

"The friends of Diaz in the United States are ever ready to assist him in crushing the attempts of the Mexican people to free themselves. Here is an example of their work. Many of the large coal mine owners in Oklahoma and Northern Texas also own valuable concessions in the coal fields in Coahuila, at the time of the uprising in June, 1908, these employers cut wages and reduced the number of days' work in their American mines in order to prevent their Mexican miners from sending financial aid to the revolutionists.

"But in spite of all the massacres in Mexico and the imprisonment in the United States—we continue our struggle for liberty. We, the Mexican proletariat, must be free, and there is no price that we will not pay to attain this end.

"Here ends our manifesto, for our task would be endless if we attempted to make a complete list of the exploitations, deportations, imprisonments and killings perpetrated upon the Mexican people by Porfirio Diaz acts, in many instances, in which the government of the United States assisted.

"Comrades of the world, read carefully our manifesto and then take such action as will best help the cause of freedom.

"Yours for human emancipation,

"ENRIQUE FLORES MAGON,

"PRAXEDIS G. GUERRERO,

"For the Organizing Junta of the Mexican Liberal Party
"San Antonio, Texas, May 10, 1909."

A WOMAN'S TRIBUTE TO "UNCLE SAM."

Emma Goldman in Mother Earth has the following to say editorially relative to the persecutions that have been inflicted upon her by the powers of government:

"The United States government in a mad chase after Emma Goldman
"What a significant title for a funny story. What rich material for a cartoon!

"By the decision of the federal government, Emma Goldman, the terrible, may now be deported. Well, serves her right. What on earth made her select our dear country, anyway? It is different with us Americans. We are here through no fault of ours. But for her to come voluntarily, to live here twenty-five years, and to go on as if she were at home—that is strong, indeed!"
"What did our government do to get rid of her? For seventeen years the police have camped on her trail; her meetings were broken up; her audiences clubbed innumerable times, but that didn't seem to help. Then she was arrested again and again—not for what she said, but for what she was going to say. Why, she was actually sentenced to Blackwell's Island penitentiary once, for inciting to riot which didn't take place, but which might have taken place. Well, what happened? When she came out, she was worse than ever. In 1901 she was held under \$20,000 bail, while our poor government spent \$30,000 to connect her with McKinley's death. In short, every conceivable method was used to relieve the anxiety of the United States government. But that woman simply sticks and sticks. However, if there is anything Uncle Sam cannot do, we should like to know it. Hasn't he men in the secret service patriotic enough to do any kind of a dirty job for money? Well, we sent some of them to a city called Rochester, where, many years ago, a man had the misfortune to marry that there Emma Goldman. He was a good man, you know; for no American citizen can be a very bad man. But that marriage was a blotch on his citizenship. So out of Christian kindness and American loyalty, his naturalization papers were annulled. Wasn't that a clever idea? Of course, it cost him a lot. Some people in Rochester had to be cajoled, intimidated, threatened, frightened, and possibly bribed. But it was done all right, and the country might now breathe easy if—but there is Emma Goldman, still enjoying our air, looking at our sky, counting our

Who's to blame, I wonder, for it?
Was it the man who weakly fled
When poverty and distress engulfed him
And left his babes to cry for bread.

Or is it the laws made only for rich men,
Made to protect their greed and gold,
Made to enslave the weak and helpless,
Causing miseries untold

What's the future of my babies -
Sweat shop, factory, or worse?
With no laws made to protect them,
Life to them is but a curse.

Won't the good Lord take my babies,
Safe within His sheltering arms
Take my babies from a future
Fraught with danger, misery, crime.
—Mrs. George Hughes, Toledo, O

In Memoriam.

Globe, Ariz., May 27, 1909.

Whereas, Death has again invaded our ranks and removed from our midst our dearly beloved brother, Charles E. Larsen, and
Whereas, In the death of Brother Larsen Globe Miners' Union has lost a true and faithful member, therefore be it

Resolved, That we extend to the family and relatives our heartfelt sympathy in this their hour of sorrow and bereavement; and be it further

Resolved, That Globe Miners' Union drape its charter in mourning for a period of thirty days, that a copy of these resolutions be forwarded to the family of our deceased brother, a copy sent to the Miners' Magazine for publication, and a copy be spread on the minutes of this union.

THOS. W. IBBITSON,

S. COTTEN,

A. N. JONES,

Committee

(Seal.)

Globe, Ariz., May 28, 1909.

Whereas, The Supreme Ruler has invaded our ranks and taken from our councils our beloved comrade and brother, William H. Garside who was a true and faithful member; be it

Resolved, That we, the members of Globe Miners' Union No. 60, extend our heartfelt sympathy to the friends and relatives of our departed brother in this their hour of bereavement; and furthermore be it

Resolved, That our charter be draped in mourning for a period of thirty days, that a copy of these resolutions be spread on our minutes, a copy sent to Mrs. Samuel Oldfield, beloved mother of our departed brother, and a copy sent to the Miners' Magazine for publication.

M. H. PAGE,

JOHN MITCHELL,

M. J. O'CONNOR,

DENVER, COLO

June 17th.

1909.

Volume XI.
Number 312

WEALTH
BELONGS TO THE
PRODUCER THEREOF



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ERNEST MILLS, Secretary-Treasurer.
 Room 605, Railroad Building, Denver, Colo.

EDUCATION INDEPENDENCE ORGANIZATION

MINERS MAGAZINE



Denver, Colorado,
Thursday, June, 17, 1909.

Volume XI. Number 312
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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.

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

John M. O'Neill, Editor.

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

NOTICE TO EXCHANGES.

ALL EXCHANGES forwarded to the Miners' Magazine should note that the address of the official organ of the Western Federation of Miners is as follows: Miners' Magazine, 605 Railroad Building, Denver, Colorado.

THE ACTIVITY of a number of nations in strengthening their respective navies, has inspired the beef trust to raise the prices on its "embalmed" product.

If a war takes place the beef trust will be given the golden opportunity of poisoning countless thousands of "patriots."

CIRCULARS have been sent out advising idle workmen to remain away from Montana as there is a strike on in the lumber industry. The union men on strike are fighting for higher wages and better conditions and no honorable laboring man can afford to be tempted to usurp the place of strikers, who are fighting a battle for justice.

WITH THE UNITED HATTERS on strike, with the Silk Workers struggling for better conditions, with Bakers waging a battle against their masters, with the race war in Georgia through the strike on the Georgia railroad and with Congress still wrestling with a tariff measure no complaints should be filed relative to "prosperity"

THE SOCIALIST PARTY, through its national committee, has taken steps to eliminate the grafters who use the word "Comrade" when luring their victims to part with their money for stock in airships and mines of doubtful value. The Socialist party should have no room in its ranks for "wild-eaters" who, wearing the mask of Socialism impose upon the credulity of the unsophisticated.

IT IS REPORTED that the students at a number of business colleges in San Francisco are being taught trades and as a result the Machinists' Union has filed complaints charging the students with repairing automobiles for 50 per cent. less than the union scale. The privileged class that can afford automobiles is extending its patronage to the students, as the aristocrat admires a degenerate who will "scab" to acquire an education.

THE AMERICAN SUGAR REFINING COMPANY, through its smuggling propensities, have defrauded the government out of \$65,000,000, but "Uncle Sam" through the generosity of friendly officials has compromised with the sugar trust on payment of \$2,135,436.32. The government can always be depended on to show mercy for highwaymen of large caliber.

The common, petty thief usually meets with imprisonment, but the party who plunders on a large scale, can always enjoy his liberty by "fixing" things.

MAX MORRIS, fourth vice president of the American Federation of Labor and secretary treasurer of the National Retail Clerks' Association, died in Denver last week and was laid to rest in the Jewish cemetery.

Mr. Morris was a man of national prominence in the labor movement and had endeared himself to a host of personal friends, who will mourn the sad summons that carried him away in the summer of his life. The ability of the departed official of the American Federation of Labor, was recognized by the citizens of Colorado who honored him with three terms in the legislative assembly of the state. The labor movement, in the death of Max Morris, has lost a hard worker and the city of Denver a valuable citizen.

STRIKE NOTICES.

Strikes are on in the following places. All miners and others are requested to stay away until a settlement is reached.

Nome, Alaska.

Fairbanks, Alaska.

Douglas Island, Alaska.

U PHOLDING THE LAW can be interpreted nowadays, as holding up the public.

T HE WORKING CLASS will never be free until that class owns the jobs which it must have, in order to live.

T HE WORKING MAN who casts his ballot for the perpetuation of the capitalist system, is a mindless slave.

T HE NATIONAL DEBT at the end of the month of May had reached the trifling sum of \$1,300,129,610.

T HE MAN who thinks for himself, is gifted with some mentality, but the man who permits others to do his thinking, is burdened with an empty skull.

I T IS BUT a burlesque for men who boast of their citizenship to prate about liberty while they live in rented hovels, and through poverty, are forced to beg jobs from a master class.

P RESIDENT TAFT SAYS that prosperity is here. It is somewhat strange, however, that several millions of people who have been watching for the return of the prodigal, have as yet, made no arrangements for "killing the fatted calf."

E IGH T THOUSAND coal miners of West Virginia were forced to strike against a 10 per cent. reduction in wages. The coal miners of West Virginia before the reduction, were working at a scale of wages that was little more than that paid to the peons of Mexico.

THE INTERNATIONAL LABOR FEDERATION of San Francisco, has forwarded to Ernest Mills, Secretary-Treasurer of the Western Federation of Miners, the sum of \$300.00 to be used for the benefit of Preston and Smith and the Mexican prisoners. The International Labor Federation has likewise sent \$100.00 to the Political Refugee Defense League of Chicago, to be used in the interests of the Mexicans. The Federation at San Francisco shows an international loyalty to labor that is worthy of the highest admiration.

MERCER COUNTY PENNSYLVANIA is now asking that the state shall pay to the county \$15,000 reward which was offered by the state for the arrest and conviction of the kidnapers of Willie Whitla. Mercer county expended more than \$5,000 in the Whitla case and is demanding the reward as remuneration for the expense incurred in the prosecution of the Boyles. It is said, however, that the father of Willie Whitla is claiming the reward on the grounds, that the kidnapped boy was the one who identified his abductors.

The fight over the reward, has precipitated a political battle which may result in a new deal in Mercer county. Aristocracy comes high, but the common people seem willing to continue working as slaves, in order that masters may be recognized as "the salt of the earth."

THE JUDGES of courts who have legal authority to clothe the foreigner with citizenship, are now asking the applicant for the elective franchise if he is reluctant to be identified with the state militia, the federal army or the navy. If the applicant for citizenship is opposed to murder under a proclamation of war, he is rejected, but if he expresses a willingness to become a "patriot" and shoulder a rifle and go forth to shoot someone whom he has never seen and with whom he has had no personal quarrel, then the judge looks upon him as being worthy of the mantle of American citizenship. Glorious civilization!

GARRISON WAS MOBBED under the shadow of the Bunker Hill monument, because he lifted up his voice for the emancipation of a race that could not speak for liberty. The blackman shackled in the chains of chattel slavery was silent, and when men of heroic mould, a little more than a half century ago, denounced the auction block and the sale of human flesh, the mob in broad-cloth shrieked its vengeance. It is not surprising that in this day and age when greed and graft sit upon the throne of power, that the "pillars of society" hurl their vengeance against men, who have dedicated their lives to the cause of economic freedom.

ACCORDING TO STATISTICS, the coal miners of West Virginia average the princely wage of \$1.37 per day. The coal miner who does not believe in "race suicide" and who is blessed with a large family, can look into the future with an assurance that the wolf of hunger will not do any prowling around his hovel, while his masters, Elkins and Scott, the coal barons of West Virginia, permit him to be their slave on such a magnanimous salary.

The coal miner of West Virginia while enjoying luxury from \$1.37 per day, should occasionally lift his eyes towards the starry dome and utter a fervent appeal to the Great Jehovah, imploring the Ruler of human destiny to protect him from foreign immigration. The glorious privilege of extracting \$1.37 per day from the bulging coffers of coal corporations in West Virginia, should cause every callous-handed patriot in America to sing: "My Country 'Tis of Thee!"

THEODORE ROOSEVELT'S ASSERTION that "thoroughgoing Socialists occupy in relation to all morality, and especially to domestic morality, a position so revolting—and I choose my words carefully—that it is difficult to discuss it in a reputable paper," has been followed by a mass of mud-slinging from press and pulpit which calls for a show down of the immoralities of capitalism, as infinitely worse than all they even assert, without proof concerning Socialism.

