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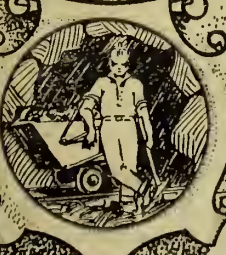
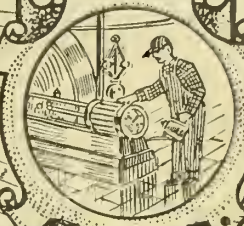
INDEPENDENCE
EDUCATION ORGANIZATION

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



DENVER, COLORADO, FEBRUARY 6, 1913
VOLUME XIII. 24c NUMBER 502.

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EDUCATION INDEPENDENCE ORGANIZATION

MINERS MAGAZINE

Published Weekly by the WESTERN FEDERATION OF MINERS



Denver, Colorado,
Thursday, February 6, 1913.

Volume XIII., Number 502
\$1.00 a Year

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 Communications not in conformity with this notice will not be published.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

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

John M. O'Neill, Editor

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

SUBSCRIBE for the Miners' Magazine, subscription \$1.00 per year.

THE STRIKE is still on at Alta, Utah.

STAY AWAY FROM PORCUPINE, ONTARIO!

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

SUBSCRIBE for the Miners' Magazine for the year 1913. The small sum of \$1.00 will insure you receiving 52 copies of the official organ of the Western Federation of Miners'.

THE STRIKE AGAINST THE SCRANTON MINE IS STILL ON AT THE TINTIC MINING DISTRICT.

NOTICE.

Miners should keep away from the Tintic mining District. The camps are over-run with idle men, 300 being out of work at the present time. Keep away, as you simply work a hardship on the men who are at work and the local union.

JAMES B. HANLEY, President.
J. W. MORTON, Secretary.

THE REMEDY for private monopoly is collective ownership, and that is Socialism.

THE SECRETARY of Creede Miners' Union has notified headquarters that seventy-five men have been recently laid off the mines at Creede, Colorado, and that idle men seeking employment have but little chance to secure work.

HETTY GREEN, the female financier of Morgan & Co.'s United States, says she didn't care to ride in an automobile because Jesus didn't. Good! Now let Hetty practice some more things that Jesus didn't do. For instance, Jesus didn't lend money at 10 per cent. interest.—Toilers' Defence.

THE DEMOCRATS will be at the pie-counter after March 4th. It is probable that a few million workingmen who aided in securing a Democratic victory, will be taking a hitch in their belts of a few more holes ere the Princeton Professor has served his four years in the White House.

An empty stomach sometimes starts the machinery in the cupalo.

THE GARMENT WORKERS have been making a desperate fight in New York, and regardless of hired thugs and armed policemen, they are standing united and their determined battle for conditions that will enable human beings to escape death by starvation, has forced a number of the factory tyrants to concede some of the demands of the strikers.

THE MORGAN and Rockefeller combinations, which are recognized as the "Money Trust," control holdings estimated at \$40,000,000,000. The "Money Trust" has within its keeping the power to precipitate a crash at any time that will paralyze every industry on this continent.

It is a *joke* to boast of the independence of American citizenship. Morgan and Rockefeller are *Kings* and so-called sovereign citizens are *Slaves*.

THE MINERS of Wharton, New Jersey, demanded an increase of 10 per cent. in their wage scale. The old wage was \$2.00 per day and the mine operators granted the 10 per cent. increase, but raised the work time to eight hours more per week.

The miners refused to accept the terms of the mine owners and declared a strike for the same hours of the former workday and an increase of 10 per cent., with no discrimination against an employé who belonged to a labor organization. The miners have organized and have a membership of 500.

They are standing firm and feel confident of winning the strike.

A VISITOR to an insane asylum saw a guard in charge of about one hundred inmates out for exercise. The visitor inquired of the guard if he was not afraid of being attacked by one of the lunatics. The guard replied, "No, I can liek any one of them." "Yes," said the visitor, "but suppose they all attacked you?" "Oh, there is no fear of that," said the guard, "crazy men don't organize."—Adapted Exchange.

It is a foregone conclusion from the above, that all the crazy men are not inmates of the asylums. There are millions of workingmen who have not brains enough to see the necessity of a labor organization, and the employér as a general rule, refers to such crazy men" as independent.

THE CORPORATE and commercial interests of California that are represented in the Merchants and Manufacturers' Association, are determined, if possible, to convict Clarence Darrow.

The Chicago attorney has been identified with many notable cases involving members of organized labor, and the enemies of unionism are using every effort to place Darrow behind the bars, believing that his conviction and imprisonment would be an effective blow to organized labor.

The prosecution of Darrow will react on the persecutors, for the simple reason that the cause for which Darrow is being hounded will live and grow stronger, and a time will come when the power of the labor movement will sweep opposition aside and make it possible for human beings to enjoy "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness."

THE STRIKE at Mineville, New York, has disclosed the outrageous methods that are utilized to rob the worker out of even the measly wage paid by corporate gluttons. In this issue of the Magazine appears a lengthy communication in answer to the circular letter compiled by the mining company. The circular issued by the company endeavors to make it appear that its slaves have no grounds upon which to base a strike, and presents a verbal picture of the generosity of the operators towards their employés.

But the circular letter of the mining company is but a product of

the imagination of a liar, whose pen does not hesitate to record glaring falsehoods.

The employes have been robbed and the affidavits of 77 men whose names appear in the communication from Mineville, tells a story that tears off the mask from the pretended benevolence of soulless exploiters, who know no honor or justice, that might cause a slight shrinkage in dividends.

WE ARE ALL EQUAL before the law, is receiving some severe jolts in these days when the class struggle is increasing in intensity.

It took but a short time, comparatively, to pass sentence on thirty-eight members and officials of organized labor who were adjudged guilty of transporting dynamite contrary to law.

The judicial department of our government did not hesitate to send these men to prison, but such criminals as Judge Hanford of Washington and Judge Archbald of Pennsylvania, will not be imprisoned, regardless of the fact that their official records are reeking with debauchery. Removal from office will be the only punishment inflicted, although their crimes against justice are like mountains to mole-hills compared with the crimes charged against men who were resisting as best they knew against the conspiracy of an octopus to destroy their organization. "Equal before the law," in this day and age, where *Poverty* is convicted and *Privilege* remains unmolested, is but a comedy, were it not a tragedy to those who feel the outrage of discrimination.

A GROUP of I. W. W. sympathizers were gathered around the campfire by the railroad track. "Are we going on strike for shorter hours next May?" asked one as he shared his handout with his "fellow worker." "No, that was last year," the other replied. "All the I. W. W.'s that I know have been on strike longer than that," spoke up a third. One of their number who had been thinking while the others were loudly talking strike, now rose to his feet and said: "We, who are in the unemployed class—and there are millions of us—must keep a legal residence even if it is only a lodging house, so we can vote ourselves into ownership of this country. We cannot strike when we have no job. Neither can we revolt when they have control of the soldiers, wealth and weapons of war. Vote!" "Heretic," they cried, and fell upon him with sticks and beat him. And so they secured a victory for direct action. Then the policeman—backed up with political power—came along and ran them all into jail.—Oakland World.

JOSEPH FELS, the big manufacturer of Philadelphia, was in Washington recently, and while at the nations capitol, delivered an address on the doctrines of single tax.

In the course of his address, he assailed philanthropy and threw a brick at our Andy, the builder of libraries.

Fels said: "I have made no philanthropic gifts. I give nothing to charity. When I have money to give I give it to justice. The men usually called philanthropists, as a rule, uphold existing injustice, but give money to relieve victims of the wrongs they uphold.

"One conspicuous example is the man who has given enormous sums to found libraries and to abolish war. I do not wish to be understood as questioning his sincerity, but I have my doubts. It is, nevertheless, true that he is doing all that one man of influence can do to perpetuate the evils he is endeavoring to relieve.

"The man is typical of all so-called philanthropists. The most prominent supporters of charitable institutions in our cities are men who bitterly oppose abolition of wrongs that create poverty. These philanthropists may well be described as men who give money to repair a little of the harm they themselves have helped to do, or, as Tolstoy has well stated, 'men willing to do anything for the poor except get off their backs,' "

THERE IS NOTHING quite so shocking to our capitalistic patriots as the Socialist conception of international unity. Internationalism, to them, is akin to treason. How can any one be a good American who does not hate foreigners?

If there has been any genuine American "patriot" it is the American steel industry. It has been protected against the competition of the German and English capitalists engaged in producing steel for profit. The laird of Skibo never was quite so patriotic as when he was appealing to congress for higher duties to exclude the degrading and contributed to the increase of American capital that it might not be demoralizing importations of steel from Europe. No man could be a real American who did not believe that American capital was entitled to be protected from the pauper capital of Europe.

The American people—patriotic to the core—have safeguarded and contaminated through association or competition with foreign capital—that it might be kept separate from the capital of Europe and free from the curse and taint of internationalism.

The steel capital has waxed strong. We now have enough millionaires in Pittsburg and New York to make every true American feel proud of his country. With the high buildings and the large fortunes that characterize the United States, it is a prouder boast to be an American citizen than it was to be a citizen of Rome, when to be a Roman was to be first among kings and envied of mankind.

Sharper than a serpent's tooth is the ingratitude of a thankless

child. The steel trust, which the American people have fostered and protected and made prosperous, has struck hands with foreign capital. William Ellis Corey, former president of the United States Steel corporation, in testifying in the suit for the dissolution of the trust, stated that there is an international agreement between the steel manufacturers in which they have apportioned the world's markets among themselves.

The steel trust has become international.

In face of such un-American conduct, what will become of our glorious institutions and insure their perpetuity when the workers of the world shall unite and the brotherhood of man shall become a reality?—Milwaukee Leader.

THE ALARMING FIGURES made public by the experts employed by the Pujo Money Trust Investigating Committee regarding the capital controlled by the Morgan and Rockefeller groups of financiers, should be printed and reprinted in every newspaper in the country and paste on the dead walls and in every public place where even the most indifferent and stupid citizens may view the facts and endeavor to realize their tremendous significance.

The estimates of the Money Trust Committee and its experts place the total assets of the interests controlled by Morgan and Rockefeller at \$39,711,328,678, divided as follows:

Industrial and public utilities.....	\$15,636,853,814
Railroad properties	17,250,000,000
Banks and other financial institutions.....	4,000,911,932
Mining and oil properties.....	1,500,949,932
Miscellaneous	1,322,613,000
Total	\$39,711,328,678

It is as certain and plain as mathematics that if two men can, within the short space of a lifetime, centralize under their control forty billions of wealth, or more than two-thirds of the capital invested—and which control includes all the principal avenues of profit-taking—in less than a score of years these two men, or their successors, will have secured possession of the remaining one-third of active capital in existence, and which is at present actually controlled by them indirectly.

It is small wonder that Mr. Baker, one of Morgan's ablest lieutenants, admitted upon the witness stand at the Pujo committee hearing, that wealth had been centralized so efficiently in the hands of a few that the danger point had been reached.

It is not pleasant to contemplate the possibilities that will accompany the next panic that strikes the country, whether it is precipitated by the money oligarchy or is produced by natural causes inherent in the capitalist system.

The Morgan-Rockefeller interests can, by converting only a small part of their wealth into collateral and locking their vaults, bring the whole country to their feet and name their own price to take over the industries that they do not now completely dominate, must be conceded by every intelligent person.

Then the game will be at an end; the capitalist system will have run its course; the new slavery will be here.

The question for you to decide, Mr. American Citizen, is, shall the nation own the trusts or shall the trusts own the nation?—Cleveland Citizen.

THE EXECUTIVE BOARD of the Industrial Workers of the World, at a session held at New Bedford, Massachusetts, made a report, from which the following is taken:

"Not the least effective weapon in this program of deceiving and misleading the workers as to their true economic interests is the aid and assistance rendered the bosses by the small coterie of self-appointed saviors that have infested the Socialist movement of America. This aggregation is chiefly composed of petty business men of doubtful business ability, shyster lawyers, whose mental equipment prevented them from success in competition with better equipped members of that profession; doctors who failed to build up a practice; idle millionaires, who look upon the labor movement as a good fad to kill time and gain notoriety, and a number of other failures who were not successful in establishing themselves securely on the backs of the workers. They are devoting their petty talents to further misleading the workers in order to curry favor with the masters and thus enable them to win a place at the pie counter politics. They repeat every foul slander that has been coined by mouthpieces of the capitalist class."

Socialists who have gone down into their pockets and furnished some of the *needful* to the "Slander Syndicate" should congratulate themselves on their wisdom.

The Haywoods, Hazelwoods, St. Johns, Trautmans and all the other wind artists who have maligned and reviled bona fide labor bodies as *scab* organizations and the Socialist party as an ally of Capitalism, must have laughed at the numerous "Rubes" who parted with their money to support "Direct Actionists" who have a perpetual thirst for *soup*. The fellows who drafted the report throwing slime upon Socialists do not give their own records.

Their records, painted in the choicest language, would be too dirty for admission through the United States Mails. Members of organized labor and members of the Socialist party whose sympathies can be touched by every squeal for help that comes from chronic loafers whose hardest work is writing appeals for finance, deserve to be *hit* and the coarse calumny from the pens of veteran ingrates may teach some whole some lessons to the unsophisticated.

Capitalism Digging Its Grave

EUGENE V. DEBS has been arrested on an indictment returned against him in the Federal court for the Third district of Kansas. Debs is charged with obstructing justice.

Debs brands the indictment and arrest as an effort to crush the Appeal to Reason.

After his arrest, Debs gave bonds to the amount of \$1,000 for his appearance at the May term of the United States court of the Third Kansas district, and made the following statement: "The Federal prosecutor in Kansas hired an ex-convict, it seems, to come to me and plead for financial aid so that he could go to parts unknown and start life anew. I promised him the means he pleaded for, and now I am indicted on the charge of having attempted to induce a witness to leave the jurisdiction of the court. I promise that if this case comes to trial there will be some interesting developments before it comes to a close."

During the past few years various schemes have been put into operation having for their purpose the suppression of the most powerful Socialistic journal in this country. The capitalists of America have realized the growing power of the publication printed at Girard, Kansas, and have decreed that it must be put out of existence.

The Appeal to Reason has been merciless in its exposition of the

corruption and debauchery of public officials and has never hesitated in throwing the searchlight into the high places of public life, in order that the working class might be able to see clearly the outrages that were committed by that element of society who boast of their reverence for law and order.

The Appeal to Reason tore the mask from the brutal face of Capitalism in order that oppressed humanity might know something of the heartlessness of economic tyrants.

The treachery, hypocrisy and depravity of political lepers received no clemency from the Appeal to Reason, and the sanctified sinner who wore the cloak of Christianity to hide his villainy did not escape the shot of the Gatling gun at Girard, Kansas.

It is no wonder that Capitalism has summoned all its allies to murder a publication that dared to tell the truth.

It is no surprise that Debs, the most brilliant writer and orator in America, should become a victim of the vengeance of Privilege.

