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INDEPENDENCE
EDUCATION ORGANIZATION

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John M. O'Neill, Editor.

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STRIKE NOTICES.

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

**VETERAN MINE, Near
Ely, Nevada.**

Douglas Island, Alaska.

THE CASE of Albert Ryan, formerly of Jerome, Arizona, came up in Los Angeles last week and Ryan pleaded guilty to murder in the first degree. The minimum sentence is life imprisonment.

WALTER THOMAS MILLS, the noted Socialist orator, has gone to England to take part in the political campaign against the house of lords. Mills is a giant on the political rostrum, and his speeches in England will have a far-reaching effect.

THE ST. PAUL COAL COMPANY at Cherry, Illinois, is now charged with kidnaping witnesses in order that the unfortunate widows and orphans may be prevented from collecting damages through the courts for the murder of husbands and fathers. A corporation having no soul will descend to the lowest depths of infamy to escape the payment of justice.

THE MEMBERS of Congress are again at Washington, and it is said that our statesmen have drafted 15,000 bills to save the nation from eternal ruin.

There is one bill that is never overlooked, and that is the appropriation bill. The appropriation for the year 1911 is fixed at the trilling sum of \$732,223,075. Of this sum, \$200,461,645 goes to the army and \$117,029,914 is donated as a contribution in support of the navy. More than a quarter of a billion of dollars is appropriated for war purposes, at a time when comparative peace prevails.

Some day the great mass of the people will awaken to the fact that a system that requires an army and navy to uphold it is too great a burden, and then the soldier will become merely a reminiscence of a barbarous age.

EUGENE V. DEBS, after delivering several lectures in Colorado, returned East to make preparations for filling one hundred dates in the large cities of the East. Debs, while in Denver, visited Fairmount cemetery to look upon the monuments erected to the memory of George Pettibone and John H. Murphy, and to lay a floral tribute on the graves of these men, whom he knew and loved in life.

THE BANKING INTERESTS of New York are now combining, and it is said that when this merger is complete, that J. P. Morgan will represent \$6,000,000,000. Morgan, as the head of the merger, will be the most powerful financial magnate in the world, and even the government of the United States pales into insignificance when a comparison is instituted. This merger is certainly a rebuke to the pretences of men, who claim that trusts can be "busted."

A SHORT TIME AGO there appeared in the press dispatches of the daily journals, a report to the effect that a large number of young ladies in Chicago had offered themselves for osculatory purposes, in order that a debt of \$5,000 on a church might be liquidated. Kisses were to be sold from 25 cents to \$2.50, in order that a temple dedicated to God might be freed from indebtedness. But the ways and means devised to lift the mortgage on a church became repugnant to the moral sense of men and women of culture and refinement, and a protest was filed against young ladies placing themselves in the market to be kissed by every representative of the male gender, whose purse contained the necessary coin to indulge in lip service with the gentler sex. The party who devised such an infamous scheme to pay off the indebtedness of a church is no more permeated with the spirit of Christianity than the moral pervert who glories in the orgies of a brothel.

WHAT A DIFFERENCE in the attitude of the government of the United States in regard to revolutions in Mexico and in its neighbor to the south. Diaz may murder his thousands and enslave his tens of thousands; he may seize American citizens ON AMERICAN SOIL and torture and kill them; he may commit every possible atrocity against humanity, and still depend upon the active assistance of the United States government in suppressing rebellion.

Mexico has bonds to float, railroads to build, sugar plantations and mines to yield profits, and all these turn a flow of gold into the pockets of American capitalists.

Therefore anyone who preaches revolution in Mexico does it under peril of the vengeance of the American government.

In Nicaragua, American capital is not yet so highly favored. There are some steamship and mining companies that are anxious to introduce "law and order," presumably with the Mexican accompaniments of peonage and despotism maintained by wholesale killing and torture.

Consequently warships and armies are at the disposal of Nicaraguan revolutionists. The killing of an American citizen is at once resented by force, although that same force has been used to assist in the killing along the Mexican border.

It makes a great deal of difference whether a revolution is started by a steamship, asphalt or canal company for profits, or whether it is simply an uprising of an oppressed people seeking liberty. If it is the former, warships and money are at its disposal from the national government; if the latter is the case, then jails yawn for the revolutionists.—Chicago Daily Socialist.

SOME WRITERS and orators, who know less about the labor question than they do about the North Pole, declare that trade unions destroy personal liberty and keep all the workers down to a "dead level of sloth and incompetency." This is just as true as to say that the seats in a car destroy the liberty of the passengers to stand up. The "liberty" to work for starvation wages is not a right; it is a wrong, it is an injustice, it is an oppression. It represents real liberty just as much as a gold brick represents real wealth. What does liberty mean? Is a man free who has nothing to say about his wages and his hours of labor? Is a man free who takes the harness and the whip as obediently as a cart horse? Is a man free whose only aim in life is to do what he is told and take what he is offered? If this is freedom, then the trusts must have a peculiar dictionary of their own. No man is free who has not something to say about the conditions under which he works.—Boyce's.

THERE ARE MEN outside the ranks of organized labor who refuse to join because, as they say, "they want to work where they will, when they will, as long as they want to, and for what they want to." They greatly prize their independence.

Some of these men are accepting the hours and wages created by organized labor without assisting in any way to further the cause of organized labor.

The man who insists that he will not join a labor union because he wants to work where, when, as long and for what he wants to, is a joker. Where can a man be found who can do it?

A man is compelled to earn his living where and when, and at such terms as he can secure it. His boasted independence is a mere wordy vapor.

Organized with his fellows, he has an opportunity to have a say regarding his own labor, but alone he is as helpless as a sapling on a moor in a tempest. Many a good man outside of organized labor clings to this idea of personal advantage, which he believes he would lose if he joined a union.—Duluth Labor World.

ACCORDING TO THE REPORT sent out from Washington, the amount of money in circulation in the United States on December 1st was \$34.98 per capita. It is safe to presume that there are several millions of men and women in "the land of the free and the home of the brave" who are a little short of the amount credited per capita, and countless thousands who have not a single penny.

The ten thousand people who haunted the alleys of Chicago investigating the contents of garbage cans for something to appease the ravenous pangs of hunger, had none of this per capita.

The thousands that stand in the bread-line of New York waiting for the doors of the Bowery Mission to open are minus several dollars of having their share of the money in circulation. The unemployed army whose hands are shackled in idleness have no interest in this national heritage advertised by the government. Such a report has been sent out to create the impression that the sun of prosperity is shining, but the gaunt and haggard faces that are seen in every city of the land tell us but too forcibly that a vast percentage of the people are enduring the agonies of a miserable existence.

BRADSTREET'S in a late report says that the increased cost of living since 1896 is 56.7 per cent. No one will contend that the wage scale has increased in proportion. The purchasing power of money is less today than ever in the history of the country, and yet, with the laboring man struggling to keep the wolf of hunger from the door, we are told that "prosperity" has returned.

THERE SEEMS TO BE no longer any doubt that the terrible mining disaster at Cherry, Ill., in which three hundred men lost their lives and a thousand children were made orphans, was the result of the inhuman greed of the St. Paul Railway Corporation, which owned the mine, and which has been hardly if ever duplicated in history.

Investigations by the miners' union officials show that the electrical lighting apparatus had been out of use for some days and open lights were substituted; that a car of hay caught fire from a torch; that the company continued to hoist coal for two hours after the fire was discovered; that the miners were not notified of their danger during all that time, but were kept at work; that when the main shaft caught fire and escape was shut off the mine was deliberately sealed in order to save as much of the corporation's property as possible; that the sealing of the mine produced black damp that doomed the men to death by suffocation.

The horrible details that are told by the few men who escaped and those engaged in rescue work are sufficient to melt the heart of a stone, and there can be no question of the criminal guilt of the corporation and its management in causing this catastrophe.

Think of sealing a mine and abandoning hundreds of men to flames, smoke and black damp! Could a more murderous act be committed?

A few thousand dollars out of the \$4,000,000 profits coined last year by the St. Paul railroad, the owner of the Cherry mine, would have made the mine reasonably safe. But dividends must be paid. And superintendents and foremen and bosses knew that unless the mine brought its dole of profits they would be displaced.

But it is unlikely that any of the profit-mongers will hang for this or even spend time in prison to meditate upon the villiany. The politicians of Illinois will "investigate," pronounce the holocaust a deplorable and unavoidable "accident," suggest a few "reforms" that the mine owners may or may not accept, and then forget all about the awful slaughter.

In fact, the Cherry horror is almost forgotten already by everybody except the widows and orphans. Human life in this country is cheap—the killing and maiming of a few hundred or thousand working-men, more or less, doesn't create much interest—not as much as a pennant race or football rush.

It is practically impossible to reach the "higher-ups" who issue orders—whose greed for self makes them indifferent to the introduction of safety appliances to minimize suffering and sorrow. They must have their pound of flesh at all cost.

Perhaps some day the people will become aroused to the fact that the life of a wealth-producer is at least worth as much to society as the life of a parasitical plutoerat. Let us hope so.—Cleveland Citizen.

Free Speech.

"CONGRESS SHALL MAKE no law respecting the establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof, or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press; or the right of the people peacefully to assemble and petition the government for redress of grievances."