Material for doing this is found in the "Report of the President's Homes Commission," Senate Document No. 644. It carries with it an element of authority, because it is the result of an investigation instituted under Mr. Roosevelt himself. So fearful are its revelations that a resolution was introduced in the senate calling for its suppression, and the suppression occurred by the adroit means of reporting that it was "out of print." Hundreds of readers of the Appeal have written asking for it, but invariably the reply has been, "out of print." The Appeal proposes to put some of its revelations in print.

It will be shown that the Roosevelt's system is fostering prostitution and a deplorable condition of tenement life; that the "full dinner pail" is ruining the health of the worker and breeding intemperance; that economic conditions are responsible for breaking up families through divorce; that Roosevelt's own daughter is living off the rental of brothels; that consumption is bred and fostered by factory conditions; that for the sake of profits thousands of working men are annually slaughtered by machinery when they might be saved; that for the sake of profits, the liquor and opium habits are carefully fostered and fastened on the people; that due to economic reasons, the children of the poor are dying yearly by the thousands, when they might be saved. Nor is this all. It will not be mere assertion. It will be proven from documents that possess an official authority.—Appeal To Reason.

THE SUPREME COURT of the United States is a merciful body—sometimes.

The Court had found six Tennessee men guilty of contempt for complicity in a lynching, and proposed to send them to jail forthwith. Counsel stated that one of the men was a saloonkeeper, that a prohibition law was about to go into effect, that unless the saloonkeeper were permitted to attend to his business and work off his stock before the law became effective he would sustain a heavy loss. The dignified judges smiled, held a short consultation, and obligingly put the case over till October and ordered the men released on recognizance bonds so that they could sell their whisky and pocket their profits.

Suppose a striking workman had been found guilty of using threats or violence in defiance of an injunction, and his counsel had asked that he be allowed to go free for a few months in order to provide for his wife and children. Just suppose.—New York Call.

WORKINGMEN TODAY are confronted with a condition that does not augur well for the future. Every necessity of life is being cornered by monopolies; the wages of labor on the other hand are being decreased, while the army of idle men is being augmented by reason of the introduction of labor-saving machinery. With an influx of immigration and a rapid centralization of industry even in the most prosperous times that capitalism can furnish there will be idle millions to menace those who are employed. This condition is one that must be solved by workingmen as a class. Theologians, philanthropists, reformers and like others who seek and propound remedies, may be actuated by an honest purpose, but they are so far removed from the environment of the working class that they oppose any change of society that is a departure from the system of private ownership of the means of production. They countenance the idea of master and slave, feeling that ownership entitles the capitalists to a profit on the investment. Only a socialization of the means of production can bring about a condition that will give the workers a living without that fear of want.—Toilers' Defense.

THE BLACK HILLS Daily Register in commenting on an address delivered by Vice-President Mahoney at Terry recently, had the following to say:

"Vice-President Mahoney of the Western Federation of Miners told the audience assembled in the Terry opera house last Saturday night something that is as true as gospel and the remark sank so deeply into the writer's head that he is convinced it ought to be framed and hung as a guiding motto in the meeting place of every labor organization in the land. His words the writer cannot remember, but they meant this: It is much more important to wage-workers to secure shorter hours than increased pay without a shortening of the workday. And his reasons for the assertion are sound. He said that almost invariably when the toilers secured an advance in their pay the price of living advanced at the same, or even a greater, ratio. That is true. There are many places in the country where \$2.00 will buy more of life's necessities than can be bought for \$3.00 in the Black Hills. The employers generally pay their employes just enough to enable them to keep in their bodies enough strength to do a day's work and to propagate the race. Some times an unusually stingy and near-sighted slave-driver falls a little short of this and his employes fall short of the general average in efficiency. But, as a general thing, the cost of living keeps pace with wages. Not so with the hours of labor, however. A man working eight hours can buy no more with a dollar than the man who works ten hours and those who fix prices on bread and meat know this. On the other hand, every hour taken from the workday lengthens the working and living capacity of the worker just that much. It is an hour of rest torn from the master class and if used sanely by the worker will lengthen his or her life by many days. This time wrested from the boss belongs to the worker and neither the grocer, the butcher, the landlord nor the tax collector can take it from him. Yes, it looks to the writer that Mahoney has hit the nail squarely on the head."

THE CITIZENS of Tombstone, Arizona, at a mass meeting, adopted the following resolutions which were forwarded to the President of the United States:

"To the Hon. Wm. H. Taft, President of the United States of America, Washington, D. C.

"Sir:

"Whereas, R. Flores Magon, Antonio I. Villarreal and Librado Rivera, the three alleged revolutionists who were arrested in Los Angeles, Cal., on August 23, 1907, by the Furlong Detective Agency on behalf of the Mexican government for an alleged conspiracy under section 5440 of the revised statutes of the United States to violate the neutrality laws, more particularly section 5286 of the revised statutes of the United States, in that they were charged with conspiring to set on foot and begin a military expedition within the Territory of Arizona, to wit, at Douglas, Ariz., on or about the 27th day of August, 1906, by beginning and starting a military expedition at said place, to proceed thence to the Republic of Mexico; and,

"Whereas, Said Magon, Villarreal and Rivera have lain in jail from August 23, 1907, until May 12, 1909 (the Supreme Court of the United States having refused bail), and on said last mentioned day their trial duly coming up in the court of the Second Judicial District of this territory, sitting at Tombstone, Cochise County, Arizona, and after having a trial by jury were convicted of the offense aforesaid, the judge sitting as the trial judge in said case sentenced them to a term of eighteen months in the penitentiary without giving them any allowance for the time they had already served in jail; and,

"Whereas, The jury in rendering the verdict of guilty recommended the defendants to the mercy of the court, and,

"Whereas, We, the citizens and residents of Tombstone, Ariz., in mass meeting assembled at Schiefelbus' Opera House, on this the 22d day of May, 1909, being conversant with the facts in the case and be-

lieving that the ends of justice have already been served by the long time that the defendants have already remained in jails in Los Angeles, Cal., and Tucson and Tombstone, Ariz., petition you to grant a full pardon to the said R. Flores Magon, Antonio F. Villarreal and Labrado Rivera in order that they may be given their liberty forthwith."

Notice to Delegates.

TO DELEGATES ATTENDING the seventeenth annual convention of the Western Federation of Miners at Denver, July 12, 1909 the following information has been secured:

Delegates from California, Nevada, Oregon and Washington, also from what are known as the Kootenay Common Points, namely, Nelson, Rossland, Sandon, Kaslo and Grand Forks, can secure nine months' rate tourist tickets approximating 2 cents per mile in each direction, or about one fare and one-third for the round trip.

Should it happen that delegates apply at a station on the Pacific Coast from which the nine months' fare is not in effect, which may be the case at small stations, the agent will advise delegates of the nearest point to his station from which such fare does apply.

General excursion rates have been authorized from Montana points via the Oregon Short Line. Rates in effect on the El Paso & Southern System to Denver and return are as follows:

From El Paso and Deming,\$35.00

From Bisbee, 42.80
From Benson, 42.05

Delegates from Michigan, Minnesota, South Dakota and Missouri can secure regular tourist tickets and delegates from these states should apply to local ticket agents for full particulars and make the best arrangements possible.

Delegates starting from California or Nevada points on or before July 6th can, however, secure the following rate, and proportionate rates from other Nevada and California points:

San Francisco, Sacramento, Los Angeles and Bakersfield to Denver and return via direct route 50.00
Reno to Denver and return, 50.00
Tonopah and Goldfield to Denver and return 68.00
Fallon, Nevada, to Denver and return 51.20
Hazen, Nevada, to Denver and return 50.00

Due notice will be given of any known change in rates.

ERNEST MILLS, Secretary-Treasurer, W. F. M.

Treading on Dangerous Ground.

IT IS NOW CLAIMED that the authorities at Washington have held a "star chamber caucus" and have reached the conclusion that the time is about ripe for an onslaught on Socialism.

The Socialist press during the past few years, has disclosed infamies in public life that have been damaging to the two old parties that engage in a sham battle at every election over the spoils of office. The official agents of the moneyed power have received their instructions, and those clothed with authority are expected to use all the machinery of government to crush the party, whose press has punctured corruption and debauchery wearing the mask of respectability. The assault is to be conducted under the forms of law, and the courts, "the bulwarks of American liberty," are to be utilized for the purpose of sending a number of prominent Socialists to prison.

The conspirators have concluded, that the people's reverence for the judiciary will blind them to the foul plot against a party whose doctrines are antagonistic to the brutal reign of corporate brigands and commercial vultures. Debs and Wayland have been selected as victims, and when "the dogs of war" are turned loose against these men who have been heroically fighting the battles of the laboring class, it is expected that fear and trembling will take possession of thousands of men and women, who behold in Socialism the dawn of a civilization where the human race shall enjoy the heritage of liberty.

These conspirators who are hatching a plot with the object in view of shattering and ultimately destroying the Socialist party, seem to be

blind to the teachings of history and have forgotten that men and women, loyal and devoted to a great cause, become more courageous under the rain and hail of persecution, even though that persecution is clothed with legal formalities.

Every great cause has had its martyrs.

When men of heroic splendor dared to protest against the brutal reign of crowned imperialism on the soil of a New World they were hounded by the minions that wore the authority of law, but a time came when a sentiment was crystallized that drove from a continent, the last vestige of regal despotism.

Within the memory of the living, brave and valorous men spoke for the emancipation of the black man, and these men became the victims of persecution, but a time came when their sentiments in behalf of an enslaved race, were backed by a million of men upon the field of battle demanding that human beings shall no longer be held in the chains of chattel slavery.

"Whom the gods would destroy they first make mad."

If the powers of government are to be prostituted to visit vengeance upon men who appropriate to themselves the right to give free expression to their honest convictions of right and wrong, then it is only a question of a short time, when the czars and despots of America will learn, that there are millions of men and women in America who will refuse to forfeit their political convictions and become slaves mentally, in obedience to dictums issued by those in authority, who are but the representatives of a conscienceless oligarchy. The powers at Washington are treading on dangerous ground.

Criminal Conspirators.

SOME TEN DAYS AGO, there appeared in the columns of a Denver journal, the following, which can scarcely be interpreted as a tribute to the honesty of the Nevada mine owners:

"Forty-six indictments today were returned by the Esmeralda county grand jury against a number of officials of the Florence-Goldfield mine, near Goldfield, Nev., of which A. D. Parker of Denver, millionaire vice-president of the Colorado & Southern railroad and a leader in Episcopal church affairs, is president and principal owner. The indictments charge criminal conspiracy to defraud the county and state by means of fraudulent bullion tax returns.

"Associated with Parker in the ownership of this mine is Thomas Lockhart, a Reno, Nev., millionaire.

"Dispatches from Goldfield conveying information that indictments have been returned against the officials of the Florence-Goldfield and the Pittsburg-Silver Peak mines do not say that Parker and

GIST OF THE CHARGES.

"Among prominent men named in the indictments are United States Senator John J. Oliver, William Crump, R. E. Flynn and R. J. Splane of Pittsburg, Frank Knox of Salt Lake and M. A. Carton of Utica, N. Y.

The charges before the grand jury allege that officials of the two mines mentioned stated the cost of reduction of ore at \$4 per ton, whereas it is only \$1.10 per ton, and that the greater portion of the profits has been charged against maintenance and other enterprises of the companies distinct from mining.

"It is simply a question as to how the law shall be interpreted and we will defend these charges to the utmost limit," said A. D. Parker today.

"It is a question of whether the state bullion tax shall be collected upon the integrity of the entire mine, or whether upon the output of each individual lease.

WHAT PARKER SAYS.

"We contend that the state is only entitled to a tax upon the integrity of the whole mine and at that the tax is high enough, being 3 1/2 per cent.

"For instance, one lease turns out \$50,000 worth of ore and it costs \$40,000 to mine and reduce it. That leaves a profit to the lessor of \$10,000. The adjoining lease may show a loss of \$5,000, \$10,000 or even \$20,000. In the end the operation of all the leases on the mine may total a loss. In that case we do not think the state entitled to a tax.

"But the Nevada state bullion tax collectors want to collect a tax on the output of each individual lease and that is what we oppose.

"I have had no report of being indicted," said Mr. Parker, "and all I know is what I have read, but we have been threatened with an indictment by the grand jury for some time."

