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EDUCATION INDEPENDENCE ORGANIZATION



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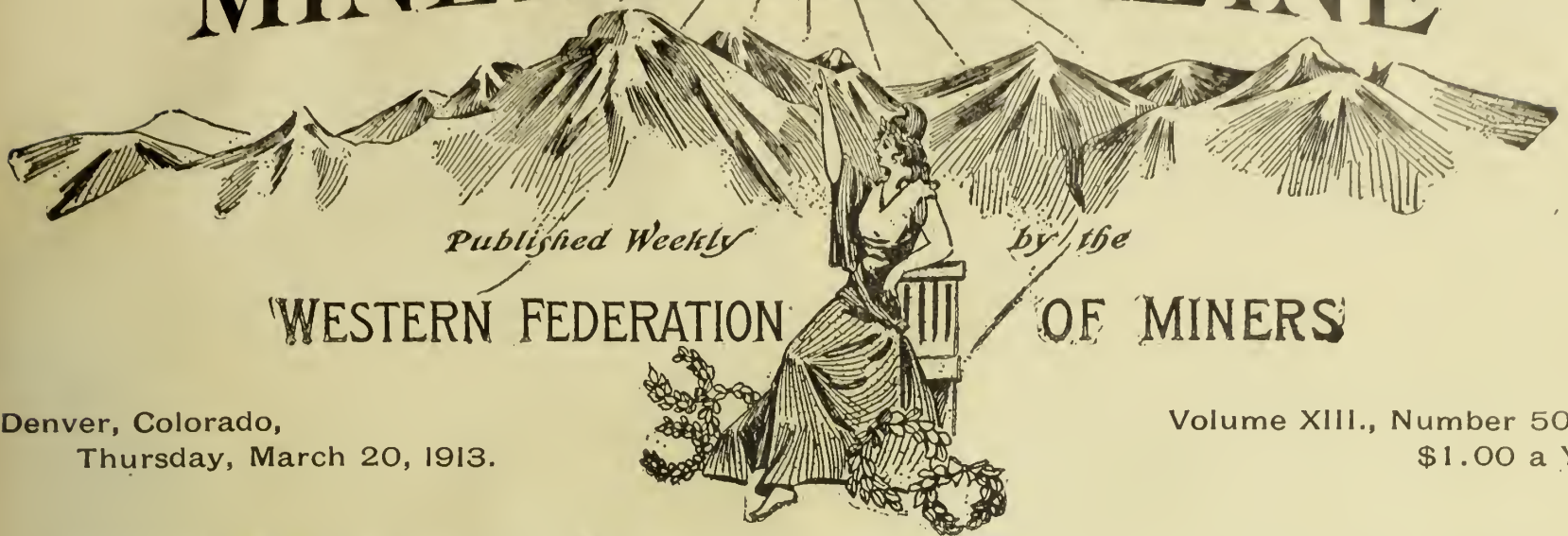
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EDUCATION INDEPENDENCE ORGANIZATION

MINERS MAGAZINE



Denver, Colorado,
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John M. O'Neill, Editor

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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 STRIKE at Mineville, New York, still continues, and the striking miners feel confident of winning their demands.

PRESIDENT WILSON—the man of books—tells the workers to give more work for their wages. But up to this date he has not advised the employers to give more wages for the work that the workers do.—Toilers' Defense.

THE INVESTIGATION of the legislative committee of the state of Illinois has disclosed that 60,000 women in the city of Chicago are receiving \$5 or less per week as employes. It is no wonder that white slavery is rampant, for such a wage means dishonor or death.

WILLIAM J. BURNS, the detective, sneaked a dictograph into the headquarters of the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen while the representatives of this organization were holding conferences in Chicago recently discussing their grievances with the railroad corporations. Burns has frequently declared that he was a "friend of labor," and when this glutton for blood-money plants a dictograph in the meeting place of the Trainmen, in order that he may be able to

report the proceedings of such meetings to railway magnates who are his paymasters, there should be none to dispute the *friendship* of the *slueth* for the working class. Burns as a *liar* takes first premium.

WILLIAM WILSON, of Pennsylvania, who was formerly a congressman and likewise at one time secretary-treasurer of the United Mine Workers of America, is receiving many congratulations on his appointment as Secretary of Labor in President Wilson's Cabinet.

IT WAS MR. TAFT'S MISFORTUNE to be elected to the presidency at a time which called for strong qualities of party leadership in the executive office.

Where he was judicial, he should have been strongheaded; where he was kind, he should have been ruthless. But weak as he was when he was judicial, he became even weaker when he sought to be strongheaded and ride rough shod.

It was impossible for Mr. Taft to succeed. Events were against him. In other times, he would have had easy sailing, but in the storm and stress of changing conditions, the meaning of which he could not grasp, he was at the mercy of every gust of wind. His sails were rent and his rudder broken.—Milwaukee Leader.

THE CLAIM has been set forth that the Socialist party in recalling ('Bill' Haywood from the national executive committee will lose thousands of its members.

The Socialist party would be fortunate if it lost every member who stands for "direct action" and "sabotage" but the Socialist party is doomed to suffer from the presence of these anarchists who will continue to practice "sabotage" and direct action on the Socialist party.

Unless the Socialist party takes steps to rid itself of yelping wind-mills, there is a possibility of the Socialist party being shattered and left in a condition that will require years of effort to repair.

Jawsmiths with more froth than logic do not belong in any organization whose members lay claim to intelligence.

THE TIMBER WORKER in a lengthy editorial makes some telling points against the disrupting tactics of the I. W. W. in the state of Washington. The Timber Worker declares that at a recent meeting held at Everett, Washington, the local union of the Timber Workers secured more members in two hours than the I. W. W. has in six years. The I. W. W., like a coyote, makes noise, but fails to do anything that means progress for the working class. Men who shout continually are physically exhausted and in no condition mentally to devise ways and means by which labor can be brought closer to economic liberty.

To advance the cause of labor means *real work*, and *work* is not welcomed by professional vagrants, who would rather warble "I'm a Bum!" and rush the *grouler* than to slight their vanity by hard work.

A WELL-ATTENDED and enthusiastic meeting of six crafts formerly engaged in work in Garfield and Bingham in the Labor Temple Tuesday evening a resolution was adopted without a dissenting vote reaffirming the striking at Bingham and Garfield and pledge themselves to continue the strike to its finish. The meeting was called at the behest of the Iron Moulders' Union in answer to a communication from International President Valentine who asked to know how the various crafts stood on the strike.

Representatives of the boilermakerst, blacksmiths, electricians, machinists, iron moulders and miners were present. David Camnomile and Joseph Mitchell spoke for the boilermakers; George Sanborn and Eugene Berling for the blacksmiths, W. Williams and Jessie Fields for the electricians International Vice President Ames and C. T. Nicholson for the machinists; Yanco Terzich and P. J. McKenna for the Western

Federation of Miners and N. A. Hagberg for the iron moulders. The speakers were unanimous in support of the strike.

The resolution adopted unanimously was as follows:

"We move you that the representatives of the various organizations on strike at Bingham and Garfield pledge ourselves to continue the present strike until such time as it can be settled satisfactorily to all concerned; also that our international president's be informed of said action."—Inter-Mountain Worker, Salt Lake.

THE MINERS of the Joplin district of Missouri are becoming aroused to the necessity of coming together in a labor organization, and as a result of such awakening, Marion Cope, organizer for the W. F. M. is doing very effective work.

The Missouri Trades Unionist published at Joplin, in a late issue had the following relative to the interest that is being taken by the miners in unionism.

"District Organizer Marion Cope and his assistants are making great advances in the way of organizing miners' unions throughout the mining district. The men seem determined to form local organizations in every mining camp in the district and Organizer Cope is unable to meet the demands made upon him for organizing work.

"The largest meeting of the past ten days was held in Webb City Monday night, when a volunteer band of some twenty-odd pieces assisted in getting a meeting of the miners to talk organization.

"Last Monday night a big meeting was held in the Newland Hotel at Webb City, at which time fifty-six applications were taken. All these miners will be voted into the different locals. Organizer Cope reports that nearly 250 applications have been received during the past ten days, up to Sunday night last and not including the new applications taken Monday night.

"At the Monday night meeting Will J. Edens and Perle Thompson aided Organizer Cope in urging the miners to join the union. Another meeting will be held Friday night in Webb City and several prominent speakers will be present."

From the above, it can be seen that there is a strong probability of the Joplin mining district being thoroughly organized, and with this district organized as it should be, it will have a far-reaching influence in placing the men of the mines, mills and smelters of Missouri under one flag to fight for a higher wage and improved conditions generally.

DURING THE TIME that the suffragists were marching from New York to Washington, Cardinal Gibbons delivered an address to the Woman's Auxiliary of St. Raphael's Institute of Baltimore and during the course of his address delivered himself of the following:

"Here we have true women; women who know their place. There are among the women in the auxiliary many who have homes that are models. They devote their time to bringing up their children in the fear and love of God.

"Then look at the other picture in contrast. On one hand we see good accomplished in a quiet, modest way. On the other we see noisy, clamorous and spectacular ways of other women, and as an example of this I point to the hikers who were among you a few days ago.

"I am not in favor of suffrage now, nor was I when I received the hikers. I did not say on any occasion that they reminded me of Joan of Arc, nor did I compare their sacrifice to that of the noble woman of France. It seems that I have let it be understood that I urged the national Congress to hear their pleas. I said nothing of the kind."

The fact that a woman is a prisoner in her home, chained to drudgery and the care of children that taxes her strength almost beyond the point of endurance, no longer appeals to men and women of intelligence.

The woman of mental power is striking a blow for liberty and regardless of hoary tradition, "the hand that rocks the cradle" will wrest the ballot from the grip of the sterner sex.

Woman, in spite of man, has risen from her knees and is today standing on her feet, demanding that she shall have a voice in the affairs of government and that she shall have something to say relative to laws to which she must yield obedience.

The man who looks upon a woman merely as an incubator, belongs to a past age, and whether such men are exalted prelates of the church or powerful in the political life of a nation, they will be forced to bow in submission to that growing sentiment that demands that woman shall have a voice at the ballot box.

THE OREGON BALLOT in commenting on the orgies of the plutes in Chicago attending a ball to raise *charity* for the poor, had the following to say, editorially:

"The other day Chicago gave its annual "charity" ball. It was

an obscene and rancid orgie, which, had it been given by the underworld, would have been raided by the police.

At this particular revel jewels valued at \$10,000,000 were flaunted by the demimonde in high life; booze flowed like sewage, and the net proceeds which will be still further reduced before the money reaches its final destination, was \$14,000.

Far more was blown in for champagne, etc., than the paltry pittance that will go to the poor.

"The "charity" ball is an unmitigated insult to the poor and ought to be resented by them with indignation. That the demi-monde in upper (?) circles deign to strip themselves half naked and cavort about a ball room in the "grizzly bear" the "turkey trot," the "bunny hug" and other lascivious performances, to provide with a handout the victims of the plutocratic piracies which surfeit them with their riches and their insane extravagances is the limit of moral perversion, and the decent people in every community should unite in protest against this "upper class" exhibition of brazen vulgarity.

"Any decent self-respecting human being would die of starvation a thousand times before he would allow himself to be fed out of that kind of "charity."

"There is not a true charitable impulse in the whole indecent exhibition."

The above is a caustic excoiation of the cream of society, who graciously condescend to dance annually for the benefit of those miserable and disinherited members of the human family, whose vitals are clutched by the skeleton fingers of want and hunger. But the caustic denunciation of the Ballot will not stop the charity balls nor the orgies of drunken patricians, who are licensed to become gluttons in the name of *charity*. "Charity covers a multitude of sin," for *charity* is one of the many evils that has grown out of the hellish industrial system that has built mansions and hovels and bred tyrants and slaves. As long as men, crushed by economic wrongs, vote for industrial slavery, just so long will there be *poverty* and just so long will the victims of want accept the crumbs that come from charity balls, even though such balls are a disgrace to our so-called boasted civilization.

EUGENE V. DEBS, in commenting on the arrest of "Mother" Jones, said:

"The arrest of Mother Jones at the instance of the mine owners of West Virginia for inciting to riot and complicity in murder, as announced in the press dispatches, adds another plume to the crown of that lion-hearted old warrior of the labor movement.

"The charge against Mother Jones, Paulsen and the rest of the organizers is as false as it is malicious and trumped up for no other purpose than to defeat the efforts they were making with such signal success recently to organize the coal diggers who had for so many years been under the iron heel of the brutal boss.

"The truth is that civil war has been raging in West Virginia during the past six months. The corporations not only control the state—they are the state. Their command is the supreme law. The governor is their handy man. When the coal barons whistle, the constitution is suspended and martial law prevails. The supreme lackeys on the bench promptly give their judicial sanction. The state militia is the private standing army of the labor-crushing corporations, and the soldiers move like jumping-jacks at their command. They also have a standing army of strikebreakers, called guards, consisting of seasoned thugs and high-grade assassins, and these mercenary hirelings have prodded pregnant women with their bayonets and knocked down little children with the butts of their guns in their brutal attempts to force the striking miners back into the black holes of West Virginia at wages insufficient to feed so many dogs.

