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THE MINERS MAGAZINE



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**WESTERN FEDERATION
OF MINERS**



DENVER, COLORADO, DECEMBER 26, 1912

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24

NUMBER 496.

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EDUCATION INDEPENDENCE ORGANIZATION

MINERS MAGAZINE



Published Weekly by the
WESTERN FEDERATION OF MINERS

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 Communications not in conformity with this notice will not be published.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

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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

THE STRIKE is still on at Alta, Utah.

STAY AWAY FROM BLAIR, NEVADA.

STAY AWAY FROM BINGHAM, Utah. No worker but a traitor will take the place of a striker!

AS LONG as the preachers can keep the workers looking up, the slaves will remain contented with their poverty.

UNDER our boasted civilization, women are working in foundries, children in canneries, and babies are making artificial flowers for charity festivals. Pass the tripe!

THE PANAMA-PACIFIC EXPOSITION at San Francisco will be an "open shop." In other words, the wedge has been driven to split the forces of organized labor on the Pacific coast. The "open shop" at the exposition, indicates a battle that will shake California industrially.

THE TINTIC MINERS' UNION, through its secretary, J. W. Morton, has given notice of a strike at the Seranton mine, at Eureka, Utah.

The cost of living has been raised \$5.00 per month at the board-

ing house, and the men have refused to permit this assessment to be levied upon them.

All men are requested to stay away from the Seranton mine.

A LONG ISLAND FARMER raised a crop of beans and sold his beans for thirty cents per bushel. The beans passed through the hands of various middle-men and when his beans were finally retailed to the consumers in New York city, they brought \$4.80 per bushel.

The farmer is certainly an independent man, but the fellow who farms the farmer, what is he?

THE FREE PRESS, published at New Castle, Pa., in a late issue, contained an editorial wail over the action of the New York Socialists, who refused longer to endure the boisterous slobbering of "Big Bill" Haywood. The Free Press designated the Socialists of New York who refused to permit "Big Bill" to speak under their auspices as "parlor" Socialists.

It might be pertinent to ask the Press the type or brand of a Socialist, who, when scenting danger, barricades himself behind the skirts of the ladies in a laundry.

It is presumed that a sprinter who seeks shelter in a laundry, is a Revolutionary Socialist.

I AM AWARE that many object to the severity of my language; but is there not cause for severity? I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice. On this subject I do not wish to think, or speak, or write, with moderation. No! No! Tell a man whose house is on fire to give a moderate alarm; tell him to moderately rescue his wife from the hands of the ravishers; tell the mother to gradually extricate her babe from the fire into which it has fallen—but urge me not to use moderation in a cause like the present. I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse—I will not retreat a single inch—and I will be heard. The apathy of the people is enough to make every statue leap from its pedestal and hasten the resurrection of the dead.—William Lloyd Garrison, in first issue of the Liberator.

VINCENT ST. JOHN, national secretary of the Industrial Workers of the World, has issued a call to all members who can do so to rush down to Little Falls N. Y., and assist the striking textile workers and be prepared to fill the jail if necessary, same as was done at Spokane, Seattle, San Diego and other places. Some of the sympathizers in New York who have been raising funds for the strikers are cussing St. John in three or four different languages, for they have visions of being called upon to furnish free feeds for a small army of "fellow-workers" who will pour into Little Falls to commit direct action on the grub. They are asking why St. John didn't call for money and provisions instead of a crowd of huskies with good appetites to eat the strikers out of house and home. It is also great tactics to urge the "fellow-workers" to break into jail, and, when they are in, to clamor and spend money to get out. Incidentally, the Socialist organizations and trade unions and other sympathizers are implored to furnish funds and then denounced for their pains.—Cleveland Citizen.

FOUR GIRLS were discharged from Siegel, Cooper & Co. last week for stealing. They were told: "Honesty is the best policy."

This is the same Siegel, Cooper & Co. which was assessed \$4,991,805 in 1901 and only \$978,000 in 1903, and only \$529,015 in 1905, and only \$506,000 in 1908. "Honesty is the best policy."

In the year of our Lord 1901, Siegel, Cooper & Co. went on the

tax rolls at nearly \$5,000,000. In the year 1908, after seven years of growth expansion and development, the same store goes down on the tax rolls at a half million dollars. "Honesty is the best policy."

Taking this same thing from another angle, Siegel, Cooper & Co. went on the tax rolls in 1908 for only one-tenth of what they were assessed in 1901. "Honesty is the best policy."

These are the facts set forth by the Young People's Civic League and presented by Philip W. Yarrow and Mary F. Balcomb, officers of the league, to the board of assessors.

The moral is: A big department store has a right to lie, but a working girl must not steal.—The Chicago Evening World.

H. B. LEDYARD, of the New York Central, knows when it should be done. His son is a farmer, having been carefully educated in an agricultural college. When his course was finished, Ledyard paid \$20,000 cash for a 160-acre Michigan farm for him. It is in fine condition, well located and easily worth the money.

Now for those who are going back to the land this is an excellent hint. There is no use scraping together a few hundred dollars and risking it on some run-down tract of land with a few ramshackle buildings on it. Ledyard's method is far superior and it is more than probable young Ledyard will make the farm pay from the first. He has the scientific knowledge and he can easily hire the men necessary to do the hard work.

Those hired men are back on the land and many of them fervently wish they were not. But they are ignorant of the true art. It is probable that none of them, even with the shining example of Ledyard before them, would have the sense to pay \$20,000 cash for a model and up-to-date farm. They are not progressive enough for that.—New York Call.

THEY HAD A BLOOD FEAST in Oregon the other day, and as four men were hanged, it is presumed that the thirst for blood has been quenched.

The people of Oregon, by referendum vote, established the penalty that has come down to us from a barbaric age. *Hanging by law* is no more civilized than the red-handed crime of the Cain who takes human life without a legal license.

Let it be said to the credit of the governor of the state, that the blood festival was revolting to him, but as the people had voted "an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth," he believed that their will should prevail.

The governor believes in Democracy, even so far as to let men be executed when the people say so by their votes.

The blood feast in Oregon the other day will repeal the law that legalizes the taking of human life.

If it is a *crime* for the individual to commit murder, and punishable by death, then upon what moral grounds can a state take away that which the state says shall not be taken by the individual?

The scriptural injunction, "Thou Shalt Not Kill," applies to a state and nation as well as to the individual.

WHEN THE PENSION BILL donating \$25,000 annually to ex-presidents becomes a law, the nation is saved.

When a fellow draws a salary of \$75,000 per year and perquisites is divorced from his job through the election of his successor, it is only *fair* that he should be the recipient of a pension. The *dignity* and *pride* of an ex-president might suffer should we permit him to be thrown on his own resources and expected to secure the necessary "filthy lucre" to supply the larder.

When a workingman loses his job, he is not entitled to a pension, for the simple reason that he does not lose much. Again, the workingman might feel that his *pride* and *dignity* was offered an insult, should some statesman in our National Congress frame a bill providing a fund for a laboring man out of a job.

The "dignity of labor" must not be smirched by any measure that could be construed as charity for this working class, for what may be acceptable by ex-presidents will be refused by those salt-worn sons of toil who would rather load up on "Mulligan stew," than to behold the *pride* and *dignity* of an ex-president humiliated by not being placed on the pension roll. "To him that hath much, much shall be given."

The "dignity of labor" must be maintained, even though we die in the poorhouse and are buried in the potter's field.

THE JUDGMENT secured against the United Hatters by Lowe & Co. has resulted in a United States marshal swearing out executions against the homes of 189 members of the United Hatters, who have been fortunate enough to own homes.

The United Hatters declared a strike against Lowe & Co. and the fight was waged long and bitterly.

Lowe & Co. absolutely refused to concede the demands of the Hatters.

The Hatters declared a boycott against the firm of Lowe & Co., and the boycott became the grounds upon which a suit was based for damages.

The case was fought stubbornly in the various courts for several years, but Lowe & Co. finally won a judgment.

The judgment is now to be satisfied out of the proceeds realized through the confiscation of the homes of 189 members of the United Hatters of American.

After reading a number of daily journals and glancing through various Catholic publications, we had almost reached the conclusion that only "Socialism could destroy homes," but now we are convinced that Lowe & Co., fortified by our judiciary, can likewise "destroy homes."

Laboring men who are opposed to Socialism, should permit themselves to become thoroughly acquainted with the fact that under Capitalism the *home* of the *worker* is never secure.

THE BRITISH COLUMBIA FEDERATIONIST, under the heading, "The Porcupine Strike," says:

"A reign of lawlessness on the part of the mine owners and their henchmen prevails in the Porcupine mining district. Professional gunmen and strike-breakers are walking the streets unmolested. The companies, with the consent of the authorities, have put up a wire fence about their property and charged it with electricity of a murderous voltage. This practice is even contrary to laws of international warfare. That the mine owners have no regard for law and will do their dirtiest to continue their brutal exploitation is evident from the manner in which they turned down the decision of the federal board of arbitration in labor disputes, which reported in favor of the strikers. The decision of the board was defied by the companies."

It is evident that capitalism is the same in all countries and under all flags.

Human rights command no respect when profits are at stake.

It is only when labor becomes so thoroughly organized that every man of the working class will scorn to be used in any capacity to defeat a strike, that capitalism will be forced to submit to unconditional surrender.

Capitalism, in itself, never won a strike. That part of the working class that commits treason to the principles of unionism, is responsible for the many defeats of labor in battles with soulless exploiters.

The day is coming, however, when labor will not furnish the allies to defeat itself.

THE FOLLOWING appeared in a press dispatch sent out from Cleveland, Ohio:

"Cleveland, O., Dec. 14.—Prohibited by city officials from placing contribution kettles at downtown street corners, Industrial Workers of the World here tonight held a mass meeting in protest. A committee was named to draft resolutions threatening a repetition of the fight for free speech and personal liberty recently waged in San Diego, California."

The above item of news sent out from Cleveland, Ohio, shows to what depths of depravity the professional parasites of the I. W. W. will descend in order to gather the pennies, nickels and dimes. In the name of *liberty* and *labor* , these beggars and miserable mendicants, dead to honor and senseless to shame, solicit alms upon the streets and then proclaim themselves *r-e-v-o-l-u-t-i-o-n-i-s-t-s* .

A *beggar* may command *pity* but never *respect* .

Men and women who have been lured into this organization calling itself the I. W. W., who entertain the opinion that an organization of veteran hoodlums will bring about any changes for the progress of the workers, are to be pitied for the weak mentality that makes them victims of unblushing reprobates. The I. W. W. is a *disgrace* and the workless loafers who are its officials are strangers to every principle that commands the respect of honest men.

When labor organizations that are traduced and calumniated by the "slander syndicate" and when members of bona fide organizations shall refuse to contribute longer to these cormorants, there will be no more *wind bags* preaching "direct action," "sabotage" and "free speech."

The fact that the *patriots* for "mazuma" are demanding a license to put *salvation kettles* on the street corners of Cleveland, is proof that the "dead beats" and "bilks" of the I. W. W. are losing their power, even with the unsophisticated.

THE "PROGRESSIVES" are contemplating government ownership of the railways as one of their principal issues.

Necessity compels the "Progressives" to depart from the beaten path of capitalistic politics.

No national party can endure which has no other reason for existence than denunciation of "bosses" and "machines."

Even in Wisconsin, Mr. LaFollette found, after coming into office through rebellion in the Republican party against "the machine," that organization and leadership are quite essential to political permanence.

There is no room for three capitalistic parties. One is quite enough, as has been shown conclusively in Milwaukee.

The "Progressive" party, then, must have the appearance of being something different, if it would survive. It must be " *r-e-v-o-l-u-t-i-o-n-a-r-y* !"

From public ownership of railways to government ownership of the mines is a short step. The "Progressives" hardly will halt at the cry of Socialism.

Government ownership of railways and public ownership of the mines fall far short of Socialism. They are steps toward Socialism, but under capitalistic administration government ownership may be used to exploit the workers as they are exploited under private ownership.

Using public utilities as a means of profit-making is not Socialism—it's state capitalism. There is not a fig's difference to the worker

whether he is exploited by the city of Milwaukee or the North American Company—by the steel trust or the federal government.