The above in one of the daily papers of Denver shows that the mine operators of Nevada have entered into a criminal conspiracy for the sole purpose of defrauding the state. Parker, who is one of the prominent mining men involved, sets himself up as a constitutional lawyer and questions the legality of a measure that imposes a tax upon the output of the mines. It does not appear, however, that any judicial tribunal has been called upon to render a dictum concerning the validity of the law, which levies an assessment on bullion. Parker contends that the state is only entitled to a tax on the integrity of the mine. If that

logic is sound, then the farmer should not be called upon to pay taxes on the product of his farm, and the tax should be confined solely to the value of the land. But the farmer pays taxes on the wheat, corn, oats, horses, cattle and hogs that are raised upon the land, and no farmer has yet been bold enough to question the constitutionality of such a tax.

But if Parker believed that such a law was unconstitutional, then why did Parker and his confederates enter into a conspiracy to defraud the state?

It does not appear that any of the conspirators invaded the courts to raise the question of the constitutionality of the law, and only when indicted, do these "law and order" gentlemen assume the attitude of constitutional lawyers.

When was a mine operator, railroad magnate and prominent member of a church, recognized as authority on organic law? These same tax-dodgers who framed the conspiracy to defraud the state of Nevada

of a tax on bullion, were all strongly in favor of a Nevada State Police Bill which added thousands and tens of thousands of dollars to the expenditures of a state administration annually, but the aggregation that clamored for armed Cossacks on the soil of the Sage Brush state, plan and scheme to evade supporting a state administration, from which they expect protection.

During the days of the departed Sparks, these exploiters were ravenous in their demands upon the governor and that he should become their agent in securing federal troops to force the circulation of unlawful money.

The people of Nevada are beginning to learn that the state has been invaded by as bold and brazen a band of pirates as ever cursed the earth, and that these outlaws who yell "law and order," when miners are on strike against the acceptance of worthless script as payment for wages, feel no reluctance in tramping LAW under foot, when disobedience to law, increases the corpulency of dividends.

An Unwarranted Statement.

THE MISSOURI TRADES UNIONIST published at Joplin, Missouri, in a recent issue, had the following under the caption: "Our Powerful Labor Press:"

"The most potent and far-reaching influences at work in the labor world are the labor journals of which 185 monthly and seventy-nine weekly papers are issued in the United States and Canada. It is no exaggeration to say these journals reach 6,000,000 or more people.

"Each union workman or woman receives the official organ of his or her craft and perhaps those of other trades. Many labor sympathizers who are not members of unions subscribe for these papers."

It is to be deplored that the above statements of the Missouri Trades Unionist are untrue. According to the Trades Unionist there are 185 monthly and seventy-nine weekly publications issued throughout the United States and Canada, that may be classed as labor journals. The weekly and monthly publications reach 264, and if these publications reach 6,000,000 people, then the average for each labor journal is approximately 22,728.

It is idle and but a waste of time for the Trades Unionist to make such huge drafts upon its imagination. The labor press of the United States and Canada is not powerful, and does not reach 6,000,000 of people.

The membership of organized labor in the United States and Canada will not reach more than 3,000,000, and when the fact is taken into consideration that not more than 10 per cent. of the membership of organized labor are subscribers to labor journals, it becomes a difficult

matter to reach a conclusion that will warrant the statements that the labor press of the United States and Canada is "powerful" and reaches 6,000,000. It is true that a few labor organizations have made it possible for members to receive their official organs, but the vast majority of national and international labor organizations have left it optional with the membership relative to supporting official publications. It is a well known fact that labor journals that are worthy of the name, are continually struggling to maintain an existence. The majority of labor journals through lack of support from the working class are forced to cater to other interests, and through pandering to other interests inimical to the welfare and progress of the labor movement, have lost their potency as labor journals. The fact cannot be ignored that labor journals that are clear-cut and uncompromising are without bank accounts, and every year, the demise of such publications are chronicled.

It cannot be denied, however, that the working class of the United States and Canada spend a vast amount of money for literature, but the literature purchased by the laboring people is of that character, that comes from the press of the capitalist class. The daily journal that fights labor when on strike, receives greater support proportionately from the working class, than the labor journal that defends labor when battling against the tyranny and oppression of the class of privilege. If the laboring people of the United States and Canada withdraw their support from the daily journals whose columns are consecrated to the interests of exploiters and awarded that support to the labor journals, then the labor press of Canada and the United States would become a power, and the labor movement would become strengthened to such an extent, as would prove formidable to that class whose supremacy is secure as long as labor is blind to its class interests.

The "Press" Is Harmless.

THE DAILY IDAHO PRESS published at Wallace, Idaho, seems to take a keen delight in its futile efforts to slander the Western Federation of Miners. However, the editorial lightning of the Press is of small voltage and will have but little effect upon an organization that has successfully weathered every storm raised by the power and influence of organized greed.

The membership of the Western Federation of Miners of the Coeur d'Alene district, whose feelings seem to be ruffled by the calumnies of a corporation-mortgaged editor, should realize that Judas in the dawn of the Christian Era, hungered for "filthy lucre," and that many things with human shape that have entered the field of journalism, are anxiously yearning to sell themselves for "the thirty pieces of silver" that covered the betrayer of Christ, with world-wide infamy.

The modern Judas on the Press who sells his mentality to the mine operators of the Coeur d'Alenes with less reluctance than a blushing outcast sells her shattered honor, would rather receive the price of prostituted manhood from the velvet hand of a master class, than to prove himself worthy of the admiration of a class who are struggling against the brutality of industrial despotism. In every age of the world, the lickspittle and fawning sycophant have been in evidence, and the miners of the Coeur d'Alenes who are making a brave struggle to hold aloft

the banner of unionism, should not feel aggrieved at the puny efforts of a pauper editor, whose brain is afflicted with the microbes of capitalism. The editor of the Press came into the world with hinges on his knees and cannot be expected to stand firmly on his feet, when tempted to crawl on his abdomen to secure the crumbs that fall from the exploiter's table as a reward for degenerate journalism. It requires a man to give free expression to his honest convictions, and when a spineless creature, without marrow in his bones or blood in his veins, dedicates his mediocre ability to the service of mining corporations, it is safe to assume that his eyes are glued on dollars instead of honor.

The fact that the editor of the Press assails the Western Federation of Miners in the Coeur d'Alenes, is conclusive proof that the Federation is a labor organization that has no sympathy for the fallacious philosophy that drugs the working class with the sophistry of an "identity of interests" between master and slave. The Federation can well afford to merit the malevolence of the cheap hireling who "hears his masters' voice," and when this weakling, lost to honor, has been laid away in some nameless grave and has been forgotten or only remembered with disgust by the class which he longed to serve, the organization that he slandered during his worthless life, will still be flying the flag of economic freedom and will never haul down that banner, until the CAUSE that gave birth to such labor organizations as the federation, has been strangled to death.

Unmasks His Duplicitly.

ELBERT HUBBARD, who a few years ago, was looked upon by many as a humanitarian and a philanthropist, has pulled off the mask and disclosed the fact that he has about as much regard for organized labor as Van Cleave, Post or Parry.

Hubbard of the Philistine has a manufacturing establishment at East Aurora, New York, and the press of the country frequently referred to the long-haired freak as one of the great sages and philosophers of the age, who had consecrated the brilliant genius of his massive brain to the formulation of plans and methods, by which he could lift fallen men and women to higher planes in our social strata. But Elbert Hubbard has demonstrated that he is a financier of no mean

ability, and while prating about his boundless fraternity for the struggling millions, has shown no hesitation in adopting the methods of the most mercenary culture.

Elbert Hubbard, through his writings and his lectures upon the platform, has created an impression that he is a great man permeated with a generous spirit and actuated by noble impulses, but those who have looked beneath the surface, have discovered that Fra. Albertus as he is pleased to call himself) is about as rank a hypocrite as ever minted dollars from the sweat of labor.

The press has lauded his manufacturing establishment and pointed to it as a place, where even the criminal who had worn the garb of the convict could find employment and be given an opportunity to become

a useful citizen. But men of standing who have investigated the establishment owned and operated by the journalist and orator of East Aurora, have come to the conclusion that the factory conducted by the gentleman with the profic looks and sanctimonious face is but a private penitentiary, where ill paid and overworked men and women produce dividends for their royal master.

Fra. Albertus, who is gifted with a unique vocabulary has concluded that he was obligated to society to such an extent that unionism should receive a verbal thrashing from his pen, and accordingly, the humanitarian who disearled his first wife in order that he might bask in the smiles of a "soul mate" or "affinity," uncorked his vitriol

against organized labor, in the hope, that he might win those encomiums of praise from a capitalist press that are so much appreciated by professional men whose palms itch for money.

The Philistine, the medium through which Hubbard has attained considerable literary fame, has had a large circulation among the working people of America, for the simple reason, that its readers believed in the sincerity of the man who had so many times expressed through its pages, his boundless love for the class that bore upon their backs the burdens of the world. But Hubbard's latest outbursts against organized labor unmask his duplicity, and he can no longer hide his real character behind velvet words or a saintly face.

The Coming Convention of the W. F. M.

ON THE SECOND MONDAY in July, the delegates to the seventeenth annual convention of the Western Federation of Miners will be called to order in Denver, Colorado.

Regardless of the fact, that industrial depression has been severe in almost every mining district throughout the West, yet, the numerical representation will almost be normal. Some of the smaller local unions have concluded to be represented by proxy, rather than appropriate the necessary amount of money to defray the expenses of a delegate direct from the local union.

It is presumed that the local unions of the Western Federation of Miners have made wise selections, and that the delegates to the coming convention will be men of experience with a broad grasp of the great unsolved problem that confronts the nations of the world. It is again presumed, that the delegates to the seventeenth annual convention will be men actuated by no selfish or personal motives, but who will give the best that is in them to make stronger the organization that has survived the struggles of sixteen years. The depression of the past two years and the increased idle army, have created conditions which must be met by the labor movement and steps must be taken to bring about a solidarity that will halt the common enemy in its continuous and relentless assaults upon the working class.

It is evident to the close observer, that the labor movement as at present constituted, is unable to assume an aggressive attitude, and this is due to the fact, that labor is divided and disunited through craft and trade autonomy. Labor organized into craft and trade regiments, can not cope successfully with powerful employers and manufacturers associations. There was a time when the craft and trade organization could win some concessions from an employers, but that time has passed never to return. As long as the employer remained standing alone as an individual, the craft or trade organization could hope to achieve some results, but when the employer placed his interests behind the

fortress of an employers' association, that moment, the craft and trade organization became almost helpless. The exploiters of labor have been advancing, while the labor movement is today using the same tactics and methods as were used a quarter of a century ago.

The labor movement cannot afford to stand still, shackled to the use of weapons of warfare that have become obsolete.

It is true that the Western Federation of Miners is grounded upon the principles of industrial unionism, but men of one industry flying the flag of industrial unionism cannot conquer the powers of capitalism. For several years the Federation has endeavored to lay the foundation upon which might be built the superstructure of an organization that would unite the working class industrially, but the efforts of the Federation in that direction, have proved a failure.

Some lesson should be drawn from the failure of the Federation in launching successfully such an organization. The failure was due to some cause, and the delegates to the coming convention, should endeavor to discover the cause that has resulted in failure. In the opinion of the editor, the success of an industrial organization can only be secure, when a number of national and international organizations can be brought together, having a sufficient numerical and financial strength to withstand the attacks of the exploiters of labor and the assaults of the champions and defenders of craft and trade autonomy.

If the Western Federation of Miners, the United Mine Workers of America, the United Brewery Workers and a few other national organizations, whose membership are giving some thought and consideration to industrial unionism, can meet in conference and draft a preamble and constitution that will bring these organizations into an army, then the days of helpless craft and trade autonomy are at an end.

If the delegates to the coming convention can conceive a plan by which several national and international labor organizations can be welded together under the flag of industrial unionism, then a labor movement will be launched, that in time, must become invincible.

Hits the Nail on the Head.

THE WHEELING WEEKLY MAJORITY published at Wheeling, West Virginia, in its issue of June 3rd, had the following editorial, under the caption: "What The Matter Is:"

"Non-union unionism is what holds unionism back. This is the kind of unionism a card man displays when he buys a non-union article, and the kind the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers display when they run engines fired by non-union firemen.

"In Georgia union firemen are on a strike and 'union' engineers have announced that they will not run engines manned by non-union firemen. UNLESS THEY HAVE AMPLE MILITARY PROTECTION! In other words they will not scab if there is any danger in it, but if the physical danger is eliminated they will bravely sell themselves to be used by their employers against their fellow workers.

