for \$2,500 by W. W. Reissinger of Scranton, Pennsylvania, five days after he had adjudicated an insurance lawsuit in which Reissinger was interested and a beneficiary.

Articles 8 and 9. That Judge Archbald sent Edward J. Williams to William P. Boland to discount a note for \$600, signed by John Henry Jones, while the Bolands were interested in a lawsuit before him.

Articles 10 and 11. That in the spring of 1910 Judge Archbald permitted Henry W. Cannon of New York to pay his entire expenses on a pleasure trip to Europe. Cannon was at that time, and still is, a stockholder and director in many railroads.

Article 12. Appointed J. B. Woodward of Wilkesbarre, Pennsyl-

vania, a railroad attorney, as jury commissioner of his court. This was calculated to bring the federal judiciary into "disrepute."

The Congressional committee in its report, further declared:

Your committee is of the opinion that Judge Archbald's sense of moral responsibility has become deadened.

He has prostituted his high office for personal profit. He has attempted by various transactions to commercialize his potentiality as judge. He has shown an over-weening desire to make gainful bargains with parties having cases before him or likely to have cases before him. To accomplish this purpose he has not hesitated to use his official power and influence; he has degraded his high office and destroyed the confidence of the public in his judicial integrity. He has forfeited the condition upon which he holds his commission and should be removed from office by impeachment.

The articles of impeachment and the report of the Congressional committee on the official conduct of Judge Archbald is sweeping, and

the scathing condemnation contained in the report will have the effect of shattering the hoary reverence that has been paid to the judiciary.

Archbald, like many others of his professional brethren on the bench, might have escaped the humiliation of impeachment, but Archbald lost control of his appetite for spoils and became so brazen in his notorious rascality that even the callous conscience of the most hungry and mercenary pirate was shocked.

Archbald is but one of the many on the bench whose records are as foul smelling as the record of the dishonored jurist who is now confronted with impeachment proceedings, and the time is near at hand when a sentiment will cover the continent, demanding that the people shall be clothed with the authority to end the judicial career of any judge who prostitutes his position to serve his personal interests, or who, by his decisions discloses that he is but the puppet of trusts and corporations.

The disclosures that will become public in the Archbald case will strengthen the sentiment for the judicial recall.

The Candidates of the Two Old Parties

THE PEOPLE are now surveying the political situation that presents itself in this country and the man with a vote is deliberating as to who shall be the beneficiary of his ballot.

William Howard Taft is serving his fourth year in the White House and has drawn his salary regularly and cannot be accused of overlooking any perquisites. Taft has traveled on special trains and made many political speeches to secure a renomination and a re-election and while using all his ability to perpetuate himself in office, the people have been paying the bills.

That Taft has been loyal to a class of privilege, no one who is intelligent or reasonably honest will attempt to deny. Taft has stood as a stone wall against any sentiment that threatened to wrest power from the hands of privilege. The Initiative, Referendum and Recall have been held in contempt by the Ponderous William and the people who have advocated such measures have been branded as a mob.

The working people of America should know from experience that Taft has practically ignored the rights of labor and that he has never hesitated to prove his loyalty to a class that fattened on the surplus proceeds extracted from the sweat of ill-paid toil. The working class knowing that Taft has been indifferent to the needs of the wage-earners of this country, will turn to Wilson, hoping that there is some merit to the standard bearers of the Democratic party.

In the beginning of the Democratic convention such an authority as William Jennings Bryan declared that a majority of the delegates were controlled by the Interests of Wall Street, and yet, such a convention nominated Wilson and hailed him as a "Progressive."

Taggart of Indiana, Sullivan of Illinois and Murphy of New York the Tammany Chief, swung their delegation for Wilson, and yet, a resolution was adopted that no candidate should be nominated who is obligated to Morgan, Ryan and Belmont.

The high cost of living is a paramount question with the great mass of the people, and who is there who will contend that the platform on which Wilson stands will have any effect towards reducing the prices of the necessaries of life which the people must have, in order to live?

The unemployed problem has become a grave and serious question in this country and Mr. Wilson, with all the planks in the Democratic platform, can point to no paragraph in the whole platform that has in it a remedy for the ever-increasing idle army that is now being looked upon as a menace to the peace of a nation.