"The newspapers and the churches are on the side of the corporations else they would be driven out of the state. During the last few months Mother Jones has made her organizing headquarters at Charleston and directed the work from there. Vice President Frank Hayes of the United Mine Workers, Organizers Paulsen, Bartley, Haggerty and others have been actively at work in the same field, and in spite of every obstacle thrown in their way by the bosses, they have succeeded in getting the miners lined up for action, and this is the reason Mother Jones and the organizers have been arrested and charged with murder.

"The coal pirates of West Virginia are fighting desperately to prevent feudalism and peonage from being broken up in that state.

"The day they had Mother Jones arrested they were caught red-handed, buying up the Legislature like a drove of hogs. They have robbed the miners, debauched the courts, cashed in the Legislature, established a military despotism to maintain their black holes of industrial slavery and brought eternal shame and disgrace upon the state.

"The time has come to call a halt to these corporation slave drivers, and all the resources at the command of the Socialist party and the labor movement should be put behind Mother Jones and the striking miners, and the fight pushed all along the line until these black holes are unionized and the infamous rule of the robbers has been forever broken in West Virginia."

He Is Penitent Now

THE FOLLOWING LETTER has been sent to us for publication from Bingham Canyon, Utah, and is the lament for a man who not only committed treason to his fellow-men, but to himself.

Bingham Canyon Utah, February 28, 1913.

"It is close to five months since I became a traitor to my fellow-men. I and a few others were the first to desert our fellow-workers in the strike and go to scabbing. We now realize the enormity of our act and humbly ask to be excused and pardoned for our treacherous conduct to the conscientious union men and desire to be welcomed back into the organization. I wish to assure the members of the union that if ever I am again permitted to carry a union card never again will I become a traitor to my fellow-man.

"None better than I realize what it means to be a scab, for not only here but from my home in Italy is wafted to me the news that I am a traitor to my class and I can even hear my little boy lisping, "papa is a traitor."

"For some time I wondered how my family and friends came to know that I am a traitor and then it came to me that my name had been published in an Italian paper and copies had been sent to my family and friends. On receipt of the papers my wife and family called me a traitor and now I am looked down upon not only here but in my home land. I keep asking myself, why did I go scabbing?

"It pains me to think that when my son comes to America he will be looked down upon because his father was a scab. If perchance he goes into a camp where the union controls he will receive better wages and better conditions, all due to the efforts of union men.

"I and the majority of the men who deserted the union feel our position keenly and if we are given the chance to once more be union men we pledge ourselves to never again be traitors.

"We realize that we are a hundred times more servile than the jackass as he will kick at his boss. But we went down on our knees to the boss and begged to be allowed to go back to work and the capitalists now laugh at and mock us.

"But we wish to serve warning that the present scabs are not so docile as the bosses think and that when the right time comes they will turn around and kick the boss. I understand now that we working men have nothing to lose but our chains of slavery.

"From to day on we are ready to break this chain of slavery. I know no one was killed during the strike except us scabs, and daily some one is being injured.

"So I say good-bye to all working men."

It may be that this man is penitent and may redeem himself, but he can never expel from his memory the fact of his treachery. He violated his solemn pledge and trampled under foot the principles of the organization of which he was once a respected member. Those who know him and have been faithful will ever look upon him with suspicion, even though he may do everything within his power to make amends for his Judas act.

The traitor forfeits the right to expect trust or confidence.

But not only will his scabbery follow him through life, but even his posterity will be reminded of the degeneracy of the parent who flung his honor and manhood into the mire, to aid industrial autocrats in their fight to enslave labor.

The Card System in Porcupine

CAPITALISM is the same all over the world. The tactics and methods utilized by a master class to hold labor in subjection are the same under the flag of a Republic as they are beneath the banner of a Monarchy. The following application blank issued by the Hollinger Gold Mines, Limited of South Porcupine, Ontario, Canada shows the drastic methods used to retard the growth and development of the labor movement.

The application reads as follows:

THE HOLLINGER GOLD MINES, LIMITED.

Name Age Nationality
 Position Applied for
 Where have you worked during the past two years? Gives dates and positions
 Married or Single? Number of Children
 Ages of Children?
 Where are Wife and Children?
 Are you supporting any other relatives?
 Are you a member of the Western Federation of Miners?
 Have you ever been a member of the Western Fed. of Miners?
 Have you ever been an official of the Western Fed. of Miners?
 Have you ever been "on strike"?
 What is your home town?
 Give names and addresses of two reputable persons who can vouch

for your fitness for the position applied for.....

 Have you any chronic sickness or disability?.....
 Whom to notify in case of accident.....

I certify the above information to be correct.

WITNESSES

Date.....

.....Applicant for work.

The above application blank is the typical card of the Mine Owner's Association, and is used not only by mine operators in America and Canada, but by employers of labor in various other industries.

The jobless man before seeking employment must secure one of these application blanks and fill out the same, answering all questions satisfactorily, before he is even permitted to seek employment with any certainty of success. In other words, the application blank filled out with all questions answered, is the license to the slave to seek employment.

In mining districts or industrial centers, where such a card is used, it is useless and but a waste of time for any applicant for work to seek employment unless he is equipped with a card that is an insult to every laboring man whose blood has not lost its crimson hue.

The labor movement of the whole continent must be aroused to the necessity of giving battle to the infamous card system that demands of an applicant for work that he shall lay bare to an employer the most important events in the history of his life, ere he is permitted to become a slave for an industrial tyrant.

Nuts for Haywood to Crack

AFTER FIVE WEEKS of silence, William D. Haywood discov-
 ers that the charges I made against him to the effect that he had collected funds at Collinsville, Ill., Belleville, Ill., and St. Louis for the defense of Steve Adams and according to the records had failed to turn them over to the Western Federation of Miners are "contemptible and malicious lies." He does not direct his denials to me nor to the members of the Socialist party and Organized Labor, but to Chas. H. Moyer, President of the W. F. M., and in his denial he claims that my charges could only have been written with Moyer's connivance and approval.

First of all I want to emphatically deny that Moyer had anything whatever to do with the writing of my statement, or that he knew anything of it having been written until copies had been sent to the United Mine Workers' Journal and a few other labor papers. I am full grown and not dependent on President Moyer or anyone else to inspire me to tell the truth, neither could President Moyer or "Bill" Haywood persuade me to issue a statement setting forth acts and circumstances that I am not reasonably sure to be the truth.

Haywood's denial of my charges is indefinite and evasive. Let me ask but a few questions to get at the facts. Is it a "contemptible and malicious" lie that Haywood collected the amounts that I mentioned at Collinsville, Belleville and St. Louis for the defense of Steve Adams? Will Haywood deny that the money was collected

and turned over to him? Is it a "contemptible and malicious" lie that he failed to forward the money to the office of the W. F. M.? What are the "contemptible and malicious" lies?

There are two points involved, first that he received the money and second that he failed to forward it to the office of the W. F. M. to be used for the purpose stated by himself at the meetings in question, and on this I wish Mr. Haywood would be specific.

Why does Haywood write to President Moyer in connection with this matter and at the same time have his letter published in the Industrial Worker? The letter to Moyer is of a personal nature and it would have been the act of a man who wishes to be fair to wait a reasonable length of time for a reply before he sent it to the press for publication. As a rule men do not have personal letters published in the press, and the only purpose in resorting to the press simultaneously with sending the letter to President Moyer who had no connection with the affair is to injure Moyer's standing in the Labor World or to injure the W. F. M. or both. He says that he saw my statement in the Miner's Magazine, the official organ of the W. F. M. This publication copied it from the United Mine Workers' Journal. Why did he not send his denial to either the Miner's Magazine or the United Mine Workers' Journal? Why does he write President Moyer?

Haywood makes a proposition to President Moyer, that a committee of five be appointed, two by himself, which will be satisfactory

to the Socialist party and organized labor generally, two by Moyer and these four to select the fifth. Since when has Haywood been appointed as an agent to select a committee to represent the Socialist party and organized labor generally? And aside from that, such a proposition is the height of absurdity, for neither Moyer, the President, nor Ernest Mills, the Secretary-Treasurer, would have the authority to turn the records in the office of the W. F. M. over to any committee unless such action was approved by the organization. This Haywood knew when he made the proposition and it was only because that he knew that it must be rejected that prompted him to make it. Haywood's whole official connection with the W. F. M. was not involved in my statement, but only the funds collected at Collinsville Belleville and St. Louis meetings. Since issuing that statement I have been informed that he collected money at Mascoutah which also cannot be found in the records of the W. F. M.

The meetings in question were held as follows: Collinsville, Ill., April 11, 1908; Belleville and St. Louis (two meetings) April 12, and Mascoutah, April 13. I have before me the official proceedings of the 17th Annual Convention of the Western Federation of Miners, held in Odd Fellows' hall at Denver on July 13 to 29, 1908, which give a complete and detailed statement of the funds collected by the Federation and I have carefully gone over the receipts for the months of April, May and June, but not a trace can be found crediting Haywood or anyone else with money collected at the places mentioned. It is needless to go over the entire files and records in the office of the W. F. M. to ascertain the facts in the case when the information desired can be had otherwise. Will Haywood insist that the records showing the money collected by him as entered into the official proceedings of the W. F. M. are incorrect? Or will Haywood claim that he forwarded the money to the office of the W. F. M. and failed to receive credit for same? What does Haywood mean by saying, "It was not I who failed of an accounting, etc." If he sent the

money in to the office of the W. F. M. and he failed to receive credit for his remittance, did he make a complaint? In the years gone by I have, on numerous occasions, sent money to the W. F. M. for strike and defense purposes and have always been given credit for the remittance in the records of the organization, and so far as I know, everyone else who sent in money during those turbulent days to defend the members of organized labor who were in jail, was given credit for the same.

A good deal more could be said about this matter, but I shall withhold further comment until I know just what is a "contemptible and malicious" lie. If "Bill" Haywood can prove that his skirts are clear in the handling of this money, there is no one who will apologize quicker than I. I have no desire to injure the reputation of any one. I would not willfully do "Bill" Haywood an injustice. I should rather issue words of praise for any man than an indictment. I should a thousand times rather see men in the ranks of labor true to the trust reposed in them and speak in lauding terms of them. But when we discover one who violates the trust and confidence the working class repose in him, especially when that breach of trust effects injuriously the life and liberty of another member of the working class, as was true in the case of Steve Adams, we would be committing an unpardonable treason to our cause if we failed to speak up and let the truth be known. This especially when the one guilty of this breach of trust puts himself forth as the Moses who is to lead the working class out of the wilderness into the promised land. Shouting "contemptible and malicious" lies means nothing. Abuse is the argument of a fool.

I shall eagerly await a specific reply from "Bill" Haywood in order that I might know just what is a "contemptible and malicious" lie.

ADOLPH GERMER.

Denver, Colorado, March 8, 1913.

The General Strike

XIV.—Conclusions.

By Robert Hunter.

(Courtesy of The National Socialist.)

IT IS OFTEN SAID that Marx would be a Syndicalist if he lived to-day. His advocacy of political action is due, the Syndicalists declare, to the fact that Marx lived before the time of great industrial organization. He was for Political action because he did not know the power of Direct action. Now nothing could be more absurd than that. Marx was a Political Actionist because he was convinced of the ineffectiveness of Direct Action. Before Marx the sole action known to the working class was Direct Action. He was familiar with Robert Owen's one big union idea, the Direct Action of the Chartist, the General Strike, and all the Direct Action methods of the early English labor movement. Strikes, riots, sabotage, lock-outs, blacklists, boycotts, one big union, low dues; every method and policy known to modern Syndicalism, Marx had seen worked out almost under his very eyes. Never since have the methods of Syndicalism undergone such a test. Yet in the face of it all—or probably because of it all—Marx came to the definite conclusion that the one hope of working-class emancipation lay in the capture of public powers. "Every class war," says Plechanoff, "is a political war. In order to do away with feudal society, the rising capitalist had to seize upon political power. In order to do away with capitalist society, the working class must do the same. Its political task is, therefore, traced out for it beforehand by the force of the events themselves, and not by any abstract conditions." I quote the striking statement not only because it comes from a particularly gifted Marxian, but also because it presents admirably the very foundation principle of the modern Socialist movement. There is not an organized body of Socialists in the world that would not subscribe to that view, nor a single leader of prominence that would not declare that since the days of the Communist Manifesto, that thought has been the chief guiding principle of Socialism. Marxian Socialism, in so far as it involves political action, is a result of the failure of Syndicalism.

Of course many will declare that while the capture of public powers may be the chief object of the Socialist parties, it should not concern the industrial organizations. They will urge what to them appears more important, the use of the General Strike to capture the tools of production. This matter has been fully dealt with elsewhere and I shall not attempt to rehearse conclusions that were clearly developed in earlier papers. The point to be made here is this, that wherever any great strike properly organized and carried out, has been lost, the failure has been due to the interference of public powers. The English government played a big part in breaking the magnificent General Strike of the thirties and all down through the nineteenth century every great strike that failed, after proper preparations had been made, failed through the aid given by government to the capitalists.