"The only gleam of sunshine in that cloud is the certainty that the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers is dying out, to be displaced by the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen, and later, it is sincerely to be hoped, by a Brotherhood of Railway Workers.

"The existing unfortunate divisions among the railway workers in America, peculiar to this country and fostered by the railway mag-

rates and misceing (or worse) leaders, has kept the men who pay the bills fighting each other instead of for each other, and kept their organizations for the most part within the realms of beneficial and insurance associations rather than progressive unions. There is no more excuse for a Brotherhood of Engineers and a Brotherhood of Firemen than a Brotherhood of Motormen and a Brotherhood of Conductors.

"The race question that has been injected into the Georgia dispute and which has brought about the rather unusual spectacle of the business element favoring the strikers, has, at bottom, a decidedly economic aspect. The colored brethren who displaced the white firemen, jumping over the hurdle of 'seniority' work for one dollar a day less than the white firemen.

"This furnishes the missing link in the line of reasoning which explained why the Georgia Railroad was engaged in uplift work for the colored men."

The above editorial in the Majority will appeal strongly to the intelligence of every member of organized labor who has learned from experience and observation, that the so called unionism of the present day must give way to a UNIONISM that unites the working class, and teaches, that an "injury to one is the concern of all."

A Hero Dying in Want.

THE FOLLOWING in the local columns of the Rocky Mountain News of last week, will scarcely be considered as complimentary to the generosity of the "big-hearted" citizens of Denver:

"Samuel Berg, hero of the Slocum disaster, who saved fifty lives when the excursion boat went down near New York, and who is now battling in Denver with a disease that threatens to end his life, would have a better chance if he could obtain a tent, according to the physician who is caring for him. Berg is unable to provide even the necessities for himself and family.

"While the tent means much to him, Berg also needs food, and his family needs food more than the few who have taken an interest in him are able to provide. The man who has saved more than two-score lives, including that of one woman in Denver, in danger in a runaway, is not only suffering with disease, but sees his family in want

"Three generous persons who contributed a dollar each following the publication of a story about Berg, gave the family in the little house at 2736 West Myrtle place several happy days last week because for a time they had sufficient food. Several other persons have shown their interest by calling at the house and assisting the family.

"The News will see that Berg receives any contributions sent to this office."

Some time ago this man came to Denver in the hope that the climate would halt the ravages of the disease that threatens his life.

The daily press of the city of Denver, paid this now impoverished and afflicted man a compliment, when it was known that he had come to Colorado in search of health. But compliments in words, have but little effect in establishing a man's credit at the bank or filling the larder at his home. A Carnegie medal will not bring back the flush of

health to this man's check, nor will the memory of his brave deeds prolong his life.

Had Berg been a destroyer of human life, had he been a captain of industry and coined dividends from the sweat and blood of innocent children in mills and factories, he would not today be reduced to such circumstances as to want for a tent as a palliative for the merciless disease, that is slowly but surely sapping his strength and life.

Did he come from the battlefield bearing victories as the commander of armed forces that left dead and dying to be mourned for in thousands of desolate homes, he would be hailed as a conqueror, and the nation beneath whose flag his cradle was rocked, would place him on

the pension roll and permit him to draw a salary that would keep the wolf of want from his door.

But Samuel Berg belongs to that humble class, whose bravery consisted in saving human life, and now, that he is penniless and shorn of his strength, he is almost forgotten and but few have ministered to the needs and wants of the unfortunate man and his helpless family.

There are hundreds of men in the city of Denver riding in automobiles and living in mansions who could raise a purse for this stricken man that would place him and his family beyond the reach of want, and make this man feel that courage and brave deeds, are yet admired, even in an age where the DOLLAR is GOD.

To Irish Wage Workers in America.

Issued by "The Harp," Organ of the Irish Socialist Federation.

FELLOW-WORKERS:—As an organization of Irish men and women we desire to ask your attention whilst we place before you our views upon the position occupied by the men and women of our race in America, and also your attitude upon the great question of the age—the relation of capital and labor. Particularly upon this latter question we Irish workers are today at the parting of the ways; our action now may forever exalt our race as pioneer and apostles of a sane social order, or forever damn us as the janizaries of despotism. Which shall it be?

Let us reason quietly together! We speak to you as fellow-workers and as fellow-countrymen, and we ask where do you stand in politics today? Hitherto the Irish in the United States have almost entirely supported the Democratic party, but the time has come when the majority of thoughtful Irishmen are beginning to realize that as the causes that originally led to that affiliation are no longer existent, the affiliation itself must be reconsidered. Political parties must thrive or fail according to the present development of the class in society they represent, and can not be kept alive by a mere tradition of their attitude in past emergencies. The supposed antagonism of the Democratic party towards the Know Nothing movement in the past won for it the support of the Irish workers, but Know Nothingism is not an issue today, and as the Democratic party is going down to an unhonored grave because of its inability to grasp the problems of our own time shall we Irish workers suffer ourselves to be dragged to social perdition with it? No; fellow countrymen, political parties are the expression of economic interests, and in the last analysis are carried to victory or defeat by the development or retardation of economic classes. Examine the history of America for the last decade in the light of this analysis of the springs of political action, and the truth of that contention will be at once apparent. The Republican party is the political weapon of advanced capital, of great trusts and mammoth combinations of wealth. Hence, as during the last decade the whole trend of industry has been toward greater concentration of capital, we find that the Republican party has grown stronger and stronger and its hold upon the political institutions of the country has been proportionately tightened. Today the government machinery of the United States is completely in the hands of the servants of capital, and Senate and Congress are but instruments for registering the decrees of the trust magnates of the United States. On the other hand the Democratic party is the party of the small business man, and of those narrow ideas upon economics and politics which correspond to the narrow business lines and restricted economic action of the middle class in general. Hence as the last decade has witnessed the continual absorption by the trusts of the business of its petty competitors so it has also witnessed the absorption by the Republican party of the one time adherents of Democracy; as it has witnessed the downfall of the middle class as a social factor so it is witnessing the downfall of the political party of the middle class and its elimination as a political factor. And just as the petty business man may hang on to a meager existence in business whilst no longer seriously considering himself as a competitive factor in industry, so the political party of the Democracy may hang on to a sordid existence in local affairs by means of its control of graft whilst entirely eliminated as a serious aspirant to national power.

We Irish workers are then not under the necessity of considering ourselves as bound by tradition to the Democratic party; political parties are not formed by traditions, but by interests. Where then do our interests lie? Certainly not in the Republican party—that is the party of our employers, and as our employers we know do not allow their actions to be governed by our interests we are certainly not under any moral obligation to shape our political activity to suit the interests of our employers. Where then? To answer that question properly we must ask ourselves why we Irish are here at all in this country, instead of in Ireland. Certainly we have no complaint to make against our native land, and we for the most part did not come here for pleasure. We came here because we found that Ireland was private property, that a small class had taken possession of its resources—its land, its lakes, its rivers, its mountains, its bogs, its towns and its cities, its railways, its factories and its fisheries. In short, that a small class owned Ireland and that the remainder of the population were the bond slaves of these proprietors. We came here because we found the government of the country was in the hands of those proprietors and their friends, and that army and navy and police were the agents of the government in executing the will of those proprietors, and for driving us back to our chains whenever we rose in revolt against oppression. And as we learned that since that government was backed and maintained by the

might of a nation other than our own, and more numerous than us, we could not hope to overthrow that government and free our means of living from the grasp of those proprietors, we fled from that land of ours and came to the United States.

In the United States we find that every day the condition of matters for the working class drifts more and more in the direction of the conditions we left behind. Here the resources of the country are also in the hands of a small class—the land, the rivers, the lakes, the forests, the fisheries, the towns, the cities, the factories, the railroads, the entire means of life of eighty millions of people are in the hands of a class which every day grows smaller and whose rapacity and greed and lust of power grows as its numbers diminish. Here also we find that government is but a weapon of the master class, that the military and police forces of the nation are continually at the service of the proprietors in all disputes just as in Ireland, and that the "rifle diet" is served out to workers in America oftener than to the peasants in the old country. But here the analogy stops. In Ireland the government was a foreign government, it was outside of our control and beyond our reach, and hence no political action of ours could completely master the situation or achieve our freedom from the oppression of the master class. That class sheltered behind the British government, and our vote for freedom was answered by a foreign army shaking thirty thousand bayonets in our faces. But, in the United States, although the master class—the proprietors—rests upon the government, and although that government rests upon armed forces to maintain and enforce its will, yet all alike, being native and not foreign, are within the reach of the political and economic action of the American workers, and can at any moment be mastered by them. Hence the hopelessness which at one time seized upon the popular mind in Ireland need never paralyze the action of the wage slave here. Freedom lies within the grasp of the American wage slave; he needs but the mind and the knowledge to seize it.

What then is the lesson for the Irish workers in America? We are not trust magnates, nor little business men, and the interests which bind us to those who work beside us and suffer with us are infinitely stronger than the traditions which draw us towards those of our race whose interests are those of our despoilers. Hence our duty is plain. We must fight against in America that which has plundered and hunted us in Ireland. Here as there, and here greater than there, the enemy of our race is private property in the means of life. In Ireland it was fundamentally private property in land that was the original and abiding cause of all our woes; in America it is again private property in land and in machinery that recreates in the United States the division of classes into slaver and enslaved. In Ireland it was private property, immature but bloodthirsty; in America it is private property, grown mature from the sucking of human blood. In both it is the enemy of the human race. To quote the words of Ernest Jones, the Chartist leader of '48, friend of Ireland, fellow workers of John Mitchell in whose defense he spent one year in prison:

"The monopoly of land drives him (the worker) from the farm into the factory, and the monopoly of machinery drives him from the factory into the street, and thus crucified between the two thieves of land and capital, the Christ of Labor hangs in silent agony."

We appeal to you then, fellow countrymen, to rally around the only banner that symbolizes hope for you in America as in Ireland—the banner of Socialism. Cast off all your old political affiliations, and organize and vote to reconquer society in the interests of its only useful class—the workers. Let your slogan be, the Common Ownership of the Means of Life, your weapons the Industrial and Political Organization of the Wage Slaves to conquer their own emancipation.

At Palm Beach.

By Robert Hunter.

DAVID WAS, you remember, the valiant young chief of the hosts of Israel. Surrounding him were many mighty warriors.

Tired and exhausted after a terrible battle with the Philistines, David one evening exclaimed:

"O, that one would give me drink of the water of the well of Bethlehem that is at the gate!"

When night came three stalwart men dashed over the hills, into the very midst of the sleeping Philistines, and filled a vessel from the well of Bethlehem.

Having startled the sleeping enemy, they cut their way through, bounded over the hills, back into the camp of David.

They brought the water and gave it to David to drink, and when David saw that his men had risked their lives for this draught he took the water, poured it on the ground as an offering to the Lord, saying:

"God forbid that I should do this thing. Shall I drink the blood of these men who have put their lives in jeopardy? For with the jeopardy of their lives they bought it."

With the jeopardy of men's lives all things are bought. Coal, iron and ore are bought by the jeopardy of men's lives. All food, clothing, shelter are bought by the jeopardy of men's lives.

Each year millions lay down their lives to feed, clothe and shelter humanity.

In field and forest, in the bowels of the earth, before red-hot ovens and white-hot furnaces men sweat and toil in jeopardy to feed and clothe and shelter the world.

Only yesterday in the world's chronicle this continent was a wilderness. Today it is transformed.

Fields are rich with produce. Cities are dotted over hills and valleys and plains. Factories and workshops and railroads cover the land. Flocks and herds are on every hillside all because with the jeopardy of men's lives have these riches been bought.

Every bit of bread we eat, every soft bed we sleep in, every kind

ly house that shelters us, every stick of wood that warms us has been bought with the jeopardy of men's lives.

And do we ever ask with David, "Shall I drink the blood of these men whose lives have been put in jeopardy to bring these things?"

Last night I saw two hundred men and women sit through the night at gaming tables. Hundreds and thousands were lost at a throw of the dice or the turn of the wheel.

Women, beautifully gowned, with bare arms and necks encircled with pearls and diamonds, men with flushed faces sat drinking the blood of the workers whose lives were put in jeopardy to bring them their riches.

Precious fellow lives toil day after day, night after night, without hope or prospect of hope, precious, precious little children in factory and mill, toil from the dawn of life to the dusk of life to produce this wealth.

Millions are ever in jeopardy living dark, sunless, anxious lives to maintain the men and women of the upper world.

And the blood of the lowly is drunk, nervously, thoughtlessly, greedily, with few to exclaim:

"My God, forbid that I should do this thing. Shall I drink of the blood of these men who have put their lives in jeopardy? For with the jeopardy of their lives have they bought it?"



