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THE MINERS MAGAZINE

INDEPENDENCE
EDUCATION ORGANIZATION

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



DENVER, COLORADO, MAY 1, 1913
VOLUME XIII. 24  NUMBER 514.

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EDUCATION INDEPENDENCE ORGANIZATION

MINERS MAGAZINE

Published Weekly

by the

WESTERN FEDERATION

OF MINERS

Denver, Colorado,
Thursday, May 1, 1913.

Volume XIII., Number 514
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UNIONS ARE REQUESTED to write some communication each month for publication. Write plainly, on one side of paper only; where ruled paper is used write only on every second line. Communications not in conformity with this notice will not be published. Subscribers not receiving their Magazine will please notify this office by postal card, stating the numbers not received. Write plainly, as these communications will be forwarded to the postal authorities.

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John M. O'Neill, Editor

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

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

STAY AWAY FROM PORCUPINE, ONTARIO!

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

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.

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'.

JUSTICE has been *bull-penned* in West Virginia.

THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR has now passed the two million mark.

THE SO-CALLED "Christian" unions are *scabbing* on the general strike for manhood suffrage in Belgium.

GUS LARSEN and Melvin J. Gaetz of Leadville, Colorado, have donated \$1 each to aid the miners on strike at the Britannia mines.

THE PEOPLE of America are afflicted with about 2,000,000 parasites. When the people overthrow the profit system they will get rid of the parasites.

HUGH O'NEIL, father of the editor of The Miners' Magazine, died in Denver at St Joseph's Hospital on the night of April 23d, and was buried April 26th in Mount Olivet Cemetery. He was born in the city of Derry, Ireland, April 22, 1833. He came to America when 14 years old, and passed away after reaching four score years.

MEMBERS of the "American House of Lords" will hereafter be elected to the United States Senate by a direct vote of the people. Legislative bodies will miss the *boodle*.

THE MEMBERS of the Bricklayers' International Union have been voting on the question of affiliation with the American Federation of Labor. At the present writing the indications are that the bricklayers will become a part of the A. F. of L.

THE NEW TARIFF reduction that is being enacted purely as a piece of political advertising, will not stand up against even a little argument. To whom does it matter whether we have a tariff or not? Free trade has never solved the problem of poverty in free-trade countries. Gentlemen, it is the problem of poverty you are called upon to solve; the tariff is no problem at all.—New Times.

MAX PAM, one of the so-called leading citizens of New York, gave \$500,000 to the Roman Catholic church about three months ago to be used to fight Socialism. We are not interested in the fact that he was an easy mark, but we want you fellows to get it into your noodles that the leading citizens of Christ's time were the fellows that were responsible for his death, and all because he was trying to better the condition of his class—the working class. Socialists are engaged in the same kind of work as Christ was—the bettering of human conditions, and are in for the same kind of abuse slander that was heaped on their comrade—Jesus Christ.—Toiler's Defense.

EQUALITY before the law! Of course, nothing less, says the captain of industry, the railroad magnate, the street car despot—every man must be allowed to hire as many strike-breakers as he chooses in order to frustrate the attempts of honest workingmen to improve their conditions of work and life. No law is violated when capitalist employers make use of their economic power to bring economically helpless workingmen to terms except the law of humanity, the observation of which is not obligatory for model citizens. Capitalist law knows no humanity; it is only concerned with material interest and the conditions under which it may be realized. What we need is not equality before the capitalist law, but a new law, the object of which is the human interest of all human beings.—Buffalo Socialist.

THE SOCIALIST PARTY stands for the principles of unionism and proclaims war upon tyranny in every form. Such being the case, it is now pertinent to ask the question as to why the National Executive Committee of the Socialist party has failed to arouse the working class of a nation to the fact that "Mother" Jones is held a prisoner in West Virginia by the orders of the coal barons?

Has she outlived her usefulness?

Is she ignored by the National Executive Committee of the Socialist party because age has dimmed her eyes, and eighty years upon earth presages that she is soon to be numbered with the dead?

Has thirty years upon the firing line of labor's battle been forgotten that she is to be abandoned by the National Executive Committee of a party that prates about its love for liberty and human rights?

If Berger, Hilquitt, Spargo, Barnes and other luminaries of the Socialist party were held as prisoners in West Virginia under the pretext of martial law, would the National Executive Committee of the Socialist party remain idle and silent to their imprisonment?

If not, then for what reason has the National Executive Committee become apathetic and indifferent to the wrongs inflicted upon a woman who has borne the brunt of labor's fight for the life of a generation?

The National Executive Committee must speak, and speak quickly, or bear the censure of every honest union man and woman in the labor movement of America.

WE HAVE HEARD much of the democracy of President Wilson and his secretary, William Jennings Bryan, and much of the democracy promulgated by these gentlemen, who on the rostrum have proclaimed their indignation against the despotism of predatory wealth. But in West Virginia the law has been trampled under foot and justice murdered by the authorities of the state, who seem to be the official agents of coal barons and railway magnates.

An old woman in her eightieth year has been held as a military prisoner, simply because she raised her voice in behalf of suffering humanity. "Mother" Jones and officials of the United Mine Workers have been the victims of the brutal tyranny of economic czars, and not a finger has been lifted in Washington to halt the corporate outlaws of West Virginia.

Wilson and Bryan and the other so-called giants of the Democratic party, can little longer remain blind to the infamies perpetrated in West Virginia, and at the same time make the people believe that the Democratic party stands for justice. Actions will speak louder than words.

HENRY GRADY, the once noted editor and orator of the South, paid the following eloquent tribute to *cotton*:

"Cotton! What a word to conjure with to us who are from the South. What a royal plant it is! The world waits in attendance on its growth. The shower that falls whispering on its leaves is heard around the earth. The sun that shines upon it is tempered by the prayers of all people. The frost that chills it, and the dew that descends from the stars are noted, and the trespass of a little worm on its green leaf is more to England than the advance of the Russian army on her Asian outposts. It is gold from the instant it puts forth its tiny shoot. Its fiber is current in every bank; and when losing its fleece to the sun it floats a sunny banner that glorifies the field of the humble farmer; it is marshaled under a flag that will compel the allegiance of the world and wring a subsidy from every nation of the earth. It is the heritage that God gave to this people forever as their own when He arched our skies, established our mountains, girt us about with the ocean, loosed the breezes, tempered the sunshine and measured the rain. Ours and our children's forever. As princely a talent as ever came from His hand to mortal stewardship."

MOTHER JONES, the Florence Nightingale of the class war, has behind her a record of service that will immortalize her name. For nearly half a century she has been on the industrial line, giving her life to those who toil. Hers was no message from beyond the starry dome, she had no time for celestial hash pots. Her's was a message of service. Many is the time that she led the discouraged host of toil, from the verge of chaos back into the confidence that is born of solidarity. When the faint light of hope seemed swallowed up in the dark night of despair, her zeal fanned the dying embers into flame. Her presence gave strength to the falling, courage to the fearing and confidence to those who doubted. Regardless of her own comfort and safety, she was always in the thick of the fight. Her kindly fingers cooled the temples of the sick, bound the wounds of the bleeding and closed the eyes of the dead. Hers was a life of sublime consistency. She was and is a mother among the toiling masses. No leader but rather a companion and comrade. Labor loves her for her service, hence the name of "Mother."

Today the enemy has her in its power, charged with inciting murder, a thing which is as ridiculous as it is absurd. She has been tried by a military court and found guilty, and upon appeal she is to be tried again by a group of men who have averred that she is guilty. She is to be tried by her accusers. Great is the impartiality of the law. Workers, organize politically and industrially into one compact bond of solidarity.—Truth.

THE FOLLOWING DISPATCH from Grand Junction, Colorado, shows how the I. W. W.s do business:

"Grand Junction, Colorado, April 21.—Sixty militant members of the Industrial Workers of the World arrived in Grand Junction last night and at once caused trouble for the police. Led by Jack McDonald, 'martyr' of San Diego, they marched at once to police headquarters, where they demanded food, which was denied them.

"Sixteen of the band then went to a restaurant, where they ordered a plentiful meal for which they refused to pay. The proprietor called the police and special deputies arrived at the restaurant before the Industrial Workers of the World had left. With drawn revolvers the deputies demanded and forced payment of the dinner checks.

"The men then declared that there was no more money in the party, but they expected to stay in the city for three days and be fed. Citizens organized and drove the visitors from Grand Junction this morning.

"The men say they have come from Utah and are on their way to the relief of the 100 Industrial Workers of the World who now are in jail in Denver."

The above dispatch speaks for itself and needs but little comment. The traveling tourists have an eternal hatred for *work* and do not propose to lose any sweat as long as there is any possibility of being lodged and fed at the expense of others. The professional beggars proclaim themselves *revolutionists* and world emancipators, but sensible men will think more than once ere they reach the conclusion that *workless wanderers* rustling for fodder can promote the interests of the working class.

Voluntary bums and hoodlums are no part of the bona fide labor movement.

MR. MARSHALL, Vice President of the United States, has been receiving some letters from distinguished gentlemen since he delivered an address recently in New York. The Vice President, during the course of his address said:

"Present advantage shuts our eyes to the permanency of our institutions. Not what we are nor what we stand for, but what we can make has come to be the measure of governmental duty and individual conduct. And yet, despite this theory of life, Karl Marx and hunger and a longing for happiness are abroad in the land. The desire of the people is for greater equality of opportunity and enjoyment. *More and more men are coming to the belief that Socialism alone will open up and guarantee this equality.*"

The above sentiments expressed by a man who stands next to the chief magistrate of the United States have caused a nervous feeling to pervade those select circles of society whose wealth has been stolen under forms of law.

The pampered and petted darlings of the upper crust are displeased and are gently protesting against such language coming from a man whose official position nationally gives him entrance to the sacred sanctum of purse-proud plutocracy.

Marshall, though Vice President of the United States, has not become deaf to the mutterings of discontent. He knows that the unrest of the laboring millions presages the coming change which must ultimately result in the sovereignty of the masses of the people. He realizes that the reign of privilege will not be tolerated by a people who yearn for liberty.

THE NEW YORK SUPREME COURT has handed down a decision recently that will be of much interest to the membership of organized labor. From an exchange we quote the following, relative to the decision:

"The New York Supreme Court has decided that a trade union has the power to make laws and to impose fines for the violation of same. The court rules that when a member joins the union he must obey laws, properly passed, and if he violates these laws, which he promised to obey, when he joined the union, he has no redress, but must suffer the consequences. The case was started by two members of the New York Mailers' Union, who were fined for violating the union rules regarding overtime. The union, in defense, showed that the laws were clearly stated in the book of rules, and which were in operation when the members joined, and which they agreed to at that time. The court sustained the union and declared that when a unionist took an obligation to abide by rulings, he had no recourse from courts."

The above ruling from the highest court of the state of New York is very important and establishes a precedent that is not only based on law, but on sound common sense.

When a member of the working class is admitted to the membership of a labor organization he is presumed to know its constitution and by-laws, and it is further presumed that when he takes the obligation given to him by the organization of which he becomes a member, that he will render obedience.

The ruling of the Supreme Court of the state of New York relative to obedience on the part of a member to the laws and constitution of his local union, carried to its conclusion, must apply to local unions rendering obedience to the laws and constitution of the national or international bodies with which they may be affiliated.

IT IS SOMETIME since capitalism has showed its teeth as markedly as it is now doing in West Virginia.

For months the cossacks have hounded the miners like beasts of prey.

The coal barons are attempting to crush the miners in their effort to organize and secure some sort of living conditions.

When the men went out on strike the governor sent the militia at once, in obedience to the coal kings.

Trainloads of cossacks were shipped in. In running the train through the strike-bound valleys, the soldiers would put out the lights in the coaches and fire promiscuously into the camps and hovels of the miners, killing and wounding many of the women and children as well as the men.

The United Mine Workers have kept Paul J. Paulsen in the field for months to aid in the organization of the coal diggers. Mother Jones has spent most of the time there since the strike started. The Socialist locals and the state organization have joined in the battle. The *Argus*, the Socialist paper, has put up a fine fight.

For this reason the coal barons, who own both the mines and the government kidnaped Mother Jones, Paulsen, editor Boswell and about fifty others and put them into a bullpen at Pratt.

From this place we have received cards and letters to the effect that they are held under the military power of the state. The prisoners have appealed for trial by jury, but the Supreme Court of the state has denied that right.

These comrades and workers are now being tried by court martial and are liable to be lined up along the fence and shot like dogs.

Justice is not in the running. Justice is held an exile from West Virginia. Justice has no standing in that old seat of tyranny.

Shall the rest of us stand by idle and let our comrades be riddled with bullets? Shall the United States allow one of the commonwealths to violate the constitution and kill our citizens without recourse to the right of trial by jury?

Is there any wonder that the people are turning to Socialism? Are they not driven to think, and think harder?

The sooner we get Socialism the sooner will we be rid of the infamous butcheries now perpetrated by capitalism.—Next Step.

Colorado Invaded

THE INDUSTRIAL WANDERERS have invaded the state of Colorado. The Workless "Willies" first camped at Grand Junction on their way from California. When the sweatless tourists pitched their tent in Grand Junction the mayor and council immediately made an appropriation to purchase a "Mulligan stew" for the *revolutionists*.

When the taxpayers discovered that public funds had been appropriated to furnish the advance guard of the "I-Wont-Works" with *soup refreshments* there was a howl of indignation that meant something more than mere noise. A mass meeting was immediately called and vigorous speeches were made in denunciation of the city officials, who assumed authority to place a "Mulligan" before the emancipators of an enslaved world.

From the mass meeting a vigilantes was organized, and when the *Revolutionists* (camped on the outside of Grand Junction) heard of the warlike preparations of the citizens they immediately "hit the trail" toward Denver.

The city officials of Denver were anxiously awaiting their coming in order that the "bummers" might not feel slighted by any act that might be interpreted as a lack of courtesy on the part of the Denver authorities. When the tourists struck the corporate limits of Denver they were immediately waited upon by a *police committee* and escorted to jail.

They were arraigned in court the following morning and convicted as vagrants.

The *Revolutionists*, after being convicted and sentenced to jail, refused to eat and trampled under foot the food that was served. They were as defiant as Mrs. Pankhurst, the suffragette, but not as durable, for in a short time it was discovered that the *leader* had smuggled a loaf of bread and put it where it would do the most good.

This act on the part of the *leader* was branded as treasonable, and the *patriots* for *soup* declared the *hunger strike* in jail at an end. The taxpayers of Denver may follow the example of the taxpayers of Grand Junction, and if so, the advocates of "sabotage" and "direct action" will be given doses of their own medicine.

They Are Class-Conscious

THE MANUFACTURERS' ASSOCIATION of Illinois is "on the job" and never loses an opportunity to prohibit labor from passing any measure that might jeopardize dividends. The following letter sent out to the manufacturers of Illinois shows that the exploiters are class-conscious:

Illinois Manufacturers' Association, American Trust Bldg., Chicago:

Gentlemen—A crisis is being faced by Illinois manufacturers before the General Assembly now in session at Springfield. The labor lobby is unusually active and scores of bills tending to throttle your business are up for passage.