The history of the American Railway Union in this country furnishes us with a striking example of a superb attempt to carry out some of the doctrines of Syndicalism. It was an attempt to form a great industrial union of all railroad employes. Mr. Debs and his associates then knew little of Socialism and not one of them placed any particular reliance on political action. The force of actual con-

ditions and the example set before them by the jealousy and craft spirit of the older brotherhoods made them industrial unionists. Their theories were born out of the necessities of the situation. And we all know what an immense organization the A. R. U. built up in a few months. Almost at its birth it was the terror of the railroad kings. Unfortunately, however, the members could not be controlled and Mr. Debs and the associate officers were forced, against their will, to enter upon the great strike of 1894. Although not prepared for a strike of such magnitude, that strike would probably nevertheless have been won had it not been for the United States government.

"It was not the soldiers that ended the strike," testified Mr. Debs before the United States Strike Commission, appointed by the President, July 26, 1894, "it was not the old brotherhoods that ended the strike; it was simply the United States courts that ended the strike. Our men were in a position that never would have been shaken under any circumstances if we had been permitted to remain upon the field, remain among them; but once that we were taken from the scene of action and restrained from sending telegrams or issuing the orders necessary, or answering questions, the headquarters were demoralized and abandoned. The men went back to work, and the ranks were broken, and the strike was broken up by the Federal Courts of the United States, and not by the army, and not by any other power, but simply and solely by the action of the United States courts in restraining us from discharging our duties as officers and representatives of the employes. At the time that I was arrested, on the 7th of July, as I remember it, representatives of certain officers of the law, acting under the authority of the Federal officials, raided our headquarters and seized our books and papers and my private unopened correspondence. The clerks remonstrated with the authorities, but they listened to nothing, but insisted upon bundling up everything there was about the office and taking it away out of the place to the office of the Federal prosecutor."

For the purposes of this discussion, the point in what Mr. Debs says is this: When the people have lost all control of public powers, when those powers remain at the disposal of a monarch, or of a clique, or of a class when the laws, the courts, the armies and the press are owned and controlled by the capitalists, the General Strike has not the slightest possibility of success. To believe that a majority of the workers will in the immediate future be sufficiently disciplined, organized, and educated to act in unison, and to carry on a strike for months without leaders, or the direction of a single labor or Socialist committee, is to my mind the essence of dreamland. Experience certainly leads to his conclusion. "The general strike has attained whole or partial success only," says Vandervelde, "when it has taken the government by surprise, and when the bourgeoisie have not taken a solid stand against the strikers. This was the case, for example, with the first Belgian strike in April, 1893, and the first Russian general strike in October, 1904. On the other hand the Dutch general strike (1903), the second Belgian general strike (1902), the second and third Russian general strikes, which did not take the government by surprise and which found little support among the bourgeoisie, have ended in checks, which have exercised, long after the defeat, a depressing influence on the proletariat." What Vandervelde says here concerning the recent great strikes is no less true concerning the great American strikes and the great English strikes. There is immense significance in the fact that the greatest strike in our history taught Mr. Debs the necessity of capturing public powers, and that the general strikes of Eng-

land, the middle of last century, taught Marx and Engels the same lesson. And is it not true that nearly every strike leads the working class toward the same conclusion? The growth of our movement is best evidence of that fact.

During the last few years the European governments have adopted a more conciliatory attitude toward strikes than has ever been known before. In nearly all the great industrial countries, except America, strikes have been allowed more scope and the unions have been allowed more privileges than ever before. In many countries the right to strike, to boycott and to picket have been granted to the unions by law. The governments, however hostile in reality, have more and more been forced to adopt at least the pretensions of impartiality. They have not dared to deny all rights to the strikers or to use the more savage forms of repression, which were formerly their regular practice. We even see instances nowadays of the governments voting funds to support strikers and of the police being authorized to feed the families of strikers. The English government in nearly all the recent great strikes has fed the children, and in France the government has voted funds, after strikes have been concluded, to assist the families of those who have suffered. Now there is only one possible explanation of this marked change in the attitude of the governments of Europe toward strikes and that explanation lies in the increasing political power of the working class. Wherever the workers are strong politically, the government is increasingly careful not to take any act which will force the working classes more and more into the ranks of their adversaries. Indeed several great European strikes of recent years would have been considered failures had it not been for the concessions made by the governments—concessions which the strikes would not have been able to force from the employers. If, however, the governments knew that the breaking of strikes and the crushing of union men would have no effect upon the growth of the working class vote, if they were convinced that no matter how much they fought the industrial organizations, it would not add strength to the working class political organization, does any one doubt that every power of government would be used today, as they have been used in the past, to crush the unions and to break strikes? The working class of Europe knows well that it has two powerful weapons in its hands, and the governments have learned that it can use the vote when the strike fails. Furthermore, the governments of Europe have been made keenly sensible of this fact that wherever a strike is broken, the Socialist vote grows. For the working class, therefore, the antipolitical action policy of the Syndicalists is well-nigh suicidal. No working class political action simply means to relieve the capitalist class from all fear of political ruin. It means to leave that class untrammelled in its action of crushing the one and only form of revolt that the working class had chosen to employ. The attempt made to crush the unions through the Taft-Vale decision was largely responsible for the birth of the British labor party. And if the working class of America were not imbued with this same fatal Syndicalist doctrine of no class politics, the hatters' decision, the injunctions, the use of the police and the army in times of strike would long ago have meant that every unionist in America would have been an active and enthusiastic Socialist.

The preceding articles are not to be considered in any sense a criticism of industrial unionism. The form of unionism which should be adopted by the working class in order most effectually to gain its ends is a matter that economic conditions will largely determine for us. And it must be understood that exclusively direct action, including sabotage and the general strike as the sole means of emancipating the working class, has no inherent connection with any particular form of organization. The unions in France adopted these policies mainly because they were captured by the anarchists who grafted on to the French movement some of their old and most cherished ideas. And this was made possible because, as I have said before, trade unionism is still young in the Latin countries and is therefore peculiarly susceptible to

the same infantile diseases that afflicted in the early days the American and English trade unions.

Nor have I any desire to overemphasize the conclusions of Guesde that the industrial movement is by its very nature a reformatory movement in the best sense of the word. No other claim has, I think, been made for trade unionism by any of the responsible leaders in England, America and Germany where it is most powerfully developed. The matter which concerns me here is the effort being made in the name of "Revolutionary Unionism" to turn the working class from political unity and action back to the old methods of riot, insurrection, sabotage and crime. Since the early days of Marx and wholly because of his teaching, a multitude of capable and tireless leaders have arisen in every country to build up political unions of the workers for the purpose of capturing public powers. For half a century they have labored unceasingly to teach the workers that if they will but exercise their political power, they can win vast reforms now and ultimately emancipate the working class from wage slavery. Indeed they have repeatedly warned the workers, that to save the unions themselves and to make organized and effective strikes possible in the future, they must exercise as a class their political power. After a half-century of such teaching and of gigantic labor in building up vast organizations of the working class, the "Revolutionary Unions" appear upon the scene to destroy the present trade unions, to annihilate the Socialist party and to discredit political action. And well then may we ask, "Is all this teaching of the Socialist movement false?" Is political action useless?" "Are the methods advocated by Marx and later by the entire international Socialist movement the fraudulent teachings of selfish and ambitious politicians?" An answer to these questions I have attempted to give in the preceding papers, but I think it fair to conclude that if we admit that political action is useless, then we are forced to agree that the general strike is the sole substitute. If we forego legal and peaceable means, then we must turn to illegal and violent means. If we are to discard the methods of Marx as valueless, then we are forced to return to the methods used before Marx—methods that political action was intended to displace. Are these our conclusions? Surely there is no man living who believes that violence—the sole weapon of the workers for so many long centuries—ever lifted them on to the same plane of effective combat that fifty years of political action has placed them. Yet we have not tested indeed we have hardly yet tried the methods of political action. The masses are only beginning to see glimmerings of their amazing possibilities. Nevertheless we find those who already condemn these methods and ask us to return to the riots, insurrections and violence of the earlier days.

I frankly admit that I view such teaching with infinite alarm. To my mind it is a teaching which leads away from any possibility of working class emancipation. Violence is the product of weakness, ignorance and despair. It saps the very foundation of organization. It renders men incapable of education. And the harm that violence does reaches its climax in the reactions that follow, paralyzing and destroying whatever organization exists. More and more one becomes impressed with the motto of the early Socialist movement, "Agitate, Educate, Organize." Not one of these is sufficient alone; not even two of them are adequate. To arouse the workers by agitation is the first duty of the Socialist. But that avails nothing if it is not followed by careful and thoroughgoing education. And after both comes the work of organization. We are in the earliest stages of that final labor. We are only at the birth of labor's real power as a force in the moulding of the Cooperative commonwealth. But as our hopes rise, we hear new appeals to the old spirit of the mob—sabotage, riot, insurrection. They are all for the world like the cry of lynch 'em! lynch 'em! And if that spirit prevails the hope of working class emancipation is gone; for with that madness agitation becomes a crime, education inconceivable, and organization an utter impossibility.

Debs and Union Labor

To Whom It May Concern:

FOR SEVERAL YEARS past a report has been persistently circulated, with malice aforethought, to the effect that the house that Eugene V. Debs lives in was built by non-union labor, that it was painted by non-union labor, and kept in repair by non-union labor.

This report was first sprung in the presidential campaign of 1908 and at that time telegraphed over all the country to injure Deb's candidacy; it was revived in the campaign of 1912 and it has been given a fresh start since his recent indictment in the federal court.

Sometimes this report appears in one form and sometimes another, but however it may vary, its object is always the same and that is to discredit Debs in the eyes of union men.

The undersigned, who has lived in the same town with Debs and has known him intimately during the last twenty-seven years, having been active in union labor during all that time, now issues this statement to deny the reports above mentioned as being absolutely false and as having no shadow of foundation in fact.

These reports have but one purpose and that is not to help union labor but to hurt Debs who has worked all his life to make union labor what it is today. As nothing that is true of him can be sprung to hurt Debs, resort must be had to falsehood and slander and that is the object of these malicious and lying reports which are frequently

brought to my attention and which I now deny publicly in the interest of common truth and justice.

The fact is that Debs organized most of the unions in this city and when he was grand secretary and treasurer of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen his office was headquarters for organized labor unions of every kind and form. When unions needed money they went to Debs; when they were in trouble they went to Debs; when they had grievances they went to Debs. It was Debs who arbitrated all their early troubles or led their strikes over and over again, and never once did he turn his back on a labor union or a union man.

This is but a small part of his record as a union man here in Terre Haute where we have been in close touch with him for over a quarter of a century and know him for what he is.

I ask every union paper in the interest of common justice to publish this statement and help to stamp out this infamous lie. No one who utters it will dare to face the undersigned in doing so, or any other union man here in Terre Haute where the facts are known.

It is very easy to understand why Wall Street capitalists should circulate this and other slanders about Debs, but certainly no true union workingman will give them currency.

PHIL K. REINBOLD,
President Central Labor Union.

Terre Haute, Ind., February 22, 1913.

"Patriots" Should Hesitate

PATRIOTS in America, who are panting to cross the border and fight under the stars and stripes to subdue rebellion in Mexico, should remember some of the historic incidents in connection with our war with Spain. The government of Spain was repugnant to the Sugar and Tobacco trusts of this country, and giant financiers of America made it convenient for the Maine to be blown up in Havana harbor.

"Remember the Maine," was the slogan which aroused thousands of thoughtless men to discard the garb of peace and put on the armor of war, to avenge the death of 269 sailors, whose lives were sacrificed through that *mysterious* explosion. Strange that not a single officer, save one lieutenant, lost his life through the blowing up of the Maine.

The men who lost their lives were *sailors*, who belonged to the *common herd*, and they were the only ones who went down to watery graves, for "*Big Business*" saw to it, that all the officers of the Maine

were attending a banquet that was paid for by those who were most interested in driving the Spanish flag from Cuba.

Again, patriots should remember that the Beef trust has millions of pounds of "embalmed beef" to unload on the government, which in the Spanish-American war, was more fatal to our "boys in blue," than the bullets from the rifles of Spanish soldiers.

Combinations in Wall Street are looking with longing eyes on the vast resources of Mexico, and these combinations are conspiring to make it possible to exploit Mexico under the folds of the American flag.

Labor is expected to do the fighting, while capitol will sit in its counting room contemplating the amount of treasure that may be gathered from the carnival of blood across the Rio Grande.

The working class of America has no interest in the conspiracy of exploiters, and have no interest in Mexico, save to break the chains of peonage that have cursed this so-called republic.

The Strike in Porcupine

One Law for the Rich, Another for the Poor.

BY SAM ATKINSON.