Debs, however, will not shrink from the battle. He will face his enemies without a tremor, and when his speech has been heard in the judicial sanctum of a Federal court in Kansas, Capitalism will be nearer its deathbed, and when that speech has been read by the millions of workers of this country, the Socialist party will loom up like a David to kill the Goliath of exploitation.

A Near View of "Bill" Haywood

Belleville, Ill., January 15.

THERE WAS A TIME when I admired "Bill" Haywood and looked upon him as a man possessed of honesty and integrity. I looked upon him as one of the greatest men in the American labor movement. I defended him on every occasion and held up his hands in the face of threats of expulsion from one of the international conventions of the United Mine Workers. I looked upon him as a man who could do no wrong.

I saw him in company with Moyer and Pettibone taken from Colorado to Idaho and held in prison, and my admiration grew for him. With others who were interested in his liberation, I worked night and day to raise money and create a sentiment to bring about his freedom. To my mind there was none greater than "Bill" Haywood. Others of the United Mine Workers held him in the same esteem and thousands of dollars were contributed by our organization for his defense. He was acquitted and released from prison. He came to the following international convention at Indianapolis, thanked the United Mine Workers for their loyal support to him, and said it was largely due to their efforts that he was again a free man. He told those delegates that they represented one of the most progressive constituencies in the labor movement.

With me there was only one "Bill" Haywood, but I knew him only at long range. I have since been in closer touch with him and have seen more of his work. I now see a different "Bill" Haywood than when he was an official of the Western Federation of Miners. My confidence in his integrity has been shattered. I can no longer look upon him as a man who has the welfare of the workers at heart. When I met him in New York last year he began a tirade against the United Mine Workers, the organization that had done so much to bring about his freedom and that he had characterized while a guest at our convention as one of the most progressive in America. He insisted that the United Mine Workers are not entitled to any more members than are "willing" to pay dues. According to Haywood, it is reactionary to compel men to belong to a union, while in effect our policy is not different in this respect than that of the syndicalists of France. The latter look upon it as entirely revolutionary to compel the workers to join the organization.

In his recent speech in Denver, Haywood characterized the United Mine Workers as the most reactionary organization in the A. F. of L., while according to his mind the International Typographical Union is the most progressive. What change has overcome the United Mine Workers of America since Haywood visited the convention a number of years ago and when he considered it one of the most progressive in America? The facts are that since the convention that Haywood visited the United Mine Workers have issued more progressive and

revolutionary declarations than any other bona fide labor organization in the United States. Peculiar, indeed, that the United Mine Workers of America, which, according to Haywood now, is the most reactionary organization, should be applied to by men who are not working at the production and handling of coal and coke in or around the mine and coke ovens for charters that they might receive the protection of this "reactionary" organization. Peculiar, indeed, that within the last year more than 100,000 men working in the coal and coke industry have joined this "reactionary" organization. Can Haywood say as much about his most "progressive" organization?

My faith in Haywood's honesty has also been dispelled. I looked upon him as a man who would handle the financial affairs of his organization with the greatest possible accuracy, but investigation since his liberation from prison has proven that he is not only an ingrate, but that he is far from being honest in the handling of funds that belong to the Western Federation of Miners. It would be exceedingly wrong for me to make this statement unless I furnished proof of its truthfulness, and it is not at all pleasant for me to relate what I am going to, but I consider that recent developments demand it.

Shortly after Haywood had been released from prison, the Western Federation of Miners sent him throughout the country to solicit funds for the defense of Steve Adams, who was still in jail. Haywood came to Collinsville, Ill., where he collected something over \$17; the following day he came to Belleville, Ill., where a meeting was held and \$31 was collected. That same night two meetings were held in St. Louis, where \$75 was turned over to him. All of this money was intended, and it was so stated at the meetings, for the defense of Steve Adams. But up to this day not a cent of this money, according to advices from the headquarters of the W. F. M., has been turned over to the office. It has been the long-standing custom of the W. F. M. that its representatives shall receive no money intended for strike or defense funds; that it shall be sent direct to headquarters; but having confidence in Haywood, it was turned over to him, thinking that he would forward it to where it properly belonged. I wonder how Haywood would have felt had those who solicited funds for his defense failed to turn it over to the W. F. M. Had everyone who was active in the interest of Haywood's release from jail done as he did in the instances mentioned, Haywood would either be occupying a prison cell or would long ago have met his fate on the gallows. The life of Steve Adams should have been as dear to Haywood as was the life of Haywood to those who gathered funds and created a favorable sentiment for his release, but his actions would indicate that his only concern was "Bill" Haywood.

The members of the United Mine Workers of America, organized labor in general, and the Socialists should know with whom they are dealing when they are warring over the personality of "Bill" Haywood.—Adolph Germer, in United Mine Workers' Journal.

The General Strike

VII. DIRECT ACTION AND ANARCHISM.

By Robert Hunter.

(Courtesy of The National Socialist.)

DIRECT ACTION AND ANARCHISM have much in common. Both lay emphasis on a series of oppositions. Both are anti-parliamentary, anti-patriotic, anti-militarist, anti-votes, anti-dues, anti-insurance, anti-contracts. Both believe in

a vague federalism of ill-defined and hastily-grouped workers. The Revolutionary unionists declare for the general strike, which is a form of the insurrections urged by the anarchists. The sabotage of the Revolutionists bears a striking resemblance to the anarchists' propaganda of the deed, even when it leads to assassination. Leadership is abhorred by both, but an inner circle of daring revolutionists is advocated by both. "We must form," said Bakunine, "not indeed the army of revolution—the army can never be anything but the people—but yet a sort of staff for the revolutionary army * * * * No very great number of such men is requisite. A hun-

dred revolutionists, firmly and seriously bound together, are enough for the international organization of all Europe."

This idea of an inner clique to lead the ignorant and inert mass plays a great part in both the anarchist and syndicalist movements. Bakunine formed a secret society in the midst of the International Workingmen's Association, and after that organization was abandoned in 1871 the anarchists continued to advocate the same tactics in subsequent conferences. Today we find Pouget, the leader of the French syndicalists, insisting that the enlightened minority in the French labor unions should be the unrestrained guardians of the organization. He says: "The conscious minority will act without taking account of the obstinate mass of the unconscious who have not yet been animated by the spirit of revolt and may be considered as human zeros." And Pouget concludes: "Thus appear the enormous difference in method which distinguishes syndicalism from democracy; the latter, by the mechanism of universal suffrage, gives direction to the unconscious * * * and stifles the minorities who bear within them the hopes of the future. The syndicalist method gives a result diametrically opposed to this. Impulsion is instilled into the conscious, the rebels, and all favorably inclined are called upon to act and to participate in the movement." The position here taken by Pouget is incorporated into the very constitution of the French Federation of Labor, which makes it possible for a closely organized minority to completely control that organization. The trade union with a score of members has the same voting power in the Federation as the trade union with 10,000 members. Opposition to majority rule has always been as much a cardinal principle of the anarchists as it is of Tammany Hall, and it today stands as the policy and practice of the French unions.

The anarchists in the international fought as the Revolutionary unionists do today, for what is called purely economic action. They had no faith in political parties, in parliamentary methods, or, in fact, in any effort to capture public powers. For instance, the anarchist, Bordat, said before the Lyons tribunal in 1893, what most of the Revolutionary unionists today would thoroughly assent to. "To send workingmen to a parliament," he declared, "is to act like a mother who would take her daughter to a brothel." "Working-class candidates," said Bakunine, "transferred to bourgeois conditions of life into an atmosphere of completely bourgeois political ideas, ceasing to be actually workers in order to become statesmen, will become bourgeois, and possibly will become even more bourgeois than the bourgeois themselves. For it is not the men who make positions, but, on the contrary, positions which make the men." Such have been the criticisms of the anarchists levied against working-class political action. Anyone who will turn to the literature of Revolutionary unionism will find again and again the same thought. In advocating trade union action, however, the anarchists always opposed officials and sought a de-centralized federation of groups. The chief purpose of the vague organization they advocated was little more than to enable the workers to keep in touch with each other and to serve the needs of a quick and widespread insurrection. They believed that the world was on the verge of an upheaval, and that mere agitation would suffice to create a violent revolution that would usher in the new order of society. Parliaments would then disappear, but trade unions were necessary, for, as Prof. Hins declared at Basle in 1869, they represented in the germ the organization of the new social system. "Bakunine glorifies," says Plechanoff, "the 'essentially economic' tactics of the old English trade unions, and has not the faintest idea that it was these very tactics that made the English workers the tail of the Liberal party."

The Revolutionary unionists today believe, as the anarchists always have believed, that the world is ready for a tremendous upheaval. The new order is waiting to be born, and the sole work to be done is to arouse in the people the will to start the revolution. How much like the views of the syndicalists, as given in an earlier paper, are the following declarations of Bakunine and Kropotkin! "The revolution, as we understand it," said Bakunine, "must on its very first day completely and fundamentally destroy the state and all state institutions." The workers must then proceed to the "confiscation of all productive capital and instruments of labor in favor of association of laborers, which will use them for collective production."

"The first act of the social revolution," says Kropotkin, "will be a work of destruction. * * * The government will be overthrown first." And following that "the people will also, without waiting for any directions from above, abolish private property by forcible expropriation. * * * The reorganization of production will not be possible in a few days, especially as the revolution will presumably not break out in all Europe at a time. The people will, consequently, have to take temporary measures to assure themselves, first of all, of food, clothing, and shelter. First, the populace of the insurgent cities will take possession of the dealers' stocks of food and of the grain warehouses and the slaughter houses. Volunteers make an inventory of the provisions found and distribute printed tabular statements by the millions. Hereafter, free taking of all that is present in abundance; rations of what has to be measured out, with preference to the sick and the weak; a supply for deficiencies by importation from the country (which will come in plenty if we produce things that the farmer needs and put them at his disposal), and also by the inhabitants of the city entering upon the cultivation of the royal parks and meadows in the vicinity. The people will take possession of the dwelling houses in like manner. Again volunteers make lists of the available dwellings and distribute them. People come together by streets, quarters, districts, and agree about the allotment of the dwellings. But the evils that will at first still have to be borne are soon to be done away; the artisans of the building trades need only work a few hours a day, and soon the over-spacious dwellings that were on

hand will be sensibly altered and model houses, entirely new, will be built. The same procedure will be followed with regard to clothing. The people take possession of the great clothiers' establishments and volunteers list the stocks. People take freely what is on hand in abundance, in rations what is limited in quantity. What is lacking is supplied in the shortest of time by the factories with their perfected machines."

I quote the above statements of the two chief anarchists to illustrate the similarity between their views and those advocated by the syndicalists. The latter are extremely vague regarding the actual procedure of the general strike. Some of them believe that the general strike may be solely a peaceable abstention from work. Most of them have, however, been forced in discussion to agree that a peaceable general strike would surely meet with defeat. As Buisson says: "If the general strike remains the revolution of folded arms, if it does not degenerate into a violent insurrection, one cannot see how a strike of fifteen, thirty, or even sixty days could bring into the industrial form of government and into the present social system changes great enough to determine their fall." To be sure, the revolutionary unionists do not lay so much emphasis on the abolition of government as do the anarchists, but their plan leads to nothing less than that. If the capitalist class is to be locked out—whatever that may mean—one must conclude that the workers intend in some manner without the use of public powers to gain control of the tools of production. In any case, they will be forced, in order to achieve any possible success, to take the factories, the mines, and the mills, and to put the work of production into the hands of the masses. If the state interferes, as it undoubtedly will, in the most vigorous manner, the strikers will be forced to fight the state. In other words, we shall see the general strike become an insurrection and the people without arms carrying on a civil war against the armies of the government. We might, of course, pass over with light hearts much of the above interesting and harmless speculation were it not for the violent and bitter attacks made by both anarchists and syndicalists upon any form of political party action. We can afford to be tolerant toward any positive proposition, and even adverse criticism, except when they menace organization. When, however, a group of men conspire to create suspicion and to promote distrust of all Socialist party action, we are forced not only to defend ourselves, but even to put the proposals of our opponents under critical analysis. And the general strike of the syndicalists is only the insurrection of the anarchists in disguise.

Indeed, syndicalism, as a whole, has been defined as anarchism in disguise. Certainly the entire forces of anarchism have been turned to the service of the syndicalist movement. Emma Goldman, Alexander Berkman, and other anarchists in New York have recently formed a Syndicalist Educational League, and from now on, even in this country, every assault made by the anarchists upon the Socialist movement will be labeled "Syndicalism" or "Direct Action." The marriage of anarchism and syndicalism is, of course, a natural and legitimate union, and we must expect to see in the near future under its new guise an extensive growth in anarchist propaganda. So long as the anarchists were excluded from the unions and divorced from every section of the labor movement by the Marxian elements, they could only keep alive their doctrines by individual acts of violence. But in recent years the anarchists have not only gained a strong position in the labor movement of the Latin countries, they have also gained a hearing in other countries through policies which, however old in their philosophy, bear new and striking labels.

And it is perhaps inevitable that the views of the anarchists should gain a larger and larger following. Political action is slow, and many of the younger, the most petulant and impulsive, are impatient. Furthermore, the Socialist movement has become so extensive that while it is fundamentally more revolutionary, it no longer appears revolutionary. Its tone is quieter, its reasoning is saner, and its members include a multitude who are no less determined because they are less given to fanaticism. Great halls, theaters and lyceums are now common meeting places of the party, and such assemblies have not the irresponsible recklessness of the old talking revolutionists assembled in the back room about the stove. The discussions are kept to well defined points and lead to definite, concrete forms of action, instead of ranging over the entire gamut of human problems and leading to no action whatever. In the little circles of revolutionaries in the early days there was room for every point of view. Freedom of thought was unlimited, the play of wits had no end. Every theory of economics, sociology, ethics, religion and politics were handled without gloves. It was a never-ending day of never-ending talk. But the seeds those little circles of sectarians distributed throughout the world are today bearing fruit. Men are setting down to the cold proposition of massing their armies and winning their battles. And philosophies and tactics which consist of endless oppositions and the denunciation of every action of the organized bodies are passed over and ignored. To be sure, celebrated little circles of brilliant men and women, of artists and philosophers, will still hug to their hearts the memory of what they consider the glorious, imperishable act of the assassin or the marvel of a few hungry rioters facing the violence of the world with flaming rage and hatred, but the labor movement, imperfect as it is, plods along its way educating and organizing the millions into the most irresistible power the world has ever known.

The General Strike

VIII. DIRECT ACTION VERSUS POLITICAL ACTION.

By Robert Hunter.

(Courtesy of The National Socialist.)

AMONG THE VISIONARIES there has occurred in recent years a great battle of wits and tongues as to the relative value of direct and political action. The really active and influential men in the Socialist and Labor movements have had little time to spend in these futile discussions. They have been too much absorbed in building up great organizations of the working class, both trade union and political. They have been organizing and recruiting the armies of labor to strike and to vote, and they have left it largely to those in the arm-chairs to debate whether the strike or the ballot is most capable of revolutionary ends. Indeed, the more remote one is from the actual movement of the working class and the more free one is from its actual responsibilities, the more these discussions assume an importance.