Unless a united stand is taken at once Illinois manufacturers' industries, OF WHICH YOURS IS ONE, will receive a blow from which they may not recover for years. The Illinois Manufacturers' Association is fighting this battle—YOUR battle. It has been doing it for years. DON'T you think you ought to bear a portion of this burden? Are you not willing at a critical time like this to put YOUR shoulder to the wheel and assist this organization in guarding your in-

terests? We want YOUR aid—YOU NEED US. Inclosed is an application blank. Please send us check for \$50—\$10 initiation fee and \$40 dues for one year. Very truly yours,

JOHN M. GLENN, Secretary.

Laboring men who read the above letter and who believe that the interests of employer and employé are "identical," should endeavor to ascertain why such an association, made up of employers, send out letters soliciting funds to defeat labor legislation.

The workers have been frequently told that the employer and employé should be *brothers*, and some have gone so far as to declare that *master* and *slave* are *partners*.

But with all the sophistry and hypnotism used to blind the worker to the interest of his class, conditions are being created and facts revealed that are awakening the struggling millions to the treachery and duplicity utilized to drug the victims of exploitation.

The class struggle is raging in every nation of the world, and the time is not far distant when greed must go down before the power of a class that is demanding that economic slavery shall be buried in its eternal grave.

Shall America Be Russianized? Dangerous Menace to This Country

By R. A. DAGUE.

To the Editors of Socialist and Labor Union Publications and All Advocates of Peace and Lovers of Liberty:

Comrades—A well-matured and powerful movement planned and promoted by capitalists, professional military men, politicians, presidents of six great universities, the adjutant generals of twenty-eight states, and others, has been started and is well under way to create an immense army in the United States.

This is not because any other nation threatens to wage a war against us, or that there are any indications of a war with anybody. The men behind the screen promoting this movement put a higher estimate on the rights of private ownership of property than they do on the well-being of men, women and children.

Ideas of peace and the awful curse of war have been spreading among the people. The czars, the kings, the plutocrats view with alarm this awakening of their subjects, their wage slaves, their victims. They are, therefore, quietly moving to counteract this tendency. They need soldiers who, at their bidding, will thrust the glittering bayonet to the heart of the men whom they desire to kill. To carry out their plans they are, therefore, starting movements to cultivate the war spirit in boys and others, and to strengthen the army.

This is a critical age of the world. Nothing stands still. Civilization will go forward to higher and more peaceful planes, or go backward into tyranny, violence and bloodshed. Monarchies will dethrone kings and establish republics and democracies, or retrograde to despotism. Peace will be promoted, bringing its inestimable blessings, or we shall nurture the war spirit and go back to killing for glory or spoils, and, in due time, find our government is a military despotism ruled by a few enormously rich, while the many are in dire poverty.

I ask my readers, which shall it be in America? Will a hundred millions of liberty-loving people permit this great nation to be adroitly converted into plutocratic military government? We shall see.

I propose that a million lovers of peace send up to our law-making

bodies a protest against the movement referred to. With that idea I submit herewith a form of protest. Let it be cut from this journal, be attached to sheets of blank paper and signatures of men and women be solicited and, when filled by names, sent to the general offices of the American Federation of Labor at Washington, D. C., and to headquarters of the National Socialist party, Chicago, Illinois, on the 1st of October, 1913, the same to be placed on file, duplicate copies to be forwarded to the presiding officers of every State Legislature next winter; also to the President of the Senate of the United States and the Speaker of the House of Representatives.

Let a million of good citizens send in their emphatic protest against this un-American and dangerous scheme to convert this republic into a military despotism. Let all Socialist Locals, labor unions and all other opponents of war and lovers of liberty circulate this protest for signatures and do all they can to avert the impending danger.

Here is the protest I suggest:

A PROTEST.

Whereas, There has recently appeared in the Chicago Record-Herald and other newspapers the following:

"Announcement has been made of the completion of the organization of the Army League of the United States and of its purpose to hold a convention in Washington in December. At this meeting the policy of the league will be formulated and the methods of its extension outlined.

"The Army League of the United States embraces among its officers some of the most distinguished men in the country, including two ex-Presidents, two ex-secretaries of war, an ex-secretary of state, two ambassadors, two former ambassadors, three lieutenant generals, who were once chiefs of staff, the adjutant generals of twenty-eight states, the presidents of the Universities of Chicago, Harvard, Yale, Princeton and California, the former provost of the University of Pennsylvania, senators, authors, editors and other men of national prominence in different walks of life.

"One of the principal objects of the league is to promote the welfare of the national guard and obtain legislation that

“will bring the organized militia into closer relations with
“and make it a stronger adjunct of the regular army.

“The Army League, in directing its efforts to obtain an
“adequate and efficient military force will favor:

“Military forces for the nation, and not for local inter-
“ests.

“Legislation to encourage a reserve and organized militia
“as auxiliaries to the regular army.

“A reserve composed of officers and men who have re-
“ceived sufficient training previously to make them an effi-
“cient force at the beginning of hostilities.

“The league has a long legislative program. Among other
“measures it will support will be bills to increase the personnel
“of the army and national guard through a reformed system of
“promotion for officers; to render the organized militia avail-
“able when the regular army is insufficient for military opera-
“tions, with provisions for suitable pay; to extend the com-
“bined maneuvers for the regular army and organized militia
“in larger forces than heretofore, approaching as nearly as
“possible to war conditions; to provide adequate sea-coast
“troops and reserves, both regular and militia, and to revise
“the laws relating to the calling out and organization of volun-
“teers.

“The officers of the Army League are:

“President—William C. Endicott, son of the secretary of
“war during Mr. Cleveland's first administration.

“Vice Presidents—Robert E. Lee, grandson of General
“Robert E. Lee; Robert Bacon, former secretary of state and
“ambassador to France, and Dr. Benjamin Ide Wheeler, pres-
“ident of the University of California.

“Secretary—Frederic L. Huidekoper, well-known mili-
“tary writer.

“Treasurer—William B. Hibbs, banker.”

And, Whereas, There is an organized movement in all enlightened
countries of the world to create and maintain international courts of
arbitration to the end that war may be abolished; and,

Whereas, The apparent object of this Army League movement is
to counteract and neutralize the aforesaid peace movement and to con-
tinue bloody wars, with all their horrible consequences; and,

Whereas, The cost of maintaining the present army and navy of
the United States is now a grievous burden upon the people and is
yearly increasing; and,

Whereas, If this Army League succeeds in their proposition, thou-
sands of new officers will be created, arms, uniforms, arsenals, frequent
traveling expenses, tents reviews, etc., will load upon the people an
enormous additional expense; and,

Whereas, This Army League proposition would change time-hon-
ored customs, abridge the rights of the respective states and create a
great federal army under the command and control of one man; and,

Whereas, This movement is apparently a part of a similar one
inaugurated and promoted by European despots; and,

Whereas, History proves that, when their services are required to
defend their country, a volunteer army, fresh from shop and farm,
after a little drilling, become as efficient soldiers as members of the
standing army; and,

Whereas, This Army League movement is clearly intended to, and
will, arouse and foster the military spirit of millions of boys and thus
indefinitely postpone that much-desired day when all wars will be
abolished; now,

Therefore, We, the citizens of the United States, in the interest of
peace and to prevent enormous needless expenses from being loaded on
a people already heavily burdened, and that the rights of the individual
states may not be abridged and the methods of king-ruled countries
may not be established in America, do here and now and ever will pro-
test against the legislation proposed by the “Army League of the
United States.”

(To Solicitors: Secure signatures of both sexes of discretionary
age and, on October 1, 1913, mail protest to headquarters of American
Federation of Labor, Washington, D. C., or office of Socialist National
party, Chicago, Illinois).

NAMES.

ADDRESSES.

(Papers favoring this please copy).

They See Things

PROMINENT MEN in the upper walks of life are realizing that a
time is not far distant when the present brutal industrial system
must give way before the united power of the victims of exploitation.
The murmurs of discontent are growing louder and the army of rebels
is increasing. The tyranny of the industrial czar is becoming more
unbearable and the slave is reaching the conclusion that it is far better
to fight to live than to be peaceful and die slowly from hunger.

Elbert H. Gary, head of the steel trust, at a banquet some time
ago, expressed himself as follows:

“There are things being said nowadays which are very similar to
things said just before the French revolution. I tell you that the
spark may make a flame, and that soon. Unless capitalists, corpora-
tions, powerful men themselves, take a leading part in trying to im-
prove the conditions of humanity, great changes will come, and they
will come mighty quick, and the mob will bring them.”

Ex-President Taft, while in the White House, made the following
comment on conditions as he saw them:

“Such extremists (radical progressives) would hurry us into a
condition which could find no parallel except in the French revolution
or in that bubbling anarchy that once characterized the South Amer-
ican republics. Such extremists are not progressives—they are politi-
cal emotionalists or neurotics.”

Dr. Harvey W. Wiley had the following to say as to the uprising

that might come, unless human rights received more favorable recog-
nition:

“I agree thoroughly with Judge Gary of the Steel Corporation
that unless something is done to alleviate present conditions of unrest
in the nation, mob rule will come.”

Bishop D. D. Williams has not been blind to the infamous system
that makes brutes of human beings, and in a sermon delivered some
time ago, gave his opinion as to what should be done:

“It is not drunkenness that leads to poverty, but poverty that
leads to drunkenness. Justice and righteousness cannot prevail so long
as we have people enjoying wealth they did not earn and toiling not.
Put them to work for the benefit of mankind. It is getting to the
point where people realize that a social conscience is needed, and a gen-
eral awakening is needed.”

Representative George W. Norris had the following to say as to
what would ultimately save humanity:

“Evolution, not revolution will be the saving of the country. No
better evidence of this could be asked than the attitude of the very rep-
resentatives of vast aggregations of capital, who are today predicting
revolution.”

The above opinions are from prominent men in the public life of
the nation, and scores of opinions could be offered as expressed by
other men of national reputation, who can discern the change that must
come ere humanity can enjoy “life, liberty and the pursuit of happi-
ness.”

The Control of Bread

WHEN THE INTERNATIONAL HARVESTER COMPANY
decided or threatened to move its twine mills from Auburn,
New York, to some place in Germany, it acted quite within its acknowl-
edged rights and, if the move is really made, it will still remain within
the territory where it sells its products. The harvester trust is not a
local or a national industry; it is ubiquitous; it is international. It
leaves in Auburn, or one that it can put through the sweating process
which pressed the workers of that locality to the point where they were
forced to desperation. It goes to Germany, or threatens to go, because
it believes it will find there a supply of labor more docile than Auburn,
or one that it can put through the sweating process with greater enrich-
ment of itself—not that it loved Auburn less, but that it loves profits
more.

And where is the sacred American flag? Where are the glorious
Stars and Stripes? Where are patriotism, honor, devotion to country,
desire to see this, the most prosperous nation on the footstool, and all
that? They are where the greatest profits are to be made, and the har-
vester trust believes they are to be made in Germany, or at least it
claims so. Its country is the world; to make dividends its religion, and

to move to that locality where it thinks it can pay the workers the least
wages is its patriotism.

Naturally, when the threat was made, there was a great outcry
from the substantial citizens of Auburn. Almost on their bended knees
they have been begging the harvester trust to be merciful and stay in
fair Auburn. They, too, have interests that must be conserved. If the
trust moves and its place is not taken by some other concern, and if the
workers employed by the trust are forced to migrate in search of em-
ployment, then the dealers in the town and the landlords will be de-
prived of the opportunity to sell goods and rent houses to just so many
persons. The yearly payroll of the trust, it is said, was about \$400,000.
The loss of that amount in wages means a loss of 20 or 30 per cent of it
to the local traders.

All the newspapers feel sorry for the business men of Auburn. It
is a blow to the city, nay, a staggering blow. The Empire State is proud
of Auburn. It has some beautiful estates and nature has made it a
most picturesque spot, though not by permission of the harvester trust.
It is a thriving center of industry, adding millions of dollars to the
total of our national output, and possessing some most wretched hovels
in which the workers crowd.

But while the newspapers, lawyers, politicians and others are sorry

for Auburn, they do not express much sorrow for the workers. The workers are responsible. If they had not been so unreasonable in their demands, if they had not insisted on bullying the trust, and if they had not sought to throw a further scare into capital, which is always timid, then the trust would not have been forced to seek shelter in Germany.

The removal of the plant will break up some hundreds of homes. The workers will wearily pack together their few belongings and go to other places where they can sell their labor power. Those who tried to buy a little house will be forced to sacrifice it. Those who gathered together something for a rainy day find that the deluge has come. They must move on, as so large a proportion of the working class is moving on. Millions of them have no fixed home and can have no fixed home. They are driven on and on. Hundreds of thousands of them are merely camping out in the great cities. Hundreds of thousands of them are camping out in the industrial towns and at the mine mouths. The working class is not only subject to precarious employment, but to insecurity of location.

How can there be homes for these workers when they never know how long they can remain in a place? If the harvester trust removes its plant, and serious as that would be for the local workers, it is really insignificant in the great shiftings of industry, it would merely be in line with what has been done before. Capitalist industry has wiped out farms and erected great towns. It has wiped out great towns and left desolation. Just as families were broken up, never to be reunited, through the selling of the father or the mother "down the river," so working-class families are broken, never to be reunited, through the shifting of the labor units, through the depopulation of towns, through the greed that leaves black ruin wherever it sprawls, and through the necessity of the worker following his job. The manufacturer will go

where he can get cheap land, or steal it; where he can get cheap water power, or steal it, or where the labor conditions are such that labor may be had cheap. He doesn't care whether it is in Auburn or Germany, Georgia or China, New Orleans or Cuba, Colorado or Mexico. He is going where the combination of raw material and labor will give him the greatest profits, and he does not care whether it is under the sheltering folds of Old Glory, the dragon, the double-headed eagle or the crescent. He does not care what tongue the people speak, what creed they believe, or what color they are. Men, women and children, righteous and unrighteous, old and young, are merely "hands" to him, "hands to be applied to raw material through the medium of his machinery to turn out commodities that he will sell for a sum greater than the combined cost of the use of the hands, the raw material, the wear and tear on the machinery, the supervision of labor, the bookkeeping and the selling expenses. Humanity and patriotism cannot be considered where profits are concerned.

Even those who are now humbly supplicating the harvester trust to be merciful and stay in Auburn would make the city a wilderness if they saw their way to greater incomes. The capitalists are teaching the workers that they have no country. And the workers, for themselves, are slowly learning that all they possess is their mutual interest as workers. They have no "partnership" with capital. There can be nothing between the workers and the capitalist but a temporary truce. For the conflict the capitalist is able to choose the battlefield, as is shown by the ease with which plants can be moved from one place to another, from Auburn to Germany, or from Lawrence to South Carolina or Georgia. But when they get to Germany they will find there also that "labor is unreasonable." And the more "unreasonable" labor is, judged by capitalist standards, the better for itself.—New York Call.

The Shameful Conditions in West Virginia

A SHAMEFUL CONDITION prevails in West Virginia—a condition that ought to cause every decent American to blush, and which, if permitted to exist in Russia would arouse world-wide indignation.