IN THE LATTER PART OF JULY, 1912, five of the mining companies of Porcupine posted a notice to the effect that a reduction of wages amounting to about 50 cents per day per man would go into effect on the 1st of August. In the McInney mine the hours of labor were to be increased from eight to nine hours per day. The Miners' Union applied for a Board of Conciliation, which was granted. The companies apparently intended to ignore the law if they could enforce the cut, but on being notified of the application for a board, they reconsidered and posted notice that the cut would not go into effect until September 1st. The routine proceedings were carried out in compliance with the act, the mine owners and miners being unable to agree on a chairman.

J. C. McDonald of Woodstock was finally appointed chairman, and the board held its sessions and heard evidence about the middle of September, the majority decision of the board being that the scale presented by the mine owners was a just one and should be put into effect, the representative of the miners making a minority report.

The board and minister of labor withheld their decision, the report being handed down about November 10th, though it is dated October. This threw the fight into mid-winter, the mine owners, with the assistance of the board and the labor department selecting the time for the conflict.

A mass meeting was called and the miners decided by an almost unanimous vote that a general strike should be called. On the night of the 15th of November, practically all of the mines were closed. There was no dispute with the Dome or Hollinger mines, though they were paying a lower scale and treating the men like dogs.

The companies at once employed the Thiel Detective Agency to break the strike. This agency at once imported some 200 armed agents into the district. Some of these men were from Toronto and Montreal, but the greater number were from the United States. Magistrate Thomas Torrence accepted these men as special constables in direct violation of the statutes, which provide that special constables must be householders or residents of the judicial division or neighborhood divisions, the territorial division in this instance being Tisdale Township. Imagine aliens from the United States being sworn in to maintain the peace of "our sovereign lord the King," by a magistrate of the province of Ontario.

Possession of Streets.

It soon became apparent what kind of peace they intended to maintain. They were at once armed by the mining companies with pick handles and guns, and proceeded to harass the peaceful strikers. They took possession of the streets and highways and ordered the people off, and if they continued on their peaceful way, they were clubbed and man-handled.

On December 2d some Bulgarians arrived in camp, and, on learning that they had been hired as strike-breakers, they refused to go to work and joined the strikers. They went to the home of one of their countrymen to discuss the situation and have a sociable time with their friends. The Thiel gunmen, "special peace officers," invaded this home, forcibly seized these men, and, with the assistance of the provincial police, held them in custody for four hours and took them to the Hollinger mine. THESE MEN WERE THREATENED THAT THEY WOULD BE SHOT TO DEATH IF THEY REFUSED TO GO TO WORK IN THE MINES, AS WAS THE PROPRIETOR OF THE HOUSE WHEN HE OBJECTED TO THE INVASION OF HIS HOME.

On December 10th, the strikers made arrangements to hold a parade and demonstration in Schumacher and Timmins. It also happened on the same day that a trainload of strike-breakers arrived in Timmins from Sudbury and Sault Ste. Marie, to whom the agents of the mining

companies had represented that they were to go to work in Cobalt. On learning the true conditions of their employment, they refused to go to the mines and were taken to the Goldfield hotel, which was the headquarters of the Thiel Detective Agency, and were there held under guard. In the meantime the parade of strikers arrived in Timmins and passed the Goldfield hotel. The Thiel agents, mostly aliens, opened fire upon the peaceful procession of miners, who were taxpayers, and who were alone responsible for the building of the township. Two men were wounded and two more were shot later in the day.

Justice?

It is interesting to note the way in which Torrence handed out justice to the strikers and the gunmen when the cases came into Court. Peaceful workmen had trumped up charges preferred against them. They received severe penalties and were warned by the Court that they would get the limit if they were brought before the court on any charge that might possibly be traced to the strike. Note the treatment of the Thiel aliens. Of three of these men who were brought before Magistrate Torrence, two were let go and the third was held in \$1,000 bail. He is evidently back in the United States and will never be brought for trial. In this connection mention may be made of the two Massiola brothers, recruiting agents for strike-breakers, who were let off with a fine of \$100 each for threatening to shoot men whom they could not induce to act as scabs, and against whom the evidence was clear, while Bert Habie and other strikers were given severe penalties with no evidence against them except the testimony of these Thiel thugs.

Magistrate Torrence stated in Court one day at Timmins when the evidence showed that the Thiel men were mostly aliens, that he would order Superintendent White to muster them in Court the next day so that their records could be looked into. This muster never took place.

From this time on the Thiel men were in bad repute with the general public, and the provincial police, headed by Chief Colbeck, became jealous of the reputation they were making. Colbeck was anxious for his men to distinguish themselves, so the authority of the Thiel men was limited and they were ordered to confine themselves more closely to the companies' properties.

The provincial police from this time acted as scab herders for the companies, becoming escorts to the barred and locked special trains which were arriving in the district with strike-breakers. They did everything possible to harass and intimidate the strikers.

On December 20th train No. 47 from Toronto, arrived with sixteen strike-breakers aboard the Pullman "Inverness." The police boarded the train at once and proceeded to throw off all who wished to board the train. They were apparently afraid the strikers would get an opportunity to talk to the men who were coming in, and would be successful in convincing them they were working against their own class interests, and would probably get them to join the strikers, as they had done many times before.

Strikers Sent Down.

It was upon this occasion the row occurred which resulted in four of the strikers being sent to jail. These men are now serving six months at hard labor for unlawful assembly. There is ample proof that the police were the only ones who engaged in anything unlawful. Chief Colbeck himself was seen to deliberately strike a man, inflicting a wound upon his head. Afterwards he declared that he could not understand how the man had come by his wound. The chief evidently wanted to make up for the lost honors the alien Thiel agents had stolen from him. He is a brave man when he has a chance to strike a man in the dark, but he is a wonderful coward when it comes to looking honest men in the face.

The court records alone will show that the trial was unlawful, the evidence incomplete, and the punishment misplaced. The Miners' Union engaged a stenographer, Miss Baker of Golden City, to take the evidence at the trial, but she has never furnished the copies of it, though she took her pay before the trial came off. The only reference that can be made is that she has succumbed to other influence.

One remarkable feature of this strike has been the hatred displayed

by the provincial police for the miners who have come from southern Europe. They have made repeated efforts to split the workers on race lines.

Limited space forbids my dealing this time with the cases under the "Industrial Disputes Investigating Acts." Three of the men in prison have been paroled by the minister of justice, but four men are

serving a sentence of six months each, with hard labor, in the Central prison, Toronto, on the charge of "unlawful assembly." From the testimony of scores of witnesses I am convinced that these men are perfectly innocent and that the only men who have been guilty of breaking the law in the Porcupine strike are the Thiel agents, Chief Colbeck and the provincial police and Magistrate Torrence.

The Constitution a Corpse

THE SUPREME COURT OF APPEALS of West Virginia, in the case of "Mother" Jones, Paul J. Paulson, Charles H. Boswell and Charles Battley, has handed down a decision which shoots a hole in that sacred document known as the Constitution. It is presumed that civil authority is supreme, but it seems that a military commission in the state of West Virginia is more potent in its mandates than those so-called inalienable rights that are said to be guaranteed by that charter of human freedom, known as the Constitution.

Judge George Poffenberger, in handing down the decision, said:

"We think that, inasmuch as the statute says the governor may arrest and detain persons who are aiding and abetting insurrection until the insurrection is suppressed and order restored, it authorizes him to do so in such cases as this, and there is not a violation of the constitutional provision against the preservation of life, liberty and property without due process of law."

The parties held by the Military Commission were not in the strike zone when arrested, but were seized by the civil authorities and handed over to the military. Were the parties arrested by the civil authorities and placed in the custody of the militia of that element in our society whose bank accounts made it possible for them to bribe a Legislature in the purchase of a seat in the United States Senate, there is no reason to believe that the Supreme Court of Appeals of the state of West Virginia would hold that a Military Commission had the right to sit as a court and pass judgment on acts alleged to have been committed in violation of law. Had the coal barons been held by the state militia and their attorneys had made application for a writ of habeas corpus to the Supreme Court of Appeals, there is no question in the

minds of observing men but that the writ would have been granted and the military ordered to release the prisoners. But "Mother" Jones, Paulson, Boswell and Battley are not of that type of citizenship that are conceded constitutional rights, but are looked upon, even by judicial tribunals, as "undesirable," simply because they are engaged in a battle to secure some justice for the oppressed and starving victims of wage slavery.

This case will be fought to a finish, and when the fight is won the laboring men and women of a nation will have a clearer conception of a hellish system that blinds the courts to human rights and makes a farce of our boasted organic law.

The Pittsburg Leader, in an editorial on West Virginia, paints the situation in the following words:

"West Virginia is the Mexico of the North. Kanawha county is the black spot on the map of the United States. Paint Creek and Cabin Creek is darkest America, the Siberia of the greatest republic in the world. Savagery stalks through West Virginia and reaches its climax in Kanawha county, unafraid and unmolested, because the very government itself is savage and lawless. West Virginia belongs to the Coal Operators' Association. They have the money and they have the political government by the throat, just as brutally as they have exploited coal miners held in slavery. The political government is only the executive committee of the Coal Operators' Association. The hard, raw truth is that no man in Paint Creek and Cabin Creek regions is allowed to even show sympathy for the miner, much less put that sympathy into words. He is a condemned and marked man if some little act even hints that he has a human sympathy with human surroundings if the poor sufferer be only a miner."

Chicago Under the Searchlight

THE INVESTIGATIONS that have been carried on in Chicago by a legislative committee of the state of Illinois have attracted the attention of the country, and the daily journals have been forced to publish at least some of the facts that have been uncovered by the committee.

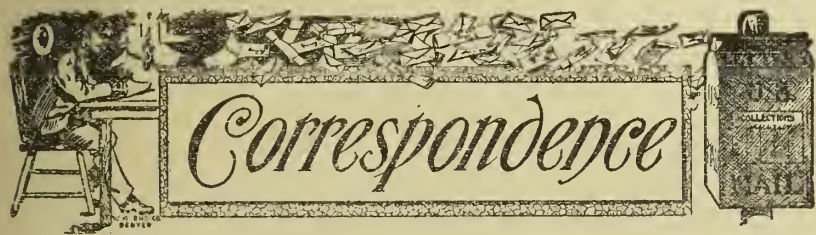
The great department stores of Chicago, where women are paid the princely salary of \$5 per week, have been scrutinized closely, and a number of the owners and managers of these mercantile institutions have been summoned by the committee and commanded to answer questions, whose answers reflected but little credit on the methods of "Big Business." Men powerful in the commerce and finance of a nation were forced to admit that the wages paid to girls and women in the department stores of Chicago were inadequate to protect a woman in the maintenance of her honor.

These potentates in finance and commerce to mitigate their callous heartlessness towards their employes, declared that they made annual

gifts towards their employes and likewise contributed towards charity organizations. The revelations that have resulted from the investigations held at Chicago have bordered almost on the sensational, and these disclosures will be followed by similar investigations in every city of importance in America.

The pestilence of vice and immorality is causing consternation, and earnest men and women are determined that mills, factories and stores, where women are employed on paltry wages that bid for dishonor, shall be probed, so that the citizenship of this country may know where to place the blame for the hundreds of thousands of social outcasts that are now inmates of dens of shame.

Such investigations will disclose the cause that populates "red-light" districts, and when the cause becomes once apparent to the millions of honest men and women of a continent there will be such action as will minimize the moral malaria that can be seen in every town and city of the United States.



INFORMATION WANTED.

The partner and friend of James Daly, who worked with him in Park City, Utah, in 1892, desires to know his address. Address Box 742, Tonopah, Nevada.

INFORMATION WANTED.

Bingham Canyon, Utah, February 28, 1913.

Information wanted of Mike Harrington, who transferred to Bingham Miners' Union No. 67 February 11, 1911, from Round Mountain, Nevada. Last heard of was in Mullan, Idaho, February 12, 1912. Address John Strasser, Box N, Bingham, Utah. 4t

INFORMATION WANTED.

Information is wanted of the whereabouts of James Dohoney, who formerly worked as a miner at Black, Hawk, Central and Leadville, Colorado. About four years ago left Denver and went to Butte, Montana, and worked there in the mines for nearly two years. He is presumed to have left Butte, Montana, about two years ago, and since then his relatives have lost all trace of him. Anyone knowing his present address will please write to William McGuire, 2332 Larimer Street, Denver, Colorado.

INFORMATION WANTED.

Albany, New York, March 12, 1913.

Mr. Ernest Mills, 605 Railroad Building, Denver, Colorado:

Dear Sir—I am asking your aid in trying to locate one Hugh Quinn, who is, or was, a member of the Western Federation of Miners, and up to five years ago he had been employed near Tonopah, Nevada, in some of the mines there, and at that time (five years ago) worked at the mining business in that section being very dull. Mr. Quinn came east, and located here in Albany, New York, for a period of about six months, and then returned to the West, and located in the state of Colorado at a small mining town, the name of which I do not know, but was southwest of Denver, and whose death has been reported to his relatives in Ireland. I would like to locate, if possible, if he is alive, and to ascertain, for a certainty if he is dead, as he has two sisters living here, one of whom is my wife; and they are anxious to find out whether Hugh Quinn is alive or dead.