To realize the end and aim of Socialism, industry must be administered with a view to securing to the workers the fruits of their toil. With public ownership must come administration by the workers if they are to use it as the means for their economic emancipation. —Milwaukee Leader.

SOME ONE has sent us a copy of the Salina Daily Union, a journal published at Salina, Kansas. The sender has marked an editorial bearing the heading, "Christians and War," in which is published the following:

"Brigadier General Tasker H. Bliss of the United States army, addressing the National Guard Association of the United States here today, declared that certain college professors and others, moulding the manhood of the rising generation, have taken a stand against the inoculation of the military spirit in the youth of the nation that has a tendency to rob the country of the power and force it would some time in the future need for self-preservation. The general said the stand taken to remove the military spirit looking to possible universal peace was wrong. He urged with great force the keeping alive of the military spirit upon which the honor and existence of our country must surely depend."

"General Bliss declared that while western nations are looking to universal peace, millions in the eastern nations are keeping alive the spirit of war, and that sooner or later there is bound to come a great conflict between the peoples of the two hemispheres that would demand trained armies and that the United States must maintain national honor and preserve its dominions."

The Salina Daily Union takes exception to the speech of General Bliss and deprecates his appeal to keep alive the military spirit. But the Union, in refusing to assimilate the sentiments expressed by General Bliss, fails to give utterance to any logical remedies that might remove the causes that breed war.

The Union pleads for men to get back to Christianity, to yield obedience to the doctrines of Him who was mobbed and hanged on Calvary.

The Union should know that if Christ was helpless to prevent war while living, that the doctrines which He preached will hardly be effective in preventing war 1900 years after His death.

War was declared against Christ, and if He again lived on earth the class of privilege would again declare war against Him, and the war against Him would only cease when He was judicially condemned to be executed.

Capitalism is in control of every government and institution on earth, and Capitalism uses the most exalted dignitaries of the church to mask the perfidy of its crimes against human liberty.

War will end when the cause that breeds war is removed.

When the profit system is destroyed, the sword will not be drawn to slake its thirst in human blood.

THE FOLLOWING appeared in the Daily Nugget, published at Cobalt, Ontario, on matters growing out of the strike in the Porcupine mining district:

"South Porcupine, Dec. 14.—About seventy cases under the Lemieux act brought against employes of the Hollinger mine and others by Manager Robbins of the mine, will be heard January 6, having been postponed from Friday at the request of J. M. Godfrey, counsel for the prosecution. This step was taken because in one of the cases, that of Peter Clary, not an employe of the Hollinger, who was charged with inciting to riot, the defense was not ready, some of the witnesses for the defense not being available. A. G. Slaght, counsel for the defense, announced that he was ready to proceed in all the other cases, but Mr. Godfrey declined to go ahead unless this case was tried first. The counsel for the defense suggested Saturday or Monday as a date for the hearing.

"The defense objected to the proceeding suggested by Mr. Godfrey, stating that the other sixty-five or more cases were entitled to proceed with the hearing and that as the counsel for both sides were prepared in the court should order the trial to proceed. When the prosecution insisted that Clary's case should be tried first the counsel for the defense alleged that it was done to prejudice the defense of the sixty-five men who are employes of the Hollinger mine who had, according to the statement of counsel, committed no offense and no breach of the Lemieux act.

"Mr. Godfrey then asked that all cases stand for a considerable adjournment and the majority were adjourned to January 6, against the protests of the defense.

"The counsel for the defense in pressing for the trial of the cases pointed out that an injustice was being done when so many of the men were ready for trial. Four of the defendants desire to go away, he said. Upon this the counsel for the prosecution agreed that in any case where men desired to leave the camp the prosecution would withdraw the

charges. The counsel for the defense insisted on this statement being made a part of the record in the cases, and the court stenographer was ordered to inscribe it. Under this the position is taken that all men charged and not in the camp January 6, when the cases are scheduled to come up, cannot be proceeded against, and the cases will be dismissed.

"Percy Martin, charged with being a member of an unlawful assembly, was discharged by the magistrate; Frank Bowers was found guilty of unlawful assembly and received a suspended sentence, and Frank Giguere, charged with trespass on the Hollinger property, intimidation and resisting an officer, was discharged. Evidence in his case was given by a Thiel detective, who on cross-examination, testified that he was a native of Russia, immigrated to the states and became naturalized there and was sent from Chicago to Toronto and then to Porcupine, where he was sworn in as a special constable. When asked to, by the counsel for the defense, he was unable to repeat any part of the oath administered when he was sworn in as a special constable.

"The Hollinger has obtained the service of about eighty of the summonses in the cases under the Lemieux act, out of 327 that were issued. A great deal of interest is attached to the outcome of these cases, which will be the first under the act."

THE NATIONAL SOCIALIST, published at Washington, D. C., under the caption: "Expel Haywood," had the following:

"The Socialist party has had too much of Haywood and Haywoodism. His presence in the party, and especially his election to the national executive committee, has put the party under the constant necessity of explanation and apology. The party cannot longer afford to maintain this attitude.

"Haywood is not a Socialist. His public and private utterances have repeatedly shown that he does not know what Socialism is, and that in so far as he has any definite ideas he is antagonistic to the policies and tactics of the international movement. His more recent utterance and actions have been a defiance and a challenge to the party and its membership. In spite of the clause in the constitution, approved by 76 per cent. of the membership, he has openly advocated sabotage. He has repeatedly scoffed at Socialism as a theory—that is, as a body doctrine formulated and set forth by studious and thoughtful men. He has publicly glorified ignorance and turbulence. He has declared (though, as all know, untruthfully) that he never advocated political action, and he has further declared that he does not believe in it. He has insulted the whole party membership by shouting from a public platform, 'I would rather be tried by a Democratic judge than by a Socialist.' He regards himself as greater than the party—as not governable by its constitution and laws and as not answerable to its discipline. By his unprovoked assault on Comrade Barnes at Rochester, his ignominious flight, and his rescue from a severe beating only by the intervention of the police, he has furnished a spectacle which shames the Socialist party. The party cannot afford to be further humiliated by one of its national representatives.

"There are no doubt some timid persons, as well as some oleaginous politicians, in the party who believe that it would be best to pay no attention to Haywood and let him talk himself to a finish. They are doubtless afraid of stirring up dissension. We believe, however, that the party owes it to itself to repudiate immediately both the man and his utterances. A temporary dissension is better than a permanent disintegration. There can be no compromise between anarchy and Socialism. They represent opposite poles of thought. The man who can think himself both a Socialist and an anarchist is a man whose mental processes are hopelessly muddled. To tolerate anarchism within our ranks is to invite demoralization. From the very beginning the Socialist party has recognized its greatest foe in anarchism. Every Socialist party worthy of the name has definitely and emphatically repudiated it. Should our party fail to take like action in this specific case, it deserves to be thrown back into the condition which possessed it thirty years ago.

"Most of this we pointed out in the second issue of our paper last February in an analysis of the vote by which Haywood was elected to the national executive committee. Every development since that time has only served to confirm the views then expressed. Haywood's membership in the Socialist party is a menace to the integrity and growth of the movement. He has no business in the party, and the sooner he is expelled from it the better. He will not, of course, voluntarily go. He has a strong and abiding sense of the location of the fleshpots, and he is not going to dislodge himself from their proximity. He will have to be forcibly dislodged. His following, composed of about equal parts of 'Hell-roaring Jakes' and of lackadaisical dilettantes from the professional and leisure classes, ought to be disrespectfully invited to go along with him. The party will be vastly stronger and better without them. The executive committee of local New York, by preferring charges against Haywood and by denying him the privilege of speaking from any Socialist platform in the city, has taken a decisive step in the matter. May the cause be pushed to a speedy conclusion!"

Demanding His Recall

THERE HAS BEEN considerable commotion among the members of the Socialist party of Denver for the past several weeks.

A. H. Floaten, state secretary, has been grilled by a number of members who have reached the conclusion that his retirement from office will be beneficial to the party. Some very-serious charges have

been made against Floaten, and the reluctance of Floaten to confront his accusers, have led the majority of the members of Denver to believe that he is guilty.

Floaten has been state secretary for a period of six years, and the conclusion has forced itself upon the membership that he has used

his official position in the party to subserve his personal interests.

The charges have been openly made that Floaten was on such friendly terms with the railroad companies that he was able to secure free transportation, and Socialists do not believe that *passes* from railway corporations to a state secretary are to be taken as proofs of his loyalty to the principles of Socialism.

The examination of Floaten's books by a committee of investigation and the report of that committee, have only served to convince the vast majority of the membership of the Socialist party of Denver that "there is something rotten in Denmark."

As a result of inquiries into the official conduct of Floaten, a recall has been issued, which has been seconded by locals at Trinidad, Walsenburg, Colorado Springs, Fort Collins, Loveland, Brush, Merino and other places.

The membership of the party in Denver has decreed that there must be a "house-cleaning" and believe that it is absolutely necessary that Floaten shall be retired to private life and his place filled by a successor whose books shall always be open to inspection, and who will scorn to accept favors from railway corporations.

Should Consult "Finnegan"

A MEMBER of the Western Federation of Miners at Butte, Montana, has sent us an issue of the Butte Inter-Mountain, containing the following editorial under the significant heading: "Watch It Dwindle":

"The Socialist party's national vote decreased, this election. The only congressman was lost. Yet, if the old parties had divided the field, Debs probably would have polled more than a million and several congressmen would have been elected.

The moose will put an end to Socialism—under this name and guise—in America. For the moose will get more radical each year and will attract all but a few soreheads and irreconcilables.

"Socialism is too closely allied with anarchy to gain a foothold in America. The banners of Lawrence, 'No God, No Master,' spell the end of the propaganda among us. True, these paraders were aliens; but the disgrace of the party is the same.

"American economic and political ills—and the central ideas for their solution—can, be it repeated, be written upon the palm of the hand. The heart of the American people still is sound. We shall ameliorate these ills.

"The growth of sentiment once called radical is steady and uniform among all classes. We begin to see that some of the things the 'radicals' ask are accepted without question by the conservatives of Europe. Mr. Rockefeller is a radical; so is Mr. Carnegie; so is Mr. Morgan—or they would have been considered radical twenty years ago.

"Socialism remains nebulous; the rising party—which is confined to no party at present—will embrace concrete forms. We shall yet achieve what no historic people of our rank has seen—assured competence for all who will work, while retaining a healthy admixture of competition.

"This form of Socialism is the inevitable result of capitalism—

as the Socialists themselves see. It succeeds competition as surely as night follows the day. But it will not resemble communism and it will not put liberty in peril by giving the individual over to machine politics."

The genius who placed the above daub on the editorial page of the Inter-Mountain must certainly be the proprietor of a massive intellect; for his reason is as logical as the senseless drivel of a mental invalid in a bug house.

The quill-booster for the Bull Moose on the Inter-Mountain must entertain the opinion that the American people are becoming feeble-minded, if he believes that they are taking stock in a party that was born in the struggle for spoils in the national convention of the Republican party at Chicago.

Had Roosevelt and his lieutenants captured the "steam roller" at Chicago, and crushed Taft and his supporters, there would have been no "Bull Moose."

Roosevelt, backed and financed by Perkins, McCormick, Munsey and the notorious William Flinn of Pittsburg, would certainly hand the people a *bunch* that would make history for unborn generations to read, had he been elected.

Roosevelt is politically a corpse, and the Bull Moose is in the hospital.

The political prophet of the Inter-Mountain declares that the national vote of the Socialist party decreased. No one but an ignoramus or one who thought his readers weak in the *noodle*, would make such a statement.

In the national election of 1908 the Socialist party, nationally, polled less than 425,000 votes, and in the late election of November, 1912, even the capitalist press concedes a vote of nearly a million.

This is certainly a *decrease* with a vengeance.

The weakling on the Inter-Mountain, suffering from the rabies of Bull-Mooseism, should consult "Finnegan."

The General Strike

II. DEFINITIONS.

By Robert Hunter.

(Courtesy of The National Socialist.)