Mr. Wilson has been a professor in a college and has been known as a scriptural expounder in the pulpit. He was known as the "Holy Man of Princeton," but as a follower of Christ, he did not seem to become restless or troubled over the many outrages or infamies that have been heaped upon a class giving battle to industrial tyranny.

The people of Colorado placed a Holy Man in the gubernatorial chair, the president of a university, the Rev. Henry Buchtel—and his record as a governor rivals the ever-memorable Peabody, who knew no law save the dictum of a master's voice.

Wilson is but a bigger edition of the ill-smelling Buchtel of Colorado!



INFORMATION WANTED.

Information is wanted of the whereabouts of Percy W. Young, who parted from his wife at Cheyenne, Wyoming, some twelve years ago. He is a machinist and sometimes works as a hoisting engineer. He is tall, thin, dark complexioned and about 41 years of age. He is said to have gone to Tonopah, Nevada. His wife, with her aged mother of 82 years, is yearning to know his whereabouts. Anyone knowing his present address will please write to Anna B. Young, Homestead Park, Homestead, Pennsylvania.

OIL PLUMS VERSUS STEEL PLUMS.

By Esther L. Edelson.

There are today in the United States millions of men who are seeking in vain for any kind of work in order to earn their daily bread honestly. And yet, while these men are out of employment, approximately 2,000,000 children are at work. Children who should be at school developing themselves intellectually for future citizenship and out in the open air romping and playing to develop themselves physically as future producers.

There are today, as a result of unemployment, millions of tramps in the United States, and their numbers are daily increasing as machinery displaces labor and jobs grow scarcer.

There are today in the United States men and women suffering with the last stages of the Great White Plague, perhaps breathing their last in filthy tenements, too poor to afford the necessary nutriment or medicine. On the other hand, the owning class vacate their mansions to spend their summers abroad, and perchance to find titles for their insipid heiresses.

There are today in the United States men, women and children overworked and unemployed, paupers and poor, prostitutes and hoboos, convicts and criminals, maimed and crippled, suffering and dying, tragic victims for which the capitalist system is directly responsible. Yet in the eyes of thousands of so-called intelligent people, all this misery sinks into insignificance compared with the great issue before the American people as to which of the two individuals who are fighting tooth and claw for the presidential nomination shall receive the plum.

Why? Is it because each is anxious to rectify some of the evils or to ameliorate some of the ills of a suffering humanity? No, my dear betrayed neighbors. Do not deceive yourselves. Neither Roosevelt nor Taft could better our conditions, if they would, of the old parties, be they reactionary, progressive or reform, and none of their leaders are able to change the situation, because they all endorse private ownership of social utilities—the means of life.

The Socialist party is the only party that can and will abolish the wrong and oppression now prevalent. How? By substituting social ownership and control for private ownership and control of the exploiting industries; by giving the idle work and doing away with child labor; by abolishing the profit system and giving everybody a chance to earn an honest living without resorting to vice, prostitution and crime, and by operating the machinery of production and distribution for public benefit instead of private profit.

POLITICAL CHAOS.

By Morris Kaplan.

At last the turning point has been reached. For the first time in the political history of the United States—since it has become the home of trustified capitalism—people are starting to ask themselves, "Where are we at?" A few years ago it was the New York World that called for definitions as to "What is a Democrat?" Now Republican and Democratic publications of every shade and variety are asking themselves and their readers, "What is Democracy?" "What is Republicanism?" "Who is a Republican?" and "Who is a Democrat?" Staid rock-ribbed tradition-bound newspaper editors and laymen are all up in the air.

The Minneapolis Tribune, breaking away from its former Republican moorings, states very pertinently that "It matters not whether the invariable other candidate be labeled regular or bolter, the fetich of party regularity is worn out and the binding tie of party names is broken. Men and women are going to vote and act this year, not as Republicans or Democrats, but as citizens."

To the Socialist movement in general and to the class-conscious workers in particular it is gratifying to at last look our non-Socialist neighbors squarely in the eye and say, "I told you so, but you were scary and skeptical, or perhaps in hope that the party of Jefferson or the party of Lincoln would come your way." Now Roosevelt and Bryan have both practically demonstrated the "rule of old" to be decidedly in evidence and in full control of both the Republican and Democratic parties. To Socialists who have been preaching that every political party is dominated by the economic interests that pay its bills and nominate its candidates, this is nothing new. But how about the large mass of the rank and file voters, wage-workers and farmers, who have been led to believe that political parties can and do represent the welfare of all the people? For any person to assume in these days that a political party under capitalism can or will represent the economic interests of all the inhabitants of the nation puts him in the position of being either knave or fool.