"* * * The Socialist ballot," says De Leon, "is weaker than a woman's tears, Tamer than sleep, fonder than ignorance, Less valiant than the virgin in the night, And skillless as unpracticed infancy,

unless it is backed by the *might* to enforce it. That requisite *might* is summed up in the industrial organization of the working class." In another place De Leon says: "A political organization cannot perform a revolutionary act. * * * The error has gone abroad that a political party can take and hold (the factories, etc.). It is an error, because you cannot legislate a revolution. A political party cannot do it. The nature of its organization prevents it."

In the above few words the entire contention between direct and political action is set forth. I believe it is true that Haywood, Bohm, Kerr and nearly all the other direct actionists in this country have little love for De Leon. Yet he is the fountain head of all their philosophy. He is not, to be sure, so unwise as to put direct action *against* political action, as they so often do. His thinking is too skillful, and two ideas can in his mind dwell harmoniously together. Nevertheless, although De Leon does not recognize any antagonism between direct and political action, he, with the others who follow him without loving him, have in recent years proclaimed the doctrine that only the industrial movement of the working class is capable of revolutionary action. Political action is merely to vote. The political party is only a propaganda club that urges men to express certain opinions at the polls. The ballot is merely a declaration of feeling. The might and the force of the working class can only be expressed in the revolutionary general strike, or, as De Leon says, "in the general lockout of the capitalist class."

Now, the thing that strikes one most in all such talk is that these men have the same limited conception of political action as the anarchists. To vote is their definition of political action. They call it "to stick wads of paper in a box." And that certainly seems very tame indeed compared with riots and with massacre. Having accepted the anarchist's definition of political action, De Leon and his pupils arrive, as a consequence, at practically the same conclusions as the anarchists.

Now to this limited and faulty conception of political action let us oppose the view of Jules Guesde. Guesde is one of the veterans of the French movement who has never known the ways of compromise. His fierce, unbending logic, his passionate and unadulterated Marxian philosophy, has made him perhaps the most striking personality in modern Socialism. He has known in life but two enemies, the capitalist and the anarchist. He has been as pitiless in his warfare on the one as on the other, and all the new phrases of the direct actionists he meets with the flattest contradiction. "Political action is," he declared at a great French Socialist congress, "necessarily revolutionary. It does not address itself to the employer, but to the state, while industrial action addresses itself to the industrial employer or to associations of employers. Industrial action does not attack the employer as an institution, because the employer is the effect, the result of capitalist property. As soon as capitalist property shall have disappeared, the employer will disappear, and not before. It is in the Socialist party—because it is a political party—that one fights against the employer class, and that is why the Socialist party is truly an economic party, tending to transform social political economy.

"At the present moment words have their importance. And I should like to urge the comrades strongly never to allow it to be believed that trade union action is economic action. No, this latter action is taken only by the political organization of the working class. It is the party of the working class which leads it—that is to say, the Socialist party—because property is a social institution which cannot be transformed except by the exploited class making use of political power for this purpose.

"I realize that the direct actionists attempt to identify political action with parliamentary action. No; electoral action as well as parliamentary action may be forms, pieces of political action. They are not political action as a whole, which is the effort to seize public powers—the government. Political action is the people of Paris taking possession of the Hotel de Ville in 1871. It is the Parisian workers marching upon the National Assembly in 1848. * * * To those who go about claiming that political action, as extolled by the party, re-

duces itself to the production of public officials, you will oppose a flat denial. Political action is moreover not the production of laws. It is the grasping by the working class of manufactory laws; it is the political expropriation of the employer class, which alone permits its economic expropriation.

"I wish that some one would explain to me how the breaking of street lights, the disemboweling of soldiers, the burning of factories can constitute a means of transforming the ownership of property. * * * Supposing that the strikers were the masters of the streets and should be able to take possession of the factories, would not the factories still remain private property? Instead of being the property of a few employers or stockholders, they would become the property of the 500 or the 5,000 workingmen who had taken them, and that is all. The owners of the property will have changed; the system of ownership will have remained the same.

"And ought we not to consider it necessary to say that to the workers over and over again? Ought we to allow them to take a path that leads nowhere? * * * No, the Socialists could not, without crime, lend themselves to such trickery. It is our imperative duty to bring back the workers to reality, to remind them always that one can only be revolutionary if one attacks the government and the state. Trade union action fights within the circle of capitalism without breaking through it, and that is necessarily reformist, in the good sense of the word. In order to ameliorate the conditions of the victims of capitalist society, it does not touch the system. All the revolutionary wrangling can avail nothing against this fact. Even when a strike is triumphant, the day after the strike the wage earners remain wage earners, and capitalist exploitation continues. It is a necessity, a fatality, which trade union action suffers. * * *"

Any word of mine would only serve to mar the perfection of this masterly logic of Guesde's. I know of nothing in Socialist literature which deserves so much the study and thought of our younger party members. I marvel that anyone has been able in so few words to sustain the party position against the onslaughts of those who clamor for direct action. This is no time to go into the history of the terrific battles that have occurred in the progress of our movement over this very question. Yet, the result of those battles is the pledge every man takes when she becomes a member of our party. We do not ask his views as to the theories of Socialism or as to the details of the cooperative commonwealth. We ask only that he believe in the organization of the working class into a distinct and separate party for the capture of public powers. That simple pledge contains the very essence of Marxian Socialism; and not only in this country, but in every other as well, the door of our party is closed to all who deny the necessity of political action.

Guesde says that Socialists could not without crime lend themselves to the trickery of allowing the workers to take the path that leads nowhere. Yet, we know that both in France and in America men professing to be Socialists are today committing that crime. Well, when a crime is committed we seek the motive, and in this instance the motive is easily found. As I have shown elsewhere, anarchists, "radical" politicians, and certain adventurers in France sought to split the working class of that country into two warring sections and to force the Socialists out of the leadership of the French unions. To accomplish this end, political action was denounced as bourgeois, while direct action was lauded as the sole revolutionary weapon of the working class. When one wants to do anything, one can always find a philosophy to back up one's desire. Direct action, therefore, quickly developed into a complete revolutionary philosophy.

In this country something of the same sort happened. When De Leon saw his party fading away he sought new fields to conquer, and in 1905 the Industrial Workers of the World appeared. In 1904 there was not a trace of direct actionism in De Leon's thought. His party at the Amsterdam congress voted against the general strike resolution submitted by Allemane. De Leon refers to that gentleman as a "flannel-mouthed blatherskite, whose leading principle is the cart-before-the-horse idea of a 'general strike.'" In a report which De Leon submitted to that congress, it is said that "it is only by the use of their political power that the working class can abolish capitalist class rule and privilege."

That was in 1904. In 1905 De Leon had developed his new theories of the "lockout of the capitalist class." The Socialist ballot became weaker than a woman's tears. Thoughts and speculations which he had not dreamed of two years before now possessed his mind. The same sophistries that had enabled the anarchists of France to disrupt the working class movement of that country served De Leon here in his effort to become the master mind of the Industrial Workers of the World.

"The immediate aim of the Communists," says Marx and Engels in their historic *Manifesto*, "is * * * the conquest of political power by the proletariat."

"The proletariat must," they repeat, "first of all acquire political supremacy."

"The first step in the revolution by the working class is," they declare again, "to raise the proletariat to the position of ruling class, to win the battle of democracy. The proletariat will use its political supremacy to wrest, by degrees, all capital from the bourgeoisie," etc.

These are the simple foundation principles of modern Socialism. For 50 years the workers have labored slowly and painfully to build up great political organizations of the working class. The road has been long, the journey has brought many bitter disappointments. Yet, to-

day a light appears on the horizon. We are, in the opinion of many, entering upon a great revolutionary period. We are nearing the hour when the work of a half century is beginning to bear fruit. It needed no Marx to teach the workers to strike or to riot. It required a Mark to teach the revolutionary possibilities of political action. Tons upon tons of literature and multitudes of tireless agitators have been required to raise the working class from the blind folly of mob action and sabotage. And well may we ask ourselves whether theories and sophistries developed in France and in America in the maneuvers of certain leaders for mastership shall displace the tried and tested principles of Marxian Socialism!

Capitalism is a social, political and economic system. Its fortifications are manned by legislators, police, armies and courts. The ownership by the capitalist class of the means of information, of production, of transportation, of exchange, of public powers, of social wealth, of natural resources—all this and more constitutes the power of capitalism. Its right is founded in tradition, in legislation, and in moral sanction, no less than in actual material power. And he who thinks to capture this society by having the working class forcibly take possession of a mine, of a railroad, or of a factory, wherever it can, understands Socialism about as little as the bandit who believes that to hold up a millionaire and rob him of his purse is a work of democracy.

The "Bummery on the "Bum"

THE COOKS AND WAITERS' strike in New York collapsed very suddenly, and the poor dupes who were induced to declare a strike by professional vagrants have been using language that was far more forcible than elegant in denunciation of the wind-jammers who attempt to impress upon plastic minds that a world can be emancipated by a verbal blast from a soap-box.

The following in a press dispatch from New York shows that the traveling jawsmiths must seek another field besides New York to play their game, as the cooks and waiters who were duped by the snarling representatives of the "Bummery" have had some experience that, while bitter, will be wholesome and will have the effect of causing men and women to hesitate in responding to the call of irresponsible mavericks who are agitators for "revenue only." The dispatch is as follows:

"New York, Jan. 26.—The hotel waiters' strike slipped around on thin ice today and late in the afternoon collapsed. It was at this time that Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Patrick Quinlan and Carlos Tresca, the big three of the I. W. W., who have been conducting the affair, suddenly decided it would be best for the men to return to their various places.

"It was a surprise to the hundreds of waiters who have been having such riotous times about town, urged by the I. W. W. representatives, and after listening sullenly to the announcement made in Bryant hall that the executive committee intended to vote on the situa-

tion and the strikers were expected to abide by its decision. Many of them slunk away and disappeared. Where they all dispersed to no one seemed to know, but they were not in evidence anywhere during the afternoon and night.

"Mis Flynn gave an unofficial statement to the newspaper men, which in effect was that the waiters had not been sufficiently organized to completely win, and that they should go back to work, become more thoroughly educated as to organization and a few other things, and then the I. W. W. would have another strike."

The executive committee, according to the above, appropriated to itself the authority to order the slaves back to work.

Where is the *Democracy* in such a so-called labor organization when an executive committee assumes the power to vote the slaves back to work?

But the vote of the executive committee did not secure employment for the duped who responded to their call for a strike. Later dispatches disclose that their places were filled and that proprietors of hotels, restaurants and cafés refused to reinstate their former employes, even when such employes tore up their I. W. W. cards and flung them into the street with contempt.

The "Wandering Willies," according to dispatches, have landed in Chicago, and at this writing are endeavoring to bring about a strike among the cooks and waiters of the "Windy City." Their *gall* is peerless.

Time for Action Is Nigh

PROFESSOR WILSON is talking considerably as to what he intends to do when he takes his seat in the White House. The professor is likewise writing articles for a number of the leading publications of the country, and the following gems extracted from the columns of the Scripps-McRae journals may have a soothing influence upon that element in the makeup of the human race, whose brains are always enjoying a vacation. Wilson's pearls are as follows:

"If the men you have put into office go back on you now, I, for one, hope they will be gibbeted for the rest of history."

"God helping us, this is the time when the Democratic party will see to it that the people of the United States are served as parties have all along professed to serve them."

"The very life of the Democratic party depends on its fulfilling its promises."

"The people of this country wish, first, to clear their government for action by making it free and then they wish to use it, not to serve any class or party, but to serve civilization and the human race."

"If the economic control of the United States is now in the hands of a small body of men it is not due to any policy that the Democratic party has advocated, or promoted or consented to."

"The Democratic party did not wait until the year 1912 to discover that the plain people had nothing to say about their own government."

"It counts for something to stay out in the cold on a conviction."

"Through all its years of self-chosen exile the Democratic party has been purged and purified."

"The service of humanity is the business of mankind."

There are nine paragraphs in the above, compiled by the statesman of New Jersey, who, in less than a month, will stand at the helm of the national ship to guide it for the next four years.

If the thoughtful man or woman can draw any consolation from Wilson's paragraphs, such man or woman must be equipped with an imagination that can revel in the realms of optimism.

Wilson has but little time longer to write and preach. The time for action is almost here, and the man who won political honors from his party at Baltimore and received the greatest number of electoral votes of any candidate for the presidency in the history of the nation, must "deliver the goods."

The Democratic party is about to be placed on trial before the people of a nation, and the people want something more than platitudes. The Princeton Professor will have the opportunity to show to the people the mettle out of which he is made, and it will require more than verbal embellishments in an article and more than clever gymnastics in oratory to ameliorate the condition of the wronged and oppressed.

Wilson declares: "The very life of the Democratic party depends on its fulfilling its promises," and he has certainly stated a fact which no intelligent man will dispute.

The great mass of the people are awaiting anxiously for the coming Democratic administration and are hoping that ere another year shall have passed away that light can be seen behind the storm-clouds that now presage adversity.

Revealing Some Facts

THE DAILY JOURNALS controlled by the Utah Copper Company have indulged in falsehoods from the very beginning of the strike at Bingham, Utah. Not only have these journals slandered the strikers and officials of the Western Federation of Miners, but they have published glaring lies relative to the production of the mines operated by scabs and strikebreakers. The following in the Salt Lake Telegram of January 25th, reveals some truth and shows that the Utah Copper Company and its stockholders will remember the momentous occasion, when its despotic representative refused to treat with organized labor:

"Reports from the eastern offices of the Utah Copper Company received this morning show that during December only 5,975,246 pounds of copper were produced from this Bingham property. This compares with 5,802,544 pounds in November and shows only a slight increase

after operations had been resumed following the strike in September and part of October. The month previous to the strike Utah Copper made its record production, which was approximately 12,000,000 pounds.

"To some the production from this mammoth mine during the last month of the year will be disappointing. The company has had a number of things to contend with, besides the fact that new men were employed to take the place of the strikers, and most of these laborers were inexperienced. Weather conditions have been unfavorable for a large production from the mine, for the severe cold and heavy snows have handicapped operations to a large extent. When winter sets in at Bingham it makes it difficult to mine a large tonnage from surface operations.

"Even the tonnage that was sent down from the mine could not be handled easily at the mills. The ores froze in the cars and this

censed delays which resulted in a shortage of ore to be put through the mills. A considerable amount of difficulty was also experienced with frozen pipes and some delays were experienced in getting enough water to supply the tables.

"Utah Copper has had a number of hardships this month as a result of the continued cold and the heavy snows in the mountains. For this reason the management is not prepared to make any promises as to the tonnage that will be mined and milled. The mills have had the crushing department enlarged in order that more ore could be handled during the winter weather, and a larger tonnage will be crushed and the bin capacity increased during the seasons when a larger tonnage can be brought down. A large tonnage of ore will be made ready for the mills, so that operations can be kept up to capacity whenever there is a delay in mine deliveries."