The above is a part of the Constitution of the United States, but men of observation will scarcely contend that the above paragraph from the organic law of this country gives any shelter or protection to the man or woman who lifts his or her voice in behalf of the struggling millions who are battling against the brutality of industrial despotism.

The class clothed with economic power has been able to place its representatives in office and the class that bears the wounds and scars of wage slavery confiscate its political power, to perpetuate a system that assassinates the constitution of state and nation.

In the city of New York, under the iron rule of Bingham, it was demonstrated that a policeman's club was more powerful than the Con-

stitution, and that victims of poverty who wore the despised livery of the working class had no rights which the class of privilege is bound to respect. The banker, the railway magnate and the princely merchant can stand upon his constitutional rights, because they have seen to it that men who represent their interests shall be the only ones who shall be permitted to climb to heights of political power, and the most lamentable fact is that this great mass of the people, whose shoulders bear the heavy yoke of thralldom, have aided their oppressors.

In almost every town and city of this country, the man or woman who has attempted to deliver a message to the laboring people has been hounded and persecuted by the official hirelings of capitalism, and such persecution will continue until the laboring people who are demanding legal rights and constitutional liberties shall become, not only class-conscious, but class-loyal.

Had the working people of this country been true and loyal to themselves, no court would have passed sentence on Gompers, Mitchell and Morrison, and the jails at Spokane, Washington, would not now be filled with men and women who labored under the delusion that constitutional rights were yet the heritage of the working class.

The Situation In the Black Hills.

THE MEN who were locked out by the Homestake Mining Company on Thanksgiving eve., are standing firm for the right to belong to a labor organization. Though the lock out came when the temperature was away below the freezing point, yet the union men of the Black Hills showed no weakness in their allegiance to the principles of organized labor.

During the past week the Homestake company, that humane corporation and "friend of labor," has circulated the following card in

the hope that former employes will commit treason to themselves:

Lead, S. D.,.....19....
 "I am not a member of any labor union and in consideration of my being employed by the *Homestake Mining Company*, agree that I will not become such while in its service.

.....
 "Department....."
 "Occupation....."

The above card completely unglues the hand of the Homestake Mining Company. In consideration of employment, men are commanded to prostitute themselves and wear the collar of a corporation in mute obedience.

For the privilege of being an employe of the Homestake company, the locked out men must strangle every principle of manhood and honor, and waive every right to join hands with their fellowmen in an organization that has been black-listed by one of the most powerful mining companies of America.

If a mining corporation can deny an employe the right of membership in a labor organization, then such a corporation has the same right to demand that an employe shall not become a member of a certain church; in fact, such a corporation becomes an absolute czar in forcing obedience to its imperial will.

The Homestake lock-out presents a situation that must be met by all the power of the labor movement of this continent.

The battle in the Black Hills is not alone the fight of the Western Federation of Miners, but it is a conflict which should command the earnest support of every man and woman who believes that liberty should not be immolated to satiate the arbitrary demands of a corporation that for more than thirty years has reaped untold millions in dividends from the sweat and labor of men, who are not yet ready to consign themselves to abject servitude.

If the Homestake company can win this fight and, through a lock-out, starve its former employes into submission, then it is idle and but a waste of time to shower sympathy on the czar-cursed victims of Russia, or the ragged peons of Mexico, who groan under the blood-red sceptre of Diaz, the despot.

The System Still Lives.

LIKE A DARK SHADOW over the face of the sun, B. B. Comer has dominated Alabama since his advent into politics with an iron hand.

His administration has been one of extreme reckless and rampant radicalism. Everywhere, every time, it has been a question of rule or ruin with him.

Let it never be forgotten that this man hounded and persecuted the innocent wives and children of the miners of this state and with his liveried lackies finally drove them, at the point of the bayonet, from the land of their nativity.

Let all his other sins be forgotten, if you will. This one crowning act of infamy must go on and torment him in the crowded streets and in the quiet of his midnight slumbers. Retributive justice may be slow, but tomorrow's sun is not surer.

Comer's political race is run. While he stood, demagoguery was in the saddle and fanaticism flourished in puritanical riotousness. Every disturbing element in the state flocked to his standard and preyed upon the patience of the people. But the master prop tottered and fell under

Monday's avalanche of ballots, and in that fall went down, also, a coterie of politicians but little better than the boss himself. Verily and truly, the workingmen of Alabama have cause to rejoice in this week's work.—Labor Advocate, Birmingham.

The Advocate, a labor journal of Birmingham, Alabama, in the above editorial gives vent to its joy that Governor Comer has gone down to his Waterloo in the late election in that state. It is true that the majority of men are jubilant when an official despot is consigned to political oblivion, but in the political relegation of Governor Comer, not one particle of the system is removed that made Comer a cold-blooded "Weyler" to serve a master class in the state of Alabama during the great strike of the United Mine Workers of America. Comer, as governor, was the official representative of capitalism in the state of Alabama, and he served his masters with a fidelity that proved his loyalty to the captains of industry. In the political downfall of Comer revenge may be satiated, but the system still lives that made Comer an official monster, and the system will make his successor but a brutal chattel to execute the commands of industrial despots.

An Awful Significance.

SINCE THE HORRIBLE TRAGEDY at Cherry, Illinois, when more than three hundred lives went out as a sacrifice to the greed of industrial pirates, much has been written in portrayal of the awful calamity that left homes desolate and brought the tears of sorrow and anguish to the eyes of widows and orphans.

The columns of the public press have teemed with lengthy articles picturing the suffering and destitution, and words moistened with tears have told the almost indescribable misery and wretchedness that filled the aching hearts of women and children, whose loved ones perished in the smoke and flames of the burning mine. Some have been bold enough to denounce the avarice of the grasping corporation that placed dollars above human life. Some have told of the heroic splendor of men, who in the hour of peril, forgot themselves to render succor to the imprisoned victims whose spirits left them in the blackened dungeons of a coal mine. The many things that have been said concerning the awful disaster at Cherry, Illinois, will sink deeply into the memory of men and women who read the many stories of the unfortunate men who perished and the women and children who mourned the loss of husbands and fathers. But the saddest and the most significant sentence that was written in the many chapters of the Cherry disaster was the expression of a father who, in answer to his son, exclaimed:

"I am not afraid to die, but God knows I am afraid for her to live."

The above sentence can never be obliterated from the memory of men and women who grasp its awful significance.

A husband and father speaking to his son, and realizing that both were doomed to die, exclaimed in his agony: "I am not afraid to die, but God knows I am afraid for her to live."

This husband and father, perishing in the poisonous fumes of a burning mine, was looking into the future, and could see the woman whom he loved paying an awful penalty to live.

What agony must have wrenched the heart of this man who, in the hour of death, saw through his mental vision the treasured one of his heart facing a pitiless world, to fight the battle of life without the shelter of his presence and the strength of his strong arm.

He knew that she, the loved one, bereft of a husband, would feel the merciless dagger, and he knew that her sky of life would be shrouded in the gloomy shadows of a sorrow that would never end until she was committed to the bosom of Mother Earth.

The sentence, "I am not afraid to die, but God knows I am afraid for her to live," was the expiring sob of a breaking heart, and an awful indictment against the murderous civilization that places gold above humanity.

"Peace On Earth Good Will Toward Men."

THE ANNIVERSARY of the birth of Christ is drawing nigh, and the Christian people will assemble in their respective houses of worship to listen to the oratory of eloquent ministers, who will pay their tributes to the lowly Nazarene. Beautiful sentences will drop from the lips of the preachers and the members of churches will be exhorted to follow in the footsteps of the perfect Man who was born in a stable more than nineteen hundred years ago. The most flowery encomiums of praise will be showered upon the Man whom a ruling class persecuted and ultimately condemned to die upon a cross between two thieves. The history of His thirty-three years' pilgrimage on earth will be told, in the hope that the great mass of the people will lift their eyes from the material things of life and focus their vision on the mansions beyond the stars.

The poverty of Christ will be painted, in the hope that men and women who feel the grip of the skeleton fingers of want will bear their misery with a fortitude and a resignation worthy of the Man who is said to have suffered and died to redeem a world from sin and hell.

But in this day and age of graft and greed, were it possible for this perfect Man to again appear upon the earth and preach the doctrines that He propagated nineteen centuries ago, the ruling class of

the twentieth century would rise in its indignation and wrath and demand that a judicial tribunal should send Him to a prison or a scaffold.

"Peace on earth, good will to men" will be proclaimed from pulpits on Christmas Day, but there can be no "peace" or "good will" under the hellish system that grinds human flesh into gold.

"Peace on earth, good will to men" must sound like a mockery when men and women of intelligence comprehend that the world is a standing army, equipped with weapons of murder to shed human blood in support of a system that puts profit above humanity. Gatling guns, bristling bayonets and cannon upon the land, and iron monsters floating the waves, will scarcely convince thinking men and women that "peace on earth, good will to men" means anything in the morning of the twentieth century, when *Might is Right* and *Gold is God*.

What does "peace on earth, good will to men" mean to the widows and orphans of Cherry, Illinois, whose loved ones were sacrificed to glut the appetite of heartless greed?