The Socialist party is also a class party, and it frankly says so. We have no desire to hoodwink people into voting for any of our candidates because of any "middle-ground" theory. We make no attempt to sail under false colors. We do not cater to prejudices, nor do we solicit votes based upon protest against nominations made by other political parties. We have just one mission to perform, and that mission implies the emancipation of the working class of the nation.

The wage-worker the tenant farmer, the homesteader all are equally members of the working class and all will be mutually benefited through the installation of a co-operative (co-partnership) system in the realms of wealth production, distribution and regulation.

AN INTERESTING LETTER FROM THE FLAT RIVER DISTRICT.

Flat River, Missouri, July 8, 1912.

Editor Miners' Magazine:

Thinking it would interest members in other parts of the country to know how Unionism is growing here in the lead belt of Missouri, I am taking this opportunity of letting them know of the rapid growth of Local No. 249, Mill and Smelters' Union of W. F. M. in Herculaneum, Missouri.

This local was organized by Sister Emma F. Langdon and myself on March 14, 1912, and is therefore only a little over three months old—you might say just in its infancy—and has grown rapidly, until today it is one of the best and most progressive locals of W. F. M. here in the lead belt. It has a large membership and what is still better, its members are all in good standing. I have at all times in my talks to the men in the different locals here tried to impress upon them the necessity of keeping their dues paid up at all times as near as they possibly could. I have time and again told the men it is their duty to keep their cards paid up if they expect their local to be in good shape financially to help any member who might become sick or injured.

On July 6th Herculaneum Mill and Smelters' Union No. 249, W. F. M., held a picnic in the hope of making a little money, which they intended to keep in their treasury to help any member who might get sick or injured.

They invited the W. F. M. band from Flat River to play for them that day, and the band boys certainly did their best and looked their best that day in their new bright-colored uniforms. They surely are worthy of their name—W. F. M. band—although organized only about one year, they are becoming fine musicians, and we are all certainly proud of our band boys here in the lead belt.

The crowds began to gather early in the park, and at 10:30 a. m. the parade formed in line, headed by the W. F. M. band and directly behind the band came the members of Local No. 249, headed by Brother Z. Dix and myself, every member wearing a band on his hat with "W. F. M." written on it, these hat bands having been bought especially for that occasion. After the members came the ladies in a wagon decorated with bunting and many of the ladies were carrying American flags and singing along the line of parade. Last in line came the Herculaneum band, who so kindly donated their services that day to help the boys make their picnic a success. Right here I wish to thank this band, so also do the boys of Herculaneum local wish it understood that they are unanimous in thanking this band for their services that day, which they so kindly gave free of charge.

The parade marched through the town, then up through the colored settlement and around past the different works, and stopped in front of the machine shop, where the W. F. M. band played a few fine selections, which were greatly appreciated by the men working in the shop, who gathered around the shop doors to listen. When the band finished playing the engineer blew the whistle long and loud to salute us.

The parade then returned to the park, where one and all mixed together in the spirit of friendship. All were out for a good time and they certainly had it. At 2 p. m. the speaking began. No other speaker being present but myself, I spoke to a very attentive bunch of men for about one hour. Sister Emma F. Langdon was to have made a speech that day in the park, but as she was very busy organizing the smelters at Collinsville, Illinois, she could not possibly get away in time to reach Herculaneum.

The union boys who were attending the stands at the picnic worked like busy bees all day, and I have heard since from some of the boys who remained later than I did, that the boys sold out everything they had on the grounds.

One thing I wish to mention before closing—the Herky boys, as we call them, told me that Mr. Smith, the superintendent of the smelter at Herculaneum, acted very kindly towards the union boys by donating to them all the lumber used in building the many different stands in the park, and also had the park strung with electric wires, so the park could be lighted at night, and by so doing it gave the boys a chance to keep the picnic up until a late hour so they could sell more and by so doing make more money.