Mother Jones and a large number of officers and members of the United Mine Workers have been languishing in cold, dirty and insanitary jails for weeks without knowing their ultimate fate after being kidnaped and given a farcical trial before a so-called military court, as though a state of war exists where the defendants are entirely unarmed.

In writing to the Citizen from the "Military Bastille" at Pratt, West Virginia, Mother Jones says:

"I was kidnaped on February 12th, while walking along the streets of Charleston, and they brought me twenty-two miles in order to bring me within the martial law zone, so that they might try me before a drumhead military court.

"I refused to concede their right to try me under those circumstances and while the civil courts were in session. But the cowardly whelps of the millionaire operators had their orders and tried us anyhow, and none of the boys, nor do I, know upon what charges we were tried or what sentences we must serve. All that we know is that we are locked up while the flag of liberty is waving over our stockades.

"I am watched day and night by three capitalistic tools, although I am past 80 years of age and would not be able to go very fast if I could make my escape. No one is permitted to see me, and any newspaper man that would dare to approach the gate would be snapped up like a dog and run into the bull-pen. They wrote over the door these fatal and memorable words: 'All hope abandoned ye who enter here.'

"Labor in all its conflicts never met with a more cold-blooded, merciless crew of pirates than we are confronting in this slave-cursed state of West Virginia. They are now attempting to resurrect the methods of the old Spanish inquisition and are testing them out here to see how

far they can go. This is a danger to our movement that every union official in the country should understand, and the members as well.

"We have made a great fight against tremendous odds—poor, uneducated, hungry men, women and children on the one side struggling for a little more liberty, and on the other side unlimited wealth, power of the governor, the military, the courts, an army of private thugs and other elements of rottenness and corruption that are a disgrace to civilization.

"If ever I gain my freedom again the country shall know what an infamous crew of plutocrats and their crooked political hirelings are daily conspiring to keep the working class in slavery and subjection in this state. They say I have already put them to an expense of \$500,000 to keep their grip on their privileges. Well, I will endeavor to double and treble that amount and fight them until they emancipate my boys and their wives and children from slavery."

The organized working people of this country ought to rise as one man and demand that the authorities at Washington take effective steps without further delay to end the brutal and slavish conditions that exist in West Virginia, and have existed since the Civil War.

Henry Gassaway Davis, the Elkinses, Scotts and other modern feudal barons of the West Virginia mountains are THE REAL TRAITORS TO AMERICAN INSTITUTIONS, not Mother Jones and the poor, oppressed miners.

We want to know, and at once, what President Wilson, William Jennings Bryan, William B. Wilson, secretary of labor, and other members of the Cabinet intend doing about the plutocratic insurrection in West Virginia.

The Washington officials have known since March 4, and doubtless for some time previous to that date, what outrages were being perpetrated in West Virginia.

Why haven't they acted?

WILL THEY ACT NOW?—Cleveland Citizen.

Lest We Forget!

NOW IT'S COMMISSION GOVERNMENT for the state that's proposed as the next great "reform."

The governor of Kansas has recommended to the Legislature that the constitution of the state should be revised to simplify the state government and shorten the ballot.

The Kansas idea is a Legislature composed of highly-paid officials who shall be elected from districts as large as the present congressional districts. They shall be in session continuously and shall perform the administrative duties now entrusted to the several state officers.

There is no blinking the fact that our legislative bodies are often unwieldy—that in the few days, or weeks, or months, in which they are in session they are required to pass upon bills and measures blindly rather than with any knowledge of the facts. Even if they were in session continuously, they could not hope to grapple intelligently with the grist of laws which they enact.

At the best, the Legislature enacts that which the class that has created public opinion has decreed and the form of which has been indicated by the intelligence of its actual authors. It is only when a legislative body initiates measures from its own consciousness that we are confronted with the freak legislation which is peculiar to the statesman

who assumes that he was brought into the world that his fellow-men might benefit from his superior capacity to govern.

The conception of the legislator as a Moses, who, from his inner consciousness, perceives what is right and what is wrong and makes laws that humanity henceforth may be guided aright down through the ages, is the basis of the small and "select" legislative body "reform" with which it is proposed to bless the American people. As against this, we have the direct legislation proposal, based on the assumption that public opinion is flouted by legislative bodies and that we shall not have the will of the people, or the will of God, expressed in the laws of the land until a majority shall be given opportunity to pass directly upon the statutes provided and enacted in the name of the people.

Commission government is a reaction from representative government precisely as the initiative, referendum and recall indicate impatience with representative institutions. The commission form reacts toward the aristocratic or monarchial ideal, while the referendum reaction is toward the ideal of pure democracy. The net result will probably be that the two forces will so neutralize each other that we shall have neither pure democracy nor the ideal of government "taken out of politics," which finds its final expression in absolutism.

There is no occasion for any citizen to worry over the common

council or the Legislature or Congress lest needed laws shall not be properly enacted. When there is anything vitally at stake, we may be sure that our lords and masters will put men on the job. There's no bungling when their interests are involved. For the rest of us, it really doesn't matter much, even if the laws providing that bed sheets shall be seven feet long or that no one shall dance the turkey trot without the mayor's permission, or that ash pans shall be no larger than a cellar window or that cigarettes shall not be smoked or unvaccinated citizens permitted to attend the opera without a physician's certificate, shall come in conflict with the constitution or prove to be defective in their phraseology.

It doesn't matter much whether laws shall be enacted directly, by representatives or by large legislative or small legislative bodies, we

may be sure that no laws of any consequence will be enacted that are disapproved by or are injurious to the dominant class. The question to be decided—the only issue of consequence—is, which class shall be dominant—the class that is doing the work and producing the wealth of the nation or the class that is absorbing it without giving any adequate service to society in return. No class, when it is in possession of the powers of government, has ever had any difficulty in enacting the kind of laws that it needed. It's the class that isn't in possession, but which is seeking to obtain power, that meets with obstacles and difficulties. The measures which it demands are quite sure to be "blunders" when passed upon by the higher authorities.

It's unconstitutional for Dred Scott to assert that he's a free man when his owner is the government.—Milwaukee Leader.

Against the Red Flag

IN THE LEGISLATURE of Connecticut the following bill was introduced, having for its object the prohibition of the *red flag* being borne in any parade:

"HOUSE BILL NO. 266.

"An Act Concerning Public Processions, Parades and Outdoor Meetings. Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives in general assembly convened:

"Section 1. No public procession, parade or outdoor meeting shall be held in any town, city or borough of this state, without a permit which in towns shall be granted by the selectmen, in boroughs by the warden, and in cities by the chief officer of the police department.

"Section 2. The authority issuing the permit shall state on the permit the kind and character of flags or banners which may be carried in the procession or parade, or exhibited at the outdoor meeting, and *no flag or banner not described on the permit shall be carried in any parade or exhibited at any outdoor meeting.*

"Section 3. Every person who shall violate the provisions of Section 1 or Section 2 of this act shall be fined not more than \$200, or imprisoned not more than six months, or both.

"Section 4. This act shall not apply to parades, processions, or public meetings of the soldiers or sailors of the United States army or navy, or to the soldiers and sailors of the army or navy of this state.

or to the soldiers or sailors of the army or navy of any other state or foreign country temporarily within this state."

The above measure was supported by representatives of the Grand Army of the Republic and by a number of prominent ministers of the gospel, who openly declared that the bill was aimed to make it unlawful for members of the working class to bear the crimson banner in a public parade.

The bill was opposed by representatives of organized labor and of the Socialist party, on the grounds that labor bodies had the right to carry the banner of their respective organizations, and the Socialist representatives contended that the red flag stood for liberty and humanity.

The measure in the Legislature of Connecticut clearly demonstrates the fact that the class struggle is here, and that capitalism does not propose to permit the proletariat to march beneath the folds of a banner that represents principles not in harmony with the ethics of the pirates of privilege. The workers of the world are realizing that the flag of every nation belongs to a master class, and that the flag of every nation is borne aloft by the armed force of every nation, in every conflict between exploiter and exploited to crush the rebellion of the impoverished against industrial tyranny.

The economic masters of the world have decreed that labor shall have no flag save the flags that belong to that organized horde whose economic power controls the government of nations.

A Bait for Suckers

UNDER THE HEAD of *Sabotage*, we find the following advertisement published in an exchange:

"If a thousand wage workers could go on strike and keep on drawing their wages just the same, they ought to win. Doesn't it look so?"

"Suppose they stay in the shop, but work in such a way that the boss loses money on them instead of making money? The capitalists say this is immoral. So do some Socialists. What do you think?"

"First you need to know more about it, don't you? That is why we have just published the new book, 'Sabotage,' by Emile Pouget. This is the classic work on the subject, telling how this new weapon is used by the workingmen of Europe. It was translated by Arturo Giovannitti while the capitalists kept him in jail last summer. He also wrote an introduction.

"Cloth, 50 cents; paper, 25 cents, postpaid. Address Charles H. Kerr & Co., 118 West Kinzie street, Chicago."

A number of the professional jawsmiths of the I. W. W., when pressed closely as to sabotage, evade and dodge giving a straight answer. But here is a publishing firm of Chicago that publishes a magazine known as the International Socialist, that solicits subscriptions to a *new book on sabotage*.

To make the book appeal to the thoughtless and unsophisticated, Mr. Kerr, Socialist-Syndicalist and advocate of *any old thing* that draws revenue, inserts in his advertisement: "If a thousand wage workers could go on strike and keep on drawing their wages just the same, they ought to win. Doesn't it look so?"

The above paragraph is a *poser* and should bring the ducats to Mr. Kerr. Just think of the simple capitalists being so verdant and child-like in their simplicity as to permit the strikers to draw their wages while they were on strike!

In the second paragraph of the ad the strikers are supposed to "stay in the shop, but work in such a way that the boss loses money on them instead of making money? How beautiful!

Who would have thought of such a brilliant scheme to so hypnotize the capitalist that he would permit strikers to remain in his shop while he was losing money? Strange that the *Direct Actionists* and apostles of *sabotage* did not try the scheme at Lawrence, McKees Rocks, Pater-son, Spokane, San Diego and every other place from which they sent out circulars pleading for funds for *soup*.

The advertisement of the Kerr Publishing Company may appeal to numb-skulls and lunatics, but not to men who lay any claim to intelligence.

San Diego Free Speech Facts Made Public

THE INSIDE FACTS in the famous "free speech" fight made some time ago in San Diego are given in an article by Ralph Korngold in the Social-Democratic Herald, which make it appear that the victims of the fight were themselves to blame for the trouble. Speaking for both the secretary and treasurer of the San Diego Free Speech League the statement is made that:

Both men are emphatic in their statement that if it had not been for the language and tactics employed by the majority of the I. W. W. speakers, there never would have been a free speech fight in San Diego, nor would any restrictive ordinances have been passed.

The article continues:

"Most of the I. W. W. organizers who came to San Diego to speak," said Baner, "used language upon the street corners such as would not be tolerated in any civilized community. They were foul-mouthed and vile. They did not preach industrial unionism, or at least devoted very little time to that subject. They either attacked the Socialist party or devoted themselves to the slinging of vile epithets, such as calling the police 'dogs' and 'pimps.' As a result, they inflamed the people and the police, and the restricted district ordinance was passed. As this ordinance included all other organizations, the Socialist party de-

ecided to make common cause with the I. W. W. in order to maintain free speech, although once more I want to repeat that we would not have had to meet this situation if it had not been for the I. W. W. speeches and tactics."

The Free Speech League intended to place one or two speakers on the streets in an orderly manner and not so as to inflame the public against them, but simply to bring a test case. But the I. W. W. began to send men, a large number of whom seemed to have come simply for the purpose of obtaining free food and lodgings. As a result the fight ended in a complete fiasco.

Mr. Bauer, treasurer of the league, ends his statement by saying:

"We want to serve notice on Haywood or any one else that the I. W. W. will never again be able to create any situations for the comrades of San Diego to meet."

The above statements should leave an impression upon the minds of men whose sympathies in the past were touched by the circular letters of the "bummery" pleading for funds under the pretext that free speech was throttled in San Diego.

The *professionals* worked the free-speech fiasco to a finish, and now the Socialist party of San Diego, through its officials, is making

known the fact that organized labor and the Socialist party were imposed upon by the shameless vagrants who gathered in San Diego merely to be fed and lodged upon the money fraudulently obtained from those who were not familiar with the swindling tactics of an ag-

gregation whose presence in a "red light" district would lower the moral standard of the social outcast.

The "bummery" is no more a part of the labor movement than an unblushing hypocrite is a part of Christianity.

The Red Flag Proscribed

THE STATE OF PENNSYLVANIA now boasts of a law that prohibits the carrying of the red flag in public parades.

A legislator by the name of Walton introduced the bill, and the measure was duly signed by the governor.

It is probable that the Legislature of Pennsylvania and the governor who signed the bill entertained the opinion that the passage of such a measure would strangle rebellion against brutal industrial conditions and cause the poverty-stricken wretches of the Keystone State to turn to the Stars and Stripes with a new-born belief that "Old Glory" stands for "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness."

But while the memory of the vast majority of the laboring people is faulty and prone to forget many of the wrongs perpetrated under the folds of Columbia's banner, yet there are some wrongs that are so indelibly engraved upon the memory of labor which will live until wrong is righted by the united power of slaves becoming men.

Labor does not forget that under the Stars and Stripes 1,200 men were held in bull-pens in the Couer d'Alenes, while black brutes in the

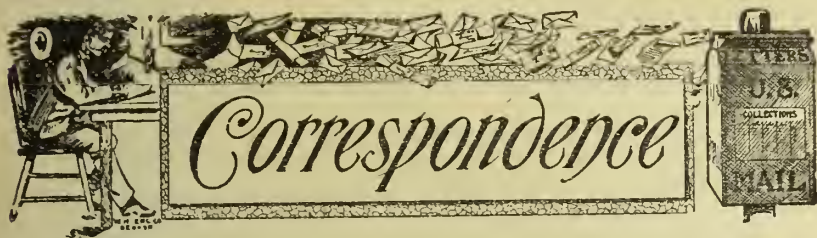
uniform of soldiers insulted their mothers, wives, sisters and daughters.

Labor does not forget that while the representatives of toil marched beneath the starry banner at Latimer, Pennsylvania, a sheriff with his blood-thirsty hirelings, "shot to kill" the law-abiding citizens who believed that every star and stripe on the American flag stood for equal rights and constitutional liberty.

Labor does not forget the outrages committed in Cripple Creek and the southern coal fields of Colorado, where human rights were assassinated, while "Old Glory" floated over the military outlaws who executed the orders of a master class.

Labor cannot forget that in West Virginia the coal barons and railway magnates have used the *flag* and the *soldiers* to still further enslave the starved victims of wage slavery.

The Legislature of Pennsylvania that passed such a measure and the governor who signed it will yet learn that *laus* will not command respect for a flag that has been prostituted to subserve the interests of insatiable greed.



DONATIONS TO BRITANNIA MINERS' STRIKE FUND.