We clip the following from another Salt Lake publication to corroborate the forced admission in the Telegram:

"The December operations of the Utah Copper Company netted a total of 5,975,246 pounds of copper, against 5,802,544 pounds in November, and a total of 2,128,792 pounds in October of 1912. These figures illustrate the loss sustained through the strike at Bingham, a loss that reduced the production of this and all Bingham companies in 1912 as compared with 1911. The 1912 copper production of the Utah Copper Company totaled 95,105,391 pounds, against 99,456,225 pounds in 1911 and 89,127,250 pounds in 1910. The increase in December over November is gratifying as it shows the company is recovering from the effects of the labor trouble, while laboring at the same time under the usual difficulties incident to that winter period.

"The following are the monthly production figures of the company for the year:

	Pound
January	8,156,612
February	8,612,729
March	8,160,000
April	9,069,237
May	10,068,336
June	9,234,465
July	11,160,034
August	11,841,044
September	6,965,144
October	2,128,792
November	5,802,544
December	5,975,246

Total.....95,105,391

The above clippings refute the statements of the professional prevaricators who have heralded their lies broadcast, relative to the production at the mines, in the hope that the strikers would become discouraged and return to work. The Utah Copper Company has suffered a loss that will be felt by its stockholders for years to come and, furthermore, the time is not far distant when the industrial czars of Utah will be willing to hold a conference with the representatives of organized labor.

Unionism is here and will live until the cause that gave birth to the labor organization is removed.

How Do You Like Him?

IN THIS ISSUE of the Miners' Magazine appears a length article taken from the United Mine Workers' Journal and written by Adolph Germer, of Belleville, Illinois.

Mr. Germer for a number of years has been one of the most prominent and active men in the coal miners' organization. He has held a number of positions of trust, and at the last annual convention of the United Mine Workers he was elected as a fraternal delegate to attend the International Miners' Congress at Amsterdam, Holland.

Germer is likewise a prominent Socialist and is now a member of the national committee.

His article, therefore, will have some weight, as it comes from a man who can ill afford to make statements that are not borne out by the facts.

Germer, in his communication, mentions specific instances where "Bill" Haywood has received money and failed to forward the money that was raised for the defense of a man whose life was in jeopardy.

The man who was commissioned by a labor organization to go before other labor bodies to plead for funds to defend a man who was the victim of the same conspiracy as himself, and who became so shameless and bereft of honor as to put such funds in his own pocket, challenges the English language for a word or phrase to paint his perfidy. That Haywood is guilty, is beyond every question of a doubt.

The charges made by Germer against Haywood are only trivial and minor offenses compared with other acts of the "Bull Moose" of

the I. W. W., whose palms have itched for "filthy lucre" for several years.

The editor of the Miners' Magazine is cognizant of his dishonor, and we have refrained from giving publicity to his acts of dishonesty in the hope that this peerless ingrate and grabber of coin would pull himself together and make an effort to be a man.

We believe, however, that the time has come when no mantle of charity should be thrown over the acts of "Bill" Haywood, but that the working class should know that those who know him best would not trust him, nor have they faith in his loyalty to labor.

The man who would pocket funds that were given to him to defend the life of a man whom a Mine Owners' Association had decreed should die upon a scaffold, is not made of that material that is true to the working class or loyal to the principles of unionism. His dishonor brands him as a traitor to a member of his own class, in a prison cell, awaiting trial on one of the gravest charges that can be brought against a human being.

Since Haywood committed treason to a man in prison, charged by conspirators with the crime of murder, it becomes conclusive that Haywood can scarcely be classed as loyal to workingmen out of prison.

As the I. W. W. is proud of "Big Bill" and lands him as a hero, their publications can reproduce the Germer article in order that laboring men may not be in ignorance of Haywood's many accomplishments.

Denver Has Another Moral Spasm

THE RIGHTEOUS and moral people of Denver have had another spasm, and ladies who "toil not neither do they spin" have decreed that the "redlight" district of the "Queen City" must be abolished. It may be that the "bad lands" of Denver may be wiped out, but that does not mean that prostitution will be abolished.

The following in the columns of a daily journal of Denver shows that the ladies of the Woman's Club are indignant and that they propose to give battle to white slavery and all its attendant evils:

"Indorsing the crusade of Sheriff Sullivan and District Attorney Rush to wipe out the redlight district of Denver, members of the Woman's Club, at their regular meeting yesterday, determined to take an active part in the fight against the social evil by undertaking rescue work and by finding homes for girls who have taken their first misstep.

"Their decision followed a speech in which the evil conditions of white slavery were reviewed and the women were told that they would be 'unworthy of their womanhood' unless they backed every effort to abolish the redlight district.

"It is womanhood that is being degraded, and as women you must fight this evil of white slavery," said one speaker. "The woman who scorns her fallen sister is no better than the sinner. The old feeling that the girl who has gone wrong once can never again hold up her head is all wrong. You must support the institutions where these girls are taught that they may start life over again. You must support the fight to abolish the redlight district."

"We must do more than that," declared Mrs. Ray S. David. "We must open our homes to these girls who have fallen or how else can we expect them to live aright? Unless we take care of them they will have no place to go."

"Mrs. Fannie M. D. Galloway, chairman of the social science de-

partment, told of the instance of a young girl who had been rescued and placed in a good home.

"It is the finest thing this department has ever done, and I hope in the future we will be able to help many more girls," said Mrs. Galloway. "Another thing which every one of us can do as individuals is to see that our maids are allowed the privilege of having some place in the house where they can receive men callers without being forced to meet them on the streets."

For years and years the people have read about the uprisings in our large cities against the social evil, but it seems that these uprisings are as futile in halting the progress of the moral pestilence as a gentle zephyr would be in removing a towering mountain.

The professional slummers and society women who, for a fad, make their usual ineffectual assaults upon the moral leprosy that threatens the purity and sanctity of homes, seem to have no conception of the cause that plants a "redlight" district in every city of importance and magnitude in this country.

Prostitution is the product of wrong economic conditions, and while "redlight" districts may be apparently wiped out, yet prostitution will remain and assume more dangerous proportions until the cause from which prostitution is bred is removed. The members of the Woman's Club gave their indorsement to the crusade of the sheriff and the district attorney, who, in accordance with the law, placed sixty inmates of dens of shame behind the bars of a county jail.

Will the indorsement of such a course on the part of the legal authorities by the Woman's Club be received favorably by the social outcasts whose only home is in the "bad lands" or within the confines of a prison?

The sheriff and the district attorney are not to be censured, for they are both rendering obedience to their oath of office; but for

ladies of a fashionable club, the upper crust of society, to indorse a raid on a "redlight" district that puts the "soiled dove" in a jail, will not appeal to the sympathy or intelligence of men and women who have brains to think and hearts that feel for the unfortunate victims that have fallen in the brutal struggle against poverty.

These members of the Woman's Club are going to fight white slavery.

How?

Is the social evil being successfully fought by indorsing a crusade that puts the victims in jail?

Will the blush of virtue return to the cheek of the social outcast through being held behind the walls of a prison?

Will the imprisoned and unfortunate women turn to that type of womanhood that sanctions a crusade that flings the Mary Magdalene into a cage of steel?

The members of the Woman's Club are insane if they believe that such methods will elevate the moral standard of a city.

How did these women who have been thrust into jail become the victims of ostracism against whom the portals of respectability are closed and to whom the doors of a jail are open? They were once virtuous. They were once as pure as even the members of the Woman's Club.

What snatched them from the pedestal of womanhood and painted the scarlet letters of shame upon their brows?

Statistics show that poverty has filled the "redlight" districts and that poverty is the product of a profit system that is upheld and supported by the very same members of the Woman's Club who are crying out against a "redlight" district and throwing up their hands in holy horror against white slavery.

Let us suppose that the "redlight" district was abolished tomorrow, and that every woman who has fallen was removed from the city of Denver, how long would it be until their places would be filled by others, whose wages in department stores, laundries, factories and sweat-shops bid for dishonor?

The "redlight" district and prostitution will only disappear when woman, as well as man, shall no longer groan in the chains of economic slavery, or in other words, when Capitalism, the producer of prostitution, has been swept from the earth.

Under Capitalism, profit is more priceless than virtue, and until womanhood has a higher value than dividends, the social evil will remain as an indictment against the economic wrongs of a rotten civilization.



INFORMATION WANTED.

Sutter Creek, Calif., Jan. 30, 1913.

Anyone knowing the whereabouts of Brother Ed. Zuchella, kindly notify the Secretary of Amador County Miners' Union No. 135, at Sutter Creek, California. Brother Zuchella is wanted on very important business.

JAMES GIAMBRUNO, Secretary.

RESOLUTION FROM SAN FRANCISCO.

San Francisco, January 18th, 1913.

To the various national and international unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor:

The following Resolutions were unanimously adopted by the San Francisco Labor Council at its regular meeting Friday evening, January 3rd, 1913. Kindly give this matter your immediate attention.

Fraternally yours,

JOHN I. NOLAN

Secretary, S. F. Labor Council.

Whereas, The jury in the famous Indianapolis dynamite conspiracy trial found thirty-eight of the forty defendants "guilty as charged" in the blanket indictment.

Resolved, That we set forth to the world the following declaration, which we believe to be true and timely:

First, It will be conceded by all fair-minded people who have given any attention to public affairs in the recent six or seven years, that the United States Steel Corporation, commonly known as the Steel Trust, is by far the most absorbing and powerful financial and political trust.

Second, There can be no doubt that this corporation was the power behind the prosecution.

The following is a statement of facts as published in La Follette's weekly magazine of December 13, 1912, written by Louis Brandeis:

"On June 17, 1901, six weeks after the Steel Trust began its operations, the following resolution was passed by its board of directors in the offices of the firm of J. Pierpont Morgan & Company:

"That we are unalterably opposed to any extension of union labor, and advise subsidiary companies to take firm position when these questions come up and say that they are not going to recognize it."

This anti-labor policy of the Steel Trust has been prosecuted for the past eight years, with the result that every labor union within its industry has been destroyed, with the single exception of the Bridge and Structural Ironworkers' International Union. Brandeis' article deals extensively with the report of the Steel Committee, of which Congressman Stanly of Kentucky and Daniel J. McGillicuddy of Maine, were active members. This report shows that it would require a sum not less than seven hundred and sixty-

eight dollars per year to maintain a family of wife and two children. It likewise points out that if the employes in the steel industry at the present wage worked twelve hours a day three hundred and sixty-five days a year, they would fall short one dollar and fifty cents of earning the minimum amount necessary to sustain a wife and three children.

The report shows two hundred and sixty thousand men employed in the steel industry, and the average annual income of all males over eighteen was three hundred and forty-six dollars, and the average annual income of male heads of families among the iron and steel workers' was only four hundred and nine dollars.

In no other trades investigated was it so low, with the single exception of the woolen industry.

Mr. G. W. Perkins testified before the committee on steel and said that they had a profit-sharing plan in vogue, which distributed twelve million dollars to its employes annually. The committee shows that this was distributed only among superintendents, foremen and others in authority.

A man by the name of John Fitch testified before the committee, to wit:

"That fact is the steel workers do not dare openly express their convictions. They do not dare assemble and talk over affairs pertaining to their welfare as mill hands. They feel that they are living always in the presence of a hostile critic. They are a generous, open-hearted set of men upon the whole. The skilled men are intelligent, and are able and glad to talk upon a variety of subjects. But let the conversation be shifted to the steel works and they immediately become reticent. It is safe to talk to a stranger about local option, the price of groceries, or the prospect of a war with Japan, but it is not regarded as safe to talk about conditions in the steel industry."

Again he says:

"One man of long experience as a steel worker who gave me a better insight into mill conditions than any other person, remarked, I used to write for labor papers a great deal, and sometimes I fairly burn to do it now—to declare before the world, over my own signature, the fact about working conditions in the steel industry. But I can't. It wouldn't be safe."

In a statement made by Brandeis before the Massachusetts State Federation of Labor, he says:

"Did you ever stop to realize that Judge Gary, George W. Perkins, J. Pierpont Morgan and a few other men high in the United States Steel Corporation wield power greater than that of kings? The Steel Trust is capitalized at one billion six hundred million dollars but its directors are directors in fifty-nine of the greatest banks in the country. They control forty great manufacturing establishments. They hold the reins of power over more than half the railroads of the country, and they are the controlling power in hundreds of traction, water, gas, telephone and electric companies. The total amount of wealth they control is very nearly twenty billion dollars."

This corporation has made the extermination of organized labor from their factories the very foundation stone of their labor policy.

On August 9, 1912, the Hon. Daniel J. McGillicuddy of Maine addressed the House of Representatives, speaking on the steel investigation, and on page 9 of his address we find a question asked by Mr. Buchanan:

Does not the gentleman know since that time by despicable methods they have practically destroyed every labor union working for them in the United States?"

Mr. McGillicuddy replied: "I know that. Of course I know that. Any man who has any sympathy for the laboring man in this country knows it, and with good reason, and we know the result of it, and if I were a laboring man I would do just as the laboring man did there. I would rather give up my life than give up the right and privilege to organize. When the working men give up that right, they will become little more than slaves so long as this trust organization continues."

With this power against the indicted men at Indianapolis, the result obtained is little to be wondered at.

One of the witnesses who testified for the prosecution said that he was an expert accountant and had been employed to go over the document that were stolen out of the Iron Workers' office. He admitted on cross-examination that seven months out of eight he was under salary to the National Erectors' Association.

Mr. Drew, chief counsel for the Erectors' Association, was a very conspicuous figure, not only before the grand jury that brought the indictment, but also in the court room and during the trial, and immediately after the conviction of these men, he issued a public statement to the American Federation of Labor and asked the question: "What are you going to do with the Iron Workers' Union now?" Thereby disclosing clearly the real underlying purpose of the Erectors' Association and the Steel Trust.

Judge Anderson who presided at the trial and once referred to by ex-President Theodore Roosevelt as being either a knave or a fool, was guilty of conduct which by no means precluded a reasonable charge that he was biased and decidedly unfair to the defense and their counsel.

First. One of the defendants' counsel, Mr. Krum of St. Louis, in rising to offer an objection in the interest of his client, was peremptorily ordered to sit down, and was told that he was only there by courtesy.

Second. When defendant M. J. Young of Boston was on the witness stand, the judge deliberately interrupted him in the middle of his testimony and said this in the presence of the jury: "If you don't tell the truth, how do you expect any one to believe you?"

Third. Brother O. A. Tveitmoe was ordered in the presence of the jury removed from the counsel's table, and denied the right to consult with his attorney in court, upon the flimsy charge that he had smiled, which was construed by the judge as a demonstration.

Many witnesses who were subpoenaed were never placed on the stand. The prosecution bulldozed many of the witness behind closed doors during the night. The conduct of the District Attorney and his associates, together with the detectives for the Steel Trust, towards the witnesses is almost indescribable. Unless a witness would testify the way they desired, he or she was threatened with jail sentence.