What does "peace on earth, good will to men" mean to the hungry armies in the large cities of this country standing in the bread lines at midnight, waiting for the crumbs that fall from the hands of professional charity?

What does "peace on earth, good will to men" mean to the two

millions of child-slaves imprisoned in mills and factories, whose labor garbs in silk and satin the "smart set," those "pillars of society," who, like kings, "can do no wrong"?

What does "peace on earth, good will to men" mean to the 500,000 women who are branded as social outcasts, and against whom the doors of respectability and opportunity are locked?

What does "peace on earth, good will to men" mean to the count-

less thousands who are slowly starving to death through an industrial system that puts one man in a palace and a multitude in hovels?

"Peace on earth, good will to men" will mean nothing to the human race until all mankind shall collectively own the earth and its machines of production and distribution.

When the doors of equal opportunity are opened wide to every man, woman and child that inhabits the earth, then and not till then, will "peace on earth, good will to men" prevail on this planet.

They Must Come Together.

FOR THE PAST few weeks the daily press has teemed with reports concerning the strike on different lines of railroads. The writers on the daily journals have drawn pictures of impending famines in many places in order that the public mind might be aroused against the men who had the temerity to demand better conditions from railroad corporations. The salaried officials of the railway companies were not assaulted by the journalists for their refusal to make concessions to men who feel that the higher cost of living demands a higher wage.

The daily press with its prolific writers seemed to take delight in heralding the news that at this and that place the railway companies were importing strike breakers to usurp the places of men who gave battle for better conditions and for a schedule of wages that would secure a little more of the necessaries of life.

Away down in the heart of every honest and true man of the working class whose heart beats loyal to the principles of organized labor, there must rise a resentment against the Elliot "heroes" who dishonor themselves by committing treason to their class by becoming allies of railway corporations in a conflict between employer and employe.

But while we condemn the strike breaker for his treason and while the labor press will hurl its bitterest denunciation against the spineless

creatures who take the place of men on strike, yet some condemnation should be reserved for members of railway brotherhoods who, with cards in their pockets, do not hesitate to lend their services in breaking a strike.

The men in the railway service, if united together, could be the most powerful organization in this country, and such an organization, built on the solid foundation of industrial unionism, could dictate the terms which railroad corporations must accept. But as long as the men in the employ of railway companies are divided in brotherhoods of Engineers, Trainmen, Switchmen, Firemen, Conductors and other craft organizations, just so long will the various brotherhoods find themselves at a disadvantage and be forced to accept compromises and sometimes absolute surrender.

The various brotherhoods of railway employes, shackled by separate contracts expiring at different periods of time, are almost impotent in wresting demands from railway corporations. The men in the railway service of this country must come together into one great labor organization, taking in not only conductors, engineers, firemen and trainmen, but must reach down even to the most menial employe that wears the livery of wage slavery.

When the brotherhoods in the railway service become one mighty organization, corporate plutocracy will fall from its throne of power in this country, and we will be closer to the dawn of justice.

Our Civilization.

THE FOLLOWING EDITORIAL in the Missouri Trades Unionist, published at Joplin, Missouri, demonstrates that we are not very far in advance of the barbaric age, and that it is but hollow mockery when glowing tributes are paid to our boasted civilization:

"The state of Missouri still clings to the vicious system of selling prisoners to slave-driving contractors and the state prison board, acting under the law, is to sell to the highest bidder the 2,170 prisoners, or any number thereof, which any contractor may wish to purchase for a long term of years. The highest price bid for these prisoners is 70 cents per head per day, the state to board and clothe the slaves, as well as furnish factories and light and power to the contractors who purchase Missouri's prisoners.

"Bids are being considered and the prison board, acting for the great state of Missouri, and under the state law, will sell the state's prisoners during the next sixty days.

"In another column appears a petition which you are urged to cut out and have friends sign and send in to Governor Hadley at once. Every union man in the state should write a letter of protest to the

governor and prison board demanding that the state shall employ the prisoners on state work."

The above in the Missouri Trades Unionist is a sad commentary upon a civilization that is supposed to be permeated with the spirit of Christianity. The slave-driving contractors who have a political pull with the powers that be are to be given the opportunity of reaping dividends out of the labor of unfortunate wretches, whom the law has branded as criminals. The contractor with political influence is favored with the labor of convicted felons and "free labor" in our glorious republic is supposed to compete with convict labor and still keep out of the penitentiary.

It was thought that when rivers ran red with fratricidal blood in the great Civil war, that traffic in human flesh was banished from the soil of this country, but it seems that greed for profit has become so insatiable that criminals are now placed on the auction block, in order that contractors "with a pull" may grind profit from the labor of men shorn of citizenship and deprived of liberty.

Official Circular Sent Out From Lead, South Dakota.

Lead, S. D., November 30, 1909.

To All Member of Organized Labor, Friends and Sympathizers:

Greetings:—The following is an ultimatum issued by the Homestake Mining Company, operating in the Black Hills district of South Dakota, to organized labor:

"NOTICE.

"Notice is hereby given that the Homestake Mining Company will employ only non-union men after January 1st, 1910. The present scale of wages and the eight (8) hour shift will be maintained. All employes who desire to remain in the company's service must register at the general office of the company on or before December 15th, 1909.

"November 17th, 1909.

T. J. GRIER,
Superintendent."

After this order of the above named company had been posted for several days and the management of the company found that their employes had taken the position of refusing to comply with the same and renounce their union, the following notice was posted by the company:

NOTICE.

"Lead, S. D., November 24th, 1909.

"Notice is hereby given that the Homestake Mining Company will cease operating its properties this evening.

T. J. GRIER,
"Superintendent."

This action on the part of the Homestake Mining Company has directly thrown out of employment some 2,500 union men, comprising miners, engineers, firemen, machinists, electricians, teamsters, painters,

moulders, bricklayers, carpenters, stonemasons, blacksmiths, millmen and boilermakers, and if continued will affect many more. A majority of the men locked out have families dependent upon them, which will easily run the number of people involved up to 10,000, and right in the dead of winter, and all for no purpose other than an effort on the part of this mining company to coerce and intimidate members of organized labor into renouncing their unions and signing the scab list of the Homestake Mining Company. The aforesaid action of the Homestake Mining Company was in no way prompted or brought on by the local unions involved. These unions had not made any demands upon the company and had not requested any advance in wages, nor for any reduction in the hours of labor; in fact, no efforts had been made by the union men to alter or change the conditions under which they had been working for many years, and there had been no strained relations between employer and employe, nor did any exist at the time of the company taking this action against organized labor.

We, the undersigned unions involved, having been forced into this conflict through the position taken by the Homestake Mining Company, wherein they declare against organized labor in general, propose to unitedly defend our rights to organize for the protection of ourselves and our fellow men.

The members of the organized labor movement will know what action is necessary when this notice reaches them. We appeal to the unorganized workers to acquaint themselves with the exact situation in Lead, S. D., before coming here. Don't join the scab, strike-breaking army. Don't be deceived by agents of the company who tell you there is no trouble here. Do your own thinking. Be men and assist your fellow working men in the Black Hills to maintain their organization, which is fighting your battles as well as their own.

We further request that this letter be read in the meetings of all local unions and central bodies to which it is sent, and that they assist us in making public the conditions as they exist here.

BROTHERS—United we stand, divided we fall!

(Seal) HENRY JOHNSON, President,
A. E. RAMSEY, Secretary,
Carpenters & Joiners of America, No. 1440, A. F. of L.

(Seal) ED. FARROR, President,
THOS. ECK, Secretary,
B. of P. D. and P. of A., No. 564, A. F. of L.

(Seal) AXEL ERICKSON, President,

(Seal) JOSEPH HINTON, Secretary,
Central City Miners' Union, No. 3, W. F. M.

(Seal) J. C. LETCHER, President,
T. J. RYAN, Financial Secretary,
Lead City Miners' Union, No. 2, W. F. M.

(Seal) J. W. BERRY, President,
J. L. MULLEN, Financial Secretary,
International Brotherhood Electrical Workers, No. 577
A. F. of L.

(Seal) W. J. HUTCHINSON, President,
PAT BOYLE, Secretary,
International Brotherhood of Teamsters, No. 198, A. F. of L.

He Is Conscious of Classes.

MR. SAMUEL UNTERMEYER, a corporation lawyer of New York, in delivering an address before Judge Malone, expressed himself as follows:

"If adultery were punished in full the boxes of the Metropolitan Opera House would be very empty at times, and if as a result of such adultery people were to take the law into their own hands and shoot down others, then I say the ranks of the upper classes would be considerably thinned out."

The above declaration from the lips of a lawyer who stands in the van of the legal profession and whose ability commands princely fees from the coffers of corporations, is a thrust at that element of society who can afford to live in palaces, ride in automobiles, sail the seas in yachts and bedeck themselves in flashing jewels.

The corporation lawyer has occupied a position in life which enables him to speak with authority and but few will question the veracity of his statement. This man with recognized legal ability, whose fees come from the corpulent treasury of the wealthy, brings an indictment against the upper strata of society that is a serious reflection on the moral status of beautifully gowned women and well-groomed men.

The men and women who are recognized as the "pillars of society" and whose bank accounts make it possible for them to occupy the boxes

of fashionable theatres and banquet at swell cafes, are charged with the same crimes as are committed by the outcasts who inhabit the bad lands of a "red light" district. But the most significant part of the statement of Untermyer is the acknowledgement that "upper classes" are a part of the society of this country.

Men powerful on the platform, in the pulpit and in the press, have used the most specious arguments to expel from the public mind that there were "classes" in this country. The orator and the editor have endeavored to convince the masses of the people that we were *all one* in this country, and that the man who was fortified in the armor of American citizenship, even though he were clothed in the shoddy fabric of the pauper and an inmate of a hovel, yet he was "equal before the law" and enjoyed the same rights and liberties as the man robed in broadcloth and living in a mansion.

The "upper ten" of society know that there is a "lower five" in society, but the class of privilege who revel in luxury is anxious that the "lower five" shall remain blind to the width and depth of the chasm that separates the exploiter from the exploited.

Whenever the great mass of the people become conscious of the fact that there are classes in this country and that a master class maintains and perpetuates itself on the surplus proceeds that are drawn from the sweat, blood and toil of an ill-paid working class, there will be an upheaval in this country that will be dangerous to the reign of the "upper class."

The Homestake Shut-Down.

(Deadwood Lantern.)

THE LANTERN has no desire to stir up strife between the Homestake company and its former employes, but a calm recital of the well known facts will certainly be no grounds for complaint on the part of either the company or the workers.

The Western Federation of Miners is a militant labor organization whose principles are based upon the class struggle, and determined to secure better conditions for the workers in the mines and mills. It is composed of the most advanced thinkers in labor's ranks. These men have seen organization going on among the employing class, and to meet this and avoid absolute slavery they have seen that the workers must be as compactly organized as are their masters.

Heretofore the Homestake employes have been only partially organized, a large number being non-union men. The Executive Board of the Western Federation, well knowing that such a condition meant the ultimate destruction of unionism, began an earnest but entirely peaceable propaganda to completely organize the camp. A committee waited upon Mr. Grier and frankly declared this intention of the union, and were assured that the company would put no obstacle in their way, and even went further and said it "was a good thing," or words to that effect.

But it seems that Mr. Grier is only a hired man himself, and that when over a thousand new men had been added to the union, he heard from the directors of the company, who had quite a different idea of organized labor. It is said that Mr. Grier received two messages by wire, the charges upon which were nearly a hundred dollars—very lengthy messages, indeed, which messages are supposed to have been his orders concerning his dealings with the union men employed in the mine and mills.

Immediately after receiving these messages, Mr. Grier, through his attorney, Chambers Kellar, brought suit in the Federal Court against the Lead Miners' Union for *ten thousand dollars* damages for pretended interference with the management of the mine and coercion of its employes. The complaint filed in the case is a tissue of falsehoods, as was practically admitted by Mr. Grier at the mass meeting, when he admitted that the only case of coercion which he could name occurred more than six years ago, and being a tort, is clearly outlawed by statute of limitation. Even in this he did not tell the truth, for he said that he had a document in his possession which admitted that the union justified coercion. The following is a copy of the document complained of and I ask a careful reading of the same:

LEAD CITY MINERS' UNION.

Lead, S. Dak., March 19, 1903.

Mr. T. J. Grier, Supt. Homestake Mining Co., Lead, S. Dak.

Dear Sir: Your letter of March 19th, addressed to J. B. Fisher, president of this union, was referred to the undersigned committee.

As you understand, this union is organized for the mutual benefit of its members, both financially and otherwise.

To that end we have paid out in sick benefits (and are paying now) more money than we receive in dues; and to keep this union up financially we do ask and urge each and every man working in and about the different mines to join our union, for their own benefit, as well as ours. We experienced no difficulty with the old reliable, worn and tired men; but on the contrary, the young, strong, and men who are well able to bear their share of the burden, are the men that are making all the trouble.

This union has at no time authorized the forcible actions referred to in your letter; but where men, when civilly approached to join this union, have insulted the party so asking them, and have stated that they had so much influence with the officials of the company that employed them that they did not have to join, and generally made themselves abusive, there is no doubt but what they have been coerced.

Yours respectfully,

(Signed) THOS. J. RYAN,
JOE SCOTT,
RICHARD BUNNEY,
Committee.

It will be seen that the exact reverse of Mr. Grier's statement is true—that the union did not justify coercion, and that the act complained of was the act of individuals, for which the union was no more responsible than for a case of assault and battery on the streets of Lead.

At the mass meeting Mr. Grier finally admitted that the real grievance against the union was "the fact staring them in the face" that the open shop was a thing of the past and that under the closed shop the union could dictate the management of the mine. Of course, this was only a scare-crow, as many of the largest industries of the world are operated under the closed shop, and the unions never seek to dictate the management except that the scale of wages and hours are observed by the management.

Immediately after this mass meeting Mr. Grier posted notices that after January 1, 1910, none but non-union men would be employed in the mine or mills of the company, and giving notice to come to the Homestake office and register as non-union men on or before December 15th. No more brutal order was ever issued by a slave driver in slavery days. Here was an order to the employes of the company to abandon their organization and become the individual slaves of the company under pain of starvation to their families!

Of course, Mr. Grier could say: "This property is ours, although every dollar of such ownership represents that much exploited from the sweat and blood of the workers." He could say further: "Thanks to the votes of my employes, all the powers of government are in my hands. The governor is mine, the courts are mine, the militia are mine—what are you going to do about it?"

But the union men did not rush to the Homestake office to register as scabs as fast as Mr. Grier expected, and after waiting ten days he

issued notices that the mine and mills would shut down on November 24th for an indefinite period, and thus throw out of employment 2,500 men and subject them and their families to want and the danger of starvation.

Ordinarily, the owners of industries which shut down can give some excuse for such cessation of operation. They can claim that the market is glutted, and that there is no further profit in operating the industry. Not so with the Homestake. The mine is paying interest upon the investment.

There are many suggested explanations of this shut-down. Some say that it is a stock-jobbing scheme to enable the big fish to eat up the little ones. About twenty-five per cent of the stock is held in small lots by comparatively poor people who depend upon the monthly dividends for their living. The big owners would like to gobble this stock for their own use and a shut-down will so depress it that it can be secured at a low price.

Others say that it is a part of a concerted campaign against organized labor by the great capitalists of the country, at the head of which is the American Manufacturers' Association. It is somewhat difficult to know or say what is at the bottom of the move, but the effect is all the same, whatever the moving power. A community of ten thousand people dependent upon this industry are thrown into poverty and want without a moment's notice.

But it may be worth all it costs. It will open the eyes of this

community as nothing else has ever done. It will show how completely we are dependent for our very lives upon the owners of the means of life. It will show them the truth of a statement once made by Chauncey Depew, that "there are one hundred men in this nation who can, without a moment's warning, close every mine, mill, factory and stop every wheel of commerce." That is absolutely true, and what are you going to do about it?

I will answer that question: The people will issue a new declaration of independence, declaring that the earth and the means of life are justly the property of all the people, and must not be operated to starve and oppress the working class nor to enrich drones and parasites. It is just such things as the Homestake shut-down that are educating the people along this line, and when they become sufficiently educated they will act. Dr. Benj. Wheeler, president of the University of California, in his recent lecture before the University of Berlin, said:

"The origin of all power in the United States is public opinion. The outward machinery of government, whether it works at expressing public opinion or keeping it in check, is never for any length of time power itself. Public opinion is a power which often slumbers and more often lacks a definite direction, is not in focus, as we say, but it is always there in the background, ever ready to awake from its slumbers, ever ready to assume speedy shape and expression. Once it is stirred up and becomes clearly conscious of its destiny, no statesman dares to withstand it, or should he dare, he vanishes without compunction beneath the wheels of its chariot."

Corporate Brutality.

AT LUDLOW, MASSACHUSETTS, the Ludlow Manufacturing Association reduced the wages of its employes from \$11 per week to \$9 per week, and when the employes refused to accept the reduction, on the grounds that the reduction meant suffering for the bare necessities of life, the association owning the hovels in which the slaves lived, gave orders that they be evicted. The local authorities, in conjunction with the hirelings of the Pinkerton Detective Agency, carried out the mandates of the Ludlow Manufacturing Association, and as a result, hundreds of people, men, women and children, were thrown out upon the street without any protection from cold or hunger.

Even mothers with new-born babes were not excepted, and so infamous were the outrages of the corporation in the eviction of the inmates of the shacks of the Ludlow Manufacturing Association that the state authorities felt it incumbent on them to make an investigation. Years ago, nearly every city of America listened to the orator from Ireland depicting the cruelties perpetrated by the landlords of the seagirt isle.

But the outrages committed in downtrodden and oppressed Ireland were no more heartless than are now being perpetrated on the soil of a republic whose people hail the starry banner as the emblem of liberty.

Capitalism in Ludlow, Massachusetts, is demanding the "pound of flesh" and when human beings rebel against starvation wages, capitalism is able to summon the officers of the law to execute its dictums against the impoverished wretches who, while in the employ of a heartless combination of wealth, even suffer the misery of a living death.

The press and pulpit paint pictures of the contrast in America and the Old World, but observing men and women are beginning to realize that greed has become as ravenous in Young Columbia as upon the soil of empires, where kings and czars wield the sceptre of dominion. In the nations of the Old World, human beings have been thrown out upon the roadside to live or perish, and now, in proud America, a corporation scrambling for dividends can use the machinery of law to force employes to accept starvation wages, or be evicted through a refusal to yield mute obedience to a master class.

America is being capitalized and human life is ignored when profit is at stake.

Capitalism is as soulless under the folds of the "red, white and blue" as it is beneath the banner of a Russian czar or beneath the flag of the despot who rules Mexico by the power of armed might. The impoverished victims at Ludlow, Massachusetts, exposed to the blasts of winter through the despotism of a corporation, will hardly feel any thrills of patriotism, nor can they be expected to sing those beautiful anthems, "My Country 'Tis of Thee" or "The Star Spangled Banner."



INFORMATION WANTED.

Altman, Colo., Dec. 6, 1909.

Editor Miners' Magazine:

Can anyone give me any information in regard to the whereabouts of my son, Edward Minster, who left the Cripple Creek district the latter part of September six years ago? He is of sandy complexion, hazel grey eyes, and is over six feet in height. I am heartbroken over my boy and any word of his whereabouts will be very thankfully received by his poor old mother,
2t.
MRS. H. MINSTER, Altman, Colo.

SMOKER AT GRAND FORKS, B. C.

Grand Forks, B. C., Dec. 2, 1909.

Editor Miners' Magazine:

A big union smoker under the auspices of the various unions in the town of Grand Forks, B. C., was held in the Miners' Union hall on the night of December 1st, and proved an immense success.

Our hall was crowded, even the standing room was fully occupied.

A lengthy variety of songs, recitations, mandolin and accordion solos were rendered and many speeches were made.

Bro. John A. McKinnon, president and organizer of District No. 6, was present, and in opening the smoker he gave what was acknowledged to be the most appropriate remarks for the occasion. His words of advice and encouragement sank deep into the hearts of all those present, both W. F. M. brothers and also the brothers of the other unions present, and will, I confi-

dently believe, be the means of greatly increasing the membership of Local No. 180, and further will instill greater self-respect into the hearts of all workers present.

Quite a large proportion of the business men were present, and one and all commented on the good, sound, common-sense advice tendered by Brother McKinnon.

This smoker was given to commemorate the fourth anniversary of the eight-hour workday for British Columbia smelters and to urge upon the workers the absolute necessity of being thoroughly organized, in order to still further better the living conditions of the working class.

The program was interspersed with refreshments of a liquid nature which produced genuine conviviality, and the evening finished up with a three-round boxing tournament which was lustily appreciated by all.

WALTER E. HADDEN,
Secretary of No. 180, W. F. M.

(Seal)

ARE THEIR INTERESTS IDENTICAL?

Are the interests of Labor and Capital identical and mutual? The Cherry situation affords us a vivid and ample illustration.

In spite of reports to the contrary, it is apparent that at no time was the St. Paul hoisting shaft in such a condition as to preclude a descent into the mine with the proper appliances for supplying oxygen; and at no time was it necessary to seal the shaft save as being the most effective way to extinguish the fire, to the almost certain destruction of human life. There

is little doubt that had the work of rescue been diligently prosecuted at the outset the crew of the St. Paul would have been saved, almost to a man.

Notwithstanding that prompt and vigorous action was imminently necessary at the outset to save the lives of the men below, valuable time was wasted and finally the shaft sealed—criminally sealed—without any effort being made to ascertain the extent of the fire or the favorability of the conditions below, or to warn the men at points distant from the fire and explosion and in ignorance of their danger, in air, in which it was subsequently shown they were able to live for a week without food and with little or no water. Even the facts, which are beginning to leak out, show that the mine officials were guilty of the most criminal neglect on every hand; their lethargy and inactivity with a view to saving life was appalling. And not content with their own activity and the terrible sacrifice of life that was growing hourly as a consequence, they applied to the state for martial law, which is virtually their own law, with a view to controlling the situation, with the saving of private property uppermost in their minds and the saving of life a secondary consideration.

The St. Paul disaster should go down in history in magnitude of criminality as a counterpart of the Black Hole of Calcutta.

JUSTICE.

INFORMATION WANTED.

Grand Forks, B. C., Dec. 3, 1909.

Editor Miners' Magazine:

Kindly oblige by putting the following in Miners' Magazine:

"Anyone knowing the whereabouts of A. T. Sullivan, kindly communicate with Mr. J. F. Kerr, 92215 Belt Street, Spokane, Washington."

This young man joined Grand Forks Local No. 180 on March 11, 1908, and in May, 1908, left this camp for Montana in company with James Sweeney, who also was a member of this local.

Sullivan's relatives are looking for him, as on account of a death in the family there is an estate to be divided up. Yours fraternally,

WALTER E. HADDEN,

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

(Seal)

LONG-DISTANCE SYMPATHY.

Did you ever notice how bourgeois reformers and writers express their heartfelt sympathy for the oppressed?

Always a mouthing of horrible conditions and wrongs—3,000 miles away.

New York magazines, just now, are treating the terrible suffering of the Mexicans.

Sir Conan Doyle and a host of other British writers are pounding out books and articles exposing the conditions of the Congo blacks.

Spaniards are worrying about the unsafety of the Christian civilized in northern Africa and implore that armies be sent to Morocco to subdue the "lawless tribesmen," and Parisians are in a white heat over Spain.

Gentlemen, you do not have to look very far for injustice.

You all have them right about you.

You, Sir Doyle, should write a book of London's East End, and New York harbors enough wrongs to make a good many volumes.

EMANUEL JULIUS.

New York City.

CONDITIONS AT HAYDEN HILL, CALIFORNIA.

Reno, Nev., Dec. 5, 1909.

Editor Miners' Magazine:

I am going to write briefly about conditions at Hayden Hill, Lassen county, California:

Hayden Hill is situated 144 miles by train from Reno, Nevada, to Madeline, California, then about 50 miles by stage; or it can be reached by stage (about 120 miles) from Redding.

There is only one mine, and a small crew of three men prospecting for another company. The large mine works about 120 men in the mine and mill; the wages are \$3.00 for miners and \$2.50 for muckers, car-men, etc.

The ground is very soft, there are no machines, and very little drilling of any kind. It is a very good mine to work in, and very good bosses at the present time, the foreman's name being Stone, and he is an ex-member of L. U. No. 19 of Altman, Colo. The superintendent is J. H. Collier; he is a "good fellow," but he has no use for unions, or the W. F. of M., which is a good reason for working men to support the W. F. of M.

The top men, blacksmiths and timber-cutters are still working ten hours. Some of them claim, like the officials of the company, that the eight-hour law does not apply to them—poor, benighted slaves! I feel sorry for them. Every one of them are native Americans. There is not an "ignorant furrier" among them.

The mill is a dry roller process with cyanide treatment to extract the values. There are in the mill three men who work ten-hour shifts and three who work twelve hours for \$2.75 per shift. The ten-hour men get \$2.50 per shift. Only two men on each shift get \$3.00 per shift, the man in the tank-room and the boss.

Prior to two months ago men could board where they pleased. The men and boarding-house keepers were kicking so much at each other that the superintendent put up a company house and compelled all single men excepting those that live with their parents to board at the company house.

Now they have to take what is given them and say they like it. However, the board is fair, although the chickens don't lay and they never kill any chicken in Hayden Hill for the company house. Board is \$22.50 per month, rooms are extra and cost from \$2.50 to \$5.00 per month. The rooms are owned by private parties—and such rooms! full of cracks—and the big McClane bunkhouse is reeking with vermin.

The people that keep the rooms seem to be too lazy to clean the rooms or make the beds. The writer has made his own bed for eight nights at a stretch and paid \$5.00 a month for the privilege.

There are quite a number of ex-W. F. M. men up there and it seems to me it would be easy for four or five good men to reinstate and make quite a membership. It would be foolish, according to my way of thinking, to try and put in a local there. My way is to reinstate and obligate them into the nearest local union or the union-at-large for a while.

There are several spotters, stool-pigeons, etc., on each shift, and it is said there are several Pinkertons there, and the men are rather hard to get acquainted with. Two months ago most of the men there would not speak to a stranger when spoken to, but the crowd has changed some since that time.

Here is the way the eight-hour law is worked up there: Breakfast from 6:00 a. m. to 7:00 a. m., then wait around until 7:45 a. m., when the first cage goes down; commence to hoist men at 12 noon; at 12:45 the first cage of men is lowered; commence to hoist men at 5:00 p. m. This is what is called eight hours.

If any of the boys go up there they will find one of the worst climates in the country. It is sunshine, rain, snow and a hurricane sometimes, in an hour. It is a good place for colds and pneumonia.

The following nationalities are not wanted there: Italians, Greeks, Slavs, Servians, Montenegrins and "Cousin Jacks." It is folly for any of these races to go there, as the bosses have said they would fire them as fast as they

came there—and judging by their actions in the past they mean what they say

Yours fraternally.

A WORKINGMAN.

APPEAL FOR SWEDISH WORKERS.

Washington, D. C., Dec. 3, 1909.

To All Organized Labor, Greeting:

Since August 4, 1909, a strike of great magnitude has been in progress in Sweden, and the issue at stake is the very life of the labor movement of that country.

Because of the sharply defined class divisions in Sweden and the lingering influences of the old feudal system, the development of the Swedish labor unions has been exceedingly difficult, but withal they have steadily fought their way and gained. The last ten years, however, witnessed a considerable impetus in the interest of the workers in the unions, and this has been the period of their greatest progress and growth. The period of prosperity experienced between the years 1900 and 1908 was favorable to their success, and the labor organizations became a great power in the defense and advancement of the conditions of the workers. The growing strength and aggressiveness of the unions brought about the counter organization of employers, and their antagonism was centralized into a formidable force through the means of their three large associations, namely, the Central Employers' Association, representing the building industry, employing 50,000 men; the Machine Shop and Iron Ship Builders' Association, employing 35,000 men, and the Swedish Employers' Association, representing all the large industries, employing 164,000 men. The panic and industrial depression beginning in 1908, considerably weakened the strength and resources of the unions, and the Swedish Employers' Association endeavored to turn these conditions to its advantage in its effort to disrupt the unions. For the past two years the threat of a general lockout has been held over the heads of the workmen when any advance was made by them, either of defense or for the amelioration of conditions. Early in 1909 some of the employers put into effect a reduction in wages. A strike involving 1,400 men was declared against it. The Employers' Association served notice on the officers of the organizations that unless the men returned to work under the reduction in wages there would be a general lockout. The men on strike refused to return to work, and the association carried out its threat and locked out 80,000 men. This violent attack portended more than was involved in the local dispute, and the unions recognized it as a clear declaration of war from the employers. The situation had reached the stage where, in order to maintain the organizations and the labor movement, the attitude and demands of the Employers' Association had to be combated. The organized wage workers realized that all that had been built up, after years of effort, and at great sacrifice, was at stake. Therefore, instead of submitting to the lockout, the organizations of labor answered it by a general strike, and 200,000 men joined those already locked out.

Because of the magnitude of the strike it was necessary for the unions of Sweden to appeal to the workmen of other countries for financial assistance. Messrs. Claes E. Tholin and John Sandgren were sent as delegate to this country, and in furtherance of his mission Mr. Tholin appeared before the recent convention of the American Federation of Labor, held in Toronto, Ontario, Canada, November 8-20, 1909, where he addressed the delegates upon the subject of this struggle. His address was supplemented by statements by President Gompers and Delegate John P. Frey, of the Iron Molders' Union, who was fraternal delegate to the last meeting of the British Trades Union Congress; they were in Europe, and had opportunity to learn the facts at first hand from the representatives of the labor movement of Sweden, and both substantiated the great justice and merit of the strike.

A special committee was appointed at the Toronto convention to consider the appeal of the Swedish workers for financial assistance, and in accordance with its report and recommendation the convention directed that an appeal be issued and forwarded to organized labor for immediate financial assistance for our Swedish brothers.

Every phase of the struggle in Sweden merits our earnest consideration and support. While separated by great distance from the workers there, yet their cause and the principle for which they are contending, the right to organize, to remedy their just grievances, and to secure to the toilers a fair share of the fruits of their labor, are identical with the aims and aspirations of the organized workers of America. Their splendid fortitude and courage in the face of the adversity of this prolonged struggle proves their loyalty and devotion to the cause of labor, and it is evident that nothing short of starvation will enforce their surrender. The struggle has resolved itself into a test of endurance, and the hope was expressed by the convention that the amount contributed by the American trade union movement would be at once creditable to the labor organizations of our country and of material assistance to the Swedish trade unionists in maintaining the strike to a successful termination.

You will therefore please read this circular at the next meeting of your organization, and it is earnestly requested to donate whatever sum may be within its means at this time. Contributions should be sent direct to Herman Lindquist, Landssekretariat, Stockholm, Sweden, or to the Swedish Strike Relief Committee, with headquarters in Chicago. The financial secretary of this committee is John Dawn, 4041 North Sacramento Avenue, Chicago, Ill. By order of the Toronto Convention.

FRANK MORRISON,
Secretary American Federation of Labor.



JAMES BRONTERRE O'BRIEN.

By Robert Hunter.

James Bronterre O'Brien is a name little known to the workers of to day.

He was, as you see by the name, an Irishman. And he was, as you ought to know, gifted with the great virtues and talents sometimes given to the noble of his race.

He was a graduate of the University of Dublin and became, early in life, one of the leaders of the Chartist movement. He was arrested several times and sent to prison.

It is thought that he is the first man who ever used the terms "surplus value," "social democrat," and "social democratic party."

He wrote a book, published twenty-nine years after his death, called "The Rise, Progress and Phases of Human Slavery—How It Came Into the World and How It Shall be Made to Go Out."

I would that every worker might read this book, in many ways the most interesting volume of its kind ever written.

Every page is rich with wisdom and every line tells the passion of O'Brien's life.



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I want to quote a page from his book, because it seems to me that page has much in it our people should know, even now a half century after O'Brien's death.

"In truth, universal suffrage is no guarantee at all for liberty, unless it be accompanied, on the part of the working classes, with a KNOWLEDGE OF THEIR SOCIAL RIGHTS AND A CONSEQUENT DETERMINATION TO USE POLITICAL POWER FOR THEIR ESTABLISHMENT.

"The Romans, the Spartans, the Athenians, the Sicilians and many other ancient peoples had universal suffrage—at least a vote for every citizen who was not a helot or a bondsman; but it proved of no use to them, for want of knowing their social rights.

"For the like reason, the Irish made no good use of their 40-shilling-freehold vote, when they had it; and, for the same reason, they offered no resistance when it was taken away.

"The French people had universal suffrage in 1793. Their convention of that period was elected by universal suffrage; and the constitution it made was far more democratic than the French constitution of 1848.

"But, not understanding their social rights then so well as they do now, they suffered their land-lords and money-lords to rob them of it, just as the old Romans, Athenians, etc., had allowed their land and money-lords to do in their day.

"After the convention had succeeded, with the aid of the Parisian shopocracy, in murdering Robespierre and in striking terror into all who, like him, loved justice and the people, they not only abolished the democratic constitution of 1793 and put a middle-class constitution in its place, but they actually decreed that they (the convention members) should constitute two-thirds of the next Legislative Assembly, and that the nation should be at liberty to choose only the remaining third!

"Strange to say, too, the people submitted, because the great mass of them were too profoundly ignorant of their social rights to take much interest in the franchise question.

"It was ever so, it will ever be so, with a people ignorant of their social rights; they will never risk life or limb in defense of the POLITICAL till they comprehend their SOCIAL rights."

The last sentence of that seems, to me, great. The German rulers have passed their great social reform measures to undermine the antagonism to autocracy.

The British government, realizing that poverty, starvation and economic wrong is the real basis of political agitation in Ireland, is today engaged in a gigantic land scheme to ease the struggle for bread among the Irish peasants.

Throughout all Europe the working classes have been driven through poverty to recognize the value to them of political power.

In America we may not value the suffrage until it is the only means left to alleviate our social misery. Many will not value their political rights until they have gone, until they are taken from them and poverty and anguish forces them to win them back again.

EDITORIALS FROM THE BLACK HILLS DAILY REGISTER ON THE SITUATION IN THE HOMESTAKE MINING DISTRICT.

The Workers Are Learning.

The futility of all efforts to disrupt the locked-out union employes of the Homestake Mining Company up to the present time is a source of great pleasure to the editor of the Register, and indicates that the minds of the workers of this section have not become ossified. And this spirit of solidarity is the only thing that will prevent the company from crushing unionism in the Black Hills.

In times past during labor conflicts on other fields the employers have generally been able to break the ranks of the toilers by injecting either religious, political or race prejudices into the controversy. All these time-tried methods have been tried in this conflict, and they have all fallen flat or recoiled on the sinister heads of those employing them. The Catholic and the Protestant union men are working side by side on the various committees, in perfect harmony; the man born in northern Canada rolls a cigarette or gives a pipeful of tobacco to the dark-eyed son of Italy, and Socialists, Republicans and Democrats are standing shoulder to shoulder for the God-given right to organize.

A portion of the Black Hills press has been very active in this effort to split the unionists on the prejudices mentioned and, when that method failed these papers began trying to poison the minds of the locked-out men against the Western Federation of Miners and its officers. In this they have stopped at no lie or calumny—some of them were eating \$3 meals and denying the rank and file lock-out benefits. Others owned palatial mansions and all of them were disturbers of the peace, bent only on creating trouble for honest workingmen. The workers have seen that these stories were what Roosevelt is so fond of calling by the shorter and uglier word and have given them little, if any, credence.

One of the lies started by this class of purchased harpies was to the effect that the federation was not going to give its unemployed members benefits. This was denied in the Register by Organizer Tracy and President Moyer, who stated that a few members had already received benefits and others could secure them by calling at the Miners' Union office and making application. This notice is in today's issue of the Register. When that "no benefits" lie was nailed the company organ of this city began trying to incite discontent among the men by telling them, in effect, that it ought not to be necessary for them to ask for benefits. This company organ has so often misrepresented the federation that Board Member Kirwan found it necessary to publish a notice in the Register to the effect that the union men were to believe nothing published in the Lead Call or the Deadwood Pioneer-Times. The federation has been delayed in distributing relief while a census of union families was being taken by a committee, but that committee is now doing business every day.

All these efforts to disrupt have been made to cause new recruits to the federation to become dissatisfied and to induce them to sign the application for employment as non-union men. But, thanks to the intelligence of the men of Lead, Central City and Terraville, they have all failed. Stand pat, boys, and if you are defeated go down to defeat like true men. But you are not going to be defeated if you stand pat and maintain your organization. Remember that your organization has given you the eight-hour day and it will again serve you if you are true to it. It is ready to keep the wolf from your door today and if you need anything you need have no false pride about asking for what you want. Board Member Kirwan told you ten days ago that the federation would not promise you turkey, chicken and pie, but it would furnish you with all the food necessary to maintain life and health. That promise is being fulfilled to-day. The officers of the federation are your ser-

vants; you elected them and your representatives fixed their salaries. Trust these officers until you find them unworthy. If they ever prove traitors to your interests, throw them out. But, in the meantime, give them your confidence and assistance. It is to their interests to protect your interests. How about the company organs? Do you for a minute believe they dare give you a square deal? Not on your tintype. These organs have taken sides against you, just as the Register has taken its stand with you, and if they betray their masters they are ruined—just as the Register would be ruined if it betrayed you.

Yes, the working people of this section have learned the lesson that this is a class war and they realize that it is to the interest of the company and its agents to divide them.

Knowing these things, the Register has no fear of the result. Stand pat.

The Homestake Pledge.

The Register has secured a copy of the innocent little pledge men are asked by the Homestake Company to sign before they are permitted to trade the company \$10.00 worth of labor for \$2.50 to \$4.00. No matter how the pledge was secured. The exact wording is as follows:

Lead, S. D. 19

I am not a Member of any Labor Union, and in consideration of my being employed by the HOMESTAKE MINING COMPANY agree that I will not become such while in its service.

Department:

Occupation:

The man who drew up that pledge evidently considered that he had asked all he could get from the former slaves of the company, or he might have specified at what church the groveling creature who is expected to sign the card should be allowed to worship, to what lodges and societies he might belong, and just what he might or might not eat and drink. Had he thought the uncertainty of employment, and the cold weather threatening, would make the slave docile enough, he might even have required that the signer specify in what color house he intended to live after becoming the servile chattel of the Homestake Company.

There is one thing, however, that those so anxious for jobs as to be willing to sign away their birthrights should remember when about to attach their signatures: This pledge is all one-sided—the company makes the applicant for a job do all the pledging. There is no promise that the company will not discharge the slave at any time the whim strikes the superintendent or the shift boss; there is no promise of any specific wage scale and nothing is said about the hours to be worked.

No sir, the signer of that card unconditionally surrenders every particle of right and principle he may have before signing. He becomes the absolute slave of the Homestake Company for all time, for it is rumored that if enough chattel can be induced to sign, to put the union out of business, the next step contemplated by the company is the branding of its slaves with a large lazy H. In cases where the forehead is not deep enough to take the H, the ears of the slave are to be notched, as with domestic animals.

If you are going to sign, wait until the grass gets green in the gentle springtime, so that you may browse with the cows and goats while the brand marks heal over.

LIBERTY AND UNION.

(By Ernest Untermann.)

The class struggles caused by the competition of different sections of the ruling class in the United States for a control of the national government have from the very beginning of the political independence of this nation given the lie to the pretentious assertions of the leading statesmen, who claimed to be fighting for the liberty and equality of all citizens.

Quite aside from the fact that the American Republic was reared upon the foundation of wage and chattel slavery, the interests of the various sections of the ruling class itself have been far too divergent to permit of any equality and liberty among themselves.

But even if it had been possible for the exploiting classes to settle all their economic and political differences according to ideal principles of equity, yet the Declaration of Independence and the constitution would have remained a shallow pretense, so long as the majority of the citizens of this country were held in economic subjection to a minority of despoiling masters.

In reality, the masters could no more realize the ideal declarations of the fundamental principles of popular government among themselves than they could or would grant economic and political equality to the working masses of this nation.

Naturally, under such conditions, we find that the historical development of the thirteen charter states into the present world nation did not proceed smoothly and peaceably, but is a tangle of wild struggles, which culminated more than once in revolts of the working class and in at least one bloody civil war between various sections of the nation.

The history of the ruling classes of the United States, like that of its working classes, is a history of class struggles. Only when the economic causes of these class struggles are uncovered, is it possible to grasp the real meaning of the great chapters in the development of this nation.

The typical form of the clashes between different economic interests of the ruling classes up to the time of the great Civil war is that of political differences of opinion between individual state governments and the national government. The state governments were controlled, as a rule, by the most powerful industrial, financial or agricultural interests. But all these different interests could not simultaneously control the national government. Either the financial, or the industrial or the agricultural interests had to control the nation. In proportion as the financial interests allied themselves with the industrial or agricultural interests, the struggle narrowed down to an issue between the great industrial and agricultural exploiters of the various sections of this country.

At first the clash did not lead to anything worse than violent oratory and an occasional threat of some individual state government to secede from the Union. While the working classes revolted several times and had to be suppressed by force of arms, the struggles between the ruling classes

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were fought out by parliamentary methods and by court decisions, until the struggle took on a sectional color, when it broke out in a civil war.

The first great movement in favor of secession expressed itself through the Virginia and Kentucky resolutions against the Alien and Sedition laws. It was then that some state governments, in their capacity as representatives of special class interests, discovered that the national government had "too much power"—in other words, that its powers were controlled by other special interests.

Now, an exploiter at once becomes violent, when some one else is making profits that he himself intended to make.

Virginia and Kentucky exploiters, therefore, spoke a pretty straight language in their declaration against the obnoxious national legislation.

"Whenever the general government assumes undelegated powers, its acts are unauthorized, void, and are of no force. * * * It would be a dangerous delusion were the confidence in the men of our choice to silence our fears for the safety of our rights; confidence is everywhere the parent of despotism; free government is founded in jealousy and not in confidence; it is jealousy and not confidence which prescribes limited constitutions to bind those whom we are obliged to trust with power."

But no one has played the confidence game so well and so long in their dealings with the working class as that same class who passed the Virginia and Kentucky resolutions.

A few years later, the New England states felt that they were not getting a square deal in the tariff for their manufactures. They sent representatives to the Hartford convention, in 1814, for the purpose of exerting a pressure on the national government.

The report of the delegates from Massachusetts, Connecticut and Rhode Island, and from the counties of Grafton and Cheshire in New Hampshire and the county of Windham in Vermont, asserted, "When abuses, reduced to a system and accumulated through a course of years, have pervaded every department of government, and spread corruption through every region of the state; when these are clothed with the forms of law and enforced by an executive whose will is their source, no summary means of relief can be applied without recourse to direct and open resistance. * * * That acts of Congress in violation of the Constitution are absolutely void, is an undeniable position. It does not, however, consist with respect and forbearance due from a confederate state towards the general government, to fly to open resistance upon every infraction of the Constitution. * * * But in cases of deliberate, dangerous, and palpable infractions of the Constitution, affecting the sovereignty of a state, and liberties of the people, it is not only the right, but the duty of such a state to interpose its authority for their protection, in the manner best calculated to secure that end."

But now the question arose: Who is to determine whether this or that act of the national government or of some state government is unconstitutional? And if the interpretations of the national and state governments differ, then who is to decide what side shall prevail?

The National Supreme Court, through Chief Justice Marshall, attempted to lay down the law that this court was the last and final arbiter of all such disputes. But if the decision of this court should be disregarded, what would then settle the question? History answered: Force.

The state of South Carolina was the first to find this out. In 1830 Robert Hayne of South Carolina had given one of the most radical expressions to the doctrine of "nullification" ever uttered in the United States Senate.

It was Daniel Webster who reminded him that the National Supreme Court was the final arbiter of any interpretation of the Constitution, and that nullification, in order to be effective, should rest its claims, not upon any constitutional interpretation, but upon force.

Incidentally, Webster admitted a good many things, which the modern working class may well remember in its struggle for emancipation from all class rule.

In the first place, he admitted that there was such a thing as a right of revolution. In the second place, he realized that this right was not worth anything without the power to assert it.

"I admit that there is an ultimate violent remedy, above the Constitution, and in defiance of the Constitution, which may be resorted to, when a revolution is to be justified. * * * Gentlemen may say that in an extreme case a state government might protect the people from intolerable oppression. Sir, in such a case the people might protect themselves, without the aid of the state governments. Such a case warrants revolution. It must make, when it comes, a law for itself."

Yes, I am glad that Webster established this precedent for our proletarian speakers. And he had Justice Marshall and the English lawyer Blackstone to back him up in that.

Nor was this doctrine new. The Declaration of Independence had said the same thing in other words.

Robert Hayne and his backers soon discovered that the right of revolution is meaningless without the power to assert it. The South Carolina Legislature passed a nullification ordinance in spite of Webster's oration, but the Carolinian Andrew Jackson, in his capacity of President of the United States, bluntly told his fellow citizens of South Carolina that he held the trump cards in this game and that he would use them unsparingly, if they persisted in their attitude of secession. The nullification ordinance was quietly repealed.

Old Andrew meant business. The National Supreme Court, also, found that out, when the old fire eater told the judges point blank that he would consider the national bank unconstitutional in spite of their contrary decision, and that he would interpret the Constitution as he understood it. You see, he had the power to use force, which neither the National Supreme Court nor the state government of South Carolina had.

The Civil war settled the question of secession for good and secured the industrial capitalists in the control of the national government. Liberty and union were maintained—for the capitalist class. But the economic competitors of the great captains of industry and the working class were made so much more unfree and powerless by this liberty and union.

Today the great industrial lords of the land are at the same time masters of finance. They own the choice resources of the entire nation. The National Supreme Court obeys their commands, the President of the United States is their agent, Congress is their lackey, and the army and navy stand ready to execute their orders.

But the right of revolution still lives, and the court of last resort, now as ever, is not the National Supreme Court, but force. The working class has but to organize itself and use its powers.

About thirty years before the Civil war, Webster saw the revolution coming. He deplored it, and yet he insisted upon the superior rights of those who forced it upon the southern secessionists.

Thousands have since repeated the peroration which closed his memorable speech against Robert Hayne:

"When my eyes shall be turned to behold, for the last time, the sun in heaven, may I not see him shining on the broken and dishonored fragments of a once glorious Union; on states dissevered, discordant, belligerent; on a land rent with civil feuds, or drenched, it may be, in fraternal blood? Let their last feeble and lingering glance, rather behold the gorgeous ensign of the Republic, now known and honored throughout the earth, still full high advanced, its arms and trophies streaming in their original luster, not a stripe erased or polluted, nor a single star obscured—bearing for its motto no such miserable interrogatory as 'What is all this worth?' nor those other words of delusion and folly, 'Liberty first, union afterwards' but everywhere spread all over in characters of living light, blazing on all its ample folds, as they float over the sea and over the land, and in every wind under the whole heavens, that other sentiment, dear to every true American heart—Liberty and union, now and forever, one and inseparable!"

Webster's wish was fulfilled. He did not live to see the Civil war, and when he died, in 1852, the capitalist class was in a fair way to dominate this

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nation and to spread the Stars and Stripes over the globe.

But now every stripe of the flag is steeped in the blood of the wage worker, every star in it dimmed by the tears of children and women ground to death in the relentless mill of profits, the whole emblem polluted by the filth of corruption, which Capitalism has spread over this country and over the entire earth.

The nation is ruled by industrial criminals. Lack of conscience and of high principle, lust of mercenary gain, greed for libertine license, are the credentials to political honors and affluence.

The political liberties of the working class are abridged in proportion as the majority of this class are driven into deeper poverty and greater want.

MURDERED FOR MONEY BY THE CAPITALIST SYSTEM.

"Murdered in cold blood for his money." Unconsciously we shudder when we hear the above repeated as a fact concerning an awful tragedy. We picture to ourselves the horrible scene and instantaneously suggest the punishment the murderer should receive.

But a long chain of desperate circumstances may have driven the fiend to do the awful deed.

Not murdered for money, but to save money, were those 200 or more miners at Cherry.

Murdered?

Yes, murdered.

By obeying the law all these precious lives would have been saved.

But that involved expense, a decreasing of the profit to the owners. Life is cheap in America.

But these dead shall live. In the hearts of every class-conscious man and woman will be the lasting memory of just such a wholesale murdering of the innocents. Battling for rights, up to the very nose of the bristling guns, is far better than being killed by neglect; and the desperate chances that the miners take daily for a bare existence is a training school that will properly prepare the men of today for the struggle to come.

"If I perish, I perish." Better far that we die for a principle than that our lives be snuffed out without warning simply to satisfy greed.

Some of these not far distant days that army of miners, with just such horrible scenes fresh in their minds, will turn their eyes to the light; for years they have groined in the darkness. Then will their might rest heavily against the bondage; then will their strong arms burst the shackles that now bind; then will all other toilers of the land greet them as comrades and from this land will go up a sound of gladness—gladness because of a great transaction—wage slaves no longer; free in fact; to develop to the fullness that it was intended for man to be.—Dallas Laborer.

WITH THE UNEMPLOYED IN LONDON.

Now that so much attention is being drawn to the sad plight of the unemployed and destitute, it has struck me that the story of a day in the life of one who, while being a well-educated and respectable man yet finds himself destitute and homeless in the streets of the richest city in the world may be of interest.

The day has gone like many before it. A day of bitter disappointment and weary searching for work, only to be met on all hands with refusal and the now-familiar notice: "No Hands Wanted," and we retrace our weary footsteps to the lodging house, where, owing to a friendly deputy, we can sit for a few hours in warmth and perhaps benefit by a slight meal offered by a more fortunate pal who has managed to obtain a few hours' work during the day. At 12 o'clock the house closes and we must leave to wander about with hundreds more until the dawn of another day.

Passing along Aldgate we are met on every hand with shadowy forms pacing along with weary feet, or standing for a few moments in the shelter of a doorway till the tall form of a city policeman looms in sight, and a gruff but kindly voice reminds the wayfarer that in all that large city there is nowhere that he may rest for a moment and forget his troubles in sleep for a few minutes. Nearing the Bank the signs of poverty are more numerous and one man meets us with the eager inquiry: "Has he been yet?"

On asking who the mysterious "he" is, we are informed that he, in common with the others, are waiting for a gentleman from Midland hall, who will supply each wayfarer with a ticket, the presentation of which at Midland hall between the hours of 12 and 4 a. m. will entitle the holder to one-half pound of bread and margarine.

Presently along he comes, and without words hands out to each man a white slip of paper. There being plenty of time, we move on to the Thames embankment. Here will be found misery in the extreme. It has been estimated that from 100 to 500 persons nightly sleep on the embankment. Look around and you will see them, men—ah! and women, too. Every seat has its full complement of sleepers. Glance over the wall to the steps leading to the pier, and you will see them lying in all attitudes, the easier to woo the goddess of sleep. Some have provided themselves with blankets in the shape of placards of the various evening papers, and it is astonishing the amount of warmth the papers will supply.

Note that young man over there, well-dressed and of evident good-breeding. He is passing his first night in the Hotel de Embankment, and sitting bolt upright against the wall he gazes out over the waters of the mighty river. What are his thoughts? Are they of home and a mother in a far-off country, or is he contemplating a sudden end to it all in the heart of the river that closes its waters to none? We take our place with the others, for here we can rest a while without the fear of a policeman turning us off.

Suddenly a shriek is heard, followed by a dull splash!

Embankment springs to life as if touched by an electric spark. "It's only another poor devil gone," says a woman next to us. "God knows now soon it will come to us." A police whistle shrills out and a police boat pulls out from the shadow of Blackfriars and the body is dragged aboard but alas! too late for in falling she has struck her head against a buttress and the life is beaten out of her. "Suicide of an outcast," say the papers the next day. Say, rather, that after careful consideration she has decided to leave a world that has ill-treated her and to seek judgment from the Great Judge of all who, perhaps, will judge her more mercifully than her fellow-men.

The Embankment soon settles down until about 1 o'clock, when the men amongst us begin to form in a double file by Waterloo bridge. We follow with the others and stand patiently waiting the advent of the Salvation Army officers with the tickets for soup and bread. Presently they come along, and each man receiving his ticket makes tracks as fast as tired feet can carry him to the Millbank Shelter, which, as one of the officers facetiously put it, is next to the House of Lords!

Arrived at the shelter, each man as he enters is given a large piece of wholesome bread, a few yards further a spoon, and, on entering the dining

hall, a steaming bowl of good, nourishing soup. We are given a hearty welcome by Staff Captain MacGregor, himself an old Embankment "dossier," and sit down in batches of 400 at a time to enjoy for twenty minutes the warmth and shelter. Some eat their portion like wild animals, and no sooner are they done than, with head on hands, they snatch a few minutes' sleep, until it is time to give place to others who are lined in long rows outside.

But it is now 1:30 a. m., and if we want to benefit by our bread ticket we must get a move on, as it is a good step from the House of Parliament.

On the way we pass many more on the same errand, and, on reaching Horseferry road, we see some hundred men sitting about contentedly munching away at their half-pound of bread. Presenting our ticket at the door, we are supplied with our bread and are soon enjoying it with the rest. It is now nearly 4 a. m., and if we are lucky enough to possess the large sum of one half-penny, we can adjourn to the noted poor man's caterer in Wentworth or Chicksand streets and purchase a large mug of tea and permission to sit in an upstairs room till 5:30 o'clock, by which time the door of the Hospital Lodging House is open and we can snatch a few hours' sleep on one of the forms till it is time to go forth on a search for work. What will the day bring forth? Shall we be successful in obtaining a job, or will the end of the day find us again with no prospects but the Embankment for another dreary night?

This is no highly-colored description of a night out, but the truthful account of what the writer is going through.

What will the government do for us? We cannot die in the streets, but something must be done, and that soon, for I assure the reader that the unemployed will not starve passively this time.—Reynold's Newspaper.

JINGOISM.

By Joseph E. Cohen.

America's evil eye for "benevolent assimilation" now turns toward Nicaragua. Secretary of State Knox