MEXICAN DEFENSE FUND.

W. H. Stephens n, Bingham Canyon, Utah	\$ 1.00
Local No. 2512, U. M. W. A., Cle Elum, Wash	50.00
Thos. Smyth, Kennett, Calif.	1.00

SMITH & PRESTON DEFENSE FUND.

Henry Bopp, Randsburg, Calif	\$ 1.00
The International Labor Federation, San Francisco, Calif.	100.00
Thos. Smyth, Kennett, Calif.	1.00

SILVERTON M. U. NO. 26 DONATES \$100.00.

Silverton, Colo., May 15, 1909.

Mr. Ernest Mills, Secretary, Denver, Colo.:
Dear Sir and Brother—I am enclosing check and voucher for \$100 to be used in the Murphy and Pettibone fund. Please sign voucher and return.
Fraternally yours,
C. R. WATERS,
Secretary, Silverton M. U. No. 26.

DECLARED UNFAIR AND FINED.

Greenwood, B. C., June 3, 1909.

Editor Miners' Magazine:
At a regular meeting of Greenwood Miners' Union No. 22, W. F. M., H. C. Cummins, Ira J. McKenzie, Harvey McKenzie, F. W. Rising and George Aiker were fined \$25 each and Fred Hopkins and Bert Hopkins were fined \$50 each for refusing to pay dues and assessments in the Greenwood Miners' union.
I was instructed to advertise the above in the Miners' Magazine as unfair to organized labor until such time as they put themselves in good standing and pay their fines into the treasury of Greenwood Miners' union. Yours fraternally,
GEORGE HEATHERTON,
Secretary.

NOTICE TO LOCAL UNIONS.

Telluride, Colo., June 1, 1909.

Notice is hereby given that any man leaving the jurisdiction of this union without a paid up card is considered unfair to organized labor. All locals of the W. F. M. are requested to be on the lookout for such men, and to deal with them according to the above notice. By order of

TELLURIDE MINERS' UNION NO. 63, W. F. M.
A. NYLUND, Secretary

P. S.—All union men are hereby requested to stay away from Telluride district, as there are many more men here than can possibly be given employment. By order of

TELLURIDE MINERS' UNION NO. 63
A. NYLUND, Secretary

AN EXPLANATION.

Atlanta, Idaho, May 31, 1909.

Editor Miners' Magazine:
Referring to article in your publication of May 20th, will say there is not now, nor has there ever been a strike called by the union here. The facts are these: About February 22nd last, between twenty five and thirty men employed in the Bagdad Chase Mining Company's mine and mill walked out because the company was behind in their pay three months, and when asked about a regular pay day, refused to give a definite answer. The union had nothing to do with the men quitting and a large percent of the men in the walk-out were non-union men. In justice to the Seattle Socialist however, there were notices struck and sent out from Boise similar to what is quoted in this paper. Since that date the Bagdad Chase company have had four pay

days, but up to the present time have not established a regular pay day, and is now nearly two months behind.

The Atlanta camp is in a good, healthy condition, and prospects are for a flourishing season ahead. Yours fraternally,
R. E. CARNINE, Financial Secretary

SITUATION AT GREENWOOD, B. C.

Greenwood, B. C., May 13, 1909.

Editor Miners' Magazine:
I have been instructed by the members of Greenwood Miners' Union to insert an advertisement in the Miners' Magazine notifying laboring men to stay away from Greenwood as the mines and smelter of the B. C. Copper Co. are closed down. We are in a rather peculiar position at the present time as we are going to call a strike against the B. C. Copper Co., but according to the laws of Canada we had to apply to the government for a conciliation and investigation board and it is against the laws to take any action till we hear the report of the board, but the company was able to close down claiming they could not get coke owing to the coal miners being on strike in Alberta. Greenwood Miners' Union intends to call a strike as soon as we hear from the board, but in the meantime we would like to warn men from coming to Greenwood, so I would like if you would insert an ad to that effect, and as soon as we call the strike I will notify you by telegraph.
The B. C. Copper Co. refused to recognize Greenwood Miners' Union, but I believe that the chairman of the board will decide in our favor; at least, he will recommend to the government that the B. C. Copper Co. should recognize the Greenwood Miners' Union. I remain, fraternally yours,
GEORGE HEATHERTON,
Secretary, Greenwood Miners' Union No. 22

DONATIONS TO PETTIBONE MONUMENT FUND.

Wallace M. U. No. 17, Wallace, Idaho	\$10.00
Henry Cohen, attorney, Denver, Colo.	5.00
Ira Van Valkenburg, Maxton, Ariz.	2.00
Will Stephenson, Bingham Canyon, Utah	1.00
Henry Bopp, Randsburg, Calif.	2.00
Riggers & Stevedores Union, San Francisco, Calif.	50.00
C. J. Rordell, Greenwood, B. C.	1.00
J. J. Mangan, Goldfield, Nev.	1.00
Bisbee M. U. No. 106, Bisbee, Ariz.	5.00
John Doyle, Argenta, Mont.	5.00
W. N. Welsh, Argenta, Mont.	5.00
Jerome M. U. No. 101, Jerome, Ariz.	25.00
H. C. Kennedy, Jerome, Ariz.	2.00
John Opman, Jerome, Ariz.	2.00
Index M. U. No. 168, Ince, Wash.	1.00
Silverton M. U. No. 26, Silverton, Colo.	5.00
Thos. Smyth, Kennett, Calif.	1.00
Prof. Homer Hayes, Clover and Ind.	1.00
Prof. G. Gilman, Butte, Mont.	1.00
John T. Harrington, Butte, Mont.	2.00
Louis D. Dwyer, Butte, Mont.	1.00
Scratch, Co. Marchand, B. C.	1.00

FOR PRESTON-SMITH AND THE MEXICAN PRISONERS.

San Francisco, Calif. June 7, 1909.

Mr. Ernest Mills, Treasurer, W. F. M., Denver, Colo.
Dear Sir and Brother—Your communication of May 22, 1909, received with receipt for one hundred dollars for Smith and Preston defense fund. Enclosed you will find a money order for the second one hundred dollars for the defense fund of Smith and Preston. You also will receive the second money order with money order for one hundred dollars to be applied for the Mexican prisoners who are yet imprisoned.

Hoping the money will assist their liberation, I remain, yours for freedom,
H. F. SAHLENDER.

Treasurer, International Labor Federation, 289 Natama St.

P. S.—We have also sent one hundred dollars to the Political Refugee Defense League at Chicago to be applied for the interests of the Mexican patriots.

San Francisco, Calif., June 7, 1909.

Mr. Ernest Mills, Treasurer, W. F. M., Denver, Colo.:

Dear Sir and Erother—This is the second letter where you find the money order for one hundred dollars for the defense of our Mexican patriots. Hoping you send an answer, I remain, Yours for freedom.

H. F. SAHLENDER.

Treasurer, International Labor Federation.

A VOICE FROM GOLDFIELD, NEVADA.

Goldfield, Nevada.

Editor Miners' Magazine:

Goldfield, Nevada, is on the map as a producing camp, but a more forlorn slave-ridden burg could not be found in a two years' tour of the world. An army of able men are continuously looking for that sacred job, but many that hold a job, and are through sheer want forced to stay with it, if their thoughts could be fathomed, wish they had been born mules in preference to working galley slaves in the mines. A pace set by some foreman or superintendent whose chief talent is to get plenty of work done and make a record with the least possible men.

That grim monster, dividend, has taken up its abode here and to satisfy this unsatiable maw, the miners and muckers are lashed into the collar almost beyond endurance which is breeding a contention that will be hard to cope with unless the mine workers are effectively organized and dominate their own organization, and by all means keep the local holy father from having a say. It is safe to predict that a strike will be forced on to the miners in the not far distant future, and unless some effort is made to organize the men agreeably or under the form of an industrial organization, nothing but defeat or unconditional surrender can follow in its wake. There are a few here, at least, those of guiding influence in the unions, that are as yet mentally in the dark age expecting redress from the pirates of industry by being liberal and faithful to the church, while the majority hold that to pay tithing to an organization that is stalled and barricaded with conservatism is fruitless and unserviceable and would gladly join hands with some progressive organization and give battle to the system that is forcing a condition on the working class worse than peonage. Talk to some men here of organizing the workers along the old lines and a fist fight is on. They would much rather fight the profit system lone-handed than to organize into a howling mob spirited by a lot of shrieking parrots or uninformed freaks who never miss a meeting of their respective unions, and by many attendings have the routine down by heart, and whatever comes up for discussion, these are there to howl it down regardless of its merits. The labor journals of this country are giving some space to the labor conditions, but in the next decade many articles will be written under the heading of how we become peons in Uncle Sam's domain. The Rhyolite Press committee seems to be "next" to the precarious condition of the local here. If they were here and could be shown, they no doubt would weep with pity and bow with shame at the mockery of unionism as it is exposed here. Something like it was in Rhyolite when Kelly held full sway for two years or more. I remember well how this sport in the booming time of that place went from door to door and collected the biggest part of \$9,000 to build the Catholic church, and it is well known that he used his position in the union to influence members to donate to the church fund. I know members that were cowed into donating \$5.00 or more, and kicks were registered quite often, but what good did it do? Rhyolite union has been a hot bed of graft, all the time that Kelly was secretary, but praise for the active members he is out off it, and God and lightning speed us on to a better understanding of unionism before we toilers in America degrade to a degree below the inhuman conditions of the peons of Mexico.

THOMAS DICKMAN.

EXPLOITATION.

By Emanuel Julius.

Exploitation as a system began when the stronger of combatants enslaved rather than slayed their victims. At first, we are apt to condemn Plato for his position that slavery was a human institution, but when we look at the question through the eyes of those who lived at that time and consider the "magnanimity" and "brotherly love" that tended one to make a victim work rather than kill him, we would be inclined to mellow our harshness and excuse his views. But that does not mean that I am trying to justify slavery. By no means.

The chattels were exploited out of the entire product of their labor. The master received the entire product—the slave was given just enough to keep him alive that he might continue his labors.

The system of serfdom wherein the worker was enslaved indirectly he being bound to the land which the barons owned, was an improvement on the old, though, by no means, an ideal system. But the introduction of the machine in industrial production sounded the death knell of feudalism and the birth of capitalism.

Then followed a long drawn-out struggle between the growing manufacturing class and the solidly entrenched nobility with the result that the serf was freed from his forced bondage to the soil and was thrown on the labor market as a commodity to be bought at the will of the employers. He was given the "right" of free contract, that is to say, he could work where he pleased, provided, of course, the employer was pleased to use him.

Though the modern wage slave possesses far greater rights than did the serf or chattel yet his condition is not what it might be. Though the proletariat receives more of the product of his labor than did either serf or slave yet that is no reason why he should not receive the entire product of his labor.

From chattel slavery to wage slavery was a vast step forward for the workers but they are still enslaved—their chains are wrought with the iron and steel links of hunger and the whip goads of the masters are the uncertainty and precariousness that are ever facing and humbling the workers.

Today the wage slave is in a peculiar position. He is entirely divorced from the tools with which he works. All the means of production and distribution are in the hands of a small non-producing class. In many cases entire industries belong as private property to single individuals. They only permit these industries to be operated when there is a profit obtainable and this profit is nothing more or less than loot extracted from the workers.

This is the prime cause of the great war of the classes that is taking place today wherever the private ownership social needs exist. It is this exploitation of the masses that causes all the superabundance of misery and poverty that exist today. And it is this self same exploitation that the Socialist is aiming to eliminate.

Socialism is not a political patent medicine cure-all rolled into a sweet candy-pill for the miserables to swallow and thus be relieved of all their ills. The Socialist movement, as I understand it, is organized for but one thing and that is to abolish exploitation—surplus value to be technical. The beauties of co-operation, the grandeur of the brotherhood of man are all of trifling importance in the Socialist philosophy. And, to be extreme, it can be safely said, that if (special emphasis on "if") it were possible for John D. Rockefeller to be the private owner of all social needs and if he did not exploit his workers, which means that the workers would receive all they pro-

duced, we would have a condition of elemental Socialism. For a clear understanding let us sum the above into one sentence: The co-operative commonwealth—the industrial republic, wherein the producer will own collectively the tools of wealth production is not the end, it is merely the means—to abolish exploitation is the goal of the Socialist movement.

Then, for the first time in human history the producers of wealth will be the receivers of the social value of their product. By abolishing exploitation we make an end with the existence of classes and will bring about a form of society wherein no classes will exist—all will be producers and consumers of their product—directly or indirectly.