The action of the jury in finding all of the thirty-eight defendants equally guilty on every count shows that they were strongly influenced by the conduct of Judge Anderson during the trial. This is proven by the subsequent action of Judge Anderson in suspending sentence on five of the defendants and by his action in sentencing the defendants to terms ranging from one to seven years. The jury must have been prejudiced and did not give each defendant's case the consideration the law demands, otherwise there would have been separate verdicts in the cases of many of these defendants.

Resolved, That the Building Trades Council in regular session assembled jointly with the Labor Council of San Francisco, declare it our most emphatic opinion that O. A. Tveitmoe and his colleagues were the victims of the avarice of the Steel Trust, and did not receive a fair trial; be it further

Resolved, That we request every local union affiliated in this city and State to immediately request their national organization to assist financially, to the end that proper presentation may be made to the Appellate Court for a new trial; be it further

Resolved, That in reply to the question asked by Mr. Drew: "What are you going to do with the Iron Workers' Union now?" and as a protest against the criminal and dominant power of the United States Steel Trust, we favor the sentiment now strongly maintaining throughout the country for the declaration of a general strike throughout the length and breadth of this nation; be it further

Resolved, That copies of this statement and resolutions be forwarded to international unions for indorsement and approval, and a copy be sent to the press. (seal).

THE STRIKE AT MINEVILLE, NEW YORK—AN ANSWER TO THE CIRCULAR ISSUED BY THE MINING COMPANY.

Beginning with the third paragraph on the third page of the circular, we have numbered the paragraphs from one to twenty-one, and herewith give reply to them.

First—Good faith of the company, shown by the fact that the janitor of the Memorial Hall has been discharged for his activity in unions affairs and the Woodmen have been refused the use of the hall for a ball they had advertised extensively for the evening of January 24, 1913.

Second—A new school building has been erected, but the company was not actuated solely by philanthropic sentiments, for it took the old school building and the site for purposes for which the location of the new building were not just suitable, and with that, some there are who claim that the school in question was built at the expense of the taxpayers of Essex county.

Third—As an instance of the working of this benevolent policy, which seems to be more of an advertising work than an act of compensation, one Mike Ruzzewicz had his ear drums injured by being close to where some men drilled into a missed hole in the mines in November; others were injured by flying missiles when the explosion occurred, but Ruzzewicz, while not hit by flying rock, was badly hurt by the concussion. Over eleven weeks have elapsed since the accident. Mike has received between \$9 and \$10, and notwithstanding the fact that he is physically unfit and deaf, the company officials are trying to compel him to work underground, which he has tried to do, but has had to quit. He has asked for surface work, but he has been refused, the bosses insisting that he work underground, despite the fact that his deafness, caused by the accident and his physical condition from the same cause rendered him unfit for work in the mines. The final touch of benevolence in this case is the company's attempt to induce him to leave the district, whereupon, it is possible that the gullible public could be induced to believe that the "compensation" of which this company boasts, was working in good order.

Fourth—Some of the houses are of concrete; most of them are frame buildings. The sanitary condition of which the company boasts, consists, in some cases of water in the cellars, and the hard wood floors of which they sing the praises is a promiscuous lot of different woods from their own mills, all of which may be hard, but the floors do not wear uniformly, nor they do not resist usage in the same consistency. How much consideration is given to make these houses comfortable is evidenced by the fact that the joints on these floors are made where the board chances to end and not on the beams or joists as one would suppose. This results in a short time of a place which "springs" and through which the cold blasts of winter find a perpetual entrance, keeping the limbs of the occupants in a continual state of uncomfortable cold. The "hardwood floors" are a matter of expediency, not of selection.

Fifth—If the working conditions and the pay of the men were satisfactory, the people would keep their homes clean and eat good food without the dispensation of the district nurse.

Sixth—Very little is known of this pension fund in Mineville.

Seventh to Eleventh—Elsewhere the spokesmen for the company object to the coming of people from the outside to assist its men in formulating their demands and conferring with them on means by which their life and labor can be made easier and life made happier, this list of questions show us why.

Three men, Waldron, Wykes and Hughes, were taken from their work in the mines and brought before the officials of the company—men with a college education—and a list of questions, most of which are hypothetical, were put to them, and they were instructed to answer "yes" or "no." The modifications which they made were not accepted. Wykes is made to say that he got better treatment from this company than he ever did from any other. The fact is that he never worked for any other company. Waldron's experience is just as limited. If there is any credit in gaining admissions from these men in this manner we fail to see where it lays.

Twelfth—Before the increase in wages, the men were furnished with lamps and oil for underground work; since then carbide lamps have been provided, and the employes have been compelled to pay from 50 cents to \$1.50 for them. This takes quite a little of the increase.

All men working for the company were promised 10 or 15 cents of an increase, to take effect January 1st, but many of them on receiving their checks on January 21st discovered that they had suffered a reduction of 15 cents, no notice of which they received until the deficiency in their pay envelopes informed them of it. In this "best-paid mining camp of the East" engineers get as much as 29 cents for three hours overtime. And they are expected to do these three hours daily for this pittance.

Fourteenth—The rents are not from \$3.50 to \$7, but are from \$3.50 to \$12 per month.

Fifteenth—The companies never did any repair work, nor spent anything for maintenance before 1912, until the State Labor Department recommended that something be done with the houses, so all the upkeep of many years came in 1912, making it appear that excessive amounts are spent to provide for the comfort of the tenants. Any repairing which was done before this time was paid for to the grafting company officials by the tenants at an exorbitant rate.

Sixteenth—See answer to paragraph three.

Seventeenth—Will the officials of the Witherbee, Sherman and Company dare to say as much for the Port Henry Iron Ore Company, one-fifth of which it is said to own and with which it is associated?

Eighteenth—It has frequently occurred that bodies of men killed in the morning at these works have been buried on the same afternoon, and in cases of men not belonging to the union, no notice given of the interment. No inquests are held over "troublesome corpses" in Mineville.

Nineteenth—Coffey, the carpenter foreman, who was charged with soliciting graft and of whom it has been sworn in an affidavit that he discharged a man because he would not pay the graft, is still working at the old job and very active in victimizing union men.

Twentieth—The workers are not so much interested in "welfare work;" it is well-paid work for which they are contending?

Twenty-first—Waldron and Wykes, who did so much to expose the "welfare" graft of the company's officials and peace officers, are publicly discharged by a widely-circulated letter; the grafters with the services of whom the companies dispensed, "resigned." Waldron and Wykes are ordered from their homes; the retired grafters still occupy company houses unmolested and are treated as honorable members of society.

Nine men were killed in these mines in 1912, and two have been killed here this month. Welfare work does not help these victims in any way.

Mineville, New York, January 23, 1913.

Affidavits.

STATE OF NEW YORK, }
County of Essex, } ss.

Jacob Tazelaar, being duly sworn, says that he is the representative of the American Federation of Labor, with headquarters in New York city. That his attention was called to a situation in Mineville, New York, at which place is located the Witherbee-Sherman Company, which is engaged in mining iron and steel ore, operating several shafts in that town and employing several hundred men. That information was brought to deponent that these men were working under what is commonly known as the padrone system, which

requires the workmen to pay out of their earnings certain amounts of money to superintendents, foremen, bosses, overseers or others working in connection with them, and that unless such sums are paid they fear the loss of their jobs. That in consequence thereof they did pay this money in one form or another amounting to several thousand dollars, covering a certain period of time.

Deponent further states that he made a most thorough and systematic investigation of these charges and found them to be true in every respect. That he proceeded to New York City and met the directors of the Witherbee, Sherman and Company at the office of the company No. 2, Rector street, on Tuesday, August 15, 1911, and there laid before the aforesaid board of directors the entire subject matter, and the said board of directors agreed to give every possible assistance in stopping the conditions complained of, if the same could be sustained by proper testimony.

Deponent further deposes and says that he thereupon proceeded to Mineville, New York, and held several meetings with the men from whom this money was received by the company's superintendents, foremen, bosses and others; that he was assisted by interpreters speaking several languages; that seventy-seven (77) men employed by the Witherbee-Sherman and Company (including one who was discharged because he refused to pay graft), appeared personally before a notary public and a witness and made affidavit to having paid the amounts of money set forth in each affidavit, which aggregate a sum of in excess of nineteen hundred dollars (\$1,900).

Deponent further deposes and says that these seventy-seven (77) affidavits, copies of which are hereto attached and marked "Exhibit 1," were personally delivered by him to the officials of the company at its office in Port Henry, New York, and that a record of the names of each workman making affidavit as to the amount of money he paid and the name of the party receiving same and marked "Exhibit 2," are attached hereto for further reference.

JACOB TAZELAR.

Subscribed and sworn to before me, this 24th day of August, 1911.

ALBERT E. RYAN, Notary Public.

EXHIBIT NO. 1.

STATE OF NEW YORK, }
County of Essex, } ss.

Juslyn Zebrak, being duly sworn, says that he resides in Mineville, Essex county, New York, and is in the employ of the Witherbee, Sherman and Company at that place; that he paid to Mr. — the sum of twenty dollars (\$20) for fixing his machine and that this money was paid for the purpose of making himself secure in his job, and that if he refused to do so he feared discharge.

JUSLYN ZEBRAK (X) His Mark.

Witness, Joseph Tykoff.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 21st day of August, 1911.

WILLIAM V. BARTLETT, Notary Public.

EXHIBIT NO. 2.

The following named persons, employes of the Witherbee, Sherman and Company have signed the attached affidavit, specifying the amounts paid and the purpose for which such amounts were paid:

NAME.	FOREMAN.	Amount.
Marcin Darazkiewicz—George Hughes		\$ 10.00
Alex Roczewski—George Hughes		10.00
Jan Misiowicz—George Hughes		8.00
John Sutkus—George Hughes		20.00
Konstanty Kusiuk—George Hughes		15.00
William Maczuzki—George Hughes		25.00
Piotr Dosty—George Hughes		45.00
Tony Jasiewicz—George Hughes		18.00
Tony Witowski—George Hughes		25.00
Mike Smajda—George Hughes		5.00
Justyn Zebrak—George Hughes		25.00
Stefan Kowalewski—George Hughes		5.00
Martin Judzicki—Mike Hughes		10.00
Kostan Trebendis—Mike Hughes		17.00
John Sutkus—Mike Hughes		8.00
Adam Latarewicz—Mike Hughes		45.00
Konstanty Kusink—Mike Hughes		35.00
Mike Mora—Mike Hughes		10.00
Parfir Borowick—Mike Hughes		100.00
Tony Garbicz—Mike Hughes		100.00
Joseph Teodoruk—Mike Hughes		13.00
Ignac Damdrowski—Mike Hughes		50.00
Tony Witkowski—Mike Hughes		30.00
Joseph Kuki—Mike Hughes		25.00
Bonny Gabicz—Samuel Dougan, superintendent		90.00
Leo Rominski—Samuel Dougan, superintendent		31.00
Steve Kolosky and Felix Szyjan (amount paid for house, machine and jobs)—Samuel Dougan, superintendent		20.00
Stefan Kowalewski (amount paid for house, machine and jobs)—Samuel Dougan, superintendent		70.00
Joseph Gaweniewski—Samuel Dougan, superintendent		50.00
Mike Mora—Samuel Dougan, superintendent		90.00
Franciszek Markowski—Samuel Dougan, superintendent		125.00
Chrinko Piekani—Samuel Dougan, superintendent		25.00
John Sutkus—Samuel Dougan, superintendent		50.00
Konstan Trebendis (for house, machine and jobs)—Samuel Dougan, superintendent		60.00
William Alckes—Samuel Dougan, superintendent		85.00
Antoni Stasko—Samuel Dougan, superintendent		10.00
Franciszek Nartonis—Samuel Dougan, superintendent		50.00
Tony Jesiewicz—Samuel Dougan, superintendent		15.00
Alexander Kamblewicz—Samuel Dougan, superintendent		45.00
Andrew Lankalis—William Wersecki		5.00
Wladis Jakuccis—William Wersecki		2.00
Mike Ruzzewicz—William Wersecki		5.00
Joseph Lonkalis—William Wersecki		25.00
Mikolaj Krannik—William Wersecki		27.00
Tony Lichorad—William Wersecki		6.00
Karel Stefanovich—William Wersecki		10.00
Tony Davis—William Wersecki		6.00
Joseph Gaweniewski—William Wersecki		25.00
Simon Berczniewicz—Asa Slocum		30.00
Wilton Kaszkiewicz—Asa Slocum		15.00
Beleslaw Karpowicz—Asa Slocum		7.00
Powel Marcinkiewicz—Asa Slocum		7.00
Tony Jasiewicz—Asa Slocum		10.00
Michal Kuxink—Asa Slocum		53.00
Joseph Tobola—Asa Slocum		35.00
Tony Davis—Asa Slocum		5.00
Joseph Poszwus—Frank McKenzie		5.00
Joseph Tobola—Frank McKenzie		14.00
Piotr Dosty—Frank McKenzie		25.00
Tony Witkowski—Frank McKenzie		5.00

Joseph Lonkalis—Frank McKenzie	7.00
William Szoster—Frank McKenzie	13.00
Mikolaj Kraunik—Frank McKenzie	5.00
Joseph Fuki—Dell Goodspeed	30.00
Justin Zebrak—Dell Goodspeed	5.00
Stefan Kowaleski—Dell Goodspeed	25.00
John Sanko—William Ryle	10.00
Joseph Poszwus—William Ryle	25.00
Joseph Crokawy—William Ryle	6.00
Kasimierz Rugienis—William Ryle	5.00
William Sosnowski—William Ryle	10.00
Bolcslaw Cembalski—William Ryle	15.00
Frank Balme—Mike Sloboda (saloonkeeper, agent).....	3.85
Joseph Loukalic—Tom Ryan	25.00
John Sanko—Eugine McCarr	5.00
William Sosnowski—Thomas McClellan	10.00
Andre Lankalis—William Coffey (refused to pay and was discharged)	10.00

NEWS FROM WASHINGTON, D. C.

It is believed that Victor Berger's resolution calling for a congressional investigation of conditions in the garment industry of New York will receive a hearing in Congress, even though the resolution is not passed. The resolution was promptly referred to the committee on rules, but inasmuch as this committee will have to hear evidence sustaining Berger's contention that garments made in sweat shops are apt to spread disease throughout the country, it is likely that Berger will be asked to call witnesses from New York, which will give the strike an airing in Washington.

The following is the text of the Berger resolution:

Whereas, The New York clothing industry, which through the channels of interstate commerce, supplies the trade of a large section of the United States, is now suffering from a strike which directly involves about 100,000 workers and their families; and,

Whereas, It is generally charged in the public press and in mass meetings that the average wages paid to the garment workers in New York are so low that healthy surroundings and a decent standard of living have become almost impossible for them; and,

Whereas, It is further charged that vice and crime are bred of the needless misery coincident to the manufacture of the nation's clothing, and further that said manufacture is carried on in filthy and unsanitary places saturated with germs of consumption, smallpox, scarlet fever and other contagious diseases.