The general strike, in its largest application and most literal sense, may be defined as the stoppage of all work, in all branches of the economic life, whether industrial, agricultural or commercial. The stoppage of all work may confine itself to a single country or extend to all countries.

The term is also applied in a more restricted sense, as for instance, to a strike of all workmen in a single state or province of a country. It is also used to cover an international strike in one industry or in many industries. We speak of a general strike of the miners, railroad employes, bakers, and brewers.

The present advocates, however, of the general strike do not use the term in this sense. There have been many such strikes, a few entirely successful.

What is really meant by the present-day advocates of the general strike is that the most important trades—those that dominate the entire industrial system—shall cease work at the same moment.

"If, for instance," says Jaures, the French leader, "the railroad employes, the miners, dockers, and longshoremen, the employes in the weaving and spinning industries, and the building trade employes in the great cities, were to quit work simultaneously, we might say that there was a general strike. Because to bring about a general strike it is not necessary that the whole number of trades should be in line; it is not even necessary that in the trades that are on strike every single workman should go out. It is sufficient if those trades where the power of capital is most concentrated and the power of labor best organized and that are, therefore, the keystone of the economic system, decide on a suspension of work; and it is enough if they are backed up by such a large number of workmen that the work of those trades is stopped."—(*Studies in Socialism*, Jaures, p. 107; Putnam, N. Y., 1906).

The aim of such a strike is, of course, to paralyze the industrial and commercial life of the nation and any general strike to be successful must at least include enough of the workers to render production, transportation, and exchange impossible.

These definitions make it obvious that the general strike, in its largest sense, is not a weapon to be used as a remedy for sectional, craft, or individual wrongs. The miners strike for an eight-hour day; the railroad employes strike for higher wages; the bakers for more sanitary workshops; the machinists strike to defend a member of their craft. Such strikes may, and do, become general so far as these trades are concerned, but need not involve other trades.

So, too, the workmen of a town or country may stop work for the purpose of forcing electoral or legislative reforms. Such a strike may become a political mass strike, as the Germans say, and have for its purpose to show the unanimous desire of the workers for certain reforms. It is a rough and ready form of the initiative and referendum. The workers' demands are made in mass meeting. Their common determination is measured by the extent and success of the general strike demonstration. Such strikes are always brief, declared for a definite purpose; and when the solidarity of the workers has been definitely shown, the strikers return to work.

Such strikes have in recent years become increasingly common, especially where the suffrage is limited. Some have been successful. But while they may be termed general strikes, they are not the general strike that is contemplated by the revolutionists who are today pushing the propaganda of this new method of war.

The general strike as now advocated does not concern itself with small affairs. It rests on a profoundly revolutionary theory, and holds out promises to the working class that embrace the idea of its emancipation. It is inconceivable (to this its advocates agree) that any vast number of workers should be willing to resort to an action so perilous and impoverishing except for some reward that would adequately repay them *all* for the immense privations they would need to suffer.

The French propagandists fully realize this fact. They frankly say "the general strike is the revolution." The workers of France do not fear the word "revolution" as do the workers of many other countries. The term means something to them. And the advocates of the general strike are understood in France, when they say: "What more simple than to kill the old society by the inertia of the working class, and, upon the scrap heap of capitalism, shall rise the communist society in which well-being and liberty shall be assured to every human being."

Briand, late prime minister of France and formerly one of the great orators of the general strike, declared: "I believe firmly that

the general strike will be the revolution." And he added that if it should become a duty, he would take a place in the ranks of the workers who would go to battle armed with spikes, swords, revolvers, and rifles. He considered the general strike as more seductive and efficacious than the old methods of the revolutionists.

"Already," writes Pierrot in "Syndicalism and Revolution," "The revolutionary propaganda, in educating the individual workers, renders strikes more and more numerous and more and more violent. The strikers struggle no more only for increase of salary, they attack at the same time the authority of the boss. The demands of the workers become more and more audacious. In the midst of a moral crisis, as, for instance, before some ferocious repression, they can create a unanimous strike.

"If there exists at the same time a general economic crisis, the spontaneous demonstration may, under the impulse of a fearless minority, change itself into a revolutionary conflagration, breaking forth everywhere at the same time, not by reason of orders from above, but as a result of the common impulse and the contagion of example."

Girault, the French anarchist, in his pamphlet, "The General Strike," sees that it must terminate in violence, and declares that in order that the general strike should succeed, it would be necessary that the miners should set fire to the mines; that the workers of the railroad, or, for want of them, other energetic strikers should blow up, by means of a few sticks of dynamite, the rails, the tunnels, the bridges, the viaducts; that the mechanics or the stokers should throw soap in the water which serves to feed the machines; that the strikers should take the provisions where they are accumulated; that they should prevent the officers from repairing to the troops by arresting and disarming them on first getting up; that all the powder magazines

should blow up; that the arsenals should be robbed, and that the proletarians should seize the cannon, guns, bayonets, and cartridges.

Griffuelhes, the former secretary of the French Federation of Labor, says: "The cessation of work, which would place the country in the rigor of death, would necessarily be of short duration; its terrible and incalculable consequences would force the government to capitulate at once. If it refused, the proletariat, in revolt from one end of France to the other, would be able to compel it, for the military forces, scattered and isolated over the whole territory, would be unable to act in concert and could not oppose the slightest resistance to the will of the workers, at last masters of the situation."—(*L'Action Syndicalists*, p. 33).

It is very clear that these definitions of the general strike consider it to be the final and supreme stand of labor against its exploiters. It is certainly not considered or advocated as a tool to remedy every little immediate grievance of the working class. As it would be folly to create cannon in order to kill gnats, so would it be folly to organize a general strike to remedy some individual or minor grievance. Not only because it might fail if so used, but also because it would be a procedure far too costly to the working class.

The French are therefore perfectly right in considering this weapon as perhaps the most formidable possessed by the working class. It is the revolution, and the class that determines to have that matter out once and for all must be fully prepared to carry it through to the very end. It is the final show-down between the power of the capitalists and the power of the workers. It cannot be, as the French admit, merely a peaceful abstention from work. It must be a resort to force by a nearly unanimous working class.

One Side of the Class Struggle

"I WANT THE MATTER of gender eliminated from this bill. The women in this case are entitled to no more consideration than the young men and the boys. What is injurious to the women is injurious to the boys also."

It was a Syracuse foundry proprietor who delivered himself of the above admission before the State Factory Investigating Commission the other day. The bill referred to sought to prohibit the employment of women in foundries. The speaker had employed women in his foundries for four years, and declared they worked more steadily than the men.

It is not often we get so frank an admission as the above from any capitalist exploiter, and for that reason it is noted here. It is, however, a creed that none of them would repudiate in actual fact, however reluctant they might be to confess it publicly as this man did.

As a matter of fact, however, Mr. Stearns, the foundry proprietor in question, is right—not right, perhaps, from an ethical point of view, but undoubtedly so from the business point of view. He understands there is no sentiment or ethics in business; that where exploitation and the extraction of profit is concerned, capitalism makes no differentiation on account of sex. Women are entitled to no more consideration than men, from the capitalist standpoint. What injures women, injures men also.

But the question is, what consideration are both men and women entitled to from the employer?

And the answer is, none. From a strictly business point of view they are "entitled" to no consideration whatever. This man admits as much. He makes no discrimination between women and men, except the one that concerns his profits and concerns them not at all—the fact that the women work more steadily than the men. He admits that, as the workers themselves say, an injury to one is an injury to

all, and takes the "what are you going to do about it?" attitude toward them.

As he is perfectly correct, from his standpoint, it is a question for the workers, not for him. Whatever "consideration" they get, they will have to force from him and his like, and then what is secured is not consideration but concession.

From his point of view, men, women and boys are all equally commodities, raw material purchased in the market, differing somewhat in quality and value perhaps, but as essentially commodities as the pig-iron on which they work, which no doubt differs in grade and quality about as they do, and which is purchased on the markets in the same manner.

From their point of view, on the other hand, they are human beings with wants, desires and impulses to satisfy; with life, the will to live, and the desire to remove all obstacles that make life painful, miserable and hard; to "move along the line of least resistance," as scientists say of moving bodies. They must and do consider themselves as an utterly different range of objects from the inanimate commodities upon which they expend their labor power; differing also among themselves in the tremendous fact—to them—of sex.

But these things, from that point of view, are nothing whatever to the employer.

In these antagonistic conceptions is embodied the irrepressible conflict between capital and labor, the class struggle which must and will transform the face of the world, when the workers recognize their power. There is no possibility of harmony between these two antagonistic conceptions, and never will be.

Whether the foundry proprietor sees all this or not is a matter for conjecture perhaps. But what he has done in reality is to state his side of the class struggle clearly and equivocally. When the workers can formulate theirs as clearly as he has, the end of all class struggles is in sight.—New York Call.

There Will Be No War

By A. M. Simons.

IN THE BEGINNING of November the war dogs of Europe were baying across almost every frontier. There was talk of mobilization, of war bonds, of protocols, ultimatums and movements of fleets. We were told that the great European war, which the world had been dreading and expecting for a generation, was about to break forth. The "war cloud in the Balkans" was discharging its lightning and its flashes were darting into the powder magazines of a dozen war offices.

Today the press dispatches bring a different story. It is generally agreed that there will be no war. All the talk is of agreements, concessions, adjustments and treaties.

Something happened in the last six weeks to change the tune played by the concert of European powers from a military march to a hymn of peace and good will.

That something began on the 17th day of November, when in every capital of Europe, save that of the Czar, vast multitudes of workers met in the name of Socialism, and international peace, to protest against being sacrificed to the Moloch of war.

Paris, Berlin and London each saw gatherings of close to 100,000 men and women belonging to the class that furnishes soldiers and manufactures the munitions of war, meeting to declare their determination to live for liberty rather than to die for tyranny.

In each of these great meetings, speakers voiced the sentiments of vast masses of people in stirring messages of defiance and determination against the forces that were crying for blood.

Tremendous as was this demonstration, it was but the first whisper in the gigantic chorus that was about to be raised against war. Then came the extraordinary International Socialist Congress at Basle, where a great cathedral rocked to the cheers of those who listened to the preaching of the gospel of peace and good will to a gathering that included members of every parliament in Europe, and representatives of more than 30,000,000 workers.

All this had been but preparation for action. Next came the decision of this congress to hold another series of gigantic peace demonstrations on December 14. Borne on the ever swelling wave of peaceful protest, it is certain that multiplied millions will participate in these meetings.

Then on the 16th will come the first showing of power on the part of the proletariat. On that day the tools in a thousand times a thousand workshops, factories, mills and mines will be dropped in order that a parasitic class may for twenty-four hours realize how helpless it is.

Every monarch and every war office in the world knows that all this is but the giant Labor giving grim warning, and that should it

be necessary to take other and more serious steps the power to take them is not lacking.

It will not be necessary to go further.

The war drums have been muffled. The noisy mouthings of the jingos grow fainter and are overwhelmed in the dull roar of an angered working class.

Those who six weeks ago were talking so glibly of the inevitability of a general European war, have drawn back in fright before the possibility of a general European revolution.

War depends upon a sort of mob hypnotism, in which the mass of the population is roused to a blood madness by the reiteration of phrases based on class patriotism and national antagonism.

Anything that interferes with this mad ghost dance hysteria will awake the nation to sanity and peace, and inoculate it against further suggestions of war.

The international Socialist movement, with its far-reaching political and union organizations, its press, speakers and distributors of literature, affords an instrument by which the war fever may be

abated without blood-letting. It sets in motion a wave of sanity to overwhelm the wave of insanity. It swallows up national hatreds in international brotherhood.

That is why there will be no war in Europe this winter.

That is why there will be fewer widows and orphans and cripples than there would have been.

That is why the Socialists are hated by blow-hole armor merchants and manufacturers who dearly love peace societies.

For let it be known to the world that in this hour of crisis the Socialists stood alone. Not one word was heard from Hague conferences and professional pacifists. Not one whisper came even from the temples of those who claim to worship the Prince of Peace.

The Socialists alone braved the demon of war, the beast of race hatred and the devil of class rule, and drove all the foul brood back into the darkness from whence they came.