Hoping that you can give me some definite information about Mr. Quinn, and whatever success you may have will be greatly appreciated by his sisters for your efforts in trying to locate him. I beg to remain, Fraternally yours.

J. P. J. RORK.

49 DeWitt Street, Albany, New York.

CONTINUED LIST OF DONATIONS TO PORCUPINE MINERS' UNION NO. 145, W. F. M., FOR MONTH OF FEBRUARY, 1913.

February 21—F. C. Reid, secretary Boiler Makers' Shipbuilders, 784 Dorion Street, Montreal, Quebec, \$25; H. W. Aldermann, U. C. H. & Cap Makers No. 33, 271 A St. Urbain Street, Montreal, \$3; M. J. Dunn, secretary No. 269, postoffice box No. 117, Dundas, Ontario, \$5; L. Cassleman, treasurer No. 34, Chaudiere Falls Int. B. of P. Makers, 100 Preston Street, Ottawa, \$5.

February 23—Thomas W. Bradlev, Cobalt No. 146, W. F. M., \$1; Philip Lackey, secretary No. 3, Brick and Masons' Union, Lethbridge, Alberta, \$5;

H. Martin, secretary, Dom. Ex. Com. S. D. P. of Canada, donations from various Socialist locals, \$37.20.

February 25—G. J. Byers, secretary, Carpenters and Joiners' Union No. 779, Brockville, Ontario, \$2; A. Farmilo, general secretary, Edmonton Trades and Labor Council, Edmonton, Alta., \$10; J. McEtorich, secretary, No. 339, Bro. R. Carman of America, No. 1189, Brandon, Man., \$5; J. Pamphilon, secretary No. 27, Cigar Makers' Union, Room 106, 88 Ch. Street, Toronto, \$100; H. Martin, secretary, Dom. Ex. Com. S. D. P. of Canada, donations from various Socialist locals, \$50.

February 27—John Pryke, secretary-treasurer, Hamilton Labor Temple Assn., 192 Forest Avenue, Hamilton, Ontario, \$20; George Hofmann, secretary, No. 160, H. C. and Build. Lab. Union, 58 Homewood Avenue, Berlin, Ontario, \$5; Henry Hedrick, secretary, 969 O. B. C. of A, No. 821, Welland, Ontario, \$5.

February 28—A. Garipey, secretary-treasurer, Cigarmakers' Union No. 58, 239 City Hall Avenue, Montreal, Canada, \$25; Harold Robertson, secretary, Nail Makers' Union No. 14199, 552 Main Street, St. John, N. B., \$15; P. Dwyer, secretary-treasurer, No. 154, W. F. M., donations from individuals, \$130.

REPORT OF EMMA F. LANGDON.

St. Louis, Mo., March 6, 1913.

Editor The Miners' Magazine:

In my last report, which was very lengthy, I gave a history of the organizing work in Illinois from July of last year up to February of this. Since I sent in that report we have been successful in organizing the smelter in St. Louis. The smelter is located in South St. Louis (or Carondelet, as some call it) and is a zinc plant employing about 225 men. It is called the Edgar Zinc Smelting Co. The first meeting for the purpose of organizing was held February 14th. Since that date we have held at least two meetings each week, and sometimes three, for the purpose of giving all an opportunity to attend. The application for a charter had sixty names enrolled—all Spanish. At this writing every member is Spanish; there are some Polish and a few Americans working there that we hope to enlist soon.

At the meeting held last Monday, March 3d, I sold eleven W. F. M. buttons and could have sold many more if I had had more. I am very proud of this local; they take so much interest in the work. Many of the men have immigrated to this country on account of the strike in the zinc smelter in Spain and they are sending money back to help their brothers that have been on strike there five months. I don't believe men that cross the ocean rather than compromise or scab will be easily led astray if they are once enrolled under the banner of the W. F. M. Nearly all of the Spanish employed in Sandoval, Collinsville, Ill., and St. Louis, Mo., came from the same vicinity in Spain, all know each other, and the men at Hillsboro are also their former neighbors and friends, and when we meet success in one camp it assists in organizing another.

Hillsboro, Ill., will be the next in line, and I hope we can soon launch a smeltermen's union there. There is one smelter right in town and another within two miles at Taylor Springs. The latter is an American Smelting Company's plant and we will probably meet considerable opposition from them, but we already have a few names enrolled for a local in Hillsboro and also in Danville. The work is being pushed as rapidly as possible and prospects are good at this time for success. The Alton local added two new members recently and two of our new members secured by correspondence were discharged. Some way the smelter management discovered they were members, although they have never attended a meeting. Collinsville No. 207 secured forty-eight new members in February and are getting along splendidly in every way. The local voted to affiliate with the Central Trades and Labor Council and elected delegates and alternates to represent them in this body. All but six of the new members secured there in February were Spanish. I do not know what unpleasant experience may possibly cause me to change my mind, but at present I would much rather undertake to organize Spanish smeltermen than the so-called American. The employes in Alton are practically all American, the only smelter in Illinois where only that nationality are employed, and I have done enough work there to have every man, woman and child organized, and yet they are the most servile to the tyrannical smelter manager and we have the smallest local there, and yet they have had the very best opportunity—a nice place to meet donated to them, the endorsement of the other organizations, and in spite of that they are either indifferent or afraid, or both. We are not going to give up the fight, though, until they join. Fraternally, EMMA F. LANGDON, Organizer.

A REPORT FROM PORCUPINE, ONTARIO.

South Porcupine, Ontario, Canada, March 6, 1913.

Editor Miners' Magazine:

The writer will attempt to contrast the acts of the workers and the capitalists in the great fire of 1911, show the relation between the happenings of that time and the present, together with some information regarding present conditions.

Porcupine Burning!

On the 11th of July, 1911, one of the fiercest forest fires that ever desolated any section swept over the Porcupine district, leaving death and ashes in its wake. It claimed ninety victims.

The first efforts made to find and bury the dead, to organize relief for the injured, was by the members of the Western Federation of Miners. It was they who suggested a mass meeting to search the bush. It was they who performed the last sad rites. Everybody turned to them for aid and guidance; the so-called "wild and lawless" element were angels of mercy then.

When the government relief arrived it consisted largely of the discarded blankets and tents of the soldiers, with a company of the latter to see that nothing was unworthily bestowed. Governments prescribe soldiers for all sorts of occasions. Upon the arrival of goods and money for the relief of the destitute, the soft-handed gentry overcame their aversion to activity; in other words, in "dividing up the work." The toilers searched the bush, dragged the lake, prepared the dead for burial and interred them. The capitalists doled out the eatables—a quarter of a pound of bacon to an applicant—and they must have kept the money. Of the \$11,000 known to have been sent in, no worker received a dollar, and no accounting was ever made. There was an abundance of prunes and figs, but there was a dearth of everything else.

An incident at the close of the fire may be of interest. A band of workers had toiled all day to bring seven victims of the fire to the cemetery, when the scow bearing them arrived at the wharf there were seven priests and preachers awaiting them. They offered no assistance and but one remained to read the burial service, showing but little real regard for either the dead or the living.

The workers in the strike have proved their ability to administer relief justly and efficiently. Single men boarding themselves are allowed \$3 per week; married men from \$5 to \$10 per week. Two mess houses are maintained, one here, the other at Timmons; the latter is costing at the present time 51 cents per man per day, the former 39 cents. A large number of men here make it more economical. As many as can are lodged at the mess houses; others are lodged at a cost of 10 cents per night.

There were no scab Thiel men on hand at the time of the fire, their

chief, in the person of the human snake, M. E. White (with apologies to the snake) being engaged elsewhere, but they were rushed in at the inception of the strike to protect (?) the mine-owner's property, but they were deemed too costly and a benevolent government supplied their places with provincial police.

After the fire the injured were cared for by their fellow-wage-slaves and those same wage-slaves performed the same sad duty again after the shooting at the Goldfields hotel.

Shooting of Strikers at Goldfields Hotel.

An idea of the sentiment of the public can be gained from the course of a Chinese restaurant keeper. His regular charge for meals is \$6 per week, but a scab must pay \$12.

Three mines have conceded the union demands. The statements of the managers of these companies show the most economical mining operations ever carried on in the camp, proving conclusively that short hours and high wages with efficient labor is most economical.

A word to the workers everywhere: Never contribute to a relief fund after flood, fire or earthquake unless there is a body of organized workers to administer it.

Porcupine Miners' Union has met with the greatest hindrances at every stage of its career. A heavy loss in membership by the fire, the Hollinger mine seized that opportunity to reduce wages. Great hardships were endured by the membership during and after the fire, but they have pressed on with a determination to plant the banner of unionism in northern Ontario. Our members are standing firm and are confident of an early victory.

Fraternally yours,

M. P. GUINEY, President No. 145.

WANTS THEM EDUCATED.

National Office, Socialist Party, Chicago, Ill. March 8, 1913.

To the Locals and Branches of the Socialist Party and Local Unions:

Dear Comrades—The people known as South Slavs have proved to the world in last year's Balkan War that they are fighters and they can whip the terrible Turk to a standstill. They have the glory of the Christian world for killing hundreds of thousands of their fellow-slaves from Turkey.

To us Socialists of the world they have proved that they are fighters and that we must have them educated to understand the philosophy of Socialism and get them to join our ranks and to fight the most terrible Turk—the System of Capitalism—upon the political as well as the industrial field.

Hundreds of thousands of South Slavs (Servians, Croatians, Slovenians and Bulgarians) were driven by exploitation and poverty to America, and here they are slaving for American kings and czars of industry, selling their labor power for wages. Many of them will go back to the so-called mother land (or, rather, king's land). Many of them will remain in America and will become citizens of this glorious, capitalist country.

Those South Slavs that are class conscious in America have proved already that they will fight in time of struggle the masters of American industry upon the industrial as well as political field. Those that are not class conscious have proved to be very dangerous for the labor movement in time of strikes and on election day.

The South Slavic Socialist Federation, which is a branch of the Socialist party, is doing everything possible to educate and organize our fellow-workers. We have progressed wonderfully. At present we print Socialist books by thousands and we publish three papers which are fighting the system of capitalism and expounding the philosophy of Socialism.

We have done much, but we can do more, and that is why I am addressing these few lines to you, with an explanation of what you can do to help us and to help yourselves at the same time.

Answer me these questions: Are there any Servians, Croatians (known as Horvats) or Slovenians (known as Krainish) in your locality? Do you work with them anywhere? Do you get in touch with them in city or town?

If so, here is what we want you to do: We know that you are anxious to get your foreign-speaking fellow-workers to understand Socialism and the struggle of our class for emancipation.

We have heard you many times make statements like this: "Those boys are all right, but I cannot speak to them, as I do not understand their language."

Here is how you can do successful work among them and win them for our cause:

We have papers printed weekly in their mother tongue. Just give them to those that can read, try and get subscriptions from them for three, six or twelve months. Get your local or branch to have a special committee elected for the distribution of these papers in places where our people gather. Try to sell them copies, or give them away. A little extra work and a few dollars to spend by your branch will be indeed a great help to us and to the Socialist movement as a whole.

These papers are owned by the South Slavic Socialist Federation and we are part of the Socialist party, so these are your as well as our papers. We publish these papers in the following languages:

1. Servian.
2. Slovenian (known to many of you as Krainish).
3. Croatian (known as Horvat).

These three papers are printed weekly. Will you buy bundles for each of these nationalities, if they live or work in your community? You can send us orders for one or two weeks or for a month. These are the prices for bundles:

"Narodni Glas," Servian; weekly bundle of ten copies, 15 cents; weekly bundle of twenty-five copies, 30 cents; weekly bundle of fifty copies, 50 cents; weekly bundle of 100 copies, 90 cents.

"Radnicka Straza," Croatian; weekly bundle of ten copies, 15 cents; weekly bundle of twenty-five copies, 30 cents; weekly bundle of fifty copies, 50 cents; weekly bundle of 100 copies, 90 cents.

"Proletarec," Slovenian; weekly bundle of ten copies, 15 cents; weekly bundle of twenty-five copies, 35 cents; weekly bundle of fifty copies, 60 cents; weekly bundle of 100 copies, \$1.

As soon as we get your order bundles will be forwarded.

If your local or branch needs any books or pamphlets on Socialism or—in any of the above mentioned languages, just let us know.

Our price for books is 3, 5, 10, 15, 20, 25 cents and up. Send us an order. We will send the best ones for beginners.

If you want any Bulgarian literature we will get it for you.

Come, comrades, give us your hand. Help us to spread papers and books among the South Slavic workers.

When class conscious they will be with you shoulder to shoulder on election day and in time of strikes fighting the most terrible Turk—the system of Capitalism.

Send orders and communications to the address given below.

I am yours for Socialism,

ALEX SUSNAR.

South Slavic Translator-Secretary.

111 North Market Street, Chicago, Ill.

NEWS FROM WASHINGTON, D. C.