Whereas, Garments made under such conditions when sold through interstate traffic to the people of the United States undeniably become a serious menace and danger to the welfare and health of all; therefore, be it

Resolved, That a committee of seven (7) members be appointed to inquire into the general conditions of the clothing and garment industry in New York and to investigate the facts relating to this strike, said committee to report its findings as soon as practicable to this house.

In commenting upon the resolution, Representative Berger said:

"I want to show the close connection which the intolerable economic condition of the garment workers bears to crime and vice on the one hand, and further that these economic conditions and injustices revenge themselves on the people in general who permit them to exist.

"In other words, the miserable and inadequate wages bring forth bad housing, consumption and contagious diseases for the workers. They in turn communicate these diseases to the clothing and other goods produced, which clothes are bought by the people of the United States, who are thereby punished for permitting these conditions to exist.

"Moreover, it does become the unquestioned duty of Congress to interfere and to protect the people just as much on this point as against the invasion of cholera, or trachoma, or any other infection.

"Not only that, but Congress has the right to interfere because the New York clothing industry is supplying the markets of a large part of the United States with goods through the channel of interstate commerce. And the absolute right of Congress to regulate interstate commerce has been upheld in the case of pure-food legislation and in other instances. There can be no question of the right of Congress to interfere.

"I expect to get a hearing on this resolution, although the Democratic party is very zealous in protecting state rights, which have become a bulwark of reaction in our country; and although there is a tendency not to do anything in this short session of Congress other than to pass the appropriation bills."

When the bill restricting immigration was called up for passage last week, Representative Victor L. Berger voted "no." He was the only one of the trade unionists in Congress to vote against the measure, which was backed by the A. F. of L., and which passed.

In explaining his vote, Berger said: "I do not think the time has yet arrived when we must limit immigration, although I can appreciate why the trade unions feel the effect of the continual stream of cheap labor from the eastern and southeastern part of Europe, which is having a depressing influence on wages, even though only a temporary one. But even if it is only temporary—and the working class is always able to rally with the aid of unionism—I will admit as a Socialist and as a trade union man that on the whole the standard of living in our country during the last forty years has been on the downward, and not on an upward grade, when compared with the tremendous resources of the country.

"Yet, in spite of all this, I voted against the bill simply for Socialist and humanitarian reasons, because I believe we should not stand in the way of any white people trying to improve their condition by coming to this country, even if the American working class does have to suffer thereby to some extent. Undoubtedly the Russians, Slavonians, Italians, Bulgarians, Armenians and other peoples who come to our shores improve their economic condition very materially, and as a Socialist I want to give them this chance."

Manufacturers who have employed high-priced lawyers to present their arguments for a continuation of the high tariff before the Underwood ways and means committee have in many cases been beautifully stung, according to information obtained at the committee room.

The efforts of the lawyers who have appeared so far before the committee have been lamentably futile. The manufacturers who have received the greatest consideration from the committee so far have been those who have appeared in person. The high-priced lawyers who have come have displayed almost complete ignorance of the vital facts in the industries they have represented, and the Democratic members of the committee have taken the keenest delight in exposing the ignorance of the lawyers in cross-examination. It is reported that Attorney Auerbach of New York received \$15,000 for representing the plate glass industry at the hearing. Auerbach spoke for ten minutes, or at the rate of \$1,500 a minute. To make matters worse for the plate glass industry, Auerbach was completely confounded by the cross examination he received and as a result the industry will probably fare badly when the next tariff bill is written.

A number of lawyers who had persuaded New England manufacturers of small steel articles to retain them as counsel before the committee, contracted several bad cases of cold feet after witnessing the grilling to which the attorneys for the machine tool industry were subjected. The committee faith, since it was admitted to the committee that this industry is "dump-

ing" a large percentage of its product on the European markets today. After this cross-examination the lawyers appearing for the New England manufacturers, but who had not yet testified, deposited their briefs with the clerk of the committee, seized their hats and silently stole away. practically charged the machine tool men with arguing for high tariff in bad

SHALL NEGROES BE BURNED AT THE STAKE?

By R. A. Dague.

The editor of the "Salina (Kansas) Daily Union," in his paper of Jan. 6th, discussing the frequent burning of negroes at the stake in the South for assaulting white women, says that recently he talked with a distinguished ex-judge of the South who now stands at the head of the bar of his state, and who is wealthy and influential. This man defends the practice of lynching negro rapists and burning them to death. In his conversation he said:

"Nothing but burning at the stake has power to strike, terror to the weak and lecherous black, and only by such swift and terrible punishment can the 'white woman of the south be protected. Such crimes can only be stopped by 'fire. Such burnings are not an evidence of barbarism, but in reality are a proof of a high state of civilization.' Now I admit that the outrage of women is an atrocious crime. Society should afford females all the protection possible and by every means not themselves inhuman and criminal, but the lynching and burning to death of a human being is both inhuman and contrary to the laws of every civilized country. It is not only savage and revolting, but the evil effect on the hundreds who witness the barbarity, may be far greater than that of the act of one degenerate on an innocent fellow being. For two or three hundred years in America, negroes were bought and sold, and treated like animals who had not souls. Their females from tender girlhood to old age were continuously outraged by white men, and the law gave the victim no redress. No negro was allowed to testify in a court against a white person, even though that negro was nineteen-twentieths white. Slave holders had no more regard for the chastity of their female slaves than they had for that of their cows. Young or old, married or unmarried, the female negro had to submit to the assaults of white men. Millions of mulattoes were born; they were the children of lustful, brutal, slave-owning man; they are degenerates. Thus was poured out on the South a flood of black perverts—the fruits of the white man's lust and brutality. It was not because of the intentional sin of the negro female that these degenerates were spewn upon the country, but it was the voluntary sin of the white man. Now, when one of those degenerate blacks assault a white woman, all this history is forgotten or ignored, and the poor victim of the lust and violence of the white libertine is run down by blood-hounds, is beaten, lacerated, bound to a stake and burned to death, surrounded by a mob of howling, frenzied, often drunk men, who yell and dance like demons as the fire laps itself about the body of the victim, and his screams of agony rends the air. And yet a distinguished southern lawyer and wealthy citizen says: 'this is in reality proof of a high state of civilization; and that the men of the South are noted for their zeal in protecting woman's chastity.' Now, I venture to say that good men in the North and the West are just as jealous of woman's chastity as are those of the South.

No Southern State, I believe, permits women to vote, neither are the laws of those states so generous towards women as are those of other sections of the republic. I have many objections to lynching negroes, for it has been shown that in some instances in which white women were assaulted, that the man who attacked them were white men blacked up, and innocent negroes were punished for crimes they did not commit. The barbarous, fiendish burning to death of men for assaulting women, does no good but incalculable harm. The fear of punishment, of any sort, does not restrain a degenerate whose reason at the time he makes the assault is entirely dethroned or obscured by his animal passions. You might as consistently burn a mad-dog to deter other dogs from going mad and biting people, as to burn a sex-degenerate to deter other brutal misfits from committing crime.

The public burning of a human being by a mob of men who are themselves in a temporary, insane frenzy of mind, sows the seed of hate, revenge, and murder that, later will produce a luxuriant crop of crimes. It is a law of nature that hate begets hate; violence leads to greater violence; brutality and savagery indulged in by individuals or communities, put in motion powerful, silent forces or influences for evil. Such atrocious crimes as the burning to death of a man, does the world a thousand fold more injury than did the one bad act committed by the poor, ignorant victim of the mob's hate and vengeance.

The moral pervert who assaults a female should be put in prison, be required to work, and should receive wholesome teaching and kind, patient treatment. He is a moral cripple; he was cursed before he was born; he is a human monstrosity because of the sins of one or several of his ancestors. He is what he is because of the law of heredity. Shut him away from temptation, improve his environments, educate him to let reason instead of animal instinct guide him, and you will have saved a soul and blessed the world. Burning him to death is unspeakably atrocious and vicious. I have no prejudice against the people of any part of our great country. I regard every human being, black or white, as my brother. I do not believe in lynching criminals. There are mental and moral cripples as well as physical. I would no sooner burn such to death than I would cremate an unfortunate child because he was born blind or deaf and dumb or feeble minded. I am disposed to think that the distinguished ex-judge referred to, was less inclined to defend lynching, than he was disposed to indulge in a little boasting about the alleged superiority of Southern men in protecting the chastity of women. I hope so. The cause of the frequent lynching of negroes, by whites, is not so much due to their color or because the negro is a black man as to the fact that capitalism kidnapped him, forced him into slavery, robbed him of his earnings and of his liberty, degraded him to the level of the brute before the law, and although no longer a legal slave, he is looked upon by many whites as an inferior who has no rights that they are bound to respect.

Abraham Lincoln made it unlawful for the capitalist to own him as he owns his horse or dog, but the great emancipator did not and could not make the negro nor the white wage-slave economically free. The colored ex-slave and his children are still poor, and ignorant, and continue to suffer from the wrongs inflicted upon his ancestors.

Slavery, race-prejudice a race-war are the legitimate fruits of an industrial system of capitalism based on competition or the practice of exploiting from others the value of their labor without returning an equivalent therefore.

Socialism proposes to establish and maintain a co-operative commonwealth. Under such a system race antagonisms will in due time fade away because socialism has for its four corner stones justice, reciprocity, universal brotherhood and universal peace.

When the people of the South, put more Socialism, into practice and less competition, strife and hate, they will have fewer horrible lynchings and will advance several notches in the estimation of right-thinking and peacefully disposed persons.

Creston, Iowa.

TO HER—TO HIM.

(W. E. Hanson, Butte, Montana.)

TO HER:

When you're clothed in your silk and satin,
 With billowy flounces of lace,
 And your jewels dance and glitter,
 Turn your rouged and powdered face
 And glance in the mirror a moment
 While another face I show—
 Of another, who is your sister,
 Who is walking the streets below.
 Her face is pinched with sickness;
 Yours is abloom with health;
 Her form is encased in flimsy rags;
 Yours in the trappings of wealth.
 Your jewels are rubies and diamonds;
 Her's is a bleeding heart.
 You live in a world that is yours alone,
 In which she can have no part.
 You sold your soul for position,
 For wealth and a tinsel crown—
 For an empty name and a palace;
 And you try your thoughts to drown
 In an ocean of social madness,
 In a giddy and senseless whirl.
 But memories of bygone gladness
 Come back from the long, long ago,
 And you do not see your "sister,"
 And your heart is dead, I know,
 For she is one "that has fallen,"
 And is drinking the cup of "Woe."
 She fell through loving too deeply;
 You, through not loving enough;
 You get the world's acclamation,
 She, frowns and the world's rebuff;
 But, I wonder, when blindfolded Justice
 Weighs you both at Judgment Day,
 Which has the best claim to pity,
 Which one is heard when you pray?

TO HIM:

You're a man of might and position;
 You have garnered a golden store—
 A master and ruler of Labor
 And are ever harvesting more.
 To you the name "Man" has no meaning
 Unless it be coupled with wealth,
 And labor of mankind is the lever
 You use by subjection and stealth.
 Some of your gold is crimson
 With the blood of a patient slave
 And some of it damp with grimy sweat;
 'Tis the price of a beggar's grave;
 And some of it has a lurid tint,
 Like a low and slumbering fire.
 'Tis the levy you put on a human soul;
 'Tis the price of a harlot's hire.
 But, it bought you the woman in satin,
 With her flounces of a filmy lace;
 It paid for her rubies and diamonds,
 And the rouge for her pallid face;
 And as the woman who wears your name
 Added jewels to her crown,
 The one who paid your her wage of sin
 Sank deeper and deeper down.
 And so, you proud man of position,
 With millions of ill-gotten gold,
 While you prate of God and religion,
 And give, that the giving be told—
 Suck the life blood of man and of woman,
 Send souls to damnation and hell
 By practices base and inhuman,
 That are part of a devil's spell,
 Which he has cast over and bound you
 And to whom you have sold your soul;
 In return he gave what you craved for,
 And let you win at the goal.

NUGGETS.

By A. T. F.

A male who doesn't think is a gink.
 Those who can scrap don't live on scraps.
 Man cannot live by bread alone; he needs a porterhouse.
 From shack and slaves, O Lord, deliver us!
 Those who are meek and humble shall never know heaven or inherit the earth.
 There are two kinds of courage—the common kind is spelled cur-age.
 Dice-Presidents who spend our time shooting craps have missed their calling! Back to the muck stick.
 We do say that the "ladies' men" in the labor movement better try Broadway.
 All who wear trousers are not men.
 Bureaus of mines are run by fellows who don't know mica chist from copper.
 It is not \$ \$ \$ you need; it's brains.
 Ever stop to think? Watch out; you may get a headache.
 You should know you're on the map.
 No, Percival, economics is not a dog biscuit; it's a principle.

THE FRIENDS OF WORKING GIRLS.

By Agnes Thecla Fair.

The working girl needs best be on a sharp lookout for the pious brigands, tools of Big Business, who pose as "friends" of the working girl while chloroforming her with the programmes of social justice to come in the sweet bye and bye, when the workers are wise.
 The working girl needs no help from these brazen lazies who are "sacrificing" their all to get fastened to the pay check of the girl who sweats blood to earn the bread of life.
 The latest savior of the working girl, Miss Jane Addams, had best do her reforming on that much-overrated institution, the "Cull House," where I myself have served Miss Addams the best in the house, but we, the waitresses,

were limited to stew and come-backs.

All new waitresses work for a time for their experience, and my attempt to organize the girls was met with strenuous opposition from the lazy who now draws five hundred a month for telling what she doesn't know about children and what she learned about child labor (not as child laborer), but from the children who come into the "Cull House" to get out of the cold.

We waitresses in the "Cull House" were prevented from getting a living wage, as these "lazies," who desired to learn of the shams, smelling La France roses in their cozy rooms at the Hull House, who must have their fat salary, even though we never were organized.

As for the men who hang onto their meal tickets around that institution, they are too sissified to be worthy the name "man," and ought to be demonstrating Dutchess trousers in some store window. When they talked economics their knowledge was only superseded by their gift of gab, and rather than laugh in their faces at every meal, I quit in disgust.

Getting back to the one who established Jane Clubs, so the working girl could live cheap, consequently work cheap, thereby lowering the working girl's standard of living and increasing the number who must go to the red-light sweat shops. Has she ever done a single thing to benefit the working girl? I answer no; a thousand times, no!

Alice Lord, the little waitress in Seattle, who obtained the eight-hour law while engaged in her duties as a working girl, has done more than all the Jane Addams or Hull House lazies ever could do.

Lest we give too much space to the worthless, let we working girls add we are not so dull that we cannot see that those who name themselves apostles of social justice had best get off our backs and become workers, then take their place in the factory and sweat shop and let us out in the sunlight for a change.

From the dingy, dirty sweat shop to the sunlight; O God, what a change!



OSCAR WANTS WHOLE CHEESE.

(By Oscar Ameringer.)