And the world is better and Socialism is nearer because they did it.—Coming Nation.

Union Scabs and Other Kinds

By Oscar Ameringer.

THERE ARE THREE KINDS of scabs—the professional, the amateur, and union scab.

The professional scab is usually a high-paid, high-skilled worker in the employ of strike-breaking and detective agencies. His position is that of a special officer in the regular scab army.

The amateur scab brigade is composed of riff-raff, slum dwellers, rubes, imbeciles, college students, and other undesirable citizens.

Professional scabs are few and efficient. Amateur scabs are plentiful and inefficient, and union scabs both numerous and capable.

The professional scab knows what he is doing, does it well and for the sake of the long green only.

The amateur scab, posing as a free-born American citizen, who scorns to be fettered by union rules and regulations, gets much glory (?), little pay, and when the strike is over he is given an honorable discharge, in the region where Darwin searched for the missing link.

The union scab receives less pay than the professional scab, works better than the amateur scab and don't know that he is a scab.

He will take a pattern from a scab pattern maker; cast it in a union mold, hand the casting to as lousy a scab as ever walked in shoe leather and then proudly produce a paid-up union card in testimony of his unionism.

Way down in his heart he seems to have a lurking suspicion that there is something not altogether right in his actions, and it is characteristic of the union man who co-operates with scabs that he is ever ready to flash a union card in the face of innocent bystanders.

He don't know that a rose under any other name is just as fragrant; he don't know that calling a cat a canary won't make the feline sing, and he don't know that helping to run a shop while other workers bend all their energies in the opposite direction is scabbing. He relies on the name and seeks refuge behind a little pasteboard card.

When a strike is declared it becomes the chief duty of the organization to effect a complete shutdown of the plant. For that purpose warnings are mailed, or wired to other places, to prevent workmen from moving to the afflicted city.

Pickets are stationed around the plant or factory, or harbor, to stop workers from taking the places of strikers. Amateur scabs are coaxed, persuaded, or bullied away from the seat of the strike. Persuasion having no effect on the professional strike breaker, he is sometimes treated with a brickbat shower. Shut down that plant; shut it down completely, is the watchword of the striker.

Now, while all these things are going on and men are stopped in ones and twos, a steady stream of dinner pail parades pours through the factory gate. Why are they not molested? Oh, they're union men, belonging to a different craft than the one on strike. Instead

of brickbats and insults it's "Hello, John; Hello, Jim; howdy, Jack"; and other expressions of good fellowship.

You see, this is a carriage factory, and it is only the Amalgamated Association of Brimstone and Emery Polishers, that are striking. The Brotherhood of Oil Rag Wipers, the Fraternal Society of White Lead Daubers, the Undivided Sons of Varnish Spreaders, the Benevolent Compilation of Wood Work Gluers, the Iron Benders' Sick and Death Benefit Union, the Oakdale Lodge of Coal Shovelers, the Martha Washington Lodge of Ash Wheelers, the Amalgamated Brotherhood of Oilers, the Engineers' Protective Lodge, the Stationery Firemen, the F. O. O. L., the A. S. S. E. S. Societies have nothing to do with the Amalgamated Association of Brimstone and Emery Polishers.

At the next regular meeting of those societies, ringing resolutions endorsing the strike of the Amalgamated Association of Brimstone and Emery Polishers will be passed. Moral support is pledged and \$5.00 worth of tickets are purchased for the dance given by the Ladies' Volunteer and Auxiliary Corps for the benefit of the Amalgamated Association of Brimstone and Emery Polishers.

The whole thing is like beating a man's brains out and then handing him a headache tablet.

During a very bitterly fought molders' strike in a northern city the writer noticed one of the prettiest illustrations of the workings of plain scabbing and union scabbing.

A dense mass of strikers and sympathizers had assembled in front of the factory waiting the exit of the strike-breakers.

On they came and scabs and unionists in one dark mass. Stones, rotten eggs and other missiles began to fly, when one of the strike-breakers leaped on a store box and shouted frantically, "Stop it, stop it; for ———'s sakes stop it; you are hitting more unionists than scabs; you can't tell the difference."

That's it. Whenever scabs and union men work harmoniously in the strike-breaking industry, all hell can't tell the difference.

To the murky conception of a union scab, scabbing is only wrong when practiced by a non-union man. To him the union card is a kind of a scab permit that guarantees him immunity from insults, brickbats and rotten eggs.

After having instructed a green bunch of amateur scabs in the art of brimstone and emery polishing all day, he meets a striking brother in the evening and forthwith demonstrates his unionism by setting up the drinks for the latter.

Union scabbing is the legitimate offspring of craft organization. It is begotten by ignorance, born of imbecility and nourished by infamy.

My dear brother, I am sorry to be under contract to hang you, but I know it will please you to hear that the scaffold is built by union carpenters, the rope bears the label and here is my card.

This is union scabbery.

A Chance for the "Lime-Lighters"

THE NEW YORK CALL has sent out a letter to a great number of labor officials and Socialists with numerous questions, with a request that these inquiries be answered. The following is the form of the circular letter, with its many inquiries:

Biography of

Full name (spell out middle name, if any).

President address and permanent residence?

Where born? What year? Month? Day?

Names and nativity of parents?

What educational institutions did you attend?

Graduated from?

Degrees?

When did you come to the United States? ?

What occupations were you engaged in since you started to work?

What is your present occupation?

When did you join the Socialist movement?

Where? Name of organization?

Any previous political affiliations with other parties?

Have you ever held or are you now holding any political office? Give list of same.

Have you ever held or are you now holding any office in the Socialist party organization? Give list of same.

What was it that first interested you in Socialism and caused you to enlist in its ranks?

Are you married? Full name of wife?

How many children?

Do you belong to any labor organization? What is its name?

Where did you join it?

When did you join it?

What branch or local number?

Have you ever held or are you now holding any office in the labor movement? Give list of same.

Were you ever a candidate on the Socialist party ticket?

What offices?

Where? (State and city).

Did you ever belong to a military organization?

Have you ever or are you now contributing to any periodical?

Which?

What books have you written?

Under what prominent auspices have you spoken or lectured?

Were you ever arrested in the course of free speech fights or other labor struggles? When? Where?

Under what circumstances and in what connections?

General remarks: (Here state any facts of interest not covered by foregoing questions.)

The above list of questions may appeal to some labor officials and Socialists whose heads are swollen by vanity and who have a perpetual yearning for the limelight.

But the man or woman who is identified with the labor or Socialist movement and who is actuated by an earnest desire to serve the class to which they belong, will not rush into public print with a report of their work in behalf of humanity.

The labor or Socialist movement will not be advanced or strengthened by the publication of biographies and portraits of men and women who think they have rendered some great service to that class

that is every day fighting the tyranny of organized greed.

The men of the mines, mills and factories will receive but little benefit from knowing the full name of a labor official or Socialist agitator.

The man chained to hard work and long hours will not feel a lessening of his burdens through being made acquainted through the columns of a daily journal as to where labor officials were born, where they received their education, and where they graduated.

The hours will not be decreased nor the wage scale increased, because labor officials and prominent Socialists rush into print with a sketch of their lives, telling *when* they joined an organization and *where* they joined such organization.

It makes but little difference to the wage slave as to whether a labor official is married, has a family or what may be the full name of his wife.

The letter sent out by the New York Call, with its many questions, can serve no good purpose, but gives labor officials and Socialists suffering from vanity an opportunity to laud themselves as Spartans in the great cause of human liberty.

Clamor and Calamity

THOSE WHO WATCH the progress and development of the labor movement with open eyes and open minds gaze in perfect wonderment at the insane ideas that are urged by men who are unable to see beyond the end of their noses. They are unable to understand why these irrationals are able to convince anyone of the worth of their silly doctrines. Yet it is seen that they occasionally make a raid upon and capture a labor organization and maintain their position long enough to bring it to actual disaster or leave it upon the verge of the precipice before the membership is aroused to the fact that a mistake has been made in entrusting them with power.

The unions in this city have been no exception to the rule, and the world-savers have occasionally gained control in one of them, and in every instance have either completely wrecked the organization or left it in a deplorable condition for rebuilding at the hands of the patient, sane workers whom they have temporarily ousted from control. Even after the failure of their methods has been repeatedly demonstrated to them these fanatics still cling to their notions and impede the progress of the movement, while the men and women who have not been led astray by their wild ravings struggle to regain the lost ground.

In this respect, of course, the labor movement is not greatly different from other human institutions, all of which have their full share of fools. We once heard a most successful, though unscrupulous, politician say regarding the well-meaning fool: "The support of such people is a handicap which must always be reckoned with. No one capable of reasoning will hope to be able either to keep them quiet or escape the consequences of their noise. They, like the poor, we shall have always with us, disagreeable as it may be, and the wise man will enter them on the debit side of his ledger and proceed accordingly." This is just as true of unions which are necessarily of a more or less democratic nature, as of men in public life, and they can no more hope to escape from the consequences of their actions.

A few fools are not a bad thing. They create amusement and rest for the useful workers. But when they become so numerous as to gain the ascendancy in an organization, they are a very bad thing and are sure to bring the dire consequences that always follow folly. These creatures almost invariably gain control in labor organizations, not because they constitute a majority, but because the thoughtful, though not overenthusiastic, members fail in their duty by remaining away from meetings and elections.

These foolish members, reinforced by unscrupulous tricksters, do

more to interfere with the progress and improvement of the labor movement than all the enemies on the outside in the ranks of employers. The fool has no ability to start with, and the trickster uses what little ability he has to feather his own nest, and between the two the welfare of the membership suffers keenly through the lack of intelligent and honest attention. There are few positions in life which require more intelligence, honesty, diplomacy and hard work than do the offices of trade unions. The organization which allows its offices to be filled by officers who are not equipped with the ability and diplomacy so necessary to success must inevitably suffer as a consequence.

We have in the labor movement of the present day a band of radical syndicalists who shout for "solidarity," who are, as a rule, totally ignorant of the disaster that a glance over the history of the past proves must follow the inauguration of their theories. They don't know anything about the past, but they have heard some glib-tongued, self-seeking scoundrel shout of "solidarity," of the "proletariat" through the agency of "syndicalism" and the practice of "sabotage" by the "working class," until the euphony of the thing has hypnotized them and they fall easy victims to the wiles of these men. These appeals are always directed to the thoughtless and the ignorant. Never do they attract the attention of the thinking and intelligent.

The thoughtful man realizes that the labor movement is great and powerful today because it has religiously avoided the pitfalls into which the ranting nonsense of the shouter for "solidarity" would plunge it. He knows that had the advice of the radicals of the recent past been followed there would be today no labor movement for the calamity-howling "solidarity" shouter to talk to. An audience is furnished that creature in the halls of labor today because the advice of his kind has been disregarded in the past. We are not condemning industrial unionism, in the true sense of that term, because we believe in it. We are, however, entirely out of sympathy with the "one big union" idea as urged by the Industrial Workers of the World and their kindred. The American Federation of Labor is moving along the right lines toward the proper kind of industrial unionism, and is going just as far as sanity, discretion and good judgment dictate as safe and possible, and the "fools who rush in where angels fear to tread" are doomed to disappointment in the hope that the labor movement will follow them to certain destruction. The election held by the Machinists' union in this city last Wednesday night is ample proof of this. They threw the incompetents out of power.—San Francisco Labor Clarion.

The Honor Due to Agitator Wayland

IF IT IS ADMISSIBLE that at certain periods of human development some men are destined to play a greater role than others, then we may safely say that Julius Wayland's work belongs in that category. Not that our comrade's work was superior in thought or leadership or tactics, for these are attributes common and characteristic in every revolutionary movement. What impressed itself on our movement as distinctly his is the hard hitting, straight-from-the-shoulder blows of truth, a truthful sarcasm that, although often bitter in the extreme, never yet compromised justice with wrong, truth from falsehood. And if his homely, penetrating philosophy and his earnestness to condemn Capitalism with its own accomplishment is a measure to weigh his success and worth to the Socialist cause, then Comrade Wayland holds the favorable place and name as our "one-hoss" philosopher.