Bisbee Miners' Union No. 106, \$10; Rossland Miners' Union No. 38, \$50; Wallace Miners' Union No. 17, \$25; Miami Miners' Union No. 70, \$75; Hedley Miners' Union No. 161, \$50.

INFORMATION WANTED.

Information wanted by relatives of the whereabouts of Henry W. Johnson. When last heard of he was working at the Mammoth, California. If any one knows of his present whereabouts, please write to N. N. Enemark, Kennett, California, Box N. Fraternally, N. N. ENESARK.

AN EXPLANATION.

New York, April 14, 1913.

The Miners' Magazine:

When the present management of the Metropolitan Magazine assumed control some sixteen months ago and changed the previous policy to that of espousing the Socialist cause, they found themselves tied up with a contract for the printing of the magazine with a non-union concern in this city. Numerous inquiries and complaints from Socialists and others reached this headquarters, and the undersigned officers of Typographical Union No. 6 called on Mr. Whigham, the president, who promised that when the existing contract expired the magazine would thereafter be printed in a union printing establishment.

We write this letter to inform all trade unionists and Socialists that Mr. Whigham has kept his word with the union and that the Metropolitan Magazine is now printed in a strictly union printing office in this city.

Very truly yours,

C. M. MAXWELL,
President.
JOHN S. O'CONNELL,
Secretary-Treasurer.
E. F. CASSIDY,
Organizer.

AN APPEAL TO DEBAUCHERY.

By Paul H. Castle.

Much has been said and written about the glowing advertisements of the military to induce young men to enlist in the army and navy.

The recruiting officer, having failed to induce a sufficient number of young men to enlist in the service of our capitalistic war forces by talking of good wages, education, travel and chances for promotion, has struck upon a new device of appealing to the most depraved and immoral instincts of the animal nature.

In the past few months I have traveled from Florida to North Dakota, and I have seen in many postoffices in all this wide range of territory an army poster that ought to arouse the indignation and sense of shame in the mind of every decent father and mother of boys eligible to army service.

The poster in question, among other alluring pictures, portrays the soldier boys in some coast town being entertained by the lewd dances of some of the denizens of the redlight district.

That this poster has the desired effect was well illustrated to me a few days ago when one of the Socialist comrades in a small North Dakota town told me of a conversation he overheard between two young men who were looking at the poster when one of them remarked, pointing at the lewd women, "There is where we can have a good time!" There is no doubt what the young man meant by a "good time."

You fathers and mothers, go down to your postoffice and look at this poster put before your sons, printed in lewd pictures that they may have an opportunity while traveling with the navy to participate in the most dangerous profligacy.

Now another word: What has become of all those prudish sex purity fanatics who are so keen to discover immorality in the plain, scientific teachings in sexology, and whose foolish censorship compels sane educational articles on the sex question to be eliminated from worthy magazines? Why

are these prudish hypocrites silent while the demoralizing influences of the money lust forces our recruiting officers to advertise debauchery as an inducement to get our young men to enlist for legalized murder?

These canting hypocrites who cry out that Socialism is immoral and will debauch the youth of the land had better pay more attention to cleaning up the present dirty system of its social filth before they pose as models of virtue and censors of the public morals.

INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY.

By Jean Jaures.

For the twenty-fifth time May Day, this year, reunites in one international demonstration the organized working class of two worlds in their affirmation of solidarity without distinction of frontiers, and in a mighty declaration of their determination to overthrow the forces which plunder and murder their class, and endanger the peace of the world.

At this moment when the struggle between capitalism and labor is at its height—

At this moment when governments place more and more at the disposal of privilege and capitalism all their forces, both military and police, in order to suppress the workers who are claiming a little more of their due—

At this crisis it is imperative that the organized workers everywhere should signify to the capitalistic classes that they have tolerated long enough a régime founded on the bondage and subjection of the producers.

Let us be stirring, so that on May Day we may demonstrate in one body that the workers of all countries are ready to recover their rights; ready also to oppose the plots of capitalism and of governments which endanger international peace.

Let us affirm with vigor our demand for the limitation of working hours to eight a day

Let us prove by our action that the working class will not rest content until it has secured the complete control of the means of production and exchange, the possession of which is the condition of its emancipation.

WHERE IT WILL STAND.

Written for The Melting Pot, by Theodore Debs.

"Where stand the churches of this nation as to the issue of a minimum wage for working girls?"—Terre Haute Post.

Where will the church and an institution stand?

It will stand where it stood almost two thousand years ago, when the white, quivering flesh of Jesus Christ was spiked to the cross.

It will stand where it stood when babes were torn from their mothers' breasts and "knocked down" from the slave block.

It will stand where it has stood through all the history of the past—under the protecting wing of the ruling and exploiting class—what palsied hand, sightless eyes, and tongue as silent as the dead.

Under a capitalist regime it does not require keen penetration to discern where the church will stand when the profits of the ruling class are in the balance.

In every situation involving the profits of the exploiting class the institutional church has stood with the strong, the powerful, and against the weak and oppressed.

When monstrous crimes are inflicted upon the working class the church stands mute and dumb.

The Morgans, Rockefellers, Baers and their kind are the direct beneficiaries of the terrible wrongs which the "lower" class suffer and it is from this class, the ruling class, that the church receives its main support.

Economic determinism has and will continue to fix the status of the church in all matters touching the profits of the capitalist class as long as capitalism is king.

The Post will ask in vain for an affirmative expression from the church on the subject of a living wage for working girls.

With sanctimonious cant the institutional church will turn its Pharisaeic features heavenward, roll its eyes in pious resignation, but not a sound will escape its coward lips.

ANOTHER FAKE EXPLODED.

Rich Gold Ores Reported in Oklahoma, Have, According to Geological Survey, About Same Value as Sea Water.

During the past winter there have been persistent reports of the discovery of gold and other valuable ores in the vicinity of Albion, Pushmataha county, Oklahoma, some finds being reported as exceeding \$60 a ton and some even as approaching a value of \$600 a ton. It has been known in the Interior Department that several "mining companies" have been or are being organized on the basis of these assertions and that many persons have been induced to invest in the stock. The excitement produced by the alleged rich values has resulted in requests for an authoritative examination of the lands and the temporary suspension of the sales of the tracts of Indian lands

on or near which the supposed finds were located. Although from its general knowledge of the geology of the region the Geological Survey reported that there is no likelihood that the area contains commercial quantities of gold, the reports and the demands were so persistent that by direction of the Secretary of the Interior a field examination was made last month by Henry G. Ferguson, associate geologist of the Survey. Mr. Ferguson reports the entire absence, so far as can be recognized in the field, of gold or other metals in commercial quantities. There is not the slightest indication of any vein or metalliferous deposit of such character as to increase the market value of the land. The rocks in the region consist of chert, shale and sandstone, carrying here and there small amounts of pyrite, which is known to the miner as "fool's gold." None of the supposed rich ore, which is generally a brown or gray sandstone, when crushed and panned yielded any free gold.

Salted Samples or Fraudulent Assay Certificates?

The entire local excitement appears to be based on certain fabulously high assays made chiefly on material dug from wells. Assay certificates which reported as much as 32 ounces of gold a ton were shown to Geologist Ferguson, but samples of the supposed gold ore, collected by him and assayed by Ledoux & Co., of New York, showed less than 2 cents in gold and ½ cent silver to the ton. The assay certificates which are being shown by the promoters are therefore either directly or indirectly fraudulent in character.

OH, WHEN THINGS ARE WRONG, JUST HAVE AN INVESTIGATION.

By Patsy O'Bang.

The nineteenth century will always be looked upon as the era of invention. The first fifteen years of the twentieth century will always be looked upon as the era of investigation. The twenty-five years following that will be the great years of reform in social life.

It's the fifteen years of "investigation" that I am concerned with in this piece for the paper.

Here's what investigation means:

When the people get sick of an evil, when the people get disgusted with a wrong, just have some legislature appoint a commission to "investigate" it—and then, let it go at that.

Are there hundreds of thousands of child slaves? Oh, appoint a commission to spend five years at a hundred dollars a day to "look into it." And, after it reports back that there are child slaves—as we all know—then let the matter go at that.

Are there vast armies of women held as white slaves? Oh, have a commission appointed to ask a lot of questions, report back three or four years later—and let it go at that!

Investigate! Investigate! That's the mania just now. And yet, any schoolboy knows that great wrongs are blotting our social life.

But the putterers in governmental life aren't concerned with changing things—they merely want to investigate—and let it go at that.

It's like sending a crew up to the North Pole to find out if it's cold up there. With thermometers costing anywhere from fifteen cents to a dollar and a quarter we don't need to spend a hundred thousand dollars to learn that it is cold up at the North Pole. And yet, that idea is carried into our social life. We appoint men to "investigate" evils, but never hear of anything being done to wipe away the causes of evils.

The people are growing tired of this "investigation" tommyrot. They want something more than an "investigation"—they want relief.

We know there are many unemployed persons in this country and we know that conditions will not be remedied by merely "investigating" matters.

It's a splendid way to dodge a question, though. While the people are excited, "investigate," and when the excitement is switched over to baseball or a prize fight, forget all about it. Oh, it's a dandy stunt. But its days are numbered.

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION.

By Hugh McGee.

We are living under a system of government which is known as a political organization and it is called a democracy or rule of all the people.

This system is expressed by and through one of the organizations which is given the reins of power by a part of the voters every four years.

However, on account of the granting of special privileges and exemptions to corporations and individuals by the organization which is given control of the government by a plurality of the voters, our system of government is proven to be democratic in name only.

A perfect democracy is an organization of all the people.

A perfect democracy would consider the safety and well-being and advancement of all the people, all the time.

A perfect democracy would distribute equally to every man, woman and child every benefit that the government could bestow.

Under a system of perfect democracy, special privileges and unequal exemptions would be abolished and every man, woman and child would share equitably all the benefits of modern civilization.

One great fact stands out boldly today and that is the fact that the trend of community life is steadily moving toward an organization of perfect democracy or Socialism.

Socialism or the Socialist state, simply defined, is perfect democracy.

In the United States, at the present time, there are only fourteen million men and one million women who are privileged to vote, and these fifteen million voters keep in power either one of the two capitalist political organizations known as the Democratic and Republican parties.

Those who profit by the existence and power of the Democratic or Republican organizations are not the voters, but the office holders who work very little and live very well, and the business men and big corporations which are given special privileges and exemptions by the office holders or so-called public servants, the officials of the organization in power.

The three million voters who voted for the Republican organization last year are not in any sense members of the organization known as the Republican party. They are merely ignorant tools of the organization.

The six million voters who placed the Democratic organization in control of the government last fall will not get any of the benefits or privileges or exemptions which the organization hands out during the next four years as they are not members of the organization. They are merely ignorant tools of the organization.

The new political organization, the "BULL-CON" party, which was formed by Roosevelt and his friends, if it had succeeded in getting control of the government, would not have helped anyone but the office holders and the few capitalists who formed the organization.

The Socialist political organization was formed by workingmen for workingmen.

It is financed by workingmen and when it gets control of the powers of government it will make all laws and interpret all laws and enforce all the laws in the interest of workingmen.

It will grant equal privileges to all and special privileges to none.

In a few words the Socialist party stands for a square deal for every man, woman and child.

There are not more than five hundred thousand persons who profit by the success of the Democratic party or the Republican Party when they are

in control of the government and in a nation of a hundred million souls such a condition is neither Democracy nor a square deal.

A square deal for all the people can only be obtained by collective industries instead of private monopolies and that issue is the one great public question which must be decided by the voters of the United States.

LASH THEM WHO MADE THE LAW.

By R. A. Dague.

This in many respects is a glorious age of invention and progress, but in some things we have not advanced much beyond the savage. In the matter of treating criminals we are about as cruel as are the inhabitants of Central Africa. We take little account of heredity, prenatal influences and early environments of the criminals so-called.

Wilbur D. Nesbit very truly and forcibly voices the complaint of the scourged inmates of our prisons in the following lines under the heading of "Punishment." He says:

"Yuh got me back all bloody-bare, th' cat is in yer hand;
Yuh've kept the count, an' some to spare, an' I can hardly stand.
Don't hang th' cat up till ye're done; you've lashed me to me shame—
Now go an' lash 'em one by one—th' folks that is to blame.

"Go back a century or so, an' trace it to its start—
Th' cunnin' notions deep an' low, th' crime that found me heart.
There's men back there, an' wimmen, too, that gave their thought an' deed
To build the soul that in me grew all warped to fit my need.

"Go back and find the men that lied, and stole—but wasn't caught;
Th' wimmen with deceitful pride—whose soft words come to nought;
Go back an' lash 'em, one by one, an' then don't think ye're through—
The punishin' will not be done; there's more for ye to do.

"Go find the alley where I come, unwelcome, to this earth—
A part o' human nature's scum, a bad 'un from my birth;
Go find the folks that let us be, contented with our dirt—
They've got to take some blame for me, they've got to feel my hurt.

"Go find the folks that made the law an' never put in love,
That thought that what they never saw was done by God above!
Go lash the good ones! Them that drew away in righteous scorn
From alley and from hovel, too—th' place where I was born.

"God knows that I am bad enough an' never had a name,
But High-Heeled Shoe an' Spotless Cuff has got to share th' blame.
W'y, just a word, a look, a smile that they would never miss
Might ha' made me go straight awhile, might ha' kep' me from this.

"Yuh've got me back all bloody-bare, th' cat has left its sting;
I ain't a man, so you don't care—to you I'm just a Thing.
But who made me a Thing, I say? All right, I'll do my time,
But lots o' you on Judgment Day will share with me my crime!"

I hope that lawmakers and judges and clergymen and teachers will read the above lines again and again, for they contain more truth than a thousand average sermons or a whole volume of laws for the punishment of criminals. Capitalism is responsible for a great majority of the crimes of the present age. There is little ground for hope that crime will be diminished until Socialism has been established. Under the present system of competition, or capitalism, a higher estimate is placed upon the dollar than upon the man. Under Socialism the rights and well being of humanity will be regarded as more to be desired than dollars. Socialism will go back and—

"Find the alley where I come, unwelcome, to this earth—
A part of human nature's scum, a bad 'un from my birth."

Socialism will abolish the alley and the slums, and by establishing a cooperative commonwealth and improving the material conditions of the submerged peoples, will diminish, if not entirely abolish squalor, ignorance and crime, and push humanity up to a higher level.

Now, competition, strife, greed and cruelty are in the saddle. When Socialism comes in all its fullness, justice, a square deal for all and kindness will rule.

Creston, Ia.

THE ARMAMENT CRAZE.

An Unmistakable Manifestation of the Unsoundness of Capitalist Society.

Big increases in the armies of Germany, Russia, Austria-Hungary and France are foreshadowed. A "remarkable wave of enthusiasm" is said, by the plutocratic press, to be sweeping over France. According to the "North German Gazette," the additional expenditure of Germany is to be met by a fortune tax, thus making the rich pay for it. This is apparently a dodge to soothe the workers. That it has been mooted at all testifies to the growth of the Socialist propaganda. The increases in the war votes signify little. The maintenance of big armies and navies is one of the means by which the plutocracy gets rid of the "superfluous wealth of the country in order that production may continue. Production is continually increasing, therefore the waste must also increase, so long as plutocracy rules. On this point the following London cablegram has some bearing:

"The Westminster Gazette states that one result of the Balkan war is now seen in the competition in armaments, but it has not increased the war prospects. The Gazette endorses strongly the manifesto of the German and French Socialists affirming that the mass of people desire peace."