I am a proletarian. That is a landless, toolless worker who works four-fifths of his time for a boss in order that I may have the opportunity to work one-fifth of the time for myself. I do not do so for the fun of it, but because I have to. I'd much rather keep the whole product of my labor. But the things with which I produce wealth are the private property of my boss. Without their use I cannot live at all. Even a poor living is better than no living. Hence I turn over to my master four-fifths of the wealth I produce. I do this with joy in my heart, because I must or starve to death.

Now comes Socialism. It promises me the whole cheese through the common ownership of the cheese factory. The whole cheese looks good to my hungry eyes. Therefore, I say, "Socialism is right."

The present owner of the cheese factory begs to differ. The ownership of the cheese factory gives to him the whole cheese, minus the one-fifth which is set aside for my maintenance while I make the cheese. The major portion of the cheese looks as good to my beloved boss as it does to me. Socialism endangers his strangle hold. Therefore, he says, "Socialism is wrong."

Any person of ordinary horse sense can see from the above that Socialism is both right and wrong. This may look contradictory to some folks, but it isn't. A thing may be right today and wrong tomorrow. Or it may be right and wrong at the same time. Or it may look right to some people and wrong to others. So you see there is something wrong about wrong, and right don't seem to be altogether right, or not quite right, or not right at all times or in the eyes of certain people. All this is as clear as mud.

For instance, it is right for a chicken to eat grasshoppers. But the grasshoppers entertain an entirely contrary notion on this subject. It is also right for the early bird to catch the worm. But it is safe to presume that the worm is bitterly opposed to the concept of right harbored by the early bird.

A coyote may also eat chickens without losing caste among his brethren. But judging from the amount of indignant noise arising from the chicken-coop this action is bitterly condemned by the fowls.

It is even so among other animals called humans. There was a time when the best people, the pillars of church and state, owned slaves or traded in slaves. Nowadays we say slavery is a wrong. But it was not wrong prior to 1863. And the undesirable citizen who raised his voice against the institution of slavery in those days had a good chance to be hanged by a committee of the leading citizens.

Yes, the world does change, and our own conception of right and wrong changes it. "But," you say, "is there no right or wrong in this sinful world?" Oh, yes, oodles and oodles of it. Whatever is against the strongest class in society is wrong. In other words, "might makes right."

At the present writing my boss belongs to the strongest class. Hence the cheese belongs to him by right—by right of might. It is the only right that has any standing in court—because the courts also belong to the strongest class. The cheese I made is not my cheese. Should I take that cheese, notwithstanding, I would be condemned by law. Morality, the interpretation of religion and law, follows the strongest class in society even as the tail follows the dog. The tail don't wag the dog. It expresses the sentiment of the dog.

Some day the working people will become the strongest class in society. When that day comes my boss will lose the cheese I made. For I will belong to the strongest class.

I am right because I am right.

This is the economic interpretation of the actions of men. This is the scientific view of life. It is the true conception of life because it is borne out by the recorded facts of life and by the 6,000 years of known history. Therefore the Socialist who tries to prove the justice of Socialism by a religion or a morality arising out of the institution of a semi-barbarous people is a muddlehead of the first order. The beneficiary of the present system which he seeks to convert with such arguments will laugh at him. Because whenever religion interferes with business we cut out religion. On the other side the victim of the system needs no moral arguments to convince him that four-fifths of the cheese is preferable to one-fifth. What he wants to know is how to get it. Show him, and he's your man!—Exchange.

THE MAN OF THE IRON JAW.

By J. William Lloyd.

Roosevelt the Candidate was the cynosure of all eyes. Roosevelt the Beaten is still not forgotten. This is a man who cannot be forgotten nor ignored.

Let us be just. The Man of the Iron Jaw is a wonderful personality. He has that peculiarly dynamic quality which all possess who do not attempt to be consistent, but who, like animals and thunder-clouds, express freely the stress of the moment.

Life is paradoxical, and the Man of the Iron Jaw is like life. Life, today, is in the mood of the Social Conscience, and Roosevelt, the Nietzschean, bidding in supreme egotism for the niche of the Superman, suddenly finds himself caught and twisted by the invisible Composite Will to serve its ends. Do you not see? Roosevelt the egoist has to work altruist; Roosevelt the Anti-Socialist has to be the step-ladder whereby Socialism may mount and enter the second story windows of a bourgeoisie too contented to look out and see it in the street.

Roosevelt is no coward. It was a brave man who could stand up after receiving an assassin's bullet and address an audience. Ay, a brave but a boastful one. For it was a fool act, the act of a neurotic egotist, hungry for the plaudits of the crowd, welcoming a wound as a dramatic opening for a picturesque impression and using it even at the risk of life. Yet what is life but being noticed and a warfare to win?

Yet life should be picturesque. As a race, as a people, as an age we are stupidly, criminally unpicturesque. The man, of the Iron Jaw has the good taste to make himself picturesque and a grateful country gives him his reward.

Roosevelt says he will go on. Of course. When he stops exhibiting himself and stops fighting he will be dead. He is a dynamo of neurotic egotism, energy, persistence and combativeness. That makes him the Man of the Iron Jaw.

The Man of the Iron Jaw is no charlatan. He is sincere. He is a Cromwell. It is his ethics you do not understand—a very simple one. Just this: Roosevelt is right. Whatever helps Roosevelt is right. Whatever opposes Roosevelt is wrong. Whatever, whoever, contradicts Roosevelt is a lie and a liar.

That's all.

A procession of dead Roosevelts stalks past the hell-hounds of Hades, but the Man of the Iron Jaw says, "Look at Me now!" and we look at him now. Nothing more is necessary.

Roosevelt never looks backward. He is untrammelled by the past. To kill this lion and have himself photographed with his foot on its neck is the one supreme concern of the moment. Therefore, no force is wasted and all has the concentration and impact of an express bullet.

And this man has the instinct of the opportune; he was born with the politician's finger for the public pulse.

But the Iron Jaw is a tool. We are all tools, and a Great Hand Presses Egotism and humility alike cut; crime and comradeship cut. We make or mar and wonder at each other and at ourselves, but Kismet cuts on. There is a change coming over the world, and this Iron Jaw must, willy nilly, bite and chew for it.

The red oriflamme floats over an ever-increasing phalanx of those who march in uniform step with eyes fixed on the high ideal of Socialism, but the Man of the Iron Jaw is breaking in an Awkward Squad of those willing enough and patriotic enough, but who do not yet know what the enemy looks like or what their pieces are loaded with.

Some day they will march with us.

Thanks to the Iron Jaw.—New Review.

MINERS' CONVENTION AT NELSON PASSES VERY IMPORTANT RESOLUTIONS.

District No. 6, W. F. of M., Will bring Matters of Serious Interest Before Legislature.

The convention of District 6 of the Western Federation of Miners' which concluded its deliberations at Nelson, on January 10th, has resulted in the advocacy of some very important amendments being adopted with a view to their enactment, regarding the Workmen's Compensation Act and the Eight Hour Law. Legislation providing that workers acquiring miner's phthisis and other diseases resulting from employment under unhealthy conditions may secure compensation as under the Workmen's Compensation Act, and that the B. C. Workmen's Compensation Act be brought in conformity with the Alberta Workmen's Compensation Act. The extension of the Eight Hour Law to cover carpenters Machinists, Boiler makers, helper and chain gang workers working around smelters was submitted by Trail.

It was explained that this class of workers had to work under the same conditions as regards smelter fumes, etc., as the regular smelter workers, and yet had to work nine hours. President "Bill" Davidson explained that such proposed legislation had been presented ineffectually on several occasions by the Socialist members in the House at Victoria. The resolution was adopted, and the delegates to the Federation of Labor convention at Victoria, Messrs. Percy W. Johnston and James Cuthbertson, instructed to bring this matter to the attention of the delegates from all over the province. Owing to an accident at the Mother Lode mine, Mr. W. B. McIsaac of Ymir was unable to be present. Mr. A. J. Carter, secretary-treasurer of District 18 of the United Mine Workers of America, conveyed to the convention fraternal greetings from the coal miners.

In his address to the convention he spoke in regard to the conditions existing, as follows: The strike of the coal miners in the Crow's Nest Pass during 1911 was a fight against tremendous odds. The cost to the mine workers was \$550,000, and the results, taken as a whole, were a credit to the organization.

The membership of District 18 at this time was equally as strong as in any previous year at this season, and was about 6,000. With regard to the "compensation act," he declared that it appeared that the operators were using the "workmen's" compensation act to bring about dissension among the membership of the unions. It was up to the workers to compel the Legislature to make the amendments desired by the unions.

Mr. J. W. Bennett, representative of the miners on the conciliation board, was present by invitation and was introduced by President Davidson, who made it clear that Mr. Bennett was not present in his capacity as a member of the conciliation board.

Mr. Bennett, in referring to the growing need for solidarity among the workers, said: "The spirit of solidarity, of putting aside little sectional differences, was growing steadily. There was no body of men doing more for their fellow workers than the Western Federation and the United Mine Workers. Mr. McNiven, fair wage officer for the western district of Canada, also spoke. Mr. James Cuthbertson of Greenwood was elected president—Mr. W. Davidson, retiring president, not being eligible, owing to his position as member of the international executive board. "As long as honesty wears a rag and rascality a robe, there is only one goal at which labor should aim," declared President-elect Cuthbertson, who described that goal as control of the means of production.—B. C. Federationist.

THERE MUST BE SOMETHING WRONG.

(By Alfred Houghton).

While soft Te Deums echo o'er the fields of ripened grain,
While burdened orchards join the chant of nature's grand refrain,
While fruits and flowers, ears and sheaves, from our prolific soil,
Proclaim the great Creator's power to fill the hands that toil.
If little children droop and die 'mid pestilential want,
If stalwart men parade the streets with aspects grim and gaunt,
If graceful women bend and break o'er shirts without a song,
If plenty elbows poverty there must be something wrong.

While looms and forges, steel and steam increase the nation's store,
While grand inventions, genius, art, are adding more and more,
While science man's producing power doth many times augment,
While warehouse rooms are crowded full and shelves with goods are bent.
If strikes and lockouts multiply, if want and failure spread,
If greedy robs the needy oncs of fuel, clothing, bread;
If hungry children, idle men, and weeping women throng
The city's cheerless tenements, there must be something wrong.

While marble sanctuaries bear the blest Redeemer's cross,
While altars flame with sacred fire and gleam with shining dross,
While pews with shining silk adorned blaze out with diamonds rare,
While richly cushioned floors support the wealthy while at prayer.
If in the crowded, filthy dens, where service labor dwells,
The anthems sung are vengeful threats, the prayers are funeral knells,
If grief is drowned in drink and joy is sought in liquor strong,
If love is lost, if hate is found, there must be something wrong.

To right these wrongs, to make this earth a paradise indeed,
To feed the hungry lambs of God, to succor those in need,
To rescue those whom grim despair is driving to the wall,
To lift the prostrate to their feet, to strengthen those who fall,
To help the weak, to curb the strong, to plant upon the soil
The reign of justice till no man shall ask for leave to toil;
This is the work we're pledged to do, united now we stand,
Opposed to tyranny and wrong, a valiant comrade band.

In Memoriam.

Kimberley, B. C., 1913.

Whereas, It has pleased Almighty God to remove from this world of sorrow the son of our brother, D. McEachern; and
Whereas, On account of the painful and heartrending manner in which death occurred; therefore, be it

Resolved, By Kimberley Miners' Unions No. 100, W. F. M., in meeting assembled, that we offer our heartfelt sympathy to the bereaved parents in their time of affliction, and be it further

Resolved, That a copy be sent to the sorrowing parents and one to the Miners' Magazine, and one be spread on the minutes.

T. MILLER,
W. M. CREADY,
M. P. VILLENEMEE.

Committee.

IN MEMORIAM.

Whereas, Death has invaded our ranks and has taken from our midst true and faithful brothers, Charles Saimi and George Huskonen;

Resolved, That the Calumet Copper Miners' Union No. 203, W. F. M., extend our heartfelt sympathy to the bereaved relatives of our departed brothers; be it further

Resolved, That a copy be spread on the minutes of the meeting; also that a copy be sent to our official paper, the Miners' Magazine, for publication.

THOMAS STRITZIELI,
MOR OPPMAN,
Resolution Committee.

IN MEMORIAM.

South Porcupine, Ontario, Canada, Jan. 25, 1913.

The following resolutions of condolence re the death of one of our brothers who came to his death in one of the mines in Cobalt, with a crosshead hitting him on the head and fracturing his skull and knocking him in the sump, where he stayed some time in water—long enough for the Coroner's (?) jury to declare that deceased came to his death with PNEUMONIA.

Whereas, Death has again visited our ranks and removed from our midst Brother J. P. Colterman, and

Whereas, By the death of Brother Colterman, Porcupine Miners' Union has lost a true and faithful member, therefore be it

Resolved, That we drape our charter for a period of thirty days; that a copy of these resolutions be spread upon the minutes of this local and that a copy be sent to the Miners' Magazine for publication.

WM. THOMPSON,
THOS. COLLINS,
SAM BIRCE,
Committee.

(Seal)

JAMES DOGWE, Secretary No. 145.

IN MEMORIAM.

Whereas, Death has again invaded our ranks and removed from our midst Brother Thomas Murry, and

Whereas, By the death of Brother Thomas Murry Tonopah Miners' Union has lost one of its most faithful and loyal members and the community a staunch and loyal citizen, be it

Resolved, That Tonopah Miners' Union No. 121 extend to the relatives and friends of the deceased brother our heartfelt sympathy in their grief and a copy of these resolutions be sent to the family of our late brother, and a copy be sent to the Miners' Magazine for publication and our charter be draped in mourning for a period of thirty days.

CON SULLIVAN,
JOHN HAGGERTY,
G. M. BENN,
Committee.