The members of Local No. 249, Mill and Smelters' Union, wish to therefore to be understood that they are unanimous in extending their thanks to Mr. Smith for the help he gave them on that occasion. They appreciate his kindness to them very much on the occasion of this, their first picnic, given in Herculaneum by Local No. 249, W. F. M.

"Long live Local No. 249," is the wish of the writer, and may they live to enjoy many more such picnics as the one given on July 6, 1912.

Hurrah for the boys of Herky, Missouri!

ANTON A. LASSICH,

Organizer for W. F. M., Flat River, Missouri, Box 222.

NEWS FROM WASHINGTON, D. C.

(By National Socialist Press.)

Washington, July.—"There is treachery, hypocrisy and confusion in every division of capitalist politics. The old parties are weaker this year than at any time of our history. Their disintegration and deterioration will of necessity help the Socialist party, the political expression of the working class."

This summary of the political situation has been made by Victor L. Berger, the Socialist member of Congress, in a statement just issued to the press. The statement follows:

By Victor L. Berger.

Not since 1860 have the two old parties of our country been so totally disabled and disorganized. The convention at Chicago has proved that the Republican party is hopelessly split. The convention at Baltimore has demonstrated that the Democratic party is torn in twain.

The old parties are breaking up because while there is little or no difference between them—there's deep dissension within each of them.

There will now come a new realignment of the political forces that stand for the present order. Out of the wrecks of the old parties will be born a conservative organization and a so-called progressive organization. They will differ in methods as to the administration of government, but will, of course, resist with equal ardor any attempt of the working class to emancipate itself.

Because, no matter which politician won in Baltimore or in Chicago the working class lost. Wilson may use all the phrases of a Democratic progressive. On the question of social reforms of any kind he is a reactionary. Taft may stand for what he calls a constitutional government. But on the question of giving an old-age pension to the invalids and veterans of industry he is a reactionary. And this rule holds good for all candidates of non-proletarian parties as far as proletarian issues are concerned.

The platforms of both old parties are the weakest documents of that kind ever issued. No wonder both platforms like both candidates have the endorsement of plutocracy. Both treat only of issues that concern the big or little exploiters. To the underpaid and overworked toiler the old parties offer only platitudes. They are even shy on the promises this year.

There is no practical difference between the Republican and Democratic platforms this time. The main thing then to be considered is the personnel of the candidates.

We all know who Taft is and where he stands. He is a well-meaning and conservative gentleman of considerable judicial temperament and little

executive ability. He was selected by Roosevelt as the "heir of my policies" when there was no other policy left to inherit than the continuous use of a bass drum. And Roosevelt took that drum to Africa and left Taft with a whistle.

Taft is conservative by birth, bringing-up and convictions. It is simply natural for a man of that type to be closely allied with men like Root, Crane and Hammond, and to disregard the economic changes of our times. The Republican party was always the favorite organization of capitalism, and Taft simply wants it to continue in that mission.

The opposition in the Republican party is represented by the ex-President, Colonel Theodore Roosevelt. Where Roosevelt stands on all the great questions of the day nobody seems to know. I doubt whether Roosevelt himself knows, because with his brilliant but very erratic mind, he may revise and change all of his principles and convictions by tomorrow afternoon.

At the same time it does not appear that he will play much of a part if he does run, unless he is satisfied to be the pathfinder of a new organization which is on its way to nowhere in particular.

The nominee of the Democratic party is Woodrow Wilson, for the first time in the history of this country a schoolmaster has been nominated for the presidency. I shall ignore the way he was nominated after William Jennings Bryan in a rather dictatorial fashion had made impossible the nomination of either Clark or Underwood.

Wilson, at first glance, looks like a strong man, but he will have hard sledding at the next election.

It is true that the country is restive and eager for a change. The average voter foolishly believes that it is within the power of an administration to make good times or bad times at will. And almost everybody is dissatisfied.

The evils and shortcomings of the social fabric and of the present economic system are laid at the doors of the administration that happens to be in power. And this ardent desire of the average citizen for a change will act in favor of Wilson.

On the other hand, Wilson will be very much handicapped by his past. Wilson has written many books. And being a recent convert to the cause of Progressivism, his works stand out against him.