Washington, March.—The long-heralded Sutherland workman's compensation bill came up before the House late on the afternoon of March 1, and at that time its passage was expected by the House before the close of the session.

Although the bill had the support of President Gompers of the A. F. of L. and the officials of the railroad brotherhoods, nevertheless it was bitterly opposed by the railroad workers, the chief class that the bill was supposed to benefit.

Branding it as a weak and inadequate measure, Representative Victor L. Berger of Wisconsin nevertheless announced on Saturday that he would vote to pass the bill, and the attitude taken by the Socialist congressman was having a considerable effect upon the opinion of a number of other members toward the measure.

"What induced me to favor the measure," said Berger, "is the fact that this is the only civilized nation on earth—I do not call Russia civilized—in which the social responsibility of the nation toward the workers is not recognized, particularly toward railroad workers. We Socialists hold that the workingman, while he may work for an individual employer, is none the less doing work which is useful and socially necessary, and therefore he is taking a social risk which society as a whole must recognize.

"In this bill, weak and inadequate as it is, this great principle is recognized for the first time by the United States. It sets a precedent which makes possible legislation providing for old-age pensions, insurance for unemployment and all of the other measures of the sort proposed by Socialism."

The railroad men, who will be the principal beneficiaries (?) of the measure, are loudly complaining that the rates of compensation for injury or death set by the measure are so low that it would be better for them to retain present conditions when compensation for death or injury is secured either by civil suits for damages or by accepting the companies' settlements.

However, the Sutherland bill makes it compulsory upon railroad employes to accept compensations named in the bill and estops them from bringing suits. This is the second chief complaint against the measure by the workers who desired an elective plan of compensation similar to the law in Wisconsin.

The railroad men charge that the bill as now before the House is essentially the same as a model measure recommended two years ago by the convention of railroad claim agents. The railroads urged the passage of the Sutherland bill chiefly on the ground that it would cheat the shyster lawyers who chase ambulances, and because it would be cheaper for the roads than the present system.

"While I admit that from 35 to 50 per cent of all damage judgments go to lawyers," said Berger, "and while the bill looks to me very much as if the claim agents wanted to get even with the ambulance-chasing lawyers, while the poor worker pays the bills, yet I favored the bill for the reasons I have stated."

The Sutherland bill was a corporation job, written by corporation lawyers; yet it contained a principle which is of very vital importance as a basis for more complete remedial legislation.

While Congress was fussing over the Sutherland workman's compensation bill, finally agreeing on a measure that must have made the corporation lawyers of the country chuckle, President Taft, by a stroke of his pen, put into effect on the Canal Zone, beginning Saturday, March 1st, a workman's compensation law so complete in its provisions and so adequate in the care it takes of canal workers and their dependents that it might well serve as a model for legislation in this country.

"Executive order legislation" seems to be getting a lot further than that passed by the efforts of "friends of labor" in Congress.

Some of the provisions of the Canal Zone compensation order merit notice. The law was written by the experts of the "Legislative Drafting Research Fund," which is associated with Columbia University, New York.

The most striking feature of the order is that it embraces in its benefits every employé at the canal, without reference to questions of contributory negligence or any of the other restrictive rules of the common law. The only bar to participation in the compensations is against persons killed or injured as a result of wilful intention or by their own intoxication.

In case of total disability the employé receives a monthly compensation equal to 50 per cent of his pay, this to continue for six years. Should the disability continue after that the pension amounts to between 25 and 40 per cent for the rest of the disabled man's life. Dependents upon the support of deceased employés at the time of their deaths receive 35 per cent of the monthly pay for six years. After that time the pension is between 20 and 30 per cent of the pay until the death of the beneficiary. All employés receive the benefits of the law, but those whose pay amounts to more than \$200 per month are treated on the basis of a wage of \$200 a month wages. With this provision the government has extended the benefits of the insurance to include men and women in every grade of employment at the canal.

The majority report of the committee investigating the "fly-by-night" insurance companies of Washington was presented to Congress last week. The report denounces the financial methods used by the First National Fire Insurance Company and the Commercial Fire Insurance Company, and made the prediction that unless the companies change their business methods immediately they will become insolvent. The advertising methods of the concerns, which used the names of prominent capitalists of Washington, are also termed misleading and calculated to deceive, by the majority members of the committee. Representative Berger of Wisconsin signed the majority report.

Simultaneously, a minority report completely whitewashing the insurance companies and absolving Justice Ashley M. Gould of the District Supreme Court (who was severely arraigned on the witness stand by Representative Berger) and the other directors of the companies from all blame. This report was signed by Representative Ben Johnson of Kentucky and Henry George, Jr., leading figure in the single-tax movement in this country. It is significant that the minority whitewashing report was given to the newspapers twelve hours in advance of its presentation to Congress, and this was the first report to receive publicity in Washington.

While Henry George's name is affixed to the whitewashing report, it does not indicate that the single-tax leader had any opinion whatever regarding these grafting insurance concerns, on which he was appointed to be a judge.

Six weeks ago George departed to Europe, leaving the other members of the committee the work of financial investigation. In his absence the committee held many meetings and took over a thousand pages of testimony. But just before he left, George empowered Johnson to sign his name to whichever report the Kentuckian thought the proper one.

This is a typical instance of the patriotic (?) service which Henry George, Jr., is supposed to be rendering to the working class in this country. On all important questions which have come up in the House George has inevitably voted with the Tammany delegation. The single tax is offered to the unrest in this country as the solution of social inequality, and the workers are asked to accept it as a substitute for Socialism. If the single-tax movement expects to get very far with the people it will send to Congress leaders more capable of understanding the wants of the poor and distressed in this country than is Henry George, Jr.

HE DECLINES THE NOMINATION

Berkeley, California, February 19, 1913.

Dear Comrades and Friends:

I beg to acknowledge receipt of your letter informing me that the Socialists of Berkeley have by unanimous vote nominated me for the office of mayor for a second term. I appreciate the trust you have hitherto imposed in me, and this added expression of your confidence, and I sincerely hope that you will see the wisdom of the action indicated in this communication.

There is but one meaning of life and action to me, and that is the establishment of the Kingdom of God on the earth—the Kingdom or condition of social justice, brotherly love and spiritual inspiration and fellowship among men, and it has been my abiding and all-compelling conviction for nearly twenty years that the next supreme step in that coming Kingdom is the abolition of the present capitalist system and the establishment of the Socialist co-operative commonwealth. To that cause I have given my life, laying especial emphasis on the ethical and spiritual aspects of the social revolution now impending.

When I was nominated for the mayoralty of Berkeley two years ago I accepted, believing that if supported by a majority in the Council, I could make some progress against the capitalistic control of the city utilities, and take some advance steps as a municipal administrator on behalf of the people such as I had not been able to accomplish as a public teacher or writer.

Handicapped by a Reactionary Council.

But this time I must decline the nomination, however it may disappoint my comrades, supporters and citizens generally. The people of Berkeley have appreciated my general services as mayor of the city, many who formerly opposed me being now my staunch supporters. During my term of office there has never been a single attack or complaint lodged against me, either in the local press or in the city hall, by any group of protesting citizens, and I have not the slightest doubt but that if I accept the nomination I would be elected with a great majority. But I cannot accept for plain and sufficient reasons.

During my term I have been in a minority in the Council. Everything that I stand for as a Socialist is a matter of indifference when not actually opposed by the majority of the Council, and in order to promote large measures of public importance it requires the concurrence of four out of the five in that body.

I would not under any circumstances consent to put in another two years in the simple routine of the mayors office in a minority relation to a Socialist program, subordinated to men out of sympathy with my purpose and principles. There is a bare chance that I might in coming elections eventually secure a majority, but I consider my time and my life duties too important to take such a risk. If, finally, I found myself without a majority, I would feel compelled to resign.

The people of Berkeley may not know it, but the charter has left the mayor but little power, unless backed by a working majority. He has no department of fundamental importance allotted to him. His supervisory powers over the other departments is actually negated. The charter has placed administrative power elsewhere than in the hands of the mayor unless the departments are headed by men in sympathy with his program.

I, therefore, feel my life and years too valuable for longer service in that limited capacity under these circumstances. If tied by a majority Council, neither the office nor its duties afford scope enough for the service I would render. The Socialist administration that I stand for would require practically a full board, and added to that, appointed officials in subordinate positions animated with moral enthusiasm for the success of such an administration.

A Greater Reason.

But I have a more positive reason for declining the nomination. I feel myself nominated and elected to a work and an office—if you please—that for the time at least, I am temporarily bound to fulfil at any cost to any personal or local advantages. Permit me to speak plainly, for I may seem to you culpable for refusing the mayoralty of Berkeley when right at my hand.

The World-need.

The greatest need of the world, and of our own California, with the nations of the earth hastening to our great exposition, is a spiritual and ethical revival, an awakening and education of the social conscience and a mighty outpouring of the spirit of the Christ, culminating in the spiritual illumination of individuals and the reconstruction of the social order.

This republic is facing a most momentous crisis. No patriot can contemplate the situation without great concern. And deep moral power and spiritual energy must be released, if this crisis is to be peacefully and triumphantly passed. The materialism, mammonism and social injustice of the "System" and its inevitable fruits of plain downright sin and selfishness needs the moral impeachment and regeneration that can come to us only through some such a sincere, simple, holy, inspired humanity-loving movement as primitive Christianity adapted to our generation.

The spirit of such a movement seems to hover over us awaiting habitation in human hearts and lives. The call seems to come for men and women to count the cost, and forsaking every worldly advantage or gain or place or power, and led of the divine spirit to loose themselves in a passionate service for humanity which would eventually lift this civilization out of its economic slavery and spiritual limitations into social justice and genuine righteousness.

This national crisis requires a spiritual revolution, a perfect moral upheaval, a baptism of goodness and power and wisdom in some degree comparable to that movement which re-dated history nineteen hundred years ago. The task before the nation is titanic, and titanic forces will alone be equal to it.

I believe there are multitudes weary of the false ideals and the empty rewards and the ashes of these materialistic days—multitudes ready to renounce the world-spirit in all its forms and become the organs of the Christ-mind and instruments in bringing in the new day.

I pray to be one in the rank and file of that oncoming army. With a deep sense of the great task before the nation and of my own insufficiency, in relation thereto as one citizen, I nevertheless am called out into that service. As much as one man can do or be, to that I seem impelled. I must go out of the honor and comparative ease and comfort of municipal office into the less grateful and more arduous labors of an itinerant herald and apostle of the social revolution.

I seem called to go to the villages and even the country crossroads of the whole state, as well as to the larger cities and towns, and preach this Christ-message, accepting the potluck existence which it may entail. A group of workers will accompany me in an aggressive state-wide propaganda. And as I go I shall find those of like mind among all classes of people—those who hear the voice and will follow.

At the present time I have a large and increasing audience in San Francisco. This will be made the nucleus of a great plan of world-wide significance for the World's Fair. A huge amphitheater or temple will be built, and a platform established, where morning, noon and night, during the fair, a message of the deepest spiritual quality and loftiest social vision will be offered to the multitudes of every tribe and people that come to us at that time.

Thus released from the cares of municipal office I shall also be at

liberty to throw myself into particular battles as they arise in the movement of democracy—struggles of labor, local elections, campaigns for temperance and woman suffrage—from which I have been withheld. I shall be able to respond to calls for special occasions throughout the country, wherever the battle rages most fiercely, or in the remote and wayside places now neglected.

This is no passing impulse. During the long months in the city hall I have thought and prayed it all over. I grieve to disappoint you, and turn aside from this seeming place of power for the cause. I sincerely hope that the permanent gains to the larger movement may balance any temporary loss of my local service in the city of Berkeley. Yours faithfully,

J. STITT WILSON.

CLERGYMEN INVITED TO GET DOWN FROM THEIR HIGH PERCHES.

By R. A. Dague.

Rev. Frank I. Hanscom, a talented clergymen of Providence, R. I., in a late letter to a friend residing in this city, who has published the same, says:

"I am not a political socialist, nor do I believe that with human nature unregenerated, it will ever try a so-called Socialist form of government. All systems of economics which are not spiritual are doomed to failure. But while I am not a political Socialist, I rejoice at the spread of Socialistic ideas."

Another prominent clergyman (Presbyterian) in a published sermon, said:

"The fatal defect of Socialism is in supposing that we can ever have a co-operative commonwealth without completely transformed (converted) men; and men are not transformed en masse. They are not made over in bulk."

The two ministers I have quoted express the objection to Socialism entertained by many clergymen. They say Socialism has high ideals, proposes good things—grand things for humanity, and is in strict harmony with the life and teachings of Jesus Christ, but it is not practical—that it can never come to bless the world until everybody is converted and becomes unselfish and good. Their reasoning appears to me to be very illogical and they decidedly inconsistent. They virtually say: "Yes, Socialism is right, but the right is not practical and can never triumph; the wrong must always prevail." I ask is that good Christian teaching? Webster's dictionary says: "Politics is the art of government." Now, are these clergymen consistent in saying that Socialism (which they admit has high ideals, and is a good movement) must be kept out of politics, and that a co-operative commonwealth, not spiritual, is doomed to failure? They want a good government, and say an unspiritual one will fail, but they object to Socialists going into politics and trying to establish a good government—the kind they would like to have established.