As the Westminster says, the increase in the war votes does not signify that war is any nearer. In by-gone days this armament hysteria would have had a very serious significance. At such periods the plutocratic press and "diplomacy" had only to give the signal, at a word from the big financiers, and nations were involved in war. Those days have gone. The plutocratic press and the diplomats no longer influence the public as they once did, and the money trust knows it. The producers on all hands are declaring against war, for they now realize that war, under present conditions, represents simply a grab by financiers for fresh markets and concessions, and a means of getting rid of inconvenient wealth. As the cost of war is eventually paid by the producers, both in money and blood, the workers now refuse to have anything to do with it. The manifesto referred to by the Westminster Gazette is that issued by the Basel (Switzerland) Conference of International Socialists. The conference, representing seven million workers in various lands, carried a resolution, at the instance of Keir Hardie of England and Vaillant of France, in favor of a general strike in the event of war breaking out between the larger powers. A declaration of war in Europe, therefore, will reduce that continent to a condition of chaos unparalleled in its history, probably resulting in the overthrow of a tottering capitalism. High finance (very "high") doesn't want a catastrophe of that sort, hence the increase of the army votes has very little significance. The increase, however, will serve to emphasize the wanton and criminal waste of the capitalistic system. The stronger the determination of the producers of wealth to discountenance war the less is the need for armaments.

In the face of this truism the expenditure on "peace" is increasing!

The anomaly arises from the fact that while the workers can decline to slay their fellow-workers across the border, or be slain by them, they cannot yet control "diplomacy," or "government," both of which are under the thumb of High Finance. Now, the very existence of High Finance depends on a steady waste of wealth, for unless wealth is used up somehow, production cannot go on.

The maintenance of armies and navies is an excellent way of wasting wealth in the view of High Finance, because it has hitherto been able to convince the producers of wealth that armies and navies were necessary, and so the wastage has gone on without much notice or comment. When wealth is wasted in other ways the criminality of the proceeding becomes apparent. Suppose, for instance, armaments were abolished; then the interest lords and rent lords of Europe would find wealth crowding upon them faster than they could use it. All the freak entertainments and freak pastimes and gluttony and gorgeousness which could be invented would not suffice to get rid of the wealth rolling in.

Then would the world suddenly realize the startling idiocy and criminality of the present economic system, now rendered utterly out-of-date by the tremendous increase in production through the aid of wondrous machinery. But High Finance desires to stall off awakening. If it is prevented wasting it on an increase of the army and navy vote; but the awakening is happening, all right.—Westralian Worker.

REPORT OF BOARD MEMBER MILLER.

South Porcupine, Ont., April 7, 1913.

Editor Miners' Magazine:

Many instructive things well worthy of record happen in every strike, but he who has anything else to do will hardly write them all down. Here as everywhere the powers that be use all their energies to subdue the worker; he is beneath the law; the employer above it.

The appeals of Holwatsky and Cleary, found guilty by the local magistrate of inciting a strike in violation of the Lemieux act, and Croft of striking in violation of the act were heard by Judge Kehoe on the 26th ult. The decision turned on a technical point. The act forbids a strike in the mining industry or on public utilities without first submitting the dispute to a board of investigation and conciliation; it also forbids a strike pending the decision of the board.

The decision in the cases of Holowatsky and Croft were reversed, Cleary's conviction was sustained. The prosecution failed to show that there was any dispute between the Hollinger Mining Company and its employés at the time they went on strike, therefore no law was violated. The evidence seemed to show that Cleary was on the ground of the company after part of the men had quit work and a dispute had arisen, his conviction was therefore sustained.

Our attorney, A. G. Slaght, showed that under the act men might take concerted action to quit work, provided that the quitting had nothing to do with the conditions of employment, wages, hours, etc. For instance a new gold discovery might be announced, the men hold a meeting, decide to go in a body to the new district and locate claims, but no action would lie against them. The court accepted his reasoning.

The law is supposed to guard the interests of the "public" by preventing any sudden change in conditions that may involve a strike on the one side or a lockout on the other by providing for the submission of the question to a board composed of a representative of the employer, the employés and a neutral (?) member. In case the two members cannot agree on a third party, he is appointed by the government.

A practical illustration of the working of the law is shown here where Robbins, manager of the Hollinger Company, reduced the wages of his employés a day or two after the strike had occurred and when asked about it in court had replied that he did not know that it was against the law. Which shows that ignorance is a good defense for the rich but no good for the poor. He also showed the same amiable quality just after the fire that desolated Porcupine and left the workers unable to resist. His advice at the time of the strike was to vote right and the strike would be unnecessary. Oh, no, he was not pointing the way to freedom; not intentionally, anyway; simply trying to discourage the men.

By piecing together his various reports one learns that the Hollinger treasury is lower by half a million than at the beginning of the strike. Of this \$100,000 went for police protection, i. e., Thiel detectives. It was a pure gratuity, companies making no contribution to the Thiels suffering no loss. While the police have worked in kindly co-operation with the detectives, Mr. Robbins is bitter in his criticism of the government for failure to afford him protection—which shows how impossible it is to please men of his stamp.

Another instance shows the attitude of the Hollinger Company toward "law and order." A hockey match was played in South Porcupine by the Hollinger team. While here they purchased white handkerchiefs and tied them around their necks to mark them, made their way to the union mess house in Timmons, invited the men out to fight (there were but five or six at the time in the hall), using unprintable language. This bunch of desirables was led by McCoy, one of the officials of the Hollinger. Later the mayor threatened to read the riot act to them. A day or two later five Hollinger men came into Timmons in a fighting mood, started a row in a saloon and got more trouble than they could take away with them. Eight union men were arrested on a charge of assault and held under \$500 bail. Just before being brought to trial the charge was changed to unlawful assembly. Three men are held under that charge to appear at North Bay before the district assizes, under \$1,000 bail.

The membership are in receipt of a circular letter sent out by No. 145 when there was a very small attendance. It seems to have been timed to arrive at about the same time as the Industrial Worker, carrying an article which, after many slanders, revealed its purport and that of many similar articles at in advocating the substitution of the I. W. W. for the W. F. M. in Ontario. To divide is some men's idea of solidarity. In that article there is a statement that there are at least 100,000 workers engaged in mining and correlative industries in eastern Canada. Government reports state that there are 9,500 underground workers in Ontario, in all 15,500 men engaged in mining and correlative industries in Ontario, 10,000 in the other eastern provinces would be a liberal estimate. The article came more nearly approximating the truth in giving the number of men engaged than in most other matters.

Some small properties are expected to start up soon fair to the union. Development work is at a standstill in the mines of the district. Many scabs are leaving, but few coming in. Men are hopeful and standing firm.

Faternally,
GUY E. MILLER.

IS SOCIALISM HARD TO LIVE UP TO AS CAPITALISTS ALLEGE?

By R. A. Dague.

A Chicago paper recently said: "The late John Arbuckle, the coffee king, once said of Socialism:

"Socialism is, in a word, the golden rule. It is excellent in theory, but worthless in practice—for human nature is incapable of living up to it.

"The proof of this lies in the Socialists themselves. Study the Socialists in their organizations, their clubs and their homes—they are selfish and vindictive, just like the rest of us.

"Socialism, in this imperfect and selfish age, means, not the division of

your wealth with your brother man; it means the division of your brother man's wealth with you."

Others beside Mr. Arbuckle use similar arguments. They say:

"Socialism has high aims; it advocates the golden rule; it is what Jesus taught; is excellent in theory but can never be put in practice; Jesus was mistaken; people are naturally so bad that no improvement can be made in government; the smart thieves must always be allowed to steal; people must forever be dishonest; virtue and honesty must ever go to the scaffold and the cross, while thievery and dishonesty must ever sit on the throne. The desirable, the just, the good, must fail always; the wrong must triumph forever."

Socialists hope for better things. They will work for high ideals, believing sometime they will be reached. They believe, with the poet, that—

"Ever the truth comes uppermost
And ever is justice done."

Socialists do not agree with the statement of Mr. Arbuckle that Socialism cannot be inaugurated until selfishness is eliminated from all the people. While Socialism has high aims and makes appeals to the better impulses of men, yet Socialists are not proposing to make all people unselfish and good. The chief thing they are trying to do is to bring about the adoption of an industrial system, under which the crafty and greedy few shall not be able to take from the honest but often stupid working people five of every six dollars they earn, without giving anything in return therefor, as they have been doing for fifty years, until ten thousand shrewd speculators now own more wealth than is possessed by ninety millions of people and the country is on the verge of a bloody revolution. Socialists say disaster may be averted by the inauguration of a co-operative commonwealth in which every worker with head or hand will receive the full value of his labor, and speculation, stock-making and a system by which shrewd men gain vast wealth for nothing, will be displaced.

People complain of the trusts, and Democrats propose to smash them, but Socialists say the evil is not in the trusts themselves but in their ownership by individuals for private profit. They say trust sare good, for those who own them; therefore let the nation own them, and all the benefits go to the people collectively.

Socialists are trying to induce the people to change the representative features of this government, under which gigantic corruption prospers, and to establish a democracy in which the people will govern themselves by direct legislation, through the initiative, referendum and recall.

Mr. Arbuckle's often exploded and silly statement that "Socialists want to divide up existing property," is not worthy of an answer.

The entire fundamental proposition of Socialism is contained in the statement that "Every adult person should be a worker with head or hand in some useful occupation, and receive the full value of his labor."

Under the present competitive system the average worker gets but one dollar of each six dollars that he earns. Under this system the wealth of the nation is going into the pockets of a few men who do no useful labor, until those few own ninety per cent. of the total wealth of the nation.

Socialists contend that while they do hold to high ideals yet all their demands are practical and will not be hard to live up to. All the dividing-up for which they contend is an honest, fair divide, in which each citizen shall receive what he earns and not a dollar more. They propose a system that will put a stop to child slavery, stock watering, Wall Street gambling and the exploitation of working people by a few crafty speculators and gamblers who acquire great mountains of wealth without returning any value therefor.

Mr. Arbuckle, and other captains of industry, insist that their "incentives" to trick the masses out of millions must not be curbed. They must be allowed to have had full play for their "incentives" until they have come into the ownership of ninety per cent. of all the wealth of the country, while fifty millions of people are propertyless. Thomas W. Lawson, a millionaire, and one of them, admits that forty billions of watered and fraudulent stocks have been foisted on the people, and he predicts a violent revolution before vultures are extinguished.

Socialists propose that the nation, state, county and city acquire the ownership of public utilities and the means of producing and distributing wealth, and let the earning or profits go back to the people, and that the monopolizing of public necessities by individuals for private profit shall stop. This, they say, will prevent the impoverishing of the masses, and avert labor strikes, violence and bloodshed. The proposition is a simple, just, plain, common-sense one, and would not only be easily and peacefully inaugurated, but one not at all hard to live up to. The people of the United States are now carrying on many useful enterprises collectively or Socialistically, such as carrying the mails and parcel post, the public school, irrigating the arid lands and digging the Panama canal.

Uncle Sam constructs great warships, arsenals, forts, powder mills and gun factories with which to kill people. Why should he not build factories and railroads and operate coal mines and farms, etc., to help people to live and rear children and build up a better civilization?

It is not at all necessary that everybody should be saints or pure, unselfish angels before we can have a decent industrial system and a few laws to stop a few human hogs from devouring all the swill.

The people are capable, Mr. Arbuckle, of living up to a few simple, honest rules adopted to prevent the inflated incentives of a few great financiers from gobbling up five-sixths of the earnings of other people by speculation and smart financiering.

A certain amount of selfishness in this world is necessary—is right and Socialists are selfish enough to insist on the right to enjoy a greater proportion of what they have earned than they have heretofore been allowed to keep. They do not, however, believe that the right can never succeed and that the wrong must forever triumph.

Creston, Ia.

IS THE PRESENT CIVILIZATION CHRISTIAN?

By R. A. Dague.

(Author of Henry Ashton: What Is Capitalism: What is Socialism? etc., etc.)

"To safeguard peace we must prepare for war"—

I know that maxim; it was forged in hell.

This wealth of ships and guns inflames the vulgar

And makes the very war it guards against.

The God of War is now a man of business,

With vested interests.

—Israel Zangwill.

"It hung above the postoffice door, and this is what it said: 'WANTED—YOUNG MEN TO GO TO WAR'—that's how the poster read. 'Peace on earth, good will toward men' is nothing for us to heed, for we are the wolves of the jungle den and ours is the god of greed, and the wild war whoop will never cease where the wolf whelps buy and sell—so CURSE 'good will' and the way of 'Peace,' for ours is the way of hell! And the splutter of blood and crunch of bones and the screams of the tortured ones, and the sweet-hearts' sobs and the mothers' moans are hushed by the belching guns! And the vultures swoop where the carion lies and the demons dance and yell, and laugh at the sight of the weeping eyes in the land where war is hell!"—Henry M. Tichenor.

Is the present civilization Christian? "Yes," answers the czars, the kings, the big-salaried clergy, the Wall Street philanthropists, the millionaires and

the generals whose profession is to kill their fellow-men.

I do not ask if there are any individual Christians; I know there are thousands of them, but is there a Christian nation on earth? Are there any governments, or national economic systems, Christian?

It is said that when Jesus Christ, the founder of Christianity, was born angels announced his birth by singing: "Peace on earth, good will to men." When Jesus became a teacher he said: "Love your enemies, do good to them who spitefully use you; return good for evil; comfort the sick, clothe the naked, feed the hungry, and do unto others as ye would that they should do unto you."

Are any of the so-called Christian nations promoting peace and good will to men? Are they loving their enemies? Well, hardly! They are building great warships, manufacturing powder, swords and guns with which to burn, mangle and murder each other and to spread poverty, desolation and horror throughout the world. In this fair land of ours we have, for several years, and in times of profound peace, constructed two great battleships each year at a cost of fifteen millions each. Our military and naval expenditures amount to \$600,000,000 a year. To pay for past war and to prepare for future wars requires 72 per cent of the national income.

The British Chancellor of the Exchequer says: "It costs the Christian nations of the world two billions and two hundred and fifty millions (\$2,250,000,000) annually to maintain their army and navy on a war footing."

War has shed rivers of blood and produced an incalculable amount of poverty, suffering and sorrow, and has cursed the race of mankind beyond all estimate. In the bloody conflict now, as I write, raging between Bulgaria and Turkey (which was commenced by Christians against Mohammedans for spoils) half a million of men have been killed, about as many crippled, billions of debt saddled on to the working people, and a deluge of hellish influences let loose that will curse the world for centuries. Who are these blood-thirsty murderers who promote such atrocities? Who is responsible for plunging nations into war? Are they not savage monsters, or very devils in human form? "Oh, no, not at all. They are the pious, Christian kings and bishops and professed disciples of Jesus." They say they "love their Savior," but if they covet the lands, the markets, or the mines of their neighbors, they put swords and guns into the hands of peasant boys whom they have taught that it is gallant and glorious to kill people, and they send these deluded boys swooping down on a neighboring nation, to burn his houses, outrage his wife, his sister and daughter, devastate his fields, stab him in the breast with a bayonet, and blow out his brains by powder and dynamite.