Then with production for use and not for profit, involuntary unemployment and all its diverse evils will disappear for the industries will be thrown open—the workers will be free to enter into their own.

The paradox of capitalism is that the victim of the system reads his own death warrant—is his own executioner. In the past, slavery was not the will of the slave—it was against his desire. Now, the worker has the power to end once for all his own exploitation yet he continues to cast his ballot for those who exploit him and who intend to continue it.

It matters not whether a congress or a senate, a mayor or a judge be Republican or Democrat he uses all his powers to subject those who placed him into power. That this is so even the blind can see. Every time the workers try for a penny or two more of their product the police, the mayor—all the powers of government, to their utmost, oppose them. Yet at the next election they cast their ever ready ballots for the election of their enemies.

The future contains portents for hope. The workers are slowly awakening from their lethargy. This is proven by the international growth of the Socialist movement. With leaps and bounds has the army of emancipation marched forward. Regiment on regiment of volunteers have enlisted and are enlisting. Mightier and stronger are our forces becoming. We need you. Mr. Onlooker. We need you in the trenches, on the firing line, on the watch. Right is on our side. The might of numbers is needed. Will you join? Help swell the army of social revolution!

Tarrytown-On-Hudson, N. Y., 118 Main street.

TO THE SOCIAL AND MORAL REFORM COMMITTEES OF LOCAL CHURCHES.

Grand Forks, B. C.

Gentlemen:

This union of the Western Federation of Miners, while in sympathy with the aims of the projected organization of a branch of the Social and Moral Reform Council of Canada, and deploring the evils which afflict society, are absolutely opposed to the manner in which you plan to remedy these social sores on the body of organized society. Though we cannot work with you, along the lines suggested by your committees we are ready at all times to co-operate with any organization that will adopt practical and rational methods to that end.

We find the committees appointed by the churches of this city, regard this question as entirely a spiritual one, while we hold that it is, primarily an economic one, and are able to prove it.

The social evil, the white slave traffic and all other evils are only effects of some cause, but instead of trying to discover and remove the cause, you persist in denouncing and tinkering with the effects.

That vice and crime have their tap-roots in wrong economic conditions and are incidental to the process of wealth—concentration is proven by the fact, that during industrial depressions and hard times they show an appalling increase. The methods which you propose consist chiefly in persecuting and hounding from town to town, these victims of an unjust social and industrial system; and we positively refuse to become a party to such unchristian treatment, of our unfortunate sisters, who are not to blame if society cannot afford them an opportunity to earn a respectable living; and further, in our opinion the Christian churches are largely responsible for the deplorable social and industrial conditions which prevail, through their support of the present competitive system of industry, a system which is contrary to all the teachings of Christ.

Even before the recent panic, there were more than half a million known fallen women on the North American continent, and the condition of the labor market at the present time, is such, that there are thousands of girls and women seeking honest employment (even at a mere subsistence wage) without success. How are you going to find honorable occupations for so many of these unfortunate women?

And even if you did, you must necessarily displace an equal number of those at present employed, who must then seek some other way of gaining a livelihood. That these evils show such an alarming increase in all so-called civilized Christian countries is a fearful indictment against the Christian churches; and is due, in a large measure to the fact, that they have either ignored, or failed to realize that all human activities are almost entirely controlled by economic necessity and conditions.

The Western Federation of Miners stands for the abolition of the present social order [or disorder] with its inevitable accompaniments of poverty and vice; and the inauguration of a co-operative system of industry, in which all men and women shall have an equal opportunity, the full enjoyment of the fruits of their labor, the fuller development of all their intellectual and spiritual faculties, and a rational, human and happy life. Yours sincerely,

WALTER E. HADDEN.

Secretary, No. 180, W. F. M.



WAR AND PEACE.

Strenuously as the Socialists of the world oppose militarism, they have little in common with the bourgeois pacificators who meet from time to time to "view with alarm" the wars and rumors of war and to "point with pride" to their own eloquent resolutions.

Socialist opposition to war and to military and naval armaments is a very concrete and practical thing, not a matter of sentiment or abstract generalities. Recognizing and strongly insisting on the horrors of war, the Socialist does not lose sight of the more extensive if less spectacular horrors which are perpetrated and perpetuated under the forms of peace. Nor does he lose sight of the fact that sometimes—not often, but sometimes—war between nations may serve the cause of progress, may help to do away with gigantic political and economic evils, may hasten the day of universal peace.

Such, for instance, was the case with the war between Russia and Japan. Provoked by the foolhardy rapacity of the Russian autocracy, it did much to weaken the Czar's power and to strengthen the aspirations for freedom both of the Russian people and of the various Asiatic peoples whose subjection to

western domination is an obstacle both to their own development and to the progress of Europe and America. The intervention nominally by President Roosevelt but actually, as was known by all well informed persons by the great banking interests of both continents, so far from serving the cause of humanity, really saved the autocracy, postponed the success of the movement for Russian freedom and made possible the gigantic and continuous slaughter of the best and bravest sons and daughters of Russia which has been proceeding ever since.

It is quite within the possibilities that the Russian government overconfident as despotisms are likely to be may again become embroiled in war, this time with Persia and Turkey. It is not yet possible to judge with any accuracy of the respective forces of the two parties. But if the Turkish and Persian strength could overmatch that of their northern neighbor, as surely every Socialist in the world and not only every Socialist, but every friend of political liberty and economic progress would welcome the conflict of arms as helping to undermine and hasten the fall of that government which for many years has been the worst enemy of the human race.

There is much wisdom in the saying of the Irishman that he was determined to have peace in the family even if he had to fight for it. Not confining our view to the immediate present nor to any one country, but looking into the future of the world and working for social as well as international peace, we cannot join in the hope that the difficulties in eastern Europe and western Asia will be patched up by diplomatic compromises which would preserve the power of the Romanoffs and stifle the aspirations of the progressive elements in the Moslem lands. New York Call.

PROPERTY EXISTS FOR THE BENEFIT OF THE MANY, NOT FOR THE PROFIT OF A FEW.

By Eugene V. Debs.

Socialists are the real conservators of true property rights. It is just because Socialism insists that the individual is entitled to the fruits of his toil and shall be permitted free and unrestricted enjoyment thereof that it demands the collective ownership of capital together with the abolition of the economic categories, rent, interest and profit.

Property is a conventional arrangement, pure and simple. Its laws are of human not of divine origin, sanction and regulation. Society has created these laws; society may destroy them. No man enjoys a right of property except by the consent of society. These are truisms that have only to be stated to be understood. The object of property is the social good. Society attaches a right of property to certain things with a view to promote the general welfare and insure the stability of government. This right is constantly changing in obedience to paramount social demands. Within the memory of thousands of men yet living society sanctioned the right of property in human beings. It does so no longer.

With regard to the vast wealth which Mr. Rockefeller has accumulated under existing property arrangements Socialists are indifferent. He may retain possession of his wealth if he so wills; he may leave it to his son when he dies. What Socialists contend for is not a redistribution of present wealth, but the abolition of those conventional property arrangements which have enabled Mr. Rockefeller to accumulate a fortune of five hundred million dollars within the brief period of forty years.

In what does the property of Mr. Rockefeller consist? Is it mines and factories, railroads, steamships, pipe lines, stocks and bonds, houses and lands? No, it is none of these things. His right of property is the right which constitutes the essential nature of legally recognized ownership; the right to reap the fruits of the productive exploitation of natural opportunities, or material wealth of any description, without exercising the functions of use and possession; the right, in short, which enables him to enjoy the fruit of the labor of others without in any manner contributing to the result of such labor. The proprietor merely receives tribute from those who labor for not exercising toward them his legally recognized right of exclusion.

His tribute, rent, interest, and profit—expresses his right of limitation on the production and consumption of wealth which the law has endowed him with, and is pure robbery. This right to enjoy without exercising the functions of use and possession constitutes the essential nature of property. It is really all there is to the right of property as now recognized. It is this right which Socialism would abolish in the interest of the common good.

Under the existing system the primary motive leading to the production and exchange of all wealth is profit, not use. Clothing is not made because people want to wear it. Wheat is not grown and animals are not slaughtered because society needs bread and meat to preserve its members from starvation. All the things which are vitally necessary to the life of mankind, together with those which contribute merely to man's comfort or convenience, are produced and distributed primarily for the reason that producers and traders are able to realize profit therefrom. The use function of these things is purely a secondary consideration.

When profit ceases industry comes to a standstill, notwithstanding that numberless social units must suffer the pangs of cold and starvation because of such stoppage. Thus the profit of the individual is given precedence over the common social good. Socialism contends that the primary industrial motive should be use; that bread, meat, and clothing should be produced and distributed because all social units need to be fed and clothed, not because the production and exchange of food and clothing is profitable to a few of the individual members of society.

When Mr. Rockefeller was questioned recently about the actual details of the business of the Standard Oil Company he admitted his ignorance. He retired from active participation in the affairs of the company some years ago. Its operations are now conducted by other persons, yet Mr. Rockefeller still receives the lion's share of the profits. Mr. Carnegie no longer has anything to do with the actual operations of the steel trust. He no more contributes his labor and talent to the production of steel than Mr. Rockefeller does to the production of oil, yet his profits from the steel business are still very considerable. Mr. Harriman knows very little about the actual operating details of his railroads. He is busy with financial schemes to make his railroads produce dividends. Their actual operation is conducted by other men.

As a matter of self preservation society must finally decree the collective ownership of all these great industries, must extinguish the individual right of property therein and so the individual's right to receive tribute therefrom. In that event Mr. Rockefeller may be safely left with his \$500,000,000, Mr. Carnegie with his \$200,000,000 and Mr. Harriman with his \$100,000,000. They will no longer be able to reinvest their vast accumulations so as to exact tribute from industry, and their wealth will represent merely a power of consumption. The accumulations must constantly decrease, being no longer augmented by dividends and interest, to finally disappear altogether. Society can well afford to permit them and their children to remain idle, seeing that they will no longer have the power to decree blindness to thousands of helpless human beings at will.

Why must society abolish the right of private property in capital as a matter of self preservation? Because it is an impossible right, being founded upon a destructive principle, that of interest. Had one cent been loaned at 6 per cent interest, compounded semi-annually in the year 1, A. D., and left to accumulate during all the years until 1909, it would amount to a sum so vast that many millions of globes each as large as our earth and all of solid gold would be required to equal it. A solid chain of twenty dollar gold pieces, reaching from the earth to the most distant planet in our solar system and back to the earth again would scarcely be missed from the thoroughly unrealizable accumulation that would result. The fact is that it is utterly impossible to so manipulate capital as to make it yield sufficient increase to

satisfy the accumulated demands of interest after setting aside sufficient wealth to support the population (even though many of the people are actually half starved and a good percentage of them wholly so) and there must come periodic breakdowns in which the property titles of the smaller holders become extinguished.

Now, take a look at the obverse of this interest problem. If a man were able, by the labor of his hands or brain, to satisfy all his needs and lay aside one dollar every day in the year, he would be in a very enviable position, would he not? Let us suppose, then, that a man had begun so working and saving on January 1, 1 A. D., and that his life had been miraculously preserved through all the years until January 1, 1909, he continuing to add one dollar to his store at the end of every day, how much would he be worth, barring interest? He would be worth \$36,420, but little more than half a million. Hardly enough to give him a single flyer on the stock exchange!—The Circle.

OBJECTIONS TO SOCIALISM.

Quite frequently this office is favored with a clipping containing a more or less complete refutation of Socialist principles, real or supposed and we are asked to "take a fall out of" the authors of the same. To tell the honest truth, we have never studied these "objections to Socialism," with any care for the simple reason that they are generally too trivial to merit it. To attempt to refute these arguments has always seemed to us a waste of time for on the very face of them they are so puerile that they could convince none but those who are already so firmly convinced that the most closely reasoned refutation would not alter their opinions, or those whose reasoning powers are so conspicuous by their absence that they would be the very reverse of acquisitions to our movement.

Even allowing the very worst that they can say of us to be true. Even if the future society is destined to be afflicted with all the ills of which they so humanely warn us. What about it? They say the lazy would prey upon the industrious. "Ye gods!" is there room on our backs for any more parasites than prey upon us now? Would "free love" be any more vile than love bought? If every one were denied the free choice of an occupation, would that be worse than having neither choice nor frequently, occupation? If we were robbed of incentive, would the results be more degrading than to have an incentive to rob? Even were Socialism destructive of religion, had not religion better be destroyed than prostituted. And so on through all the counts of their indictments.