They virtually say: "Unconverted voters must not try to inaugurate a co-operative commonwealth, but must patiently wait and bear all the ills with which they are afflicted, until we ministers convert the people and make them all unselfish and good."

Nearly all our clerical friends are "Political Prohibitionists," but they do not tell the Prohibition party "to keep out of politics and abandon all efforts to diminish the sale of intoxicants until the preachers convert all saloonkeepers and reform all the drunkards."

The good divines mean well, but their system of reasoning is defective. They say men will have to be converted, one by one until there are enough of religious people to establish Socialism. Then they will put an end to child slavery, war and all the evils the Socialists are opposing. The good preachers are like the man who would try to row a boat with one oar only. They seem to see only the spiritual needs of humanity. They declare that people cannot be elevated or their conditions made better by dealing with them en masse or in bulk. They seem to take little account of the influence for good or evil that may result from environments or material conditions in which people live. Many of them are afraid of the words "material conditions" and erroneously think that means atheism and materialism.

I admit that they are zealously working one oar of the boat in which humanity is crossing the sea of life, but they are not as skilled and as safe navigators as are Socialists, for the latter are laboring with two oars—the ethical and the material. They appeal to men's sense of justice and equity; that is the "spiritual oar. They also propose to improve by law the environments of the submerged, friendless, exploited working classes and give them a square deal; that is the "material oar."

Abraham Lincoln did not wait until three millions of negro slaves became intelligent enough to demand freedom. He destroyed a system of unjust laws in a day and gave the slaves liberty, not one by one, but en masse. China's statesmen recently established a republic including a large measure of Socialism, and extended suffrage to women. They did not wait until they had converted all the people, one by one, to believe in a Republican form of government. No; the Progressive political party of China transformed a nation from vassals to free men and women in bulk. Once teachers were employed by the rich to come to their homes and teach their children, one by one; then someone socialistically inclined proposed to educate the children of rich and poor en masse, and our public school system was established.

Once none but the wealthy could buy books; then another Socialist suggested public libraries, and now the rich and poor alike have access to them in bulk.

Socialism cares for the individual as well as for the masses. Individual rights are best secured and maintained when the government does the right thing. If there were disease-breeding cesspools in a city the Socialists would request the private owner to abate the nuisance. If he failed to do so, the city en masse (acting through its officials) would perform the required work. No single individual could own or operate our postal system, dig the Panama canal nor irrigate vast tracts of desert lands; but the people of the United States, acting en masse through its officials, can do that work.

Socialism proposes the doing of big things of a public nature, collectively for the equal benefit of all the people. Socialists are not opposed to trusts as such, but as private owners have watered the capital stock to the amount of forty billions of dollars, and are robbing the people, Socialists say: "The trusts are bad only when privately owned; let the nation own them and all the people share in their benefits." Socialism does not propose that all people shall be equal in morals, intellect, in good looks or in prosperity; a fair race in life and a "square deal" for all. Socialists say: "Down with monopoly, special privilege, and the system by which the crafty, conscienceless schemer acquires vast wealth without rendering an equivalent therefor; down with competition and war; up with equal opportunity to all; up with reciprocity, fair play and universal brotherhood and universal peace. Socialism has both an economic or material side and an ethical or spiritual side. Economically it says "Reward everyone according to his deeds and give him the full value of his services." Ethically it says, "An injury to one is the concern of all; of one blood are all the peoples of the earth." Its four cornerstones are Justice, Reciprocity, Universal Brotherhood and Universal Peace.

Socialists are rowing the boat with two oars. Our ministerial friends are trying to propel the craft with one oar. I will not say that they desire a monopoly of preparing the world for Socialism, by trying to confine all preparatory work to the pulpit and insisting that, before Socialism can be established, all the people will have to be converted individually, but I do venture to say that the millions of exploited working men and women and

children will hardly consent to wait until all the people join church before any practical steps are taken to improve their environments, lighten their burdens and prevent the taking from them two-thirds of their earnings without compensation.

"As politics is the art of government," and Washington, Jefferson, Lincoln and other good men have participated in it, I feel that I can safely assure our ministerial friends that a little dabbling into politics will not seriously corrupt their morals. The late General Ballington Booth preached for years to save the souls of the unconverted poor of London. He prayed with them, gave them religious tracts and Bibles, promised them a glorious heaven hereafter and threatened them with hell after death; then he changed his methods; he mixed a bit in politics; he persuaded the authorities to build several thousand of cottages in the country, establish municipal meat markets, bakeries, public bath houses, etc., and to move the people of the slums out there. In short, he found he could do these unfortunates a better service by improving them in bulk, by changing their material environments, than by trying to save their souls, one by one.

Come, brethren; get down from your high pulpit roosting places and lend a hand in the effort to improve the material conditions of the submerged peoples. A distinguished Republican capitalist and magazine writer has recently declared that the greedy stock-watering monopolists have driven the country to the verge of a bloody revolution.

Come down and help the Socialists in averting such a horrible calamity. Take hold of both oars and help to row the Socialist boat. Both the ethical and materialistic oars are good, sound and necessary paddles.

Creston, Iowa.



KNOCKOUT DROPS.

The "Sweet bye and bye" is hidden from view by the "bitter present." If Taft pictures heaven as being occupied by Supreme judges, holy Moses, what does he think hell is like?

It must have been after just such an election as our last that Solomon exclaimed: "As a dog returneth to his vomit so a fool returneth to his folly." When the atlas of labor straightens up the world of profits will roll from his back.

Wilson is going to gibbet malefactors of "big business" on a gallows erected by the steel trust.

Strange what throat trouble these big fellows have when on the witness stand.

What heaven does a man deserve in the next life if he persists in tolerating hellish conditions in this?

Text of the mill owner: "Little children suffer that come unto me, for of such is my kingdom of heaven."

The way the insane asylums are filling up shows that the correct theory of life is "the survival of the fittest."—Exchange.

THE STORY OF A BRIBE.

In the March American Magazine, Brand Whitlock, mayor of Toledo, Ohio, writes an interesting article in which he relates some of his experiences in Illinois with Governor Altgeld and also some of his experiences as a journalist in the Illinois state Legislature. One member of the Legislature interested him particularly. Telling the story of this legislator, he says:

"He was a member sent there from some rural district far down in the southern end of the state, and all through the session he had been silent, taking no part, except to vote, and to vote, on most occasions, with his party, which, in those days, was the whole duty of man. This night would see the end of his political career, if his brief experience in an obscure position could be called a career, and he stood there, silently looking on, plucking now and then at his chin, his long, wrinkled face brown and solemn and inscrutable.

"The old man stood there while the long roll was being called, and the crisis approached, and the nervous tension was a keen pain. And suddenly one of the gas lobbyists went up to him, there on the verge of the House, and began to talk with him. I had the story a good while afterwards from one of the whips, who, it seemed, knew all that had gone on that night. The lobbyist, of course, knew about the man, knew especially about his necessities, as lobbyists do, and he began to talk to the old fellow about them—about his poverty and his children, and he used the old argument which has been employed so long and so successfully with the rural members of all our Legislatures, and has been the source of so much evil in our city governments, that is the argument that the bill concerned only Chicago, and that the folks down home would neither know nor care how he voted on it, and then—how much \$2,000 would mean to him. As the lobbyist talked there were various eyes that looked at him, waiting for a sign; they needed only a few votes then, and the roll call was being delayed by one pretense and another, and the clock was turned back. The old fellow listened and stroked his chin, and then, presently, when the lobbyist had done, he turned his old blue eyes on him and said:

"I reckon you're right; I'm poor, and I've got a big family. And you're right, too, when you say my people won't know nor care—they won't; they don't know nor care a damn; they won't send me back here, of course. And God knows what's to come of my wife and my children. I am going home to them tomorrow and on Monday I'm going to hunt me a job in the harvest field; I reckon I'll die in the poor house. Yes, I'm going home—but—he stopped and looked the lobbyist in the eye—I'm going home an honest man."

CAPITALISM SPELLS ROBBERY.

Wage Slaves Would Not Be Kept Working Did They Not Yield a Surplus.

Have you ever considered how the Southern slave masters got their incomes? Was it not by taking part of what their slaves produced and calling it their own?

And have you ever thought of how the present ruling class—the capitalists of today—get their incomes? Is it not by taking part of what their WAGE slaves produce and calling it their own?

Is there really any difference except in form and name applied?

Was there ever a slave owner in ancient or modern times that had so many slaves as the steel trust, the oil trust or any of the hundreds of other trusts?

In colonial days the English capitalists found one of their main sources

of income in supplying English colonists with slaves. By the treaty of Utrecht in 1713 Great Britain secured the monopoly of the slave trade. This monopoly was controlled by royal favorites and was an important source of income to the crown.

As soon as the raising of slaves became profitable the slave breeding states began to object to further importation. But the slave trade received support from another quarter. One of the principal industries of Massachusetts and Connecticut was the manufacturing of New England rum from East Indian molasses. This rum was then taken to Africa and after ample admixture with water was exchanged for negroes, who were then sold to the Southern planters. The ship proceeding from the Southern posts to the West Indies to receive its load of molasses would go on to the New England distilleries, and so on. It was from the profits of this trade that the Puritan fathers of our country received a large portion of their incomes. Peter Fanuel was one of these traders, and Fanuel Hall was built from the profits obtained from smuggling rum and capturing slaves.

The present system takes on the same aspect of exploiting human flesh and blood. The industrial masters of today build "peace mansions" from the profits derived from the millions of underpaid wage slaves; where plans are laid for more armaments in the mad search for new markets, in order to dispose of the surplus products, augmented by the still cheaper wage slaves imported from the old world.

The profits wrung from the wage slaves of today are infinitely greater than from any chattel slave at any time. Do you not see that those who work under the present system of wage slavery are merely the servants, the conveniences, the puppets of a modern aristocracy, just as were our ancestors in Europe in the days of feudalism?

When men make a profit from your labor and demand half of what you produce for the privilege of working for them, you are one-half slave; when they get three-fourths, you are three-fourths slave.

The workers today receive an average of less than one-half of what they produce, and the masters say where they may work, when they may work, how long they may work, how much they may have, and indicate the conditions of their lives as certainly as ever did a slave master of black men.

The day is coming when the men who create all wealth will refuse to toil and slave and struggle for the profit of a master class.—Exchange.

"MOTHER" JONES.

(Emma F. Langdon.)

I received a letter from Mother Jones last Saturday; it was written in a military bastille, in her own handwriting, and the short letter told of the terrible outrages being heaped upon the wage workers in West Virginia. The letter stated that no one was allowed to visit this heroine of the miners—that the letter would go out underground—be smuggled to Charleston to be mailed. The letter was in reply to one asking that at least a card be sent to assure the writer of "Mother's" safety. Her answer, written in a capitalist prison cell, breathed the love of the cause and consideration for the race yet unborn, and hurled defiance in the face of the slave drivers and their thugs of West Virginia.

The labor press has undoubtedly given out all the news of the situation in the strike zone that could be obtained. The large dailies have briefly mentioned the fact now and then that an extra company of soldiers were being ordered to the strike region or that some "labor leader" had been arrested, or a few lines stated rioting between the soldiers and miners had taken place. With such brief news, how little the world knows of the innermost facts.

There is the greatest battle of the age being fought in West Virginia! The daily papers have been filled with dispatches telling of the horrors of warfare and revolution in Mexico—special correspondents have been sent to this foreign land—great "scareheads" tell of the troubles of the Maderos, Diaz, Huerta—Taft's attitude—whether or not the United States shall intervene—of the sorrow of some Mexican wife or mother that has lost some one near or dear or expects disaster may overtake them. Every day the papers are filled with such items. But how much do you read of the great fight in West Virginia? It is there that a great war is on—not led by Diaz or Huerta, but by a snow-haired woman—and the battle is not for money or political distinction—the contest is human rights vs. starvation and abject slavery!

The contest is between the slaves of the mines, representing human rights, and the coal barons, representing capital. The great general that strikes terror to the coal barons and inspires the workers to keep up courage to fight, uncompromising, is Mother Jones. Don't imagine "Mother" a masculine type, such as is pictured by the anti-suffrage press; her gentleness and devotion has won her the dearest title of all—"Mother"! She is all the name implies—all tenderness to those who do right, helping to smooth the thorny way, nursing the sick, dressing and feeding the children of the poor, ministering to all that need her or deserve her devotion, but hurling pitiless denunciation and defiance in the face of the exploiters of the poor and helpless. They fear and hate her as no other one individual, and well they may. I am sure they would murder her—would have done so years ago if they had dared. Well, they may be afraid; it is true they dare most anything to keep the workers in servitude, but even yet there are some things they dare not do, and one of them is murder "Mother" Jones. If Americans have any of the spirit of their forefathers, blood will flow freely if they dare harm a hair of her head! Woe be unto the "blue-bloods" of the proud state of West Virginia if any harm comes to this snow-crowned "Mother" of the poor!