Wilson has not only attacked the South European, Jewish and Slavonic immigration, but he has also denounced organized labor in a most vicious manner.

He once declared that he preferred a Chinese coolie to the American trade union men, because the former were more law-abiding and more industrious and worked cheaper—or words to that effect. Wilson may have changed his mind, but he will have to explain, and the candidate that must explain is in a very poor position.

Wilson has also said things against the Roman Catholic church and has written letters in favor of Prohibition that will require explanation. So will his behavior during the late strikes in New Jersey.

It will also be pointed out that while Wilson is posing as a Progressive, Boss Murphy of Tammany voted for him. It was really Boss Sullivan of Illinois and Boss Taggart of Indiana that made his nomination possible; and Wilson's selection means the perpetuating of the power of these bosses and their machine.

Wilson's first step after his nomination was to get on friendly terms with all these corrupt leaders. And it is significant in connection with this that the Washington Post and the Cincinnati Enquirer (John R. McLean's properties) and other papers of this kind warmly indorsed his nomination. They all hail him as a second "Grover Cleveland." The working class of this country is not very anxious to have another Grover Cleveland.

There is treachery, hypocrisy and confusion in every division of capitalist politics. The old parties are weaker this year than in any time of our history. Their disintegration and deterioration will of necessity help the Socialist party, the political expression of the working class. The Socialist party is the only political organization that has a positive goal. It is the only party that is in accord with the economic trend of the times. It is the only party that attracts not only the intelligent and class-conscious workingman but also the student of political and economic conditions of all walks in life.

At best, the so-called reformers and progressives may claim that some of their planks are Socialistic. Every voter who prefers the genuine to the imitation, the real to the pretense, the future to the past, will vote the Socialist ticket. Under such circumstances there is nothing that makes me revise my figures that we shall poll no less than two million votes at the coming national election.

Farmers Becoming Landless.

Census figures, just out, prove conclusively the assertion made by Socialists that the American farmer is gradually becoming landless and merely an interest and a rent-paying slave of capitalism.

According to an advance copy of the census table on the ownership of farms and farm homes just received by your correspondent, there has been in the last ten years a steady decline in the number of farms and farm homes owned free and a corresponding increase in the number of those mortgaged.

These figures are the best answer to the cries of "prosperity" heard on all sides. At every election we hear old party politicians "pointing with pride" to the "prosperous American farmer." For years the country has been entertained by lengthy interviews by James Wilson, secretary of the Department of Agriculture. Only recently the Common Cause, the Catholic anti-Socialist magazine, printed so-called statistics showing that farmers are accumulating property.

Now, the Bureau of the Census officially reports that the percentage of mortgaged farms and farm homes in 1890 was 28.2 per cent; in 1900, 31.1 per cent, and in 1910, 33.6 per cent. There were 886,957 mortgaged homes and farms in 1890; 1,127,302 in 1900, and 1,327,649 in 1910.

These figures will, of course, receive little prominence and space in the capitalist press. But that editors will soon be writing learned dissertations on the unreliability of statistics may be expected by all. There will be a lot of explaining but no disproving.

Mine Disasters Are Murders.

That most of the mine disasters can be averted is shown by the decrease in fatalities in the American coal mines in the year 1911. In 1910 the deaths totaled 2,834 and in 1911, 2,517.

It is generally believed that the terrible disasters of 1910, which meant not only a loss of life but property to the mine owners, resulted in more careful management and operation of mines the following year. A great deal of credit for this decrease is given to the Federal Bureau of Mines, which has been conducting a campaign of humanity and education despite serious difficulties.

"While the latest mortality statistics in the coal mines of the country show slight improvement over the previous years, the United States has still no record to be proud of," said frankly Dr. Joseph A. Holmes, director of the Bureau of Mines, in discussing the latest figures. "In spite of the progress we have made, we are still far below the standard of safety that we ought to have reached."

The United States kills annually more coal miners than all the rest of the world combined. This terrible slaughter is wholly unnecessary, according to Dr. John Randolph Haynes, special commissioner on mining accidents of the state of California. Doctor Haynes, in speaking of these conditions, said:

"It is a question whether these fatalities which can be so readily foreseen and so easily prevented ought to be called accidents. Some day we may come to regard them as little better than murders."