Who is there in the American Socialist movement that has not anxiously awaited the message the Appeal brought from week to week?

Who is there that was not strengthened by the optimism, enthusiasm, idealism emanating from the pen of Wayland?

Was there man who could give more and ask less from the movement than Wayland? Hardly.

It seems that he gave so much of his strength, energy, enthusiasm and idealism that he forgot to reserve any for himself.

Imbued with all the qualities that would make this earth a better

place to live in, he found himself living in an inhuman inferno where the strong and cunning lived off the flesh and blood of the children of the poor; where the pious and saintly lived and profited by the shame, poverty and misery of the fallen; where the powerful crushed the weak with the instinct of money lust cannibalism; where the masses cleaned and gnawed and rended their hearts asunder for bread—till the heart grows sick, sinking, sinking, despondent, hopeless. And he saw the men in rags and haggard women whom the children called mothers, and the crushed limbs and the blasted lives and the streams of blood and the carnage of flesh—for what? For profit! profit! profit! Yes, dying for profit, for dividends, dying in ignorance, hopelessness, darkness and despair. A horrible fate, a tragic death, the lot of the men he hoped to emancipate and make them real men.

They responded slowly so he poured on them greater volume of reason, logic, argument, till he became the greatest agitator we had.

Then the sorrow and pain of losing a loved wife and the sickness, prosecution, spies, sleuths and conspiracies hatched by the most powerful enemies—the Tafts, the Wickershams, Otises and the entire representative capitalist class whose motto was "crucify him," a motto inscribed in their hearts, casting flaming shape over the land.

We can spare kings, emperors, presidents and politicians, but the world can never spare the agitators—its Gracchi, Spartacus, Socrates, Jesus, Paine, Garrison, Wendell Phillips, Hugo, Tolstoi and Wayland

—without losing great dynamic force that urges the old world on to progress. For agitators of this type there is no death so long as humanity can retain their records of deeds.

So we may, without hesitation, place our departed comrade in

the rank of the great immortal agitators, rejoicing that he was true to the working class; that he forgot self, his fortunes and his all that the agitation for the emancipation of the working class may live.— Joseph Thomas, in New Era.

Consoling to Labor

SOCIETY, made up of millionaires and multi-millionaires, had a gay old time in Philadelphia last week. The women puffed cigarettes and the men admired their nerve. The guests numbered 150 and the cost of the dinner and dance reached \$40,000.

The following, in a press dispatch from Philadelphia, gives a lengthy synopsis of how sweatless parasites and soulless exploiters enjoy themselves:

"Philadelphia, Dec. 16.—Two novelties, unprecedented in the annals of Quaker City society, marked a dinner-dance given tonight at the new Ritz-Carlton hotel by Mr. and Mrs. Edward T. Stotesbury. The host is a banking partner of J. P. Morgan.

"In the first place, the guests were received by the host and hostess in a barroom.

"In the second place, the eligible bachelors in attendance were assembled at a table by themselves, in order, so it was whispered among the debutantes, that all the other guests might observe what a fine looking lot of young men they, the bachelors, really were.

"In the third place—but this was not exactly a novelty, even in Philadelphia—the women smoked cigarettes, a special brand, with her gold monogram initials, being furnished for the occasion by Stotesbury.

"The caterer, by the way, didn't know that she had arranged to provide her own brand of cigarettes and so he laid in a gilt-edge stock of his own. Then there was almost a feminine explosion, and Mrs. Stotesbury hurriedly sent over to the Bellevue-Stratford hotel, where her own cigarettes were rescued from the safe, brought over and put in circulation.

"The dinner dance, the second in a series of six planned by the Stotesburys for their Philadelphia social season of 1912-13, is estimated to have cost the financier about \$40,000. This includes the

lease for one evening of the entire new Ritz-Carlton hotel, which does not open its doors to the public until Saturday.

"The hotel barroom, dedicated in such an unusual way, was somewhat disguised, but a number of the older matrons were noticed to be a trifle fidgety among their surroundings, as if they feared all traditions had been shockingly violated. Nothing, of course, was served at the bar. It was as bare and dumb as an unlaunched ship. An old rose royal Wilton carpet had been spread on the floor and the bar mirrors were screened by palms and ferns.

"After being presented to Mrs. Walter Brooks, the daughter of Mrs. Stotesbury, the guests, 150 of whom had come from the junior cotillion, passed to the main dining room, where dinner was served. Solid banks of roses hid the walls, the room was only half lighted, and strains from a single violin were softly heard above the table conversation.

The dance that followed was given in the ballroom, where there was not a single decoration. It was the dedication of the new ballroom, and Mrs. Stotesbury did not wish, she said, to hide any of its beauty behind decorations. Hundreds of small electric lights gave the illumination."

The laboring people will be pleased to know that Mr. and Mrs. Stotesbury entertained the guests royally and that an expenditure of \$40,000 for the feast and dance did not even put a dent in the purse of Stotesbury and wife, whose annual income is secured by thousands of good faithful workers, who, on election day, shout and vote for the same candidates for office as the Stotesburys.

While these good, faithful workers are masticating hard-tack, flavored with sorghum, and while they are resting their weary limbs on a mattress of shavings and sawdust after a hard day's work, it will be consoling for them to know that Stotesbury and his long-haired partner, during the social season, will give a few more banquets and balls of the \$40,000 brand.



INFORMATION WANTED.

Information is wanted of the whereabouts of James Doheney, formerly of Butte, Montana. Anyone knowing his present address will please write William Maguire, 2332 Lawrence street, Denver, Colorado.

ARIZONA PRODUCES \$44,000,000 IN MINERALS.

The chief mineral product of Arizona is copper, in the mining of which, according to the United States Geological Survey, the new State ranks first among the United States. It ranks sixth in the production of silver and seventh in the production of gold. These three metals constitute 98 per cent of the total production of the State, which amounted to \$43,483,912 in 1910 and \$44,104,731 in 1911. The value of the copper product alone represents 86 per cent of the total output.

PENNSYLVANIA LEADS IN MINERALS.

Pennsylvania far outranks all other States in the value of its mineral output. In 1911 this State contributed, exclusive of pig iron, 24.7 per cent of the total mineral output of the United States. The reason for Pennsylvania's undisputed leadership lies primarily, according to the United States Geological Survey, in its great production of coal. It is almost exclusively the source of anthracite, and produces over one-third of the total bituminous output. Pennsylvania ranks second, next to New York, in the value of its manufactures, and stands first as a mineral producer in cement, coal, coke, pig iron, lime, mineral paints, sand and gravel, and building stone.

GREAT COPPER RESERVE.

The copper industry in the United States has shown a notable growth, according to the United States Geological Survey. In 1845, when important production of copper in this country practically began, the output was but 224,000 pounds, but it increased 100 per cent the following year and gained by rapid strides until 1850, when the production was 1,456,000 pounds. In 1870 it was 28,224,000 pounds; in 1890 it was 259,763,092 pounds; in 1900 it had increased to 606,117,166 pounds; in 1909 it passed the billion mark, with 1,092,951,624 pounds; and in 1911 it exceeded all previous records with a production of 1,097,232,749 pounds. The world's production in 1911 was 1,958,201,285 pounds, of which 56 per cent was the output of the United States.

It is noteworthy that, unlike areas producing most metals, not one of the leading copper districts of the United States, several of which have been active producer for a period of 30 years or more, has been worked out or showed a marked decrease in its ability to produce copper. Twelve districts situated in eight States have each contributed over 100,000,000 pounds to the copper output of the country, or a total of 94 per cent of the whole output of the United States since 1845. Four of these districts are in Arizona, two in California, and one each in Montana, Michigan, Nevada, New Mexico, Tennessee, and Utah. Two districts stand out prominently the Butte district, Mon-

tana, which has contributed over one-third of the output of the country, and the Lake Superior district, Michigan, with a production of a little less than one-third of the total output.

CALIFORNIA LEADS WEST IN MINERAL PRODUCTION.

California ranks first among the States west of Mississippi River in the value of its mineral production, according to the United States Geological Survey. In former years California's claim to distinction as a mineral producer rested on its output of gold, in which, in fact, it held first place in 1911 although in recent years it has usually fallen behind Colorado in the production of gold. The premiership of gold in the State has, however, been succeeded by petroleum, the value of which in California exceeds that of gold by 94 per cent and gives the State first place among the States in the production of crude oil. California leads also in the production of asphalt, of platinum, and of quicksilver and enjoys a monopoly in the production of borax and magnesite. It is second in the production of tungsten ores, third in the production of cement, and sixth in the production of copper and stands well up among the States in the production of a number of less important minerals. The total value of the mineral production of California in 1911 was \$90,517,566, compared with \$86,721,069 in 1910.

ANTHRACITE A LUXURY.

Anthracite coal was at one time an important factor in blast-furnace practice, but its use in that line of industry has now almost entirely ceased, according to E. W. Parker, of the United States Geological Survey, as it has been supplanted by coke made from bituminous coal. The principal demand for anthracite will be in the future, as it has been in the more recent past, restricted largely to domestic trade, for which such sizes as furnace, egg, stove, and chestnut are required. The breaking down of the lump coal, which was formerly a marketable product, for the preparation of the domestic sizes results in a much larger proportion of the small or undesirable sizes, all of which are sold at less than the cost of production. All the profits on the mining operations must be obtained from the prepared domestic sizes, for the revenue obtained from the smaller sizes, which are sold largely in competition with bituminous coal for steaming purposes, serves only to reduce the cost of the domestic sizes. The conditions under which the anthracite mines are operated, the greater depths to which the workings are carried, the consequent increased expense of mining, and the increasing cost of labor all contribute to make anthracite fuel more and more a luxury.

During recent years the anthracite operators have adopted the policy of making an allowance of 50 cents per ton from circular prices for domestic coal purchased in April of each year, with an advance of 10 cents per ton for each succeeding month until the schedule prices are restored in September. This has had a more salutary effect in steadying the anthracite trade than any other action taken by those controlling the anthracite industry. Its purpose is to encourage the purchase of coal in the spring and early summer, making the cellars of the consumers the storage places for the following winter, and at the same time to cause the mines to be operated more regularly, thus giving steadier employment to employes throughout the year.

LOUISIANA'S GROWING MINERAL OUTPUT.

During the last 10 years Louisiana has attained considerable prominence as a mineral-producing State. After the sensational strike of oil at Beaumont, Tex., in 1901, prospecting for petroleum was actively carried on east of Sabine River in Louisiana, resulting in the discovery and development of several pools in the vicinity of Jennings. Since that time productive areas have been de-

veloped in many parts of the State, and Louisiana now ranks eighth among the States in the production of petroleum. The Caddo district, opened in 1906, is the principal producer at the present time and of greatest promise for the future. According to the United States Geological Survey, the production of petroleum in Louisiana amounted to 6,841,395 barrels, valued at \$3,574,069, in 1910, and to 10,720,420 barrels, valued at \$5,668,814, in 1911.

In one respect Louisiana stands pre-eminently first among the States. This is in the production of sulphur. In 1904 the Frasch process for the recovery of sulphur from beds lying under a heavy cover of quicksand was put into successful operation by the Union Sulphur Co. at Sulphur City, about 12 miles west of Lake Charles, in Calcasieu Parish. Since that time approximately 1,000,000 tons of refined sulphur have been recovered. Prior to this the only domestic source of sulphur in quantity in the United States was iron pyrites, from which sulphuric acid is made direct. Nearly all the sulphur used was imported from Sicily. At the present time the domestic output of refined sulphur, except that from Louisiana, is a negligible quantity. The imports of sulphur into the United States in 1903 were valued at \$3,709,690; in 1911 they had shrunk to \$552,836.

In addition to petroleum and sulphur Louisiana is an important producer of rock salt, in which the State also ranks first. In the total production of salt, including that evaporated from brine, Louisiana ranks sixth among the States.

The value of all the minerals produced in the State in 1911 was \$12,710,958, an increase of \$2,590,965 over 1910.

IMPROVEMENTS IN MESA VERDE NATIONAL PARK.

The Department of the Interior proposes to spend \$16,647 on the Mesa Verde National Park during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1914, if the amount requested by the secretary of the interior is appropriated by Congress. This is an increase of \$1,647 over the appropriation for the current fiscal year.