No, there are no Christian nations now. The Nazarene is not yet the nation's ideal, for not Jesus, but the most successful killers, are still our greatest heroes.

Christ taught peace, kindness, brotherhood. Not one of these is possible until war ceases.

Not only do conspicuous Christians (?) promote war for spoils on the bloody field of conflict, but they practice directly opposite to the teachings of Jesus in the economic or industrial field. They uphold competition, which is contention, strife and war; and they oppose co-operation, which is brotherhood and makes for peace.

They force working people to surrender to them two-thirds of the value of their labor without rendering any equivalent therefor. They preach economy to the working man, and if he fails to support his family on \$1 or \$1.50 per day and strikes for a little raise they enjoin him in the courts and call out the militia and shoot him like a dog.

In this Christian country (so-called) we have seen the pious "captains of industry" flood the country with forty billions of watered or fraudulent stocks; corner the foodstuffs of a continent and force up the prices so that they exploited out of the people billions of dollars which cost them nothing; grab and monopolize by sharp tricks for private profit lands, oil, coal, iron machinery and other utilities of a public nature; adulterate all the medicines 85 per cent; glut the markets with shoddy goods of all kinds; cheat in weights and measures; discharge adult workers from their mills and factories and put children in, and so overwork those boys and girls that their health is hopelessly wrecked in five years, and then they boast that this great Christian country is "capturing the markets of the world" because they can sell their goods at less price than the foreigner can furnish similar wares produced by pauper labor. They send their goods abroad accompanied by missionaries, whisky and a warship, and they felicitate themselves on our marvelous Christian civilization.

Notwithstanding the fact that since 1850 crime has increased 600 and insanity 700 per cent, and a few sharp financiers, by tricks they call "business," have become owners of about 90 per cent of the total wealth of the nation, these Wall Street philanthropists build grand churches, sit in the "Amen corner" at religious meetings, and with blunted consciences puff themselves up with pride and "thank God for the great blessings He has bestowed upon them."

No; I do not think that this is a Christian country. If Jesus Christ were here today in bodily form I think He would be found standing on soap-boxes at street corners pleading the cause of the poor, opposing war, defending working people—in short, making good Socialist speeches. He would probably be in jail much of the time. I am disposed to think that after He had thrashed the big financiers out of the church and kicked over the tables He might repeat the public speech He made about two thousands years ago, when He addressed a lot of big capitalists who claimed to be very religious. He then said:

"Woe unto ye, scribes, Pharisees, hypocrites; for ye devour widows, houses, and for a pretense make long prayers, therefore ye shall receive the greater damnation. Even so, ye outwardly appear righteous unto men, but within ye are full of hypocrisy and iniquity. Ye serpents, ye generation of vipers, how can ye escape the damnation of hell?"

"If ye say ye love God, whom we have not seen, and hate and oppress your brother, whom ye have seen, ye are a liar and the truth is not in you."

If Jesus were on earth and I started out to look for him I would not seek for him at the fine churches, but I would go to the hovels, the workshops, into the mines and wherever workmen are found. I would also expect to find him in the slums and quite often at meetings of the Socialists and labor unionists, participating in the consideration of ways and means of abolishing child slavery and war and improving the condition of the homeless and friendless and the upliftment of all humanity.

"Is there any ground for hope that war will be abolished and a universal brotherhood and universal peace established?" Yes; but not soon. That desirable condition of society cannot come until the present mammonized war-upholding system of religion is displaced by a genuine Christianity. It cannot come until the competitive system of industrialism, so strenuously upheld by the church, is abandoned and Socialism takes its place.

War, and strife, and deceit, and greed, and crime, and poverty are the legitimate children of the competitive system of business. Indeed, that system could not exist a day without the practice of all those selfish, brutal, un-Christian methods. They are its incentives, its strength, its very life.

If nations should inaugurate Socialism, then capitalism or the competitive system of individualism would in due time disappear, and the whole foul brood of cruelties, injustices and crimes spawned from the hells of capitalism would vanish away. Do you ask why? My answer is that Socialism proposes to establish a co-operative commonwealth, and that means brotherhood. The four cornerstones upon which Socialism is erected are Justice, Reciprocity, Universal Peace and Universal Brotherhood. On its banners is inscribed the motto: "An injury to one is the concern of all. One for all and all for each."

If "war is hell," as was declared by General Sherman, then we shall have hell until Socialism abolishes it.

For nearly half a century I have been a student of law, and economics,

and theology, and my deliberate judgment is that Socialism, while making no claim of being a religion, is in fact more truly Christian than the present institutional church, either Jewish, Catholic or Protestant.

Creston, Iowa.

THE SOCIALIST ARGUMENT AGAINST NON-PARTISAN ELECTIONS.

By Carl D. Thompson, Director of the Information Department, Socialist Party.

If you favor non-partisan elections, answer these arguments for us.

If you oppose non-partisan elections—as we do—maybe you can give us some better arguments.

We have listened patiently and followed carefully the whole line of arguments put out by our municipal reformers in favor of non-partisan elections. And after all is said and done we still believe in partisan elections.

To us the whole non-partisan idea seems such a transparent fallacy that we frankly confess to a certain degree of amazement at the fact that intelligent and thoughtful people seem to be misled by it.

The whole host of our municipal reformers in America seem to have been swept off their feet with the fad. As though by the simple device of striking the party name off of ballots we would eliminate, as by the stroke of a magic wand, all the evils of municipal misrule!

And the zeal with which the reformers have hunted out this witch of partisan elections and striven to drive it out is worthy of a better cause. The commission charter recently proposed in Traverse City, Michigan, for example, provides:

"The ballots for election of city officers shall be separate from any other ballot and shall be without insignia, emblem or designation, etc." (Section 26).

The charter of Grand Junction, Colorado, and of Spokane, Washington, which are worded identically the same, are even more extreme. They provide:

"Nothing on the ballot shall be indicative of the source of the candidacy, or of the support of any candidate. No ballot shall have printed thereon any party or political designation or mark, and there shall not be appended to the name of any candidate any such party or political designation or mark, or anything indicating his views or opinion."

Nothing could be more complete. The authors are not content with merely denying the Republicans, Democrats and Socialists the right to the use of their names as a means of helping the voter to quickly and readily select the ballot which will represent his conviction—they prohibit the use of any and all kinds of designations whatsoever on the ballot—anything and everything that would in any way connect an individual's name with the policies he represents.

And these extreme provisions are only types of scores of city charters being adopted or urged by the advocates of the commission form of government for cities.

At this point we Socialists dissent entirely and most emphatically. To exclude all possible designation from the ballots seems to us unwarranted and abortive. And we frankly believe not only that a partisan or designated ballot is right but that it is the best method for securing desirable results in our civic affairs.

I.—Local Issues Require Local Parties and Designated Ballots.

Our first argument against this non-partisan fallacy is that it disorganizes the people at the polls at the very point where they most need facilities for marshaling their strength.

There are distinct differences of opinion and different policies possible with regard to municipal affairs, just as surely as there are in state affairs. The question of the municipal ownership of waterworks, gas plants, electric light plants, street railways or other public utilities is one upon which there is and must be a difference of opinion. And the only form of election that will enable the people to settle these questions and settle them intelligently will be such as enable them to express themselves in groups formed accordingly to the policies advocated by the groups. And the form of ballot that will enable the voter at the polls to quickly and accurately express his purpose must be one that has some designation other than an individual's name.

Is not this necessity perfectly obvious? For example, a certain idea is advanced by citizens in a given community. Weeks and months are spent by its advocates in bringing the idea to the attention of the people and explaining it to the voters. The idea gains support, people's opinions are formed, conclusions are reached, convictions are settled upon this principle and policy. Then comes the election. People go to the polls, desiring to express preference for this policy. Suppose they are confronted by ballots on which appear only the names of certain individuals, as proposed by these commission charter reformers? There is nothing on the ballot, no distinguishing mark, that connects these names with the policies which they represent. Is it not obvious that that kind of ballot fails to supply the voter with the information he needs at the most critical point?

It may very easily happen that certain individuals may be prominent in the advocacy of certain ideas, while the actual candidates put forth may be much less prominent. The name of the individual, therefore, is not a reliable guide to the voter. In many cases it may be no guide at all.

II.—Local Issues in a Municipality Also Involve State and National Issues and Therefore Require That State and National Party Organization and Voting be Permitted.

Our second objection to the non-partisan election is that it destroys the power of the people in their state and national fight for local relief. On this point we quote the report of the committee on the commission form of government made to the last convention of the Socialist party, at Indianapolis, Ind., May, 1912:

"There is hardly a serious problem of municipal government that can be solved at all aside from a state and national movement. Take the question of home rule. Here in the very nature of the case the city is powerless in the hands of the State Legislature. The fight for home rule itself is a state and national fight. Take the question of the commission form of government itself—it has been an issue for state legislation very largely. Or consider some of our commercial and industrial problems. The real difficulties that concern a people in a city, involve state and national issues. For example, the supply of coal for a city—what can any city in America do on a problem of that sort without state and national action? The city may establish a coal yard. But that is only the merest fraction of the problem. The coal must be shipped to the city over railroads that are owned by the monopolies and trusts. The transportation of the coal becomes a problem of interstate commerce. Thus the most elemental problem of the city becomes a state and national problem, a question requiring a consistent and comprehensive program for state and national action. To undertake to solve problems of this kind by limiting our efforts to local issues, and separating our cities from state and national issues, is absurd.

"It may be quite true that neither the Republican nor the Democratic national parties have anything in their platforms or programs looking to the relief of the people that live in cities. But to attempt to find relief from the evils that torment them without state and national action is the height of folly. If the Republican and Democratic parties have no program and no principles that apply to the great problem of municipal government, so much the worse for them. Let the people know it, the sooner the better.

"Such is not the case with the Socialist party. It has a program—municipal, state and national. And they are a part of one consistent whole.

The same principles for which the Socialist party stands in the state and nation apply with equal force, though with different details, to the city as well. And what is more, there is no solution of municipal problems apart from the principles of social democracy. And the principles of social democracy cannot be applied except through state and national action. The effort therefore to eliminate national and state issues and to prevent the organization of a state and national political party that shall have also a municipal program is to block the way to a final solution of the problems of municipal government.

"Furthermore, let the Socialist party of America grow to sufficient strength and numbers; let it capture enough of the cities of this country, let it secure enough representatives in a few of the State Legislatures and the National Congress to make its municipal, state and national program a real menace to the capitalistic parties of today, and we shall very quickly see the political parties of capitalism rush into a party that will be the most bitterly partisan that this country has known since the anti-slavery times.

"There is an issue in municipal government that is bound up inseparably with the state and national program. It is impossible to solve the municipal problems apart from these larger state and national problems. So the lines of this struggle may as well be drawn sharply and as closely as possible. We believe it to be the task of the Socialist party to bring this issue into the open and to make the people of this country realize that the struggle between plutocracy and the common people is not only a municipal struggle but a state and national one as well. And the effort to conceal this struggle by detaching the city and its issues and problems from the state and national situation serves only to deceive the people and to prolong the period of their enslavement."

III.—The Non-Partisan Election Eliminates Principles from the Elections and Introduces False Issues.

In the first place, it throws the weight of a campaign onto the personality of the candidates. There must be something upon which the effort to get the candidates elected shall be based. Since nothing but the names are to confront the voters at the polls, the supporters are forced to emphasize the name—the candidate and his personality. Thus the advocates of an idea or policy are compelled to unduly emphasize the personality of their candidate in order to force his name upon the attention of the voters. This is especially so in the case of minorities, which almost always lack men of especial prominence or fame—in the beginning. Such a course is repugnant in that it unduly emphasizes the importance of the individual. It is not only harmful to the candidate himself, but introduces an unfortunate amount of harmful personalities.

Furthermore, non-partisan elections tend to thrust false issues into the campaigns. It must be admitted that campaigns will be fought and that there will be something to fight about. Campaigners are going to put up some kind of an argument for their candidates and against their opponents. If the principles involved are lessened in importance the inevitable result will be that other matters will be thrust into the campaign. Personalities, religious and race prejudices, always ready to spring into action, are almost sure to be aroused. Such things, besides being very harmful in a community, are also false issues.

IV.—Non-Partisan Elections Give the Advantage to Men of Wealth and Prominence.

Elections carried on upon that basis put the working classes and the common people at a disadvantage. Individuals who own banks, railroads and great daily newspapers are not on an equal footing with individuals of the working class. The latter have no hope of matching the power and influence of the former except by group action. And the possibility of that group action must be maintained up to the very moment that the ballot is cast.

Our policies should not be settled upon the basis of personalities. The issue is not—"Is this candidate an honest, upright man? Is he a kind husband, a good father, a worthy citizen?" That is not the question. He may be all of that. He may be a man of fame, so that his name is in the mind of every voter. And yet, from the standpoint of the public welfare, he may be the worst possible public enemy. He may represent wrong and harmful policies. The people must have the means of rallying their forces around principles rather than individuals.

V.—It Gives a Terrific Advantage to the Press.

The capitalist class and its powerful members own the press. To make elections turn upon publicity and personality is to play straight into the

hands of the capitalists who own and control the agencies of publicity. The non-partisan election may weaken the power of the old-time political boss, but it would put a tenfold more dangerous power in his place—the press, owned and controlled as it is to an overwhelming extent by the plutocratic interests.

This, the power of the press, must not be overlooked. A minority party never has a strong press at the beginning. The press is generally on the side of the majority. By constant and imposing advertising, by judicious and adroit editorial writing, and a news comment now and then, the people may be made to believe that a certain candidate stands for things for which he really does not. This is one of the most common and most dangerous tricks of a capitalistically controlled press.

The people need the assistance of every possible device with which to meet these difficulties and above everything else they need a designated ballot to help them connect the individual candidate with the principles he is supposed to represent, and which also serves to connect the individual with the group of people that have put him forward as their candidate, so that they, too, may be held to account for him and his course after election.

These arguments seem to us unanswerable objections to the non-partisan election idea. We submit them with the hope that those who favor the idea will answer us and argue us down—if they can.

On the other hand we submit these arguments hoping that those who agree with us will suggest better arguments than these if they can.



THE INVINCIBLE IGNORANCE OF BRYAN.

As secretary of state, William Jennings Bryan will shortly be given an opportunity to comprehend a simple fact that has never before been actually forced upon his attention, namely, that the real use and purpose of this world under present conditions is as a place in which to invest capital.

For the last sixteen years, while Mr. Bryan was an irresponsible individual, he was wont to deliver himself of considerable twaddle about "placing the man ahead of the dollar" and such like stuff, but as he couldn't place anybody, not even himself, at that time, nobody took any serious notice of him. His moral output of this sort of thing was naturally regarded as the stock-in-trade of the ordinary politician publicly exhibited for office-seeking purposes.