After all is said and done, the defenders of capitalism, for all their pretended solicitude, are little concerned lest all these evils befall society. The one and only real objection they have to Socialism is that it would destroy capitalism, the form of society of which they are the beneficiaries.

Socialism is not on the defensive, any way, and it is high time we realized it. It is capitalism that is on trial and we are the prosecution, and we do not have to rustle very hard to procure evidence enough to have it hanged, drawn and quartered. We are and should be on the offensive all the time. We don't have to offer any excuses for our existence or to palliate our contemplated crime, for crime it is from the viewpoint of the bourgeois. We are bent on destroying capitalism, we have reason to believe, for our own good but, for good or for evil, it must be destroyed. We have no right to expect that the parasites upon the present order will like being robbed of their prey. We would be foolish to so represent our doctrines as to make them like them. And it would be suicidal for us to seek to enlist them in our ranks by rendering our propaganda palatable to them.

Our message is to the workers. Our purpose, to arouse them against their conditions of servitude. We are not content with bettering the terms of their enslavement. We are bent upon our own emancipation. The only argument the capitalists and their hangers-on can advance to which we need pay the slightest attention is the stern logic of superior force. To that we must bow until the day when that superiority is in our hands. Then it will be their turn to bow to our will, and without question—Western Clarion.

WORLD OF LABOR.

By Max S. Hayes.

Amusing things are happening these days. It appears as though leopards are changing their spots. The Hons. J. W. Van Cleave, C. W. Post and David M. Parry, leaders in the union-smashing brigade, are proclaiming themselves the "best friends" that organized labor has, or perhaps ever will have. Mr. Van Cleave so stated at New Orleans in an interview, and Mr. Post has repeated the sentiment quite frequently, so much so that he has apparently ceased to run paid "ads" in the daily newspapers denouncing unions and is taming down in a most wonderful manner.

Possibly these gents have learned from their famous predecessor, the Hon. David M. Parry, now basking in the moonlight of obscurity, that organized labor will not go out of business because they choose to rant and howl against it. And possibly the Hons. Van Cleave, Parry and Post are working a shrewd scheme, similar to the one practiced by "Sissy" Easley, the promoter and sole owner and proprietor of the National Civic Federation. In any event, the Hons. Van Cleave, Parry and Post asseverate that they are the "friends" of organized labor, provided that certain amendments are adopted, but, they declare, they are unequivocally and uncompromisingly opposed to the Socialists.

The unions are all right, they intimate in so many words, if only they would cut out Socialism, which they can't stomach, Gob bless 'em! All the efforts of our newly-found "friends" have been, and will continue to be, directed against the "Socialistic abuses" of the unions, such, for instance, as detaching higher wages and shorter hours, which would mean "confiscation" of the wealth produced by Van Cleave, Parry, Post & Co., and which demands are entirely European and consequently un-American.

In taking the tactical position that they do, the Hons. Van Cleave, Parry and Post are logical. It is the old, shelf worn scheme of "divide and conquer." They have observed the tendency of the workers toward accepting the philosophy of Socialism, which means their downfall, and, in order to more easily conquer labor, these middle class plutocrats, aiming to curry the favor of the Rockefeller's, Morgans and Harrimans, who are crushing them, are plotting to create a conflict between the radical and conservative elements in the organized labor movement.

They won't succeed. That trick is played out. The radicals are going along with the conservatives, who are now in control of union affairs, in whatever the latter may undertake, and all the while the radical or Socialist propaganda will be pushed, persistently and systematically, until it is accepted just as radical thoughts and ideas throughout the ages have been adopted and progress hastened and a higher civilization established.

The trouble with our "friends" is that they have made no study of the materialistic conception of history and are as ignorant of social science as are the untutored and pugnacious workers whom they denounce for slugging a scab here and there. The radical, thinking element of the labor movement know the position they occupy full well, and they do not require any soothing-sayers to show them what is up the Van Cleave Parry Post sleeve. Sleek and smooth as those gentlemen and their votaries may be, they can make up their minds that they are not dealing with dunces when they tackle Socialists. The Socialists will meet them always. If it is a case of diamond cut diamond, the Reds' will be there, in or out of the organized labor movement.

It is not improbable that this change of policy among the leaders of the union-smashing brigade, at least so far as Van Cleave is concerned, is also

largely influenced by the fact that a great many of the middle class capitalists are becoming somewhat tired of the game to disrupt organized labor. Perhaps they are being bled too hard for financial support or perhaps the big plutocrats are giving them no thanks and credit for the voluntary sacrifices they have been making. At any rate the petty capitalistic brethren are beginning to turn on Van Cleave. A short time ago he was roasted to a turn at the Citizens' Alliance meeting in St. Louis and his feelings were injured to such an extent that he resigned the presidency of that body. Now I am informed by a member of the National Association of Manufacturers that a quiet movement has been on foot for nearly a year to dump Van Cleave overboard at the convention of the foregoing organization, but that he smelled a rat and announced his retirement. It is also rumored that the stockholders of the Bucks Stove & Range Co., smarting under the unenviable notoriety gained by that concern in the injunction cases, are planning to oust Van Cleave at the first favorable opportunity that presents itself.

So the changing views of the wily "Jeems" become all the more transparent. From Roosevelt and Taft to "Sissy" Easley the "reform" champions of capitalism have been greatly annoyed by the consistent actions of the Van Cleave-Post-Parry school of smashers. The rough-shod tactics of the latter, according to the diplomatic and smooth gents who train with and run the Civic Federation, were causing the spread of Socialistic doctrine more than any other single influence. And it appears that Van Cleave is shrewd enough to see for himself that the vinegar policy has been less helpful to capitalism than the Roosevelt-Taft-Carnegie molasses policy, and so Van and his crowd are starting the "friendship" racket and lambasting the Socialists. There are two reasons why Van Cleave can join the merry gang engaged in "smashing Socialism," the first being, as stated above, to divide and conquer the unions, and the second reason is that to hurl defiant speeches and editorials at the Socialists distracts the attention of those of his brethren who are reaching for his remunerative job as president of the Bucks Stove concern.

It is really amusing how some wise fellows can allay opposition among their own followers and retain their honorable positions by hollering "wolf" at the Socialists. "They're after me! Down with the Socialists!" That is the rallying cry that works wonders on certain occasions. Considering their numerical strength the "Reds" are small factors, but when it comes to playing the part of bugaboo and ghost the Socialist has got everything faded in ancient and modern times.

The settlement of the miners' trouble in the anthracite region and the prevention of a national suspension by the adoption of a three-year agreement providing for the same conditions that prevailed heretofore, with slight minor concessions from the operators, was perhaps the best thing that could have been done under prevailing circumstances. The truth is that the miners were poorly organized and financially unable to engage in a long siege, and that is precisely what they would have been compelled to undergo, for the operators were fully aware of the weakness of the union. In fact the most uncompromising element among the mine barons, led by "Divine Rights" Baer, were very anxious that the men should throw down their tools, and were even advocating a 10 per cent reduction of wages to force a strike. They have a surplus of 10,000,000 tons stacked up and hoped to boost prices materially and at the same time batter the union to pieces and starve the men into helpless submission. It was a cold-blooded proposition—but good "business."

However, Baer didn't have his way, and it looks as though he has lost his grip in anthracite mining affairs and that Harriman, the conquering railway magnate, who recently obtained control of the Erie road, is the new power in that industry. Harriman did not want a strike. Whether the interests that he represents had an insufficient surplus of coal accumulated, or whether he feared the widespread agitation that would naturally follow a national strike, is not quite clear—probably both reasons influenced this famous industrial captain. At any rate he put his foot down hard and the "divine rights" gents salaamed, likewise the workers.

In accepting conditions as he found them, President Lewis, of the miners, acted wisely in not leading to slaughter those men who were organized. It is difficult enough nowadays, with capitalism centralized into an almost insurmountable stone wall, for militant, well-drilled, well-organized and financially strong unions to make an impression on that stone wall of plutocracy, let alone an awkward squad or demoralized army such as the anthracite miners are, weakly organized and financed, possessing little or no knowledge of the powers with which they are confronted, and simply pitting their stomachs against the money bags. Witness the contests of the printers for the eight-hour day, which cost them \$6,000,000, and that of the hatters in a defensive fight to save their organization, which is running into the millions, both unions among the strongest (if not the strongest) in the American labor movement, and then the reader will begin to get an idea of what labor is up against in this country.

It sounds like, and is, a rehash to point out to the miners and all other trade unionists the necessity of cutting loose from their old ideas and prejudices and looking the new conditions that confront them straight in the face. Locally here and there, the unions may win fights, and at considerable cost, too. But when it comes to a national battle it is a terrible uphill struggle. This is no theory, but an actual condition. I know what I am writing about, for during the past four years I have been on the firing line in the contest waged by the printers, with a half century of organized prestige behind them and a willingness to make the tremendous sacrifices that they did, and with an enemy in front that was not as well fortified as are the capitalists in most trades, and yet we still have quite a number of capitalistic entrenchments to conquer. With all the powers of their capital and their government to support them, the employers are almost invulnerable. But they can be undermined and blown off the backs of the working class. If the toilers will only understand the conditions as they really are and take advantage of their long-neglected weapon, the ballot, they can make themselves masters of the situation.

At their last national convention in Indianapolis the miners, by resolution, declared for Socialism. Now let them make good their word—as their fellow-craftsmen are doing in Europe. When the miners and other workers rally to the standard of the Socialist party and put themselves in political power the master class and its scabs will learn to be good or get to hell out of the country.

As was predicted in the Review months ago, the industrial battle on the Great Lakes could not be avoided and will probably continue throughout the present season. The Lake Carriers' Association is determined to destroy organized labor so far as its interests are concerned and asks for no compromise and offers none. The marine workers made repeated efforts to arrange a settlement, and even surrender some vital points, provided that the existence of their organizations were not forfeited, but all to no purpose. So there was no option but fight to the bitter end. It is a sorrowful sort of spectacle, this great contest. Here the workers have been struggling and sacrificing for years to upbuild unions that would guarantee them a limited amount of protection, when along comes a capitalistic union and denies them the right that it claims for itself, viz., to organize for the mutual benefit of those enrolled. Thus the class war is on, and during the past month both sides have delivered some powerful hammer blows. It is a give-and-take rough-and-tumble fight. The unionists have been winning over crews or parts of crews and the corporationists have been running in strike breakers in droves. No human being can foresee the end.

Much the same condition that prevails in marine circles exists in the hat-making industry. The unionists are successfully laying siege to the hat factories and very few competent strike-breakers are being obtained. On the other hand the union manufacturers are running night and day to fill accumulating orders. The strike or lockout has cost each side fully a million dollars, with little prospect of an immediate settlement of the struggle. On

top of their other troubles, the hatters have discovered a bogus label that is being placed in scab hats on the market by unscrupulous manufacturers or dealers, who are attempting to take advantage of the increasing demand being made for union-made hats because of the strike.

Having "smashed Socialism" to his entire satisfaction, the Rev. Charles Stelzle, labor commissioner of the Presbyterian church, is now sounding prominent union officials on the subject of forming a "Temperance Fellowship," along the lines of a similar British organization, at the forthcoming convention of the A. F. of L. at Toronto. Rev. Stelzle has written union officers that "the time has come" to take a determined stand on the liquor question. So we'll probably have a "dry" discussion in the Toronto convention, as the hotel and restaurant employes, brewery workers and other crafts are demanding that a stand be made against the prohibition wave.—International Socialist Review.

THERE'S WORK FOR ALL.

By Ben Hanford.

"Any man who wants it can get work."

"The man who really wants work always has it."

"Men who are shiftless, lazy, or inefficient—they are the ones who talk about hard times, and they are the ones who can't get a job. But they won't hold a job when they have one."

"Capable, sober, industrious men; men who look out for their employer's interest as well as their own; men who don't watch the clock—such men can always find work. Men of that stamp are not standing in the bread line, nor are they loafing around waiting for prosperity."

"Work more and talk less about the wrongs of the workingman—then when you get a job you can keep it."

"Pay less attention to the interests of the union, and work more for the interests of the man who 'pays you your wages,' and you need not be out of work long."

"Good workmen, conscientious men, men who 'do a little more than they are paid for'—such men are not lounging about street corners and gin mills growling about the times being hard."