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

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LIST OF UNIONS

Table listing unions for ALASKA, ARIZONA, BRIT. COLUMBIA, CALIFORNIA, COLORADO, IDAHO, KANSAS, KENTUCKY, MICHIGAN, MINNESOTA. Columns include No., Name, Meet'g Night, President, Secretary, Box, P.O., and Address.

LIST OF UNIONS

Table listing unions for MISSOURI, MONTANA, NEVADA, NEW JERSEY, NEW MEXICO, OKLAHOMA, ONTARIO, OREGON, SOUTH DAKOTA, UTAH, WASHINGTON, WISCONSIN. Columns include No., Name, Meet'g Night, President, Secretary, Box, P.O., and Address.

STATE AND DISTRICT UNIONS.

Utah State Union No. 1, W. F. M., Park City, Utah ... J. W. Morton, Secretary
District Association No. 6, W. F. M., Sandon, B. C. ... Anthony Shilland, Secretary
Coeur d'Alene District Union No. 14, W. F. M. ... A. E. Rigley, Mullan, Idaho
San Juan District Union No. 3, W. F. M., Silverton, Colo. ... C. R. Waters, Sec'y
Iron District Union No. 15, W. F. M. ... John Maki, Sec'y, Negaunee, Michigan

AUXILIARIES.

Rossland Woman's Auxiliary No. 1, Rossland, B. C. ... Ida M. Roberts, Sec.
Independence Ladies' Auxiliary No. 3, Central City, S. D. ... Mary Trenboth, Sec.
Elvins Ladies' Aux. No. 9, Elvins, Mo. ... Mrs. Stella Ratley, Sec.
Eureka Ladies' Auxiliary No. 4, Eureka, Utah ... Cora Morton, Sec.
Hancock L. Aux. No. 5, Hancock, Mich. ... Amalia Kangas, B. 470, Houghton, Mich.
Lead City Ladies' Auxiliary No. 6, Lead, S. D. ... Polly Christiansen, Sec.
Leadwood Ladies' Auxiliary, Leadwood, Mo. ... Grayce Davis, Secretary
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Superstition.

"We broke a looking glass at our house yesterday," said Mr. Dolan.
"That's bad luck," replied Mr. Rafferty.

"It is not. It's good luck. The looking glass was in Mrs. Dolan's hand and was broke over my head. It might just as easy have been a rollin' pin."

IS THIS A LAND OF THE FREE AND HOME OF THE BRAVE?

By R. A. Dague.

I write these comments soon after the Fourth of July, 1912, a day that is popularly considered a holiday throughout the United States. In thousands of towns and cities in every part of the land orators told their hearers in eloquent and flowery language that this is a glorious country of free speech, free press and equal opportunities for all—a veritable "land of the free and a home of the brave."

Now, our fathers intended it to be such, but is it? I answer that frankly, even bluntly—no; it is not. The "spread-eagle orators" at the late celebrations spoke from the clouds, not from solid terra firma.

A boy who inherits a million dollars has a million-fold better opportunities than the youth who starts with nothing.

In every state in the Union an honest working man out of money and out of employment can, under existing vagrancy laws, be arrested for having "no visible means of support" be thrown into jail and punished as a criminal because he is poorly dressed and has no money. Poverty is treated as a crime.

Within the past few years the right of free speech has been denied in

scores of cities. Men and women have been treated as vile criminals and brutally thrust into prisons for talking in defense of working people and opposing child slavery and the present unjust system of industrialism.

The "Vorwaerts" of Berlin, Germany, recently said:

"Daily it becomes more and more evident that the United States is no longer a Democratic republic, but a mighty world power governed by an oligarchy of plutocrats.

"Nobody will think of accusing our present German government of loving the Social-Democrats or the labor unions over much, but it knows that should it ever try to treat German subjects as citizens of America are being treated today, the flames of revolution would spread over the country like wildfire."

I am now and always have been a loyal American citizen. I am an ex-Union soldier. I enlisted in 1863 to fight for the Union and the Stars and Stripes, but I do not hesitate to say that we have in this country got about as far away from the ideal "land of the free and home of the brave" as any country on earth.