Now, however, when Mr. Bryan has secured the office of secretary of state, which has particularly to do with the placing and securing of the American dollar in foreign lands for investment, and is apparently neglecting his duty of seeing that it is afforded the power and protection of the American government, he is due to receive a salutary lesson regarding things as they are, instead of what he thinks they should be, and are not.

Mr. Bryan's attitude of disapproval toward these enterprises of American capital in foreign lands, especially Latin America, "threatens to result in a grave loss to American investors," as the report says, and Mr. Bryan is already beginning to hear of it. These investors have heretofore been "enjoying unprecedented prosperity," owing to the fact that the Taft administration stood firmly behind them, but now several little South American republics, encouraged by Bryan's attitude, are making trouble for their beneficent American exploiters. Bryan had gone so far as to induce President Wilson to recall one Janes, who had been sent by Taft to uphold the interests of an American railroad concern in Ecuador which had a dispute with that government. A powerful New York capitalist interested in the same railroad casually called at the White House the other day, and the immediate result of his visit was that Wilson countermanded the order recalling Janes, and that gentleman will stay in Ecuador until the government decides to do justice to the American investor who has risked his capital in building a railroad for that ungrateful republic. Mr. Bryan isn't yet satisfied, and is using all his influence to have Janes again recalled. But Janes is there to stay, and Bryan has received his first lesson, though he does not seem to have learned much from it as yet.

Bryan never understood the necessities of capitalism nor comprehended its economics. To him, in fact, as a system, it has no existence. The trust is simply a creation of statute law, by wicked and greedy legislators, and is in no sense an evolution of industry. As a matter of fact, the Bryan mind has no comprehension whatever of evolution. There need be no surprise that the intelligent capitalistic elements of this country regarded him as a dangerous sort of person, not because of his knowledge, but on account of his ignorance—dangerous, in short, as a fool is dangerous who gets hold of and tries to run a costly and complicated machine that he does not in the least understand.

It was no doubt a perception of this that induced Wilson to express the wish that something or other might "knock Mr. Bryan into a cocked hat" some time before the election, and something of the sort is certain to happen if, through his ignorance and folly, "grave losses" occur to American investors abroad. That is the one thing that capitalism will not tolerate from its politicians, and it will stand on no ceremony in making Bryan acquainted with the fact, just as a stupid servant is bound to hear from his master.

Bryan has either got to learn that the needs of capitalists are national needs and must be backed by the power of the nation, or see himself overruled, as in this case, or perhaps finally discharged as incurably stupid and unable to learn the supreme need of what is called in diplomatic language "a vigorous foreign policy."—New York Call.

In Memoriam.

Tonopah, Nevada, April 18, 1913.

To the Officers and Members of Tonopah Miners' Union No. 121, W. F. M.:
Whereas, Death has again invaded our ranks and removed from our midst Brother Dave Bell, and

Whereas, In the death of Brother Dave Bell, Tonopah Miners' Union No. 121 has lost a true and faithful member, his family a faithful father and husband and the community a staunch and loyal citizen; therefore be it

Resolved, That we, the members of Tonopah Miners' Union, extend to his family and friends our heartfelt sympathy in this their hour of sorrow and bereavement, and be it further

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be sent to his family, one to be spread on our minutes and one sent to the Miners' Magazine for publication and as a mark of respect to our departed brother our charter be draped in mourning for a period of thirty days.

CON SULLIVAN,
JOHN E. MCGILLIAN,
M. D. McLEAN,
Committee.

(Seal)

IN MEMORIAM.

Tonopah, Nevada, April 18, 1913.

To the Officers and Members of Tonopah Miners' Union No. 121, W. F. M.:
Whereas, Death has again invaded our ranks and removed from our midst Brother Carl Lindbeck;

Whereas, In the death of Brother Carl Lindbeck Tonopah Miners' Union has lost a staunch and loyal member and the community an esteemed and upright citizen;

Resolved, That we extend to the relatives and friends of our deceased brother our deepest sympathy in this their hour of bereavement; and be it further

Resolved, That our charter be draped in mourning for a period of thirty days and a copy of these resolutions be sent to the Miners' Magazine for publication.

ED STONE,
GEO. W. ROBB,
FRANK P. DARRAGH,
Committee.

(Seal)

SYMPATHY, NOT PITY.

A Bond That Will Strengthen the Class-Conscious Movement of Labor.

No English word endures worse using than the word "sympathy" or "compassion." They are the same word. They mean "suffering with." They are not "pity."

We can pity sufferings we can never feel. The rich, warm-hearted woman pities the harlot. The generous rich man pities the thief. The poor girl sympathizes with, compassionates, suffers with the harlot. The poor man suffers with the thief. We have too much pity, too little sympathy.

We cannot sympathize with sorrow we have never known. We can have no compassion for pains we have never borne. We cannot suffer with those whose sufferings we have never suffered. Sympathy is the rich flower of experience or the genius. Youth pities; the Pharisee pities; sub-consciously thanking God all the while that he is not as these other men whom he pities. Experience or genius sympathizes with, compassionates, suffers with the sufferer. The Publican could have known sympathy; the Pharisee never. The genius reaches sympathy by a wonderful short cut. But we others, we

must take the long road to Delhi and, there, meeting forty men, must learn that each of them is our brother.

For pitying youth there are unfortunate classes—the criminal class, the prostitute class, and the like. For sympathetic experience or genius there are no classes. There are men and women feeling like himself.

Geniuses are few, so few that did we trust to them alone, the springs of sympathy, the waters of compassion, would run dry. It is from the stricken rock of our natures that the life-giving flood must gush. Here lies the great refutation of asceticism. The ascetic is not a better man than most of us. He is a worse man, inasmuch as he is the less a man.

Origen, who, by one decisive and irrevocable act, saved himself forever from his besetting weakness of the flesh, was not a greater, but a less, man, for all his sacrifice. And so to have killed or drugged any part of one's nature leaves one incapable thereafter of sympathizing with, of compassionating, or suffering with others whose nature has not been thus maimed. Like the hero of one of Poe's fantastic tales, the ascetic slays the enemy who has dogged his steps from his youth upwards, only to find how utterly he has murdered himself.

"Thou madest man a little lower than the angels," triumphantly proclaims one.

From another and an unexpected direction come the lines:

"There's a door in every heart that leads to hell,
Could we but find the key."

And that is as it should be. The perfection of man is the man or woman who, in the fullest manner, combines the passions, the impulses, the ideals, the hopes, the fears of men and women. It was said by Thomas Carlyle that one thing alone detracted from the perfection of Jesus. In Jesus there was no Falstaff. Jesus could not sympathize with, could not compassionate, could not suffer with Falstaff.

Friends, we are overdosed with the pity of those who have never felt, as we have felt, while we are ahirst for the sympathy of those who feel as we feel. It is this rebellion against pity, this instinct for sympathy, which is the basis of class-consciousness. It is this which makes the cry of Marx, "Workers of the World, Unite!" no mere formula, but a confident appeal. It is this which one to whom suffering taught sympathy thus expressed:

"Grave this deep in your hearts,
Forget not the tale of the past:
Never, never believe
That any will help you, or can,
Saving only yourselves."

—Melbourne Socialist.

THE WASTE OF CAPITALISM.

There are about 35,000,000 people in this country who work, who perform some kind of labor.

If 25,000,000 of these should quit work and sit down under the trees or rove over the hills and not turn their hands in one single act of labor, it would not make a particle of difference as far as actual wealth production is concerned.

Why?

Because out of the 35,000,000, less than 10,000,000 people do all the really necessary work.

The other 25,000,000 who toil hard do nothing but useless labor.

1.—All Advertising Is Useless Labor.

This country spends five billion dollars (\$5,000,000,000) a year in advertising. This employs over 4,000,000 people.

Ore has to be dug and smelted for presses, machinery and transportation systems. Presses, machinery and transportation systems have to be built and maintained.

Logs have to be cut and ground into pulp, paper mills built and run, paper made, shipped and printed, printing establishments put up, office force maintained and distributors kept busy.

For all these employed in the great advertising industry houses have to be built, clothing made, food supplied.

All this is a waste.

Your shoes are no better because they are advertised in the street cars. Your clothes are not better because they are pictured in the newspapers. Your food is not better by having big signs of corn flakes and "ham that am."

Not one iota is added to the usefulness of the articles you make by advertising them.

We don't advertise our postage stamps, our public schools, our streets or our city parks. It is not necessary.

2.—Insurance Is Useless Labor.

It is hardly possible to get at the tremendous business carried on by insurance companies. It runs up into the billions.

An enormous crew is employed in the insurance industry. Solicitors, clerks, buildings, traveling expenses and all the elements that make up the business must come from those who create the necessities of life.

Insurance, as many other wasteful things, may be a necessity under capitalism, but it is only one of the wastes.

3.—The Legal Profession Is a High Waste.

Thousands of men give their whole life to law. Courts have to be maintained. Office buildings and libraries have to be kept. Millions of volumes of books, that require writers, editors, printing, binding, shipping and handling, consume much labor.

To analyze the waste of the legal profession would require big books. The very mention of it should be sufficient.

But capitalism with its system of private ownership and property complications and criminal producing factors must have the law and the lawyers. It cannot be otherwise. They will be useless under Socialism.

4.—Duplication of Plants in the Competitive Warfare Is Waste.

Of course the trusts have done away with much of this waste and in so much they are beneficial to civilization.

But we still have ten stores when one could do the business. Ten express companies when one could do the job. We have the duplication of telegraphs, telephones, milk service, ice service, coal service, grocery service and a thousand other duplications.

These all require extra labor though it adds nothing to the actual well-being of the people.

5.—The Salesman.

The salesman, together with all the office buildings, hotel service, railroad and Pullman service, and everything connected with the work of a salesman is only waste. It is useless labor.

Most of our large cities are almost entirely given over to office buildings. Three-fourths of those at least are wholly unnecessary and wasteful. The people who build and maintain them might as well be off fishing for the wealth of the land is not increased by their hard toil.

6.—War Is a Waste.

Let's not mention it, for it is too horrible. The \$8,000,000,000 spent each year in the world for army and navy is an awful sum. Add thereto the waste of manhood in the ranks and the devastation of home and loved ones in their loneliness and anxiety.

Eight billion dollars would go a long way towards keeping a miserable, poverty-stricken race.

Out of this eight billion the United States contributes \$450,000,000.

At one thousand dollars each it would build 450,000 homes. It would not



POETICAL



WANTED.

J. G. Holland.

God give us men! A time like this demands
Strong minds, great hearts, true faith and ready hands;
Men whom the lust of office does not kill;
Men whom the spoils of office cannot buy;
Men who possess opinions and a will;
Men who have honor—men who will not lie;
Men who can stand before a demagogue,
And damn his treacherous flatteries without winking!
Tall men, sun-crowned, who live above the fog
In public duty, and in private thinking;
For while the rabble, with their thumb-worn creeds,
Their large professions, and their little deeds—
Mingle in selfish strife, lo! Freedom weeps,
Wrong rules the land, and waiting Justice sleeps!

THE DYING TRAMP.

W. E. Hanson.

Well, I guess this is my finish,
I know that I'm all in,
For when a man runs a race with Death,
It is certain that Death will win.
And, somehow, I don't worry,
That I am going to die,
Alone, out here in the open,
Under the arching sky.

My past life passes before me,
The days of hunger and thirst,
Days that will come to all of us
Who are slaves, exploited, accursed.
And I think of my early manhood,
The happiest days of my life,
When I had something to live for—
Then I had a home and a wife.

But daily I learned the lesson
That wage slaves ever must learn,
While our "Masters" rob us of dollars,
They give us "Pence" in return.
For years I toiled in silence,
A patient, submissive slave,
All the while my wife was drifting
Silently toward the grave.

The day she lay in her coffin,
I looked at her withered face,
And the toil-knotted hands enfolded,
That had toiled in the wage-slave's race.
That night, when the stars were shining,
Alone at that mound I sat,
That covered "my ALL" I lived for,
Her grave out on "Poverty Flat."

Together we toiled and suffered,
Believed in a God that was just,
And bore our sorrows in silence,
As wage slaves ever must.
Asleep 'neath the mound I left her,
And began to ramble and roam,
The only thing that is left to a man
Who has no kindred, no home.

I have roamed from ocean to ocean,
Verdant valleys and desert plain,
But I've kept the vow I made that night
"To call no man 'Master' again."
I am faint, I know I am dying,
But dying "a tramp and free!"
So, God, if you've something else to do,
Don't bother yourself about me."

take many years before every homeless family in this country would have its own home.

This waste of war is so brutal and sickening even capitalist society is tiring of it.

We have given the salient forms of waste but there are many leaks that cannot here be mentioned.

Under Socialism all the waste mentioned in this article would be eliminated.

We will need no advertising for our commodities will be created for use and not for sale.

We will need no life insurance for society will guarantee a comfortable livelihood to all who work and to all who are past years of labor.

We will need no legal profession, for there will be no cause of quarreling, and the chief source of legal disputes, which is public property privately held, will be absent.

There will be no needless duplication of industrial plants or points of distribution for competition will be displaced by co-operation.

There will be no need of salesmen for goods will be shipped as ordered and as needed but not forced on the market for profit.

There will be no war, for when the people collectively own the earth they will have nothing to fight over.

By eliminating waste the 25,000,000 people now occupied in wasteful labor can join the 10,000,000 now occupied in useful labor.

These ten million work about ten hours a day to feed, clothe and shelter the people of this country.

Now figure out for yourself how many hours it would take the thirty-five million to create the same amount as the ten million now create.

You see it is quite a deal less than two hours a day.

The Socialist asks why you should work ten hours when the same result can be obtained by working two hours.

Cut out the waste. Get shorter hours and better living conditions.

You can do this only through Socialism.—Next Step.