So it goes. College presidents, editors, captains of industry—these men can always be relied upon to tell the jobless man that all is well. If anything is wrong it is with the man who has no job—nothing could possibly be wrong with the capitalist system of industry. And they find it to their interest to hand out such expressions as those quoted above to a man in search of work, just as some of our good people give a tract (or a sermon) to the man who asks them for something to eat.

There's work for all? Sure!

I can get a job—if I work cheap enough.

You can get a job—if you work cheap enough.

We can get jobs—if we work cheap enough.

The seven or eight millions of unemployed in the United States tonight can get jobs tomorrow (every one of them) if they will work cheap enough. We have only to do more work for less wage than those who have the jobs. If necessary, work for nothing, and pay the boss for the privilege.

Tomorrow morning let us each and all go to some boss of our various crafts and offer to work—offer to work cheaper than those who are now working—offer to work enough cheaper to induce the boss to fire them and hire us. The boss will be glad to see us. He will say nothing about lazy people, or shiftless people, and all that. On the contrary, he will tell us that we are the sort he likes; that we are the real genuine independent American workingman, and he will congratulate us on our wisdom and patriotism in not allowing ourselves to be dictated to by trades unions, walking delegates, or Socialists.

So there we are.

Seven million unemployed become employed—at reduced wages.

Seven millions who were employed become unemployed. But we are not among them. We are at work. We have solved the labor problem! As the boss said, there's work for all—of us.

We who were out of work have the places of those who had work. Now they are out of work. They are doing as we did so long. They are standing in the bread line, hitting the grit, counting the railroad ties, panhandling at back doors. They are welcome to those old jobs of ours, aren't they? Sure! But how long will they keep them? They can go hungry, and they have employment at the most terrible job on earth—they have work looking for work. Now they may listen to the noble sentiments about the employer's interests, watching the clock, and, most important of all, "There's work for all!"

And then—could such things be?—they might do as we did. They might scab on us as we did on them. It really is too bad. But when it comes to cutting throats, robbing your brothers and sisters, scabbing and other virtues that the capitalist cultivates in the working class, more than one can practice them. When the scabs scab on the scabs, we have something worse than when Greek meets Greek, or even dog eats dog.

When this last card is played we find ourselves just where we started so far as a job is concerned—we are still in the army of the unemployed. All things considered, however, we and the working class are worse off than at the beginning. (Nothing worse than being out of a job?) Our insistence on having those jobs the boss talks of has lowered the wages of all who have work. Also, it has lengthened their hours. That means that it does not take so many of them to do the work. And that means that there are more of them in the ranks of the unemployed. The boss is all-powerful again. He puts up and relentlessly enforces his money-making shop rules. He fires or fines the workers for their slightest violation. Such necessities as toilet facilities, chairs for women, ventilation of the shop, etc., are things of the past. Now we know what the boss means by "independent Americans." He means his independence—his power to do as he pleased. Not our power to do as we pleased. No man dependent on another for his means of life can be independent. And still we are out of work. So what have we gained?

Of all the thieves of all time capitalist exploiters and their retainers are the worst. The good old honest robber may take all you've got, but that's the end of it. Having got your wealth, he'll let you alone—in fact, he'll gladly leave you. Having taken from you your purse, he does not take your good name, nor give you his bad one. But capitalist thieves are not content with robbing a man every working day of his life. When his exploitation has deprived the workman of his job, the capitalist who has stripped him of all material wealth turns and accuses the worker of his own crimes. That the toiler has supported him in idleness is not enough, so the capitalist accuses his wage-slaves of idleness. They must shoulder their exploiters' sins in this world, and if such exist it is greatly to be feared they will have to do the same in the world to come.

By charging the unemployed with laziness the capitalist exploiter hopes to induce the jobless man to play the scoundrel's part. That is, he wants him to become a scab and cut wages, and so compel those of his fellows who still have jobs to stand a cut in their wages. Further by constantly charging the unemployed with various vices and crimes, the capitalist and his retainers seek to divert attention from their own crimes.

The army of unemployed is essential to capitalism. But it is also dangerous. Not dangerous merely in the sense of possible raids on the bake shops, etc.—the police can attend to that. If the police are not big enough for the job, there's the militia and the regular army. It is easy to club or kill a starving man. A policeman or militiaman is (usually) strong enough and always brave enough for that.

But in an army of the unemployed there are sure to be some who think. And the capitalist fears men who think. Men who think may learn his game

of exploitation and discover that he is a thief. There is nothing in the world so sure to destroy capitalism as an understanding of it. The day that capitalism becomes known it will be obliterated. A jobless man just this side of the bread line, is quite likely to reach a comprehension of capitalism. So the boss and his retainers divert attention from their lives by accusing the unemployed of all their own crimes and vices. Thereby they hope to and do, postpone the day of settlement. Some of them even think the day of settlement will never come. And it never will come unless the unemployed study the cause of their troubles before they lose their jobs.

The problem of the unemployed never will be solved by the unemployed. You can't insure your life after you are dead. So, Mr. Man With a Job, you had best get busy with the unemployed question now.

THE SINGER AND THE SONG.

By Beatrice Vaughan

Words—lip-service—that is what floods the world with its reading matter, that perishes even in the printing that makes us yawn, and throw it down half read lip-service!

The grand, deep under-tones are unsounded—the shallows are rippled with a melody—but the soul is dumb! To touch ever so lightly the harp of life you must awaken its soul. Those who have beaten on the soul of the harp of life have awakened echoes that resound through the ages of progress!

And you have your choice, you may be one of either class. If you have the strength of purpose, alone you may stem what would seem to be an avalanche of wrong.

One man or woman giving soul-service in life is worth a million lip-server's! One man or woman squarely resisting wrong will cast an influence for right—the good of which is not to be computed! And still we wrap ourselves in "self" and find it easier to float with the tide than to protest! And so the harp of life hangs mute—save every now and then when some wild ass, some fellow of the uncultured plains sees clear-eyed, the mountain heights, and lifts his voice and sends clear, silvered like the new young moon—a call from out the heights, and all the world listens—and so is born to life some step of great advance for all mankind! And the wild ass bows serene—satisfied to have made that call—his "swan-song!"

Cease being a lip-server and answer to the good in life that is seeking forever seeking you.

No man or woman can carry one cent with them when they pass on—just six by six feet of earth is all that you own in the end—and if it is watered by the tears of the helpless—it will be forgotten by those you have lived to enrich!

Know that if one pale-blue forget-me-not flowers there, it will spring from some act of yours when you forget—the world and self—and smote the harp of life—Toledo Union Leader.

PREACHING THE GOSPEL.

A few days since a local minister of the gospel in passing the chain gang on the street stopped to converse with them, and as befits one of his calling, asked if he could offer them any assistance. Immediately one of the prisoners said, "Yes, give us some tobacco." The preacher passed on, but in a little while returned, carrying a neat little package, about the size of a two-pound box of candy, and after securing the permission of the guard, handed it to one of the unfortunates who was laboring with a hoe. The prisoner unwrapped it, and was overjoyed to discover that it contained a supply of the weed he craved.

Later, this same prisoner was informed that it was a preacher who performed this little service, and after staring for a moment in open-mouthed, doubting wonder, ejaculated an utterance which perhaps was neither elegant nor genteel, but the intent of the speaker was anything but uncomplimentary to the divine.

How many preachers are there who could deliver so strong and effective a sermon, so simply as this one? None knew better than those men under guard, doing time for some infraction of the law, that this man who had befriended them deplored the fact that they were addicted to the filthy habit which he was apparently encouraging. None knew better than they that nine preachers out of ten would have either passed by without deigning to notice them, or if he stopped at all, would have done so to preach them a sermon.

But none knew better than this preacher just how to reach such men as they, and he was not afraid to go about it in the only really effective manner. When preachers in general become broad-gauge enough to meet other men on their own ground, fearless enough to disregard the opinions of the well-meaning but impractical class, who fear to soil their hands by coming in contact with the poor devils, who have fallen from grace, then will they begin to reach the people that they are trying to reach.—Bakersfield Californian.

SPOKE FOR SEVENTY MILLION AMERICANS.

The Strength and Force of the Nation Rests With the Common People, Who Build Up Its Industries and Serve Under Its Flag in Its Defense.—A Timely Rebuke by Arthur Brisbane.

At a dinner given some time ago in this city in honor of Lord Northcliffe, proprietor of the London Times, Mr. Arthur Brisbane, editor of the Evening Journal, responded to a toast. This versatile fashioner of the popular editorial had sat quietly for some time listening to a corporation lawyer who advised his hearers to "beware of the man who expresses sympathy for the poor," and to Colonel George Harvey, who uttered a few of the common-places on the evils of Socialism and the blessings of wealth. When Mr. Brisbane was introduced he proceeded in his short, snappy sentences to give his hearers as straight a talk as they ever listened to in their lives. He evidently felt it his duty at the Northcliffe dinner to tell his self-satisfied and successful audience that the great common people, of which he is the self-appointed spokesman, really exists. Mr. Brisbane said in part:

"This is a fine gathering of powerful men, big fortunes, and great reputations. I want to say something for the men that are not here, for the seventy-nine million Americans that never had a million dollars, never knew a man that had one, never got on the payroll of a millionaire.

"I don't want Northcliffe to go back to England believing that a man without a million in this country might as well hide under the table or jump off the dock.

"The real American nation, its real resources, its real ability, are hidden among these unknown seventy-nine millions that never go to DeLmonico's most of whom know as little about terrapin as about birds-nest soup.

"Mr. Harvey says very truly, 'The great reward must go to the man of great ability.' True. But what is the 'great reward' and what do you call 'great ability'?"

"If I scatter money in the street and a thousand eager men dive to get it, I am holding up one kind of a reward, and I call forth one kind of ability.

"But if a child is in danger of its life, and a man risks his life to save it, that situation calls out a different kind of ability, and reveals a man who aspires for a higher reward than cash.

"We are paying too much attention here to the men that scramble for pennies, for dollars, and for millions. They are able, strong men, but they are not the American nation, nor the best men in it.

Colonel Harvey says that if you take ten thousand men out of this country—the ablest ten thousand—the country will fall to pieces. He might as

well say that if you take ten apples off a tree, the tree will wither and fall. Not a bit of it. You men with money and power are the pretty, shiny apples on the tree. The sunlight, the warmth, the praise are for you, but you are only the passing fruit. The real tree is the thick trunk. The real power is with those roots hidden in the soil.

"And in this nation the real power the root of the nation, is the nation of the people, too often, like the trees roots hidden below in the dark and cold. But from those roots, from the people, comes all the real power.

"And when this nation, and you prosperous men face a perilous situation as you have done in the past and you will do in the future, you will find the man to help you and to save you, not at this table, not at DeLmonico's.

"There was trouble before the Civil War serious trouble. Did the people call upon a rich corporation lawyer or a great banker? No. They asked a little country lawyer with nothing but a good name and a brain, and a heart, to save the country.

"When that man Lincoln needed help in his great work to whom did he look? Did he find the man in Wall Street? No. Wall street was quite busy, as usual, picking up bargains in bonds.

"General Grant was there among the roots of the people, cut of sight unknown. He did not have a million dollars, and DeLmonico's prices were beyond his reach. But he had the great ability, and when the nation was ready to offer him what is really the great reward—honor and glory—he was ready.

"It will always be so—the force is in the people. The strength of the soup is at the bottom of the boiling liquid, not in the pretty, greasy, bubbling scum that floats on top.

"There are big men in the United States waiting for the reward worth of their great ability, greater than any of the men we have been talking about or looking at here. These truly great men never had a bank account, not even a certificate of deposit, but they are the American nation and they are America." The Progressive Magazine.



WHERE DO YOU STAND?

The time has come for the throwing aside
Of the masks and pretexts 'neath which men hide,
There's a conflict on, and year by year
The lines of cleavage become more clear
There's a conflict on between the few
Who absorb the wealth, and the ones who do,
And this question is coming straight home to you:
When you stop your hedging and show your hand,
Where do you stand?

There are only two sides in this bloodless fight,
And only one of those sides is right
Between the two grows too wide a breach
To safely stand with a foot on each,
However we seek to dodge or evade,
The ranks are formed and the issue made,
It remains for each to decide where he
Would wish to bestow the victory
On the side of greed or humanity,
The time has passed for evasions bland:
Where do you stand?

'Tis the same old issue defined once more
Our fathers fought in the days of yore;
'Tis the issue that Moses had to face
When he led from bondage the chosen race,
'Tis the issue Christ met on Calvary
When he died in the effort, to make men free—
On the one side selfishness on the throne,
On the other the toilers who want their own;
And the forces of justice make this demand,
Where do you stand.

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