The principal items are for the repair and completion of the road to the ruins, construction of telephone system and general administration.

The Mesa Verde National Park is situated in southwestern Colorado and may be reached from Mancos. Within the park jurisdiction are many notable prehistoric ruins, the cliff dwellings comprising a group of great importance to the study of American archaeology.

The principal and most accessible ruins are Spruce Tree House, Cliff Palace and Balcony House. Spruce Tree House is located near the head of a draw of Navajo cañon, and originally contained about 130 rooms, built of dressed stone laid in adobe mortar, with the outside tiers chinked with chips of rock or broken pottery. Cliff Palace, located about two miles east of the Spruce Tree House in a left branch of the Cliff Cañon, consists of a group of houses with ruins of 146 rooms, including twenty round kivas, or ceremonial rooms, and a tapering loop-holed tower, forming a crescent of about 100 yards from horn to horn, which is reputed to be one of the most famous works of prehistoric man in existence. Balcony House, a mile east of the Cliff House, in Cliff Cañon, contains about twenty-five rooms, some of which are in almost perfect condition. In each of these villages is an elaborate system of fortifications, with, in some cases, walls 2.3 feet thick and 20 feet high, watchtowers 30 feet high and blockhouses pierced with small loopholes for arrows.

For the development and care of the national parks the secretary of the interior has asked Congress to appropriate the sum of \$733,014, an increase of \$505,464 over the appropriations for the current fiscal year. The national parks constitute ideal recreation grounds for thousands of people, but their development and use are seriously retarded by the lack of adequate roads and trails, and until sufficient money is appropriated for beginning a comprehensive plan of development, the parks will fall far short of rendering the important public use for which they are intended. It is the intention of the department to make the principal places of interest in the parks more accessible, to render traveling more comfortable by sprinkling the roads throughout the dry season and to guard the health of the traveler by the installation of proper water supply and sewerage systems. The responsibility for the future conduct of the national parks must rest with Congress, but the department feels that the financial needs of these reservations should be clearly presented to Congress in the annual estimates. A comprehensive list of books and magazine articles on the national parks has recently been issued by the Department of the interior and may be obtained on application.

PROTECTING THE HOME.

By William Marion Reedy.

Young Raymond Belmont married a chorus girl. Then his papa gave the chorus girl \$50,000 to give up Raymond. Here's a splendid example of both the high cost of living and the cost of high living. How are the poor millionaires and their sons to be protected? Wouldn't it be fine if Andrew Carnegie would put aside about \$318,796,524 as a fund out of which to pension chorus girls. Then they would not be driven to the necessity of prostituting themselves in marriage to youthful millionaires. The chorus girl is not all bad. She is commendable within limitations. She's only dangerous when she's on marriage bent. Up to that time she's fair game. No one complains of her when she is seduced; only when she becomes the seducer into matrimony. The chorus girl exists for the training of youthful millionaires. She is too much when she overthrows them. We cannot get along without her. Youthful millionaire must have its maiden tribute, and it must be guarded against the wiles of those upon whom it preys. All chorus girls should be placed above wanting to marry. At least, they should be placed above the need of young millionaires. Thus we would protect both the young millionaire and the show girl "broiler." There should be an organization, a foundation for this purpose. Especially do we need it now, when the show business is so bad because of the vogue of the moving pictures and the show girl cannot earn less than the paltry pittance of \$18 per week for "twirling on her toes in abbreviated clothes to exhibit her spangled hose to the beaux." These girls are fairly driven to matrimony. They are victims of society, even as are their victims, the young millionaires. Often a girl becomes utterly heartless and will marry one of these youths because she loves him, when, of course, she should only marry him for the writeup that will boost her with the manager. All semblance of humanity is driven out of these girls, when they prefer marrying to mistressing. They should be kept in the place and station in which Providence placed them. They are fit fields only for the sowing of wild oats. When they get to marrying into our best families, they are a menace to society—not before. There's the girl that married young Belmont. She's got \$50,000—according to the press—for letting him go. But she hasn't got any such thing. The Belmonts don't cough that freely. She's been told that the Belmonts will give out that they gave that much to get rid of her. If she's got \$10,000 she's most fortunate. Indeed, it would not surprise me to learn that the Belmonts' lawyers have convinced her that there's that much money in the advertisement that she was bought off by the Belmonts. Clearly, however we may view this large issue, we must have a fund for the pensioning of chorus girls, and Mr. Carnegie is the man to furnish it. He might incorporate it with the hero fund. He could give the girl a hero—or heroine—medal for her bravery in marrying a Belmont. And think of the number of girls such a fund would save from marrying Nat Goodwin! It has been calculated that every one of the 18,400,000 show girls in this country must eventually marry Nat if she lives long enough. When the show girl feels

that marriage feeling stealing over her, when she is moved to obey the matrimonial impulse, she should have one place to which she could go by way of escape—to the fun. Thus she would be saved to art and to the statistics of centenarians. Thus she would be saved from the youthful millionaire, and he from her, and we from both, in the newspapers. Married chorus girls would destroy the show business—why, even stars are not allowed to marry. This marriage business must be stopped. As many affairs of the left hand as you please, for the sake of the drama and our first families. But marriage! That is atavism. Marriage, that is the enemy!—St. Louis Mirror.

SUCH A CRAZY PATRIOT.

But Son Couldn't See Any Great Glory in the Game.

Joe Gunn was a soldier and a patriot. He had fought in the Soudan war and the Boer war, and though he had only one leg, and one eye left, he vowed that he was ready to fight again whenever the empire called.

Joe had one son, of whom he was mighty proud, and who had been christened Baden-Powell Kitchener Gunn, after a certain well known general.

Joe's ambition was to make a soldier of his son, and he lost no opportunity of recounting his exploits and displaying his wooden leg and his medals.

Baden-Powell Kitchener paid some attention to his father's yarns but when the Labor party passed its conscription act, and he found he had to drill, instead of playing cricket, football, and other games, he commenced to think very hard, and finally came to the conclusion that soldiering was no good for him and he refused to drill.

He was summoned before a magistrate, who questioned him, and who also had Joe Gunn called as a witness.

The magistrate found that Joe Gunn was one of the "bull-dog breed," while the son—Baden-Powell Kitchener—was of a new generation, and given somewhat to thinking for himself.

"Why don't you obey the law and drill?" the magistrate asked. "Why don't you prepare to defend your country?"

"I haven't got any country to defend," Baden-Powell Kitchener answered. "And I see that soldiers are always being sent against the working class when they go on strike. If I became a soldier I might have to shoot my own mates or go to another country to kill the workmen and women there."

The magistrate was startled. He rubbed his eyes and coughed to gain time. After he had regained his breath, he returned to the attack.

"But consider the noble example of your father," he said. "He fought and bled for his country. Look what a heroic sire he is, covered, as he is, with medals."

B. P. K. grinned at the bench and shook his head. "When I look at dad's wooden leg and glass eye, he doesn't seem to be a very heroic figure," he said. "I used to believe he was a hero, but now I think he must have been insane to allow himself to be used as he was."

Magistrate—"How do you make that out?"

B. P. K.—"Well, sir, he went to the Soudan and fought to take it, but he didn't get any of it for himself. He got a piece of colored ribbon and a brummy medal instead. He lost one eye there, sir, and he didn't see the folly of his conduct."

Magistrate—"Your father is a patriot."

B. P. K.—"Yes, sir; and he went to the Boer war and helped to take South Africa from the Boers, but he didn't get any of that country. He had one leg shot off, but he got another piece of colored ribbon and a bauble, and when he came back he said he was amply repaid."

Magistrate—"Yes, and I feel sure, if an enemy came here tomorrow, your father would be the first to shoulder a gun in defense of his home country."

B. P. K.—"Yes, sir, that is why we think father is a bit mad. He doesn't own any land, and the house we live in belongs to a landlord who rents every few months, yet he swears he would fight for the landlord's house and land against any enemy who came to take the property from him. We tell dad he might lose his other leg, his arms, his other eye, or even his life, but he says he wouldn't mind if he lost everything fighting for his king and country. Mother often chaffs him and says that if she had known he was so silly she would have had his head seen to before ever he went to the Soudan."

Magistrate (to area officer)—"The case is dismissed."

COMPETITION.

By A. G. Craig.

The recent discussion of the large cost of distribution of milk has brought out some startling facts that are typical of capitalist production. The dealers claim that in spite of the fact that the selling price is twice what the farmers get for it, a very slight increase will cause them to lose money. The newspapers have talked all around the question, and expressed the greatest surprise that the cost of distribution should be so great. The explanation of the mystery is very simple, if one considers the general rules of the game of business. It is generally accepted as the first principle of economics that every dealer will lay for as little as possible and sell for as much as possible. At the same time, when dealers are in competition with one another for trade, it is assumed they will try to get trade away from one another by underselling one another.

By this "higgling of the market" it is assumed that prices will be kept down to a point where only the most skillful traders are able to make a profit, and the cost of distribution will be kept within reasonable bounds. The economists seem to have had in mind a market place, with all the dealers exposing their wares in full view of one another, and customers wandering around comparing prices.

"Good morning, Mr. Jones, how much are eggs today?"

"Sixteen cents a dozen, Mrs. De Lancy."

"Are they strictly fresh?"

"I gathered them myself this morning."

"But Mr. Smith is selling them for fourteen cents."

"That may well be, Mrs. De Lancy, for his are not fresh. I know for a fact that he has not brought an egg into his place for four days."

"Well, I can't be too choicy, Mr. Jones, for I am a poor woman, and so long as they ain't rotten, I guess I can get along with Mr. Smith's eggs at fourteen cents."

"Well, I'll tell you what I'll do, Mrs. De Lancy. I can't afford to sell mine for fourteen cents, but I'll sell you two dozen for twenty-nine cents."

"Well, Mr. Jones, I'll go and see if I can make Mr. Smith come down, and if I can't I'll take your offer."

Now, the learned economist will cheerfully admit that this sort of thing does not always happen, but he will insist that if something like it happens part of the time, the effect is the same as though it were the regular thing. The dealer will be forced to sell as cheaply as he can for fear his competitors will undersell him. This idea is at the bottom of the anti-trust agitation. It is recognized that when the dealers pool their interests the price will be anything they please. Hence the demand that the trusts be "busted" in order that we may get back to the blessings of competition.

But even the most superficial view of modern business conditions will

show that competition does not always keep prices down. It is a well recognized fact that price-cutting is not the only way or even the best way to attract trade. It is practically impossible for the retail purchaser to compare the prices or quality of one dealer with another. The cut price man is looked upon with suspicion. It is taken for granted that the cheaper goods are of poorer quality and the dealer finds his sacrifice unprofitable. On the other hand, it is found that the dealer who advertises freely not only gets the trade, but is actually able to sell at higher prices than his unprogressive competitors. It is well accepted among tradesmen that price-cutting does not pay. Competition consists almost entirely of advertising and choice of the best location. Instead of trying to get the customer to hunt for him, the shrewd dealer goes to the customer. He puts his store where the most customers pass, and he spend vast sums in reaching their attention through advertisements. The result of this condition is that prices tend to go higher all the time. What checks the rise is not at all the fabled "higgling," but the decrease in the number of purchases.

If business were entirely in the hands of monopolies, the same cause would tend to restrict the rise of prices. It makes no difference to the consumer whether he is gouged by a trust or by a host of small dealers. What he has to pay is in any case all the traffic will bear. To the business world the difference between competition and monopoly is great. Given a certain profit on a class of goods, the number of dealers will increase until the total sales will no longer support all of them. Then some of them fail, some barely stay in the game and others make large profits. If the rate of profit goes down, more of them fail until equilibrium is again established. If the rate of profit goes up, more capital is attracted until failures begin again. The result of this condition is that there is no such thing as a "reasonable profit." If the surplus value of the milk business were 150 per cent. instead of 100 per cent., dealers would lose money and failure would result, if the profit were reduced to 149 per cent. Thus, even from the standpoint of individualistic economics, the profit taker has no rights that the public is bound to respect. When business interests are cutting each other's throats, why should not some throat-cutting be done in the public interest? It would be perfectly right and just if, for instance, the milk dealers were required by law to buy and sell milk at a margin that would barely pay the labor and interest on the necessary equipment.