Many years ago "Mother" was active in organization work in the same field where she is in the thick of the battle now; many times I have heard her tell how organizers were shot like dogs by the hirelings of the corporations. Thirty-five years ago "Mother" was on the same battlefield, and I can fancy I see her kneeling above the Virginia mine workers, bathing their faces with her tears. Now again, after all these years of progress, she is on the old field again, not so strong physically, her hair matches the snow of many winters, her step not so light, but her heart is as warm as in life's springtime and her sympathies as wide as the needs of the race, notwithstanding her 76 years. History tells of many brave women—Joan d'Arc and a Molly Pitcher—many others accomplish some daring feat or made some great sacrifice for a brief period, but you may search the archives of history and you will not find one that has given an entire life's devotion so unflinchingly, uncompromisingly, without any reward, as "Mother" has. Her only reward has been love. She cares nothing for physical adornment—an extra dress is only a burden to her, because it would make too much luggage. If the comrades—"her boys," as she lovingly calls them—decide she is in need of some of the comforts of life and give her a collection at one of her great meetings, and she is forced to take it to please them—the next place she stops—where there is a strike (and if there is a strike and help needed, you can be sure that is where she will be found)—her pocketbook will be emptied there among the destitute, and "Mother" continues to wear the same bonnet and dress. Her only home is among the workers—in the thick of the fight. She is absolutely unprejudiced. She cares nothing for an individual's nationality, creed or color, if they are fighting for the right and need her; she is there in the "battle's thunderous roar"—thoughtless of no one except herself.

Some so-called intellectual in the movement, in speaking of "Mother," about six years ago, said she was "not scientific." What do you suppose "Mother" cares about "science" when she hears the children of the poor cry for bread? What do you suppose "Mother" cares for "science" when she sees the daughters of the workers sold into white slavery? When she sees

the wives and daughters of workmen turned into the streets in West Virginia by the military? When the workmen are shot by the thugs with the endorsement of the state officials? Do you suppose she stops to inquire whether it was done scientifically or not? "Mother" is too busy to consult "science" on such subjects; she knows the cause of such conditions; she knows how to point them out so the workers can understand; she believes in more bread and less science. It is hard to distinguish between a "scientific" hunger and one that is not. "Mother" knows the soldiers are in West Virginia, and she knows why they are there, and it matters little whether they were sent in a scientific manner or not. No doubt the miners would just as soon be shot by an unscientific bullet as the most scientific. Little "Mother" cares what the so-called scientific lecturer says of her; she is thinking of the whole race—their bleeding hearts, their starving babies and of the race yet to come.

"Mother" Jones has stood in the vanguard for forty years; her labors have covered a continent and reached every class of workers. Her speech is a summons to action. Patience with wrong is a crime with her. She can "touch the hearts of men as the storm god touches the oceans' keys." No sorrow of humanity is alien to her. She is the incarnation of the proletarian spirit. Those that have heard her on a platform before a throng, the avenging spirit of justice, kindling dead hearts in the glow of her own, grim, relentless, implacable, as she drew the indictment of a system that makes millions of one class and paupers of the other, in words that roused like a bugle call, would scarcely recognize this same "Mother" that nurses the sick in the miners' cabins and mingles her tears with the sorrowing widows and orphans in a mine disaster or an epidemic of fever. The labor press has spoken of her as "the Angel of the Miners." She is all of that and more, for she is divinely human. She is the worker's refuge and inspiration. "Mother" is the cry when, overawed by corporation hirelings, they seek to join hands in a common struggle, and again when the troops, re-enforced by hunger, are beating them into earth. Often she has changed defeat into victory. Her courage is unconquerable. Words and weak; no one can eulogize this noble soul; her work is her eulogy. Let no granite shaft rest on her, but let the flowers tell the sweetness of her life, and prattling children, wrested from mine, mill and factory and given back to childhood's joys, in all ages yet to come sing her praise.—St. Louis Labor.

WISHING.

Ella Wheeler Wilcox.

Do you wish the world were better? Let me tell you what to do:
Set a watch upon your actions, keep them always straight and true;
Rid your mind of selfish motives, let your thoughts be clean and high.
You can make a little Eden of the sphere you occupy.

Do you wish the world were wiser? Well suppose you make a start
By accumulating wisdom in the scrap-book of your heart.
Do not waste one page on folly; live to learn and learn to live,
If you want to give men knowledge you must get it ere you give.

Do you wish the world were happy? Then remember day by day
Just to scatter seeds of kindness as you pass along the way;
For the pleasure of the many may be oftimes traced to one,
As the hand that plants the acorns shelters armies from the sun.

In Memoriam.

Silverton, B. C., March 8, 1913.

Whereas, Death has again invaded our ranks and taken from our midst a true and faithful brother, Manley Jones; be it

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

(Seal)

KENNY McINNIS.

S. E. WATSON,

H. H. CARMICHAEL,

Committee.

IN MEMORIAM.

Whereas, Death has again visited our ranks, taking away, through neglect and greed, two of our loyal and faithful members and brothers, Kristian Martikainen and Gabriel Lecich, who died "accidentally" in the Quincy mine on February 16th and February 19th; therefore, be it

Resolved, That our charter be draped for the period of thirty days, that a copy of these resolutions be spread on the minutes and another copy be sent to the Miners' Magazine for publication, and we are determined to work more than ever to abolish the conditions that make it necessary for men to sacrifice their lives for bread.

ELIS NAASKO,

JOHN A. KIERI,

JOHN VALIMAKI,

Committee.

Adopted at the regular meeting of Hancock Copper Miners' Union on March 2, 1913.

DRINK CENTENNIAL BEER

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Try Some and Be Convinced

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POETICAL



YOUR COUNTRY.

Wm. E. Hanson, Butte, Montana.

You sing of "my noble country,
The home of the free and the brave,"
And imagine yourself patriotic
And deny that you are a slave.
Your cherished banner "of Freedom,"
The glorious "red, white and blue,"
To it you give your allegiance,
But "what has it done for you?"

Perhaps you followed it blindly,
In the "Holy Christian wars;"
Some of you died by shot and shell,
Some came back covered with scars.
But the masters who urged you onward
To fight your country to save,
Stayed at home in peace and safety,
While some of you went to the grave.

Your fighting saved your country?
How much of it do you own?
Just ponder over it slowly
When you are all alone.
Then when you see Old Glory waving
And list to the martial strain,
If "Business" wanted another war,
Would you "save your country again?"

Good friend, let me kindly show you
How much of this country you've got:
Just a little bit—three feet by six—
Somewhere in some graveyard plot.
You're a slave to old tradition,
To the man you call "the Boss,"
Who is kind enough to let you live,
If to him it means no loss.

The masters lifted the burden
From the shoulders of the black,
And in order to be consistent
Just strapped it on your back.
They gave the black man freedom;
In his stead made you the slave,
And for saving "your glorious country"
That was the payment they gave.

When Wealth grows patriotic
And declares "There must be a war,"
The reason is clear and simple:
You won't have to look very far
To find the coon in the woodpile.
Bear in mind you're no longer a slave;
Let the rich masters fight the battles
For the land of the "free and the brave."

For wars are made only for profits
To open new markets for gain;
To get rid of the so-called "surplus,"
Which the workers look for in vain,
While the masters are clipping coupons
And raising the cry of alarm;
As a patriot you shoulder the musket,
Kill those who have done you no harm.

The officers (rich men) get the glory,
The privates get work and hot air;
A bronze medal on a red ribbon,
That is, if there's money to spare.
So when you sing of "my country,"
Just do of plain thinking a lot,
And you'll laugh at yourself for talking
Of something you "haven't got."

SOLILOQUY OF A WORKINGMAN.

By W. S. Morgan.

To be a Socialist, or not to be;
That's the question.
Whether it is nobler in the mind
To suffer loss of independence,
Of manhood, opportunity and happiness;
To cling to prejudice, poverty and
The old party, or
Vote against capitalism,
And by opposing end it,
Help to right my country's wrongs.
To unite! ah, that's the magic word
That should stir every toiler's soul,
And inspire to noble deeds of action.
But whether it is better to join a party
Opposed by all the "powers that be";
Against which hell has hurled its hosts,
And press and pulpit no less oppose,
And whose slogan is,
To the toilers belong
The wealth they create,

I cannot say.
The fires that slumber are breaking forth;
My country's sacred soil
Is stained with my brother's blood;
The cry of helpless women and
Famishing children
Has touched my heart;
I must not wait;
The time is ripe for action.
The two great parties,
The giant arms of capitalism,
Are rent asunder;
Loaded down with broken promises
And a foul record,
They stand convicted of infamy.
They are reeling before the blows
Of this young giant,
The Socialist party.
The banners of this new party
Are floating on the breeze
In every country and in every clime.
Its mission is world-wide
And comprehends the human race;
its red flag signifies
The brotherhood of man.
It asks for the wealth makers
Only that which they create,
And the right to say
How it shall be distributed.
Its philosophy is the
March of an army of facts.
It is armed with
The sword of justice and truth.
Its onward march is irresistible
And its embattled walls impregnable.
Against it are hurled all the hosts of hell.
Armed with venom, falsehood,
Flattery, sophistry and slander,
The plutocratic press is
Prurient, putrid and pliable.
It vain does it hurl its anathemas
At this newborn giant.
Its strides are unchecked
And its glorious mission
Is everywhere welcomed.
How can I hesitate?
The glorious truth
Has dawned upon my mind;
It is a class struggle
To free labor and exalt it;
To rescue childhood;
To protect virtue;
To establish justice;
To universalize opportunities;
To uplift the race;
To create happiness.
How can I hesitate?
My face is turned forward;
I comprehend the glorious
Possibilities of the future;
I see before me the universal
Recognition of the brotherhood of man.
I see justice enthroned;
My eyes behold the
Highest type of manhood—womanhood;
I see bright-faced, healthy children
Playing on the greensward;
I see women enjoying
Equal rights with man.
Happiness and contentment
Reign everywhere.
There are no wars and
Battleships are used to serve
The race, and not destroy it.
Embattled forts are
Levelled to the ground, and
Engines of destruction are
Recast into tools of
Production and distribution.
There is no waste;
The energies of the toilers
Are expended for their own welfare.
Again, I turn my face backward.
Behind and around me
I see desolation and death;
I see a world of
Poverty, want, suffering and despair.
I see the wan faces of children
Who have been robbed by
Plundering plutocratic pirates.
I see the sad faces of women
Begging food for their offspring,
Or selling their souls for bread;
I see labor dethroned and degraded;
I see wealth accumulated
Through fraud and deception,
Enthroned in power and
Parading in rich apparel;
I see decency shaking
Hands with the devil, and
Learning in league with lust.
Crime rears its head without shame;
Suicide is on the increase;
The divorce courts trample
Upon the sanctity of marriage;
Honesty has surrendered to greed,
And graft has become the
Highest ambition of statesmen.
Corruption is rampant and
Its lecherous hand is
Undermining the republic.
Commercialism has raped the church,
And her garments are unclean.
How can I hesitate?
I have "all to gain and
Nothing to lose."
I shall take up my march
With this young giant
And cast my lot
On the side of justice.

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

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LIST OF UNIONS

Table with columns: No., Name, Meet'g Night, President, Secretary, Box, Address. Lists unions for ALASKA, ARIZONA, BRIT. COLUMBIA, CALIFORNIA, COLORADO, IDAHO, ILLINOIS, KANSAS, KENTUCKY, MICHIGAN, MINNESOTA, MISSOURI, MONTANA, NEVADA, NEW JERSEY, NEW MEXICO, OKLAHOMA, ONTARIO, OREGON, SOUTH DAKOTA, UTAH, WASHINGTON, WISCONSIN.

LIST OF UNIONS

Table with columns: No., Name, Meet'g Night, President, Secretary, Box, Address. Continuation of union listings from the previous table.

STATE AND DISTRICT UNIONS.

Utah State Union No. 1, W. F. M., Park City, Utah
District Association No. 6, W. F. M., Sandon, British Columbia
Coeur d'Alene District Union No. 14, W. F. M.
Iron District Union No. 15, W. F. M.

AUXILIARIES.

Desloge Ladies' Auxiliary, Desloge, Mo.
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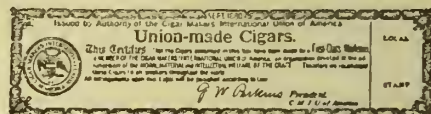
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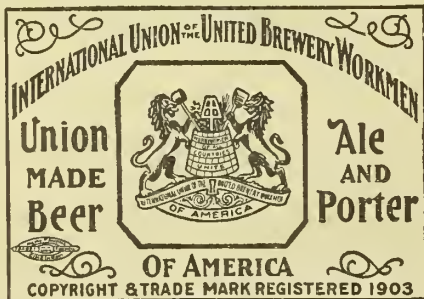
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