The reason why we are practically so far below what our Fourth of July orators claim we are is not the fault so much of individuals as of systems, laws and customs. Unless the people are wise enough to change our savage, greedy, unfair competitive system of industrialism into one of co-operation or Socialism the American working people will be reduced to such a condition of servitude that they will be no better off than were the negro slaves before the war of the 60s.

No, this is not a land of freedom, but a land of plutocracy which is more dangerous than any existing monarchy on earth today. It is not a land of free speech nor of a free press. Hundreds of labor unionists and Socialists have, within a year or two, been jailed for exercising the right of speech, and the editors of newspapers that have defended the working people and told the truth about corrupt judges of courts and high public officials, have been arrested and threatened and persecuted.

Never since the birth of this republic has there been a time when there existed the necessity for the defenders of free speech and a free press to speak out as now.

In conclusion, let me quote that gifted and illustrious Socialist woman, Ella Wheeler Wilcox, who, under the heading of "A Protest," says:

To sin by silence, when we should protest,
Makes cowards out of men. The human race
Has climbed on protest. Had no voice been raised
Against injustice, ignorance and lust,
The inquisition yet would serve the law,
And guillotines decide our least disputes.
The few who dare must speak and speak again
To right the wrongs of many. Speech, thank God,
No vested power in this day and land
Can gag or throttle. Press and voice may cry
Loud disapproval of existing ills;
May criticize oppression and condemn
The lawlessness of wealth—protecting laws
That let the children and childbearers toil
To purchase ease for idle millionaires.
Therefore I protest against the boast
Of independence in this mighty land.
Call no chain strong which holds one rusted link.
Call no land free that holds one fettered slave,
Until the manacled slim wrists of babes
Are loosed to toss in childish sport and glee.
Until the mother bears no burden save
The precious one beneath the heart, until
God's soil is rescued from the clutch of greed,
And given back to labor, let no man
Call this the land of freedom.

Creston, Iowa.

LIFE.

Born of love and hope, of ecstasy and pain, of agony and fear, of tears and joy—dowered with the wealth of two united hearts—held in happy arms, with lips upon life's drifted font, blue-veined and fair, where perfect peace finds perfect form—rocked by willing feet and wooed to shadowy shores of sleep by siren mother singing soft and low. Looking with wonder's wide and startled eyes at common things of life and day. Taught by want and wish and contact with the things that touch the dimpled flush of babes. Lured by light and flame and charmed by color's wondrous robes. Learning the use of hands and feet, and by the love of mimicry beguiled to utter speech. Releasing prisoned thoughts from crabbed and curious marks on soiled and tattered leaves. Puzzling the brain with crooked numbers and their changing, tangled worth, and so through years of alternating day and night, until the captive grows familiar with the chains and walls and limitations of a life.

And time runs on in sun and shade until the one of all the world is wooed and won and all the lore of love is taught and learned again. Again a home is built with the fair chamber wherein faint dreams, like cool and shadowy vales divide the billowed hours of love. Again the miracle of birth, the pain and joy, the kiss of welcome and the cradle song drowning the drowsy prattle of a babe.

And then the sense of obligation and of wrong, pity for those who toil and weep, tears for the imprisoned and despised, love for the generous dead, and in the heart the rapture of a high resolve.

And then ambition with its lust of pelf and place and power, longing to put upon its breast distinction's worthless badge. Then keener thoughts of men and eyes that see behind the smiling mask of craft, flattered no more by the obsequious cringe of gain and greed, knowing the uselessness of hoarded gold, of honor bought from those who charge the usury of self-respect of power that only bends a coward's knees and forces from the lips of fear the lies of praise. Knowing at last the unstudied gesture of esteem, the reverent eyes made rich with honest thought and holding above all other things, high as hope's great throbbing star above the darkness of the dead, the love of wife, and child, and friend.

Then locks of gray, and growing love of other days and half-remembered things, holding the withered hands of those who first held his, while over dim and loving eyes death softly presses down the lids of rest. And so, locking in marriage vows his children's hands and cross others on the breast of peace, with daughter's babes upon his knees, the white hair mingling with the gold, he journeys on from day to day to that horizon where the dusk is waiting for the night. At last, sitting by the holy hearth of home as evening's embers change from red to gray, he falls asleep within the arms of her he worshipped and adored, feeling upon his pallid lips love's last and holiest kiss.—R. G. Ingersoll.

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