After the useless capital had been squeezed out, the business would be just as profitable as ever, but there would be fewer profit takers. The high cost of living can be reduced only in this way by a wholesale slaughter of business interests, or by taking the distribution of the products of labor entirely out of the hands of private speculators. The progressives, and all those who hope to make things easier for the workers without destroying private enterprise, have a task before them compared to which the establishment of Socialism would be child's play. They must either force business interests to engage in price-cutting competition or they must acquiesce in the formation of monopolies and then force the monopolies to reduce their profits. In either case they would have to encounter the bitter opposition of the world of business. At the same time, since they must refuse to recognize the class struggle, they must depend upon the well-to-do for their campaign funds. They have to force the business men to do the things that every business man is trying hard not to do, and they expect business men to feed the hand that bites them.

Whats the use?

AN EVENING WITH FATHER CLOUGHERTY.

By Wilson B. Killingbeck.

On the invitation of a one-time Catholic friend, I attended a meeting held in the parish house of the leading Catholic church in East Orange. Previous to the lecture some kind of a service was held in the church, so that it was nearly 9:30 p. m. before the chairman opened the meeting.

On previous occasions questions had been barred at these meetings, but on the request of my ex-Catholic friend, the priest in charge promised to allow questions after the lecture, provided they bore on the subject under discussion.

The priest, who acted as chairman, opened the meeting with a strong reprimand to the faithful for not bringing more of an audience and stating "that he had a number of good speakers in view, but would not bring them to speak to half an audience." This was not very flattering to the speaker of the evening, who is one of the faculty of Seton Hall College. However, he proceeded to state that the speaker would discuss the economic viewpoint of Socialism, of course showing its falsity, and then made a strong plea to the audience to send along their old clothes to be distributed among the poor of the parish.

Dr. Clougherty was then introduced. He commenced his address with a story about a donkey being in the woods one dark and stormy night, and, becoming frightened with the thunder and lightning, he stopped, and in answer to the inquiry of the driver, as to why he stopped, the donkey replied "that he needed a little less noise and more light." The good doctor applied the simile to the Catholic church, claiming that the Socialist soap-boxers and other speakers made so much noise and gave so little light, that they, the members of the church, were bewildered. (Rather rough on the audience.) We were then assured that politics are never preached from a Catholic pulpit; but in view of the fact that Socialism promises good things to all men, it was too dangerous a doctrine to be promulgated without opposition.

The materialistic conception of history was the next thing on the program to be torn into shreds—to the entire satisfaction of Dr. Clougherty, who demonstrated his theory by asserting that it is perfectly natural for human beings to look ahead for the future, thus distinguishing them from the beasts. That we want what we produce (a laugh from the Socialists present), and that we all have a desire to propagate our own species. (This was rather startling, coming from Father Clougherty.)

The next surprising statement was that Henry George was the first American Socialist and that he denied the right of private property.

The American Socialist movement, according to Dr. Clougherty, is composed of foreigners, who have not yet come to realize that this is a country of freemen, with equal opportunities to all; that they, the foreigners, have been misled by unscrupulous demagogues, who use them for ulterior purposes.

We learned for the first time that Marx and Engels precipitated the French Revolution.

The late Comrade Wayland was accused of being the proprietor of the Menace and that he had made over \$50,000 out of the Appeal, which was invested in good real estate, and that Comrade Wayland, realizing that he had violated a Socialist principle in becoming the owner of real estate for investment purposes, committed suicide. To prove the falsity of the Socialist contention that labor creates all wealth, the doctor used several illustrations, one being the case of the man who went west and took up government land; and one of these men was industrious, cultivated his land, erected buildings and fences and raised cattle, while the other spent most of his time fishing, hunting and enjoying life in general. Of course, the industrious man became rich and went to Congress, while the other was sold out by the sheriff. This illustration was used to show the absurdity of the Socialist theory that land should be nationalized.

Another illustration was the case of a sculptor, who took a block of inanimate marble and by his skill carved it into a magnificent monument, with a value of several thousand dollars, and then, the doctor said, those wicked Socialists would take the value created and distribute among the

quarrymen, the tool makers, teamsters and others who had contributed to make the marble available.

Just about this time the words of Shakespeare came to the writer's mind:

"But when I sigh, and with a piece of scripture,
Tell them—that God bids us do good for evil;
And thus I clothe my naked villainy
With old odd-ends, stolen forth of holy writ;
And seem a saint, when most I play the devil."

Our suffragette friends would have been interested in the statement "that man was the natural provider for the family, and because of that should always be the ruler of the home; that the big and more powerful animals always eat the smaller. This being a natural law, any one opposing it, violates divine law, and besides it would destroy all incentive, which is the base of all civilization."

Dr. Clougherty demonstrated how rich we were and what little cause there was for such social unrest, by quoting from the New York Commercial to the effect that during the year 1911, in spite of the high cost of living, the average savings of every family in the United States was \$46 and some fractions, which escaped the writer. Somehow this statement of our prosperity did not chime in just right with the chairman's strenuous appeal for old clothes for the parishioners of one of the wealthiest districts in New Jersey.

The hour was getting late, 11 p. m., and no sign of the good father coming to a close and answering the promised questions, and as the writer agreed with the doctor, that in this particular instance, it would be impossible to change human nature—at least the psychological part of the nature of the audience, an orderly retreat was made.

On the way home and far into the night the writer pondered over the address and wondered if that really meant the extent of the opposition to our movement. Whether the audience which listened to the address represented the amount of intelligence to be found in the same number of our opponents in other sections? If so, our victory will scarcely be worth a fight. The poorest equipped soap-boxer in New Jersey, or any other part of the nation, if given the opportunity, would make this college professor look like Theodore the First in retreat to Oyster Bay, after the battle of Armageddon.

A dam built on credulity, on a shifting economic foundation, with sand and cement composed of bigotry and superstition, and an incompetent mechanic, will prove but a sorry barrier against the onward sweep of the coming revolution, based on the everlasting law of economic evolution.

So the evening spent with Father Clougherty was not wasted; it was an inspiration for renewed energy.—New York Call.

WHY ARE YOU WEEPING, SISTER?

By Herbert Kauffman.

Why are you weeping, sister?
Why are you sitting alone?
I'm bent and gray
And I've lost the way!
All my tomorrows were yesterday!
I traded them off for a wanton's pay.
I bartered my graces for silks and laces
My heart I sold for a pot of gold—
Now I'm old.

Why did you do it, sister?
Why did you sell your soul?
I was foolish and fair and my form was rare!
I longed for life's baubles and did not care!
When we know not the price to be paid, we dare.
I listened when vanity lied to me
And I ate the fruit of the bitter tree—
Now I'm old.

Why are you lonely, sister?
Where have your friends all gone?
Friends I have none, for I went the road
Where women must harvest what men have sowed,
And they never come back when the field is mowed;
They gave the lee of the cup to me;
But I was blinded and would not see—
Now I'm old.

Where are your lovers, sister?
Where are your lovers now?
My lovers were many, but all have run;
I betrayed and deceived them every one,
And they lived to learn what I had done;
A poisoned draught from my lips quaffed
And I who knew it was poisoned, laughed—
Now I'm old.

Will they not help you, sister?
In the name of your common sin?
There is no debt, for my lovers bought;
They paid my price for the things I brought;
I made the terms so they owe me naught.
I have no hold, for 'twas I who sold.
One offered his heart, but mine was cold—
Now I'm old.

Where is that lover, sister?
He will come when he knows your need.
I broke his hope and I stained his pride
I dragged him down in the undertide.
Alone and forsaken by me he died.
The blood that he shed is on my head,
For all the while I knew that he bled—
Now I'm old.

Is there no mercy, sister?
For the Wanton whose course is spent?
When a woman is lovely the world will fawn;
But not when her beauty and grace are gone,
When her face is seamed and her limbs are drawn.
I've had my day and I've had my play.
In my winter of loneliness I must pay—
Now I'm old.

What of the morrow, sister?
How shall the morrow be?
I must feed to the end upon remorse.
I must falter alone in my self-made course.
I must stagger alone with my self-made cross.
For I bartered my grace for silks and laces,
My heart I sold for a pot of gold—
Now I'm old.

NEWS FROM WASHINGTON, D. C.

Washington, Dec.—Representative Victor L. Berger, the Wisconsin Socialist in Congress, has offered to the House of Representatives the Socialist solution of the problem confronting New England in the railroad and transportation monopoly held by the New York, New Haven & Hartford Railroad. Representative Berger has proposed that the government buy and operate the New Haven.

The resolution came at the opportune time, when the attention of Congress was focused on the New England transportation monopoly as the result of the New Haven's recent attempt to acquire the Grand Trunk Railroad and because of the unpleasant publicity the road has lately received as a result of the report of the federal investigation of the Westport wreck. Although the resolution was promptly referred to a committee, where it is probably buried, it attracted more than usual interest among the members of Congress.

The resolution provides for the valuation of the New Haven by the Department of Commerce and Labor as a first step of the government in acquiring the road. Commenting upon his action, Mr. Berger said:

"From my standpoint the resolution really was superfluous, since I had already introduced a resolution that the government buy and operate all American railroads, of which the New Haven, of course, is one. However, the time seems opportune to show the value of collective ownership of a railroad because the benefits of such ownership of the New Haven are so apparent that the dullest person can see them."

The following is the text of the resolution:

"Whereas, The management of the New York, New Haven & Hartford Railroad furnishes another glaring illustration that under private ownership and private management of railroads the interest of the public is made subservient to private interest by speculation, poor service and exorbitant rates, to which must be added the great number of accidents demanding a heavy toll of human life; and

"Whereas, Government regulation and supervision as based upon the interstate commerce law have not proved to be satisfactory or efficient in this or any other case; and

"Whereas, Railroads are a public utility which is monopolistic by nature, thus we have only to choose between a private monopoly and a public monopoly; and

"Whereas, The New York, New Haven & Hartford Railroad now enjoys what may be considered a monopoly of the railroad business of New England; therefore, be it

"Resolved, That the Secretary of Commerce and Labor be and he is hereby instructed to furnish to the House of Representatives an estimate of the value of the New York, New Haven & Hartford Railroad, all of its connections, and all of its property, said estimate to furnish the basis for the acquirement of the New York, New Haven & Hartford Railroad by the United States."

Representative Berger has been successful in securing the pardon and release of Harold Ohde, aged 19, of Milwaukee, Wis., from the military prison at Fort Hancock, N. J., where he had still more than a year to serve of a two-year sentence imposed upon him by a military court for the heinous offense of selling a messmate a bottle of liquor and later telling a lie about it. The Socialist congressman took the injustice of the penalty up with President Taft with the result that the young man will be freed this week in time to spend Christmas with his parents.

Young Ohde believed the pictures he saw on the advertising posters of the recruiting officers and enlisted in the coast artillery corps to see the world. After enlistment his view of the world was that portion of the globe which he could see from the kitchen windows of the barracks at Fort Hancock, where he was assigned as cook. His prison sentence following conviction for a trivial offense broke his mother's heart. The boy's father is in ill health, and the appeal for her boy's liberty which Mrs. Ohde wrote to Mr. Berger was pathetic in the extreme.

Mr. Berger took this letter to President Taft, whose heart was also touched by the mother's love. To quiet Mr. Berger's well-grounded apprehensions that department red tape might hold up the release of Ohde until after Christmas, Taft wrote out the pardon papers in Berger's presence, and the Socialist took them directly to General Wood in the War Department.

Representative Berger's first legislative act upon his return to Washington for the winter's session was to take a leading part in a skirmish and debate on the floor of the House which accomplished the usual feat of forcing through an appropriation which had not only not been reported favorably by the appropriations committee, but was opposed by the committee's leading members on the House floor.

The appropriation gives the highly technical Bureau of Standards in Washington \$15,000 with which it will conduct an investigation to devise standards of the best safety appliances to safeguard the lives of workers in the electrical trades. It will be the first work of a humanitarian and social nature which the Bureau of Standards has ever done.