(Seal)

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

OFFICERS

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

EXECUTIVE BOARD

J. O. LOWNEY.....450 North Idaho Street, Butte, Montana
 YANCO TERZIOH.....605 Railroad Bldg., Denver, Colo.
 WILLIAM DAVIDSON.....New Denver, B. C.
 GUY E. MILLER.....Box 200, Joplin, Missouri

LIST OF UNIONS

No.	Name	Meet'g Night	President	Secretary	P.O. Box	Address
ALASKA						
109	Douglas Island	Wed	A. Lilljestrang	F. L. Alstrom	188	Douglas
194	Knk M U			Frank Boyer		Knk
162	Ketchikan	Thurs	A. R. MacDonald	G. E. Paup	75	Ketchikan
240	Nome	Sat	John A. Wilson	Albert Braten	209	Nome
193	Tanana M. W.	Tues	Emil Pozza	Daniel McCabe		Fairbanks
188	Valdez	Tues	Thos. Williams	C. F. McCallum	252	Valdez
ARIZONA						
106	Blasbee	Sun	P. H. Finn	G. S. Routh	238	Bisbee
77	Chloride	Wed	Wm. P. Mahoney	Paul E. White	53	Chloride
89	Crown King	Sat	Eric Bloom	O. A. Tyler	30	Crown King
150	Douglas M & S	Tues	P. J. Downs	F. A. Ballinger	211	Douglas
80	Globe	Tues	Louis Page	Matt. A. Kaleb	1809	Globe
116	Hualapai	Fri	H. M. Buck	J. E. Allen		Golconda
79	Jerome	Thur	Wm. J. Grey	T. D. Phifer	725	Jerome
118	McCabe	Sat	Jas. E. O'Brian	A. E. Comer	30	McCabe
70	Miami M. U.	Wed	Kenneth Clayton	J. A. Liles	836	Miami
238	Pinto Creek	Wed	C. L. Johnson	P. J. Breslin		Bellevue
124	Snowball	Wed	F. J. Bell	Thos. A. French	446	Goldroads
136	Superior M. U.	Tues	Clayton Brown	W. H. Dowling		Superior
156	Swansea M. U.		John Duke	N. Knowles		Swansea
110	Tiger	Thur	Fred Erickson	Jas. M. Farley	24	Crown King
BRIT. COLUMBIA						
216	Britanna		Albert Gill	K. MacNell		Brita. Mines {Howe Sound
182	Goose Bay M.U.					Goose Bay
180	Grand Forks	Wed	Wilson Fleming	J. N. Currie		Grand Forks
22	Greenwood	Sat	Fred Axam	William Ross	124	Greenwood
161	Hedley M & M.	Wed	O. M. Stevens	T. R. Willey	375	Hedley
69	Kaslo	Sat	Thomas Doyle	L. A. Lemon	391	Kaslo
100	Kimberly	Sat	Wm. Fleming	M. P. Villeneuve		Kimberly
96	Nelson	Sat	O. Harmon	Frank Phillips	106	Nelson
8	Phoenix	Sat	Dan Paterson	D. A. Vignaux	294	Phoenix
181	Portland Canal	12th	Dan Bartholomew	Cas Davis	27	Stewart
33	Rossland	Wed	Samuel Stevens	Herbert Varcoe	421	Rossland
81	Sandon	Sat	L. R. McInnis	A. Shilland	K	Sandon
95	Silverton	Sat	Alex Matheson	J. D. McInnes	85	Silverton
62	Slocan City			D. B. O'Neil	90	Slocan City
118	Texada	Sat	B. E. Thornton	Joseph H. Parker		Van Anda
103	Trall M & S	Mon	Geo. Castel	Frank Campbell	26	Trall
85	Ymir	Wed	A. Burgess	W. B. McIsaac	506	Ymir
CALIFORNIA						
135	Amador Co. M. M.	Fri	Jas. Stapleton	James Giambruno		Sutter Creek
61	Bodie	Tues	F. T. Roach	J. M. Donohue	5	Bodie
55	Ocalvaras	Wed	W. E. Thompson	W. S. Reid	227	Angel's Camp
141	French Gulch	SuAft	Alex McSween	Wm Maguire	12	French Gulch
90	Grass Valley	Fri	John H. Pascoe	C. W. Jenkins	199	Grass Valley
91	Grass Valley					
	Surface Workers	Fri	T. H. Brockington	W. J. Martin	497	Grass Valley
169	Graniteville	Sat	W. E. Kyle	A. C. Travis		Graniteville
99	Hart	Tues	Chas. Fransen	J. M. Snorf	37	Hart
174	Kennett	Thur	Geo. Simington	N. N. Enemark	N	Kennett
93	Nevada City	Wed	Thos. Haddy	Wm. Angwin	76	Nevada City
44	Randsburg	Sat	J. P. Burris	E. A. Stockton	248	Randsburg
211	Skidoo	Thur	Frank Moore	J. N. Mattocks	355	Skidoo
73	Tuolumne	Thur	John Peepo	Ed. Climo	101	Stent
127	Wood's Creek	Sat	Fred Daniels	C. L. Anthony	16	Chinese Camp
COLORADO						
64	Bryan	Alter	Jas. Penaluna	James Spurrier	82	Ophlr
142	Castle Rock M & S		John S. Adlock	Frank M. Nigro	527	Salida
33	Cloud City	Mon	John Mahoney	Abe Waldron	3	Leadville
20	Creede	Tue	Wm. Symes	Ernest Pearson	543	Creede
234	Cripple Creek D U	Wed	Wm. Nolan	John Turney		Victor
58	Central City	Thur	J. W. Driscoll	John Gorman	537	Central City
130	Dunton	Sat	Chas. A. Goble	Robt B Lippincott	9	Dunton
41	Eight Hr. M & S U		Tony Poblasco	M. M. Hickey	933	Denver
34	Kerber Creek			P. J. Byrne		Bonanza
197	La Platta M. U.			A. J. Stephens		Mancoes
48	Nederland	Tues	E. C. Payne	Hans Nelson	3	Nederland
15	Ouray	Sat	John Kneisler	J. E. Commins	293	Ouray
6	Pitkin County	Tues	W. R. Cole	Geo. W. Smith	1046	Aspen
43	Pueblo S. Union	Tues	Steve Carlino	Chas. Pogorelec	755	Pueblo
36	Rico	Sat	John A. Shaver	Harry E. Fry	470	Rico
185	Rockvale	Sat	Jim Bertolli	French Faoro	60	Rockvale
26	Silverton	Sat	Theo. A. Boak	R. P. MacKenzie	168	Silverton
63	Telluride	Wed	Russell Foster	B. B. Shute	278	Telluride
198	Trinidad	Sun	Robt. Uhlich	Mike Livoda	387	Trinidad
59	Ward	Fri	Lew Nichols	J. D. Orme	126	Ward
IDAHO						
10	Burke	Fri	Tom Clark	Wm. Toms	159	Burke
53	De Lamar	Mon	A. Easterbrook	Wm. Hawkins	19	De Lamar
11	Gem	Tues	Chas. Goranson	N. L. Lindsten	117	Gem
9	Mullan	Sat	Thos. Kelly	B. G. Yocum	30	Mullan
66	Silver City	Sat	H. A. Snyder	Henry Olson	67	Silver City
45	Murray	Sat	Edw. C. Schmidt	Walter Keister	124	Murray
17	Wallace	Sat	Geo. M. Turner	Herbert Johnson	107	Wallace
ILLINOIS						
210	Alton S. M. U.	Tues	Robert Wallace	Clarence Andereck		Alton
207	Collinsville M. U.	Wed	E. G. Gates	Carl Krelder		Collinsville
KANSAS						
218	Blue Rapids M & M	1-3 Sat		Guy Kidd		Blue Rapids
237	Dearing S. U.		George Morrison	Geo. W. Morrison	146	Collinsville
239	Pittsburg S. U.					Pittsburg
238	Altoona S. U.		John Morrison	W. J. Green		Altoona
227	Caney S. U.	Tues	W. R. Frick	B. Hobson	74	Caney
KENTUCKY						
245	Craigs M. U.		Holt Warren	Hoyle Warren		Owingsville
MICHIGAN						
214	Amasa, M. W.	1-3 Su	Jacob Talso	John Kivimaki	184	Amasa, Mich.
204	Bessemer	Wed	Matti Kevari	H. B. Snellman	381	Bessemer
203	Copper	Suam	Peter Jedd	John E. Auttila	26	Calumet
196	Crystal Falls 1st & 2d	Sun	Joe Bittner	Axel Kolinen	K	Crystal Falls
200	Hancock Copper	Sun	Peter Sculattl	Carl E. Hietala	217	Hancock
177	Iron Mountain			Axel Fredrickson	323	Iron Mountain
153	Ironwood		Lorence Verbos	Emar Tossava	13	Ironwood
222	Ishpeming	Sat	Chas. Cowling	E. Harper	115	Ishpeming
215	Mass City M. U.	1-3 Su	A. E. Butte	Jacob Vainioupaa	91	Mass City
128	Negaunee	Sun9a	Antti Luttinen	K. O. Saarista		Negaunee
209	Palatka	Sun	V. B. Mason	Fahle Burman	441	Iron River
196	South Range	1-3 Sat	Arvid Viitanen	Henry Kaski	202	South Range
228	Winthrop M W	Mon	Adolph Stuen	John Kelly	74	National Mine

LIST OF UNIONS

No.	Name	Meet'g Night	President	Secretary	P.O. Box	Address
MINNESOTA						
155	Hibbing M. U.			H. W. Rihonen		Hibbing
MISSOURI						
231	Bonne Terre		Wm. Wenson	Fred Wright	365	Bonne Terre
221	Cartersville M. U.		Jas. A. Housman	Frank Short	231	Cartersville
229	Desloge	Sat	F. M. Monroe	John Thurman	538	Desloge
230	Doe Run	Thur	James Mitchell	W. E. Williams		Doe Run
242	Elvins M. M.	Tues	Wm. Kinney	Rufus Blaylock	236	Elvins
225	Flat River	Mon	J. S. Larned	J. L. Johnson	574	Flat River
205	Fredricktown M & S		M. M. Walker	F. Z. Guetter		Fredricktown
249	Herculaneum Smeltermen's U.		Willard Lackey	A. L. Hill	123	Herculaneum
217	Joplin	Thurs	J. D. Hunter	John A. Lackay	300	Joplin
				2417 Carter St.		
236	Leadwood	Tues	Wm. A. Barton	W. G. Pinkerton	202	Leadwood
192	Mine La Motte M U		J. C. Spray	D. L. Abby		Mine La Motte
232	Prosperity		Sam Blackledge	D. A. Johnson	27	Prosperity
226	Webb City	Thur	C. C. Davis	G. Paxton	RR No. 1	Webb City
219	Zinc Lodge			I. M. Sidenstircker		Neck City
MONTANA						
117	Anaconda M & S	Fri	Bernard McCarthy	Martin Judge	473	Anaconda
57	Aldridge	Wed	Alex Hynd	Theo. Brockman	121	Electric
23	Basin	Wed	Henry Berg	D. R. McCoord	156	Basin
7	Belt Mountain	Tues	Fred Maxwell	Chas choberg		Neihart
1	Butte	Tues	Dennis Murphy	James Cassidy	1407	Butte
			John Hartigan, Rec. Secy.	Fin. Secy.		
83	Butte Engineers	Wed	W. T. Sodden	A. C. Dawe	229	Butte
191	Corbin M & M	Wed	Al Smitchger	James Belcher	3	Corbin
82	Garnet	Thur	Nels Sedin	Michael Miller		Garnet
4	Granite	Tues	M. McDonald	Al. Hollander	280	Phillipsburg
16	Great Falls M & S	Tues	A. H. Race	A. B. Pettigrew	1720	Great Falls
175	Iron Mountain			John McMullan		Supesor
107	Judth Mountain	Sat	M. M. Dryden	E. J. Barry	557	Maiden
112	Maryville M. U.	Mon	Chas. Thornes	Mike Millan	56	Marysville
138	Mt. Helena	Sat	Jas. Taylor	Geo. Sutherland	453	Helena
111	North Moccasin	Sat	Wm. A. Cameron	E. J. Holder	68	Kendall
131	Pony M & M	1-3 Sa	E. M. Freeman	J. F. Milligan	205	Pony
120	Radersburg	Mon	Ed. Slavins	Mike McLaughlin	137	Radersburg
208	Ruby L & DW	2-4 Sat	Louis Miller	O. O. Sweeney		Ruby
25	Wnston		R. F. Whyte	Geo. Ballentine	A	Winston
190	Zortman	Tues	Fred Bronson	E. L. R. Snow		Whitcomb
NEVADA						
252	Blair M & M	1-3 Tu	John Inman	S. H. Hartwig	83	Blair
235	Bonanza	Sat	A. J. Gingles	J. B. Williams	14	Rhyolite
246	Bullion	Tues	Wm. Kidd	Al Morgan		Hilltop
265	Eureka	Thur	William Gibson	J. H. Jury	18	Eureka
243	Fairview	Wed	William Dunne	J. A. Herndon	26	Fairview
259	Goldfield M. U.					Goldfield
54	Gold Hill	Mon	James McKinley	F. L. Clark	115	Gold Hill
251	Lane	Thur	J. D. McDonald	Arthur McDonald	28	Kimberly
261	Lyon & Ormsby Co	2-4 Mo	Hugh Farley	Henry S. Rice		Mound House
248	Lucky Boy	Thurs	Wm. McCall	J. M. Krippner	87	Lucky Boy
241	Manhattan	Tues	Sam Ed. Smith	Wm. Hess	158	Manhattan
262	Mason	d Fri	H. Young	Earl Jensen	54	Mason
284	Millers	Wed	Chas. Sheaff	A. G. Pace	5	Millers
254	National	Sat	J. G. Westberg	W. S. Bretz	56	National
263	Pioche	Mon		W. B. Martin		Pioche
247	Round Mountain	Fri	F. M. Witt	L. L. Moore	F	Round M'tn
256	Seven Troughs	Fri	Andy Milroy	W. J. Lavey	14	Seven Trough
92	Silver City	2-4 Tu	W. D. Robohm	J. W. Hickey	76	Silver City
253	Silver Peak	Tues	Joe Gynot	J. S. Norman	90	Blair
233	Steptoe M & S	Mon	Bert Thayer	John Donohue	338	McGill
255	Thompson M. & S.	Tues	John Wright	Joe O. Yeager		Thompson
121	Tonopah	Tues	Thos. M. Fagan	Thos. McManus	11	Tonopah
31	Tuscarora	Wed	Chester D. Lamar	Herman Seivers	67	Tuscarora
46	Virginia	Fri	Jas. P. Sullivan	Wm. O'Leary	I	Virginia City
250	Wonder M. U.	Fri	A. A. Smilth	J. K. Henderson		Wonder
NEW JERSEY						
266	Franklin Fur. M. S.		Mark Sedusky	Mike Zagarsky	Fra	nklin Furnace
267	Perth Amboy S. U.		Geo. Pastrik	Marian Maslowski		Perth Amboy
NEW MEXICO						
32	Mogollon M U		H. A. Amott	C. A. Eckert	1	Mogollon
OKLAHOMA						
132	Bartlesville M & S	Mon	Jos. Irick	Wm. Ransom	515	421 Cheyenne
133	Collinsville S. U.					

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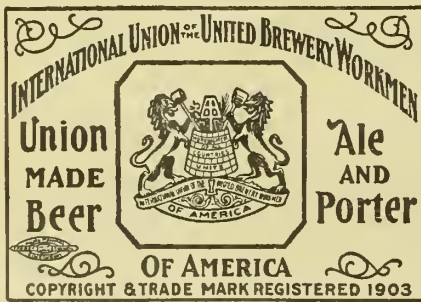
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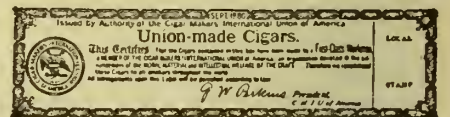
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The Miners Magazine

WEEKLY PUBLICATION

of the

WESTERN FEDERATION OF MINERS

JOHN M. O'NEILL, Editor

Subscription Price \$1.00 A YEAR