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

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LIST OF UNIONS

No.	Name	Meet'g Night	President	Secretary	P.O. Box	Address
ALASKA						
109	Douglas Island	Wed	P. J. Downs	F. L. Alstrom	188	Douglas
194	Knik M. U.			Frank Boyer		Knik
182	Ketchikan	Thurs	A. R. MacDonald	G. E. Paup	75	Ketchikan
240	Nome	Sat	J. J. Wachouheim	or. Albert Braton	209	Nome
193	Tanana M. W.	Tues	Emil Pozza	Daniel McCabe		Fairbanks
188	Valdez	Tues	Thos. Williams	C. F. McCallum	262	Valdez
ARIZONA						
106	Blabee	Sun	P. H. Finn	G. S. Routh	238	Bisbee
77	Chloride	Wed	Wm. P. Mahoney	Paul E. White	53	Chloride
89	Crown King	Sat	Eric Bloom	O. A. Tyler	30	Crown King
150	Douglas M & S	Tues	M. J. Dunn	F. A. Bailing	211	Douglas
80	Globe	Tues	Louis Page	Matt. A. Kaleb	1809	Globe
79	Jerome	Thur	Wm. J. Grey	T. D. Phifer	725	Jerome
118	McCabe	Sat	Walter Marcus	A. E. Comer	30	McCabe
83	Miami M. U.	Wed	Kenneth Olayton	J. A. Liles	836	Miami
228	Plato Creek	Wed	R. L. Henderson	C. L. Johnson		Bellevue
124	Snowball	Wed	F. J. Bell	Thos. A. French	446	Goldroads
136	Superior M. U.	Tues	Olayton Brown	W. H. Dowling		Superior
166	Swansea M. U.		John Duke	N. Knowles		Swansea
BRIT. COLUMBIA						
218	Britanna		Albert Gill	K. MacNell		Brita. Mines Howe Sound
22	Greenwood	Sat	Fred Aram	Wm. Lakewood	124	Greenwood
161	Hedley M & M	Wed	O. M. Stevens	T. R. Willey	375	Hedley
100	Kimberly	Sat	Wm. Fleming	M. P. Villeneuve		Kimberly
96	Nelson	Sat	O. Harmon	Frank Phillips	106	Nelson
8	Phoenix	Sat	Dan Paterson	D. A. Vignaux	294	Phoenix
181	Portland Canal	12th	Dan Bartholomew	Cas Davis	27	Stewart
38	Rossland	Wed	Samuel Stevens	Herbert Varcos	421	Rossland
81	Sandon M. U.	Sat		A. Shiland	K	Sandon
95	Silverton	Sat	Alex Matheson	Kenny McInnis	85	Silverton
113	Texada	Sat	B. E. Thornton	Harry McGregor		Van Anda
105	Trall M & S	Mon	Geo. Castel	Frank Campbell	26	Trall
85	Ymlr	Wed	A. Burgess	W. B. McIsaac	506	Ymir
CALIFORNIA						
135	Amador Co. M. M.	Fri	Jas. Stapleton	James Giambruno		Sutter Creek
61	Bodie	Tues	F. T. Roach	J. M. Donohue	5	Bodie
55	Calaveras	Wed	W. E. Thompson	W. S. Reid	227	Angel's Camp
141	French Gulch	SuAft	Alex McSween	Wm. Maguire	12	French Gulch
90	Grass Valley	Fri	John H. Pascoe	C. W. Jenkins	199	Grass Valley
169	Grantville	Sat	W. E. Kyle	A. C. Travis		Grantville
99	Hart	Tues	Chas. Fransen	J. M. Snorf	37	Hart
174	Kennett	Thur	Geo. Simington	N. N. Stenmark	N	Kennett
44	Randsburg	Sat	J. P. Burris	E. A. Stockton	248	Randsburg
211	Skidoo	Thur	Pat Moore	V. Henderson	355	Skidoo
127	Wood's Creek	Sat	Fred Daniels	O. L. Anthony	16	Chinese Camp
COLORADO						
64	Bryan	Sat	Jas. Penaluna	James Spurrier	82	Ophir
142	Castle Rock M & S		John S. Adlock	Frank M. Nigro	527	Salida
33	Cloud City	Mon	John Mahoney	Abe Waldron	3	Leadville
20	Oreode	Tue	Wm. Symes	Ernest Pearson	543	Creede
234	Oriple Creek D U	Wed	Wm. Nolan	John Turney		Victor
130	Dunton	Sat	Chas. A. Goble	Robt B Lippincott	9	Dunton
41	Eight Hr. M & S U		Tony Romeo	M. M. Hickey	993	Denver
34	Kerber Creek			P. J. Byrne		Bonanza
15	Ourray	Sat	John Kneisler	J. E. Commins	293	Ourray
8	Pitkin County	Tues	W. R. Cole	Geo. W. Smith	1046	Aspen
43	Pueblo S. Union	Tues	Steve Carlino	Chas. Pogorelec	750	Pueblo
36	Rico	Sat	John A. Shaver	Harry E. Fry	470	Rico
40	St. Elmo M. U.		James Diegmsn	P. O'Brien		St. Elmo
26	Silverton	Sat	Theo. A. Boak	R. R. MacKenzie	168	Silverton
63	Telluride	Wed	Russell Foster	B. B. Shute	278	Telluride
59	Ward	Fri	Lew Nichols	J. D. Orme	126	Ward
IDAHO						
10	Burke	Fri	Tom Clark	Wm. Toms	158	Burke
53	De Lamar	Mon	A. Easterbrook	Wm. Hawkins	19	De Lamar
11	Gem	Tues	Ed. Johnston	N. L. Lindsten	117	Gem
9	Mullan	Sat	L. A. Bishop	B. G. Yocum	30	Mullan
66	Silver City	Sat	H. A. Snyder	Henry Olson	67	Silver City
17	Wallace	Sat	J. S. Hall	Herbert Johnson	107	Wallace
ILLINOIS						
210	Alton S. U.	Sun	F. O. Britt	Frank A. Lovell	804 S.	L. Sta., St. Louis, Mo.
207	Collinsville S. U.	Wed	Leon. Fernandez	Carl Kreider		Collinsville
KANSAS						
185	Sandoval S. U.	Tues	Cerilo Blanco, Sp	American Secy,	102 C	randle St.
218	Blue Rapids M & M	1-3 Sat	Wm. Wright	A. E. Hanson	153	Blue Rapids
237	Dearing S. U.		George Morrison	Geo. W. Morrison	146	Collinsville
239	Pittsburg S. U.					Pittsburg
238	Altoona S. U.		John Morrison	W. J. Green		Altoona
227	Caney S. U.	Tues	W. R. Frick	B. Hobson	74	Caney
KENTUCKY						
245	Craig M. U.		Holt Warren	Hoyt Warren		Owingsville
MICHIGAN						
214	Amasa, M. W.	1-3 Su	Jacob Talso	John Kivimaki	184	Amasa, Mich.
204	Bessemer	Wed.	Matti Kevari	H. B. Snellman	381	Bessemer
203	Copper	Suam	Peter Jevda	John E. Autila	26	Calumet
196	Crystal Falls, 1st & 2nd	3d Sun	Antti Rysberg	Axel Kolinen	K	Crystal Falls
200	Hancock Copper	Sun	Nick Urbanac	Carl E. Hietala	217	Hancock
177	Iron Mountain			Axel Fredrickson	323	Iron Mountain
153	Ironwood		Lorence Verbos	Emar Tossava	13	Ironwood
215	Mass City M. U.	1-3 Su	A. E. Butts	Jacob Vainouppaa	91	Mass City
128	Negaunee	Sun9a	Antti Luttinen	K. O. Saari		Negaunee
209	Paikatka	Sun	V. B. Mason	Fable Burman	441	Iron River
196	South Range	1-3 Sat	Arvid Viitanen	Henry Kaski	202	South Range
223	Winthrop M W.	Mon	Adolph Stuen	Thos. Olayton	74	National Mine

LIST OF UNIONS

No.	Name	Meet'g Night	President	Secretary	P.O. Box	Address
MINNESOTA						
155	Hibbing M. U.			H. W. Rihonon		Hibbing
MISSOURI						
231	Bonne Terre		Fred Wright	Preston Shunake	435	Bonne Terre
221	Cartersville M. U.		Jas. A. Housman	Frank Short	231	Cartersville
229	Desloge	Sat	M. C. Dufour	John Thurman	538	Desloge
230	Doe Run	Thur	James Mitchell	W. E. Williams		Doe Run
242	Elvins M. M.	Tues	Wm. Kinney	Rufus Blaylock	236	Elvins
225	Flat River	Mon	J. O. Beers	J. L. Johnson	574	Flat River
205	Fredricktown M & S		M. M. Walker	A. C. Leonard		Fredricktown
249	Herculaneum Smeltermen's U.		Willard Lackey	A. L. Hill	123	Herculaneum
217	Joplin	Wed	J. D. Hunter	John A. Lackay	300	Joplin
236	Leadwood	Tues	Wm. A. Barton	W. G. Pinkerton	202	Leadwood
192	Mine La Motte M U		J. C. Spray	D. L. Abby		Mine La Motte
258	St. Louis S. U.	Mon	Jose Roduquez	Manuel Menedez	7211	S. Bdwy, St. L
232	Prosperity		Sam Blackledge	D. A. Johnson	27	Prosperity
226	Webb City	Thur	C. C. Davis	G. Paxton	RR N o. 1	Webb City
219	Zinc Lodge			I. M. Sidenstreck		Neck City
MONTANA						
117	Anaconda M & S	Fri	Bernard McCarthy	Martin Judge	473	Anaconda
23	Basin	Wed	Henry Berg	D. R. McCord	166	Basin
7	Belt Mountain	Sat	Fred Milton	Chas. Schoberg	4	Neihart
1	Butte	Tues	Dennis Murphy	James Cassidy	1407	Butte
83	Butte Engineers	John	Hartigan, Rec. Secy.	Fin. Secy.		Butte
191	Corbin M & M	Wed	W. T. Sodden	A. O. Dawe	229	Corbin
82	Garnet	Thur	Al Smitchger	James Belcher	3	Garnet
4	Granite	Tues	Peter Sichveland	Frank W. Holmes		Phillipsburg
16	Great Falls M & S	Tues	M. McDonald	O. H. True	280	Great Falls
52	Hughesville M. U.		A. H. Race	A. B. Pettigrew	1720	Hughesville
175	Iron Mountain		Olem Finley	E. W. Pickett		Superior
107	Judith Mountain	Sat	M. M. Dryden	Perry Decker	557	Maiden
112	Maryville M. U.	Mon	Chas. Thornes	Mike Millan	56	Marysville
111	North Moccasin	Sat	Wm. A. Cameron	H. J. McDonald	68	Kendall
131	Pony M & M	1-3 Sa	E. M. Freeman	J. F. Milligan	205	Pony
120	Radersburg	Mon	Ed. Slavins	Mike McLaughlin	137	Radersburg
208	Ruby L & DW	2-4 Sat	Louis Miller	O. O. Sweeney		Ruby
25	Winston	Tues	R. F. Whyte	Geo. Ballentine	A	Winston
190	Zortman	Tues	Fred Bronson	E. L. R. Snow		Whitcomb
NEVADA						
252	Blair M & M	1-3 Tu	John Inman	S. H. Hartwig	83	Blair
235	Bonanza	Sat	A. J. Gingles	J. B. Williams	14	Rhyolite
246	Bullion	Tues	Wm. Kidd	Al Morgan		Hilltop
265	Eureka	Tnur	William Gibson	J. H. Jury	18	Eureka
243	Fairview	Wed	William Dunne	J. A. Herndon	26	Fairview
259	Goldfield M. U.					Goldfield
64	Gold Hill	Mon	Thos. Leehy	F. L. Clark	115	Gold Hill
251	Lane	Thur	J. D. McDonald	Arthur McDonald	28	Kimberly
261	Lyon & Ormsby Co	2-4 Mo	Hugh Farley	Henry S. Rice		Mound House
248	Lucky Boy	Thurs	Wm. McCall	J. M. Krippner	87	Lucky Boy
241	Manhattan	Tues	Sam Edd. Smith	Wm. Hess	168	Manhattan
262	Mason	Fri	H. Young	Fred Maxwell	54	Mason
264	Millers	Wed	Joe Hutchinson	Chas. Sheaff	75	Millers
263	Pioche	Mon		W. B. Martin		Pioche
247	Round Mountain	Fri	F. M. Witt	W. J. Burke		Round M'tn
256	Seven Troughs	Fri	A. M. Olark	W. J. Lavey	44	Seven Trough
92	Silver City	2-4 Tu	W. D. Robohm	J. W. Hickey	76	Silver City
253	Silver Peak	Tues	Joe Gynot	J. S. Norman	90	Blair
233	Stoptoe M & S	Mon	Bert Thayer	John Donohue	338	McGill
255	Thompson M & S	Tues	John Wright	Joe O. Yeager		Thompson
121	Tonopah	Tues	Thos. M. Fagan	Thos. McManus	11	Tonopah
31	Tuscarora	Wed	Chester D. Lamar	Herman Seivers	67	Tuscarora
46	Virginia	Fri	Jas. P. Sullivan	Wm. O'Leary	1	Virginia City
250	Wonder M. U.	Fri	A. A. Smlth	J. K. Henderson		Wonder
NEW JERSEY						
266	Franklin Fur. M. S		Mark Sedusky	Mike Zagarsky		Franklin Furnace
267	Perth Amboy S. U		Geo. Pastrik	Marjan Maslowski		Perth Amboy
NEW MEXICO						
32	Mogollon M. U.		H. A. Amott	C. A. Eckert	1	Mogollon
132	Bartlesville M & S	Mon	Jos. Irick	Wm. Ransom	515	421 Cheyenne
133	Collinsville S. U.	Wed	J. W. McWilliams	Will Lawless	1115	Collinsville
ONTARIO						
146	Cobalt	Sun	Anthony Mailloux	A. Nap Gauthier	446	Cobalt
147	Cordova M. U.	SuAft	Terry Fitzpatrick	Louis Meyer		Cordova Mine
140	Elk Lake	Sun	W. H. McCauley	Thos. H. Johnson	348	Elk Lake
182	Garson M. U.			John Penttinen		Sudbury
154	Gowganda	Sun	Dan McMillan	Pat Dwyer	610	Gowganda
145	Porcupine, M. U.	Sun	M. P. Guiney	James Dogue	521	So. Porcupine
148	Silver Center	Sun	Frank Gaffney	Jos. E. Redmond		Silver Center
OREGON						
186	Cornucopia	Sat	Wm. Bentley	Louis Schneider	52	Cornucopia
42	Bourne		C. B. Shaw	J. N. Gamba		Bourne
SOUTH DAKOTA						
12	Black Hills D. U.		J. Norman	Thos. Gorman		Lead
68	Galena	Wed	Chas. Larson	E. L. Delaney	51	Galena
19	Maitland M & M	Thur	John Sanford	J. A. Sanford		Maitland
UTAH						
156	Alta M. U.	Wed	Joe McMillan	Harry Kemp		Alta
67	Bingham	Sat	P. J. McKenna	E. G. Locke		N Bingham Cn.
201	Salt Lake M & S	Tues	Matt Alfirevich	Mar		

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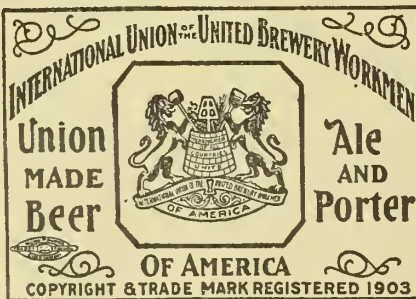
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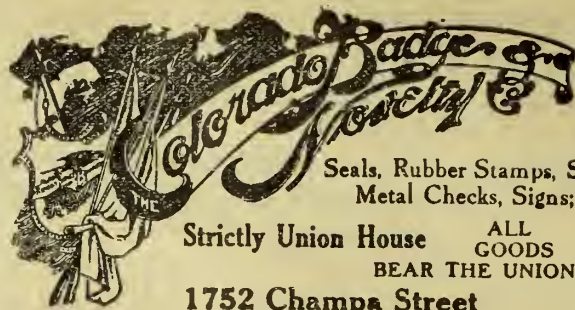
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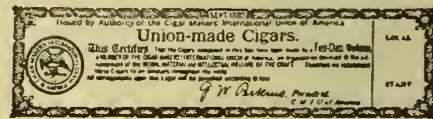
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