The resolution for the appropriation was introduced by Representative James M. Cox of Ohio, that state's governor-elect. The need of such federal standards of safety devices had been pointed out to him by Mayor N. D. Baker of Cleveland, Ohio.; but although Mr. Cox, who is a member of the appropriations committee, had introduced the item at the committee's sessions, it had been rejected. So, when the great departmental fiscal bill was before the House, Cox introduced his amendment there.

The fight for the resolution presented the strange combination of Cox, a Democrat; "Uncle Joe" Cannon, the reactionary Republican of Illinois, and Berger, all fighting for the appropriation. Chairman Fitzgerald of the appropriations committee, personally took the floor leadership against the amendment when it was seen that sentiment was swinging around in favor of the legislation. The tri-partisan combination gave Mr. Berger the opportunity to indulge in some sarcasm at the expense of several of the old reactionaries of the House, greatly to the amusement of the galleries.

"I am glad that the social conscience is making such good headway in the House," said Mr. Berger in opening his speech. I am glad to see such men as Mr. Cannon, Mr. Hobson (of Alabama) and Mr. Cox unite on the necessity of the protection of human life.

"I think it was Carlisle who said that a human being ought to be worth 100 horses. Now a horse today is worth about \$100 on the average, so by this reckoning a human life is worth \$10,000. I believe it is a conservative estimate that 1,000 men lose their lives in the electrical trades by electrocution each year. So this is a money loss to the nation of \$10,000,000.

"Now, compared with this amount, \$15,000 is a very small sum from any point of view to devote to the purpose of saving some of these lives, especially when we spend a billion dollars a year for other purposes."

As the result of many petitions and letters of complaint which have come to him from settlers in the national forest reserves in Montana, Representative Berger has begun an investigation of an alleged timber trust operating in the national forests and throttling the poor settlers.

The forest service, which has the administration of these reserves, sells its excess timber to logging and saw mill companies, who, it is alleged, have entered into a trust agreement which is ruinous to the homesteaders who also have timber to sell. The forest service sells its excess supply at \$1.25 per 1,000 lumber feet on the stump, a price far below that at which the settler can afford to sell his timber. By keeping the agreement not to invade each

other's territory, the lumber companies are able to force the settler to sell at this price or not at all.

If Berger finds any evidences of collusion between the forest service and the timber trust in Montana he will demand a congressional investigation of the whole affair. He is not, however, condemning the forest service without investigation. Mr. Berger thinks it probable that the service has unwittingly played into the hands of the trust by setting the low price on excess logs, and believes that the remedy will be for Congress to insist that the price be raised.

One writer wrote as follows to the Socialist representative:

"These corporations have platted the entire timber belt into territories, each one appropriating a given territory. Many poor homesteaders encircled in these territories had hoped to be able by selling their timber to keep the wolf from the door while clearing the land and making habitable homes for their families.

"The homesteader goes to the company to sell his timber. They say to him: 'If we buy private timber it will have to be at a great sacrifice, as we can buy all we want from the government at \$1.25 per 1,000.' The poor man goes home and talks to his neighbors. They all agree to see what can be done in getting another company interested. They offer a new company a free millsite and plenty of timber. The first thing the new company will say is: 'Let's see; where are you located?' The manager takes out his Lumbermen's Association map and finds you are located in the Imperial Elevator Company's territory. And he isn't long in telling that he can't consider your proposition, as he doesn't want to butt in on the other fellows.

"This is the result: The poor devil of a settler has his choice either to abandon his claim or be forced to go at times fifty miles from his family to earn enough to keep them during the winter months."

FOR THE VICE REFORMER.

Vice will never be eliminated by raids and arrests, investigations and reports. We have reported and raided for 3,000 years past. We are making the old, old mistake of trying to get rid of bad results without stopping detrimental sources. We are striving to clean the public river of morals at the mouth, while allowing the wells and springs which make the river, to remain poisonous. Society can rid itself of nine-tenths of its vice if it will change fundamental social conditions. Society cannot rid itself of ninety-five one-hundredths of its vice if we remain satisfied with dealing with results instead of causes. Reports do not reform, and arrests do not stop. Society is selfish and sordid at bottom, and so vice creeps out at the top. Stop vice? Where shall we start? Give every girl who works a sufficient wage to support herself. Give every man of mature age a sufficient wage to enable him to marry. Clean up our sordid tenements with their overcrowding and lack of privacy. Eliminate child labor. Give the young people wholesome and sufficient recreation. See that a living wage is paid for all work, so that body and soul may be well nourished and nourished well. Above all things, stop building "rescue" homes and reform schools. We can build 100 rescue homes in every city, and vice will still be with us. We can increase our reform schools a hundredfold, but vice will be ever present. Vice will be with us until we remove the causes of vice. The main causes of vice are economic and social. Morality depends more on a living wage than on rescue homes.

Will vice—or virtue—be victorious?—The Chicago Butterfly.

"NOT GUILTY"

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There are a few copies left of the revised edition "Industrial Wars in Colorado," which includes both editions of "The Cripple Creek Strike," giving a detailed history of the famous strike, including the political campaign of 1904 and the unseating of Alva Adams. "Labor's Greatest Conflicts" is included as an appendix, and all bound together, making an illustrated volume of 600 pages, bound in cloth, sent postpaid, \$1.50, while they last. Write the author.

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SOCIALISM—A DREAM?

Contention of Anti-Socialists Does Not Meet the Issue.

You have often heard opponents of Socialism try to dismiss it by saying "Socialism is a dream." But that's no way of dismissing it. That's rather the best endorsement for it. It all depends on the point of view.

Let us see.

Socialism would make the working man economically free. He would be the builder of his own fortunes.

Socialism would forever settle the harassing question of securing a livelihood, and a livelihood with example remuneration.

Socialism would not make man submit to industrial exploitation; it would not compel a working man to sell himself to an employer for whom he would have to produce profits. Socialism would release man from that yoke.

Socialism would not make same workers toil at the height of their endurance and of 10, 9, or 8 hours a day, and compel others to tramp the streets in hunger and rage.

Socialism would not rob the country's children of the play, the amusement, the education and the culture they ought to receive; it would not think of transforming the youthful bodies into agencies of profit.

Socialism would not create an army of criminals—criminals who in the last analysis become such solely through lack of economic opportunity, or a sufficient remuneration for honest labor.

Socialism would give all mankind a chance to work out their destiny.

To all of this our capitalist opponents retort: "A dream!"

A dream! is it?

A dream to give mankind a square deal, is it?

A dream to throw off all exploitations, is it?

A dream to improve the world, hey?

A dream to raise men, women and children to higher levels, eh?

A dream to remove crime, misery, and starvation—what?

A dream to see things move forward—yes?

Yes, a dream which is going to be made a reality by the Socialists.

But it's a veritable nightmare to the capitalists.

It's a "dream" because those grafters can't conceive of anybody excepting themselves gobbling up all the good things of life.

It's a "dream" because they think they are destined to ride the backs of labor forever.

It's a dream because the scheming, pilfering robber crew think it is theirs to say what shall be the social and economic system of a people and don't reckon with the power and the determination of a class, whom they are expropriating.

So were all new social, political or scientific ideas that the world has seen "dreams" to the social grafting bunch who in past ages thrived upon the oppressed and benighted.

But that cry of "dreams" did not thwart the determination of those who clamored for better conditions, for newer ideas, and the cry will not thwart the Socialist organized working class.

The cry of "dream," hurled at Socialism by its opponents, is the best endorsements of Socialism. Contrariwise, that cry is a gauge by which to judge those on whose lips it is found.—Sydney People.

A CAUSE FOR ALARM.

There is one peculiar feature of the ever-growing Socialist vote in this country which plutocrats and politicians cannot understand; and what the human species cannot understand, it is inclined to fear.

The capitalist class and its henchman, the politician, may well fear this: the Socialist party never buys a vote. Although there are now thousands of Socialists in office in the various states, no ballot for them was ever purchased by promise of future emolument to the voter. Indeed no Socialist candidate can promise a job to any man for such offices as are to be filled by appointment within the power of an elected Socialist official, are not his to give. They can be filled only with the sanction of the rank and file of his party.

The Socialist party never purchases a vote in any other way; neither with money, whisky, beer, cigars or promise. It never even asks for a vote for the vote's sake—for the mere purpose of elevating a man to office.

The mission of the Socialist party is to educate the working class and those whose interests are allied with the wage-earners, to a knowledge of their political class interests. It teaches a scientific theory of social evolution, a sound philosophy and interpretation of history, a system of political economy which is uncontroversial.

When the worker understands Socialism he votes the Socialist ticket; his vote is no longer for sale; it cannot be bought. It becomes an intelligent vote, a vote for principle. No blind following of leaders, no devotion to petty bosses, no superstitious acceptance of foolish political formulas, no voting because "father voted that ticket" is to be found in the ranks of the Socialist party.

An intelligent, an educated vote is the most dangerous thing in a democracy—to the ruling classes.

Well may the plutocrat and the politician fear such a vote.—Public Ownership.

AN ECONOMIC HEGIRA.

The exodus of American farmers to the Canadian northwest has received a new interpretation. Banking Reform, which is devoted to a "reform" of currency, reaches the sage conclusion that American farmers are moving to Canada chiefly because the rate of interest does not exceed 7 per cent., owing to Canada's superior banking system.

The fact that 150,000 American citizens crossed the Canadian border last year is not to be explained by the lower rate of interest which prevails in the Canadian northwest as compared with the higher rate which prevails in the western states. To a certain extent, though very slight, Canada's currency system may have contributed to the economic inducements that have moved American citizens to seek homes in the undeveloped regions of the northwestern provinces.

The principal reason for the American hegira to Canada is to be found in the opportunities to obtain cheap land with the promise of profitable yields of grain if cultivated and of an immense increase in value if held for investment. It is the same reason that led to the vast immigration from Europe to the United States and the westward march that has terminated at the shores of the Pacific ocean.

Very few, if any, American citizens would move to Canada if there were equal opportunities at home to obtain land. The land which remains in the public domain is unfitted for agricultural uses unless irrigated. To get land in the United States it is necessary to buy it. Land values are constantly increasing. A few years ago there were thousands and thousands of acres of land to be had in northern Wisconsin merely for paying the taxes on it. Today the land that was then deemed to be worthless is being sold at from \$10 to \$30 an acre. Land in the Dakotas that fifteen years ago sold as low as \$5 an acre, is now valued at \$50 to \$75 an acre.

From our own knowledge of agricultural conditions in the prairie section of our own west and Canada, we are convinced that Wisconsin opportunities are far better for the man of small means, if he has the muscle and the grit needed to "clear up" a farm. But we are likewise aware that there have been splendid opportunities in Canada to profit from unearned increment, and the growing of wheat on a scale which requires the investment of a considerable capital. To the Iowa farmer, with \$15,000 or \$20,000 in his pocket, after selling his farm, Canada has offered an opportunity to be found nowhere else for land speculation and profitable wheat growing which he has not been slow to grasp.

Canada's attractions have been purely economic. Americans, after arriving there, have found the governmental machinery to be more responsive to the popular will and more democratic than in the republic, and this fact has dissipated the prejudices which they may have entertained against becoming the subjects of a distant monarch. But there are no Americans moving to Canada to enjoy the blessings of its government. They go to Canada because they cannot resist the force of economic determinism.—Milwaukee Leader.

In Memoriam.

Mercur, Utah, December 15, 1912

Herewith find a copy of resolutions adopted by Mercur Miners' Union No. 199, as follows:

Whereas, Grim Death has again invaded our ranks and has taken from our midst a true and loyal brother, John L. Bruno;

Resolved, That Mercur Miners' Union 199 extend our heartfelt sympathy to the bereaved wife, children and relatives of our departed brother. Be it further

Resolved, That a copy be sent to the family of our deceased brother, and that a copy be spread on the minutes of the meeting; also that a copy be sent to the Miners' Magazine for publication. Be it also further

Resolved, That our charter be draped for a period of thirty days.

Signed: JOHN GRACHAN,
FRANK TONETTI,
P. J. KELLY,
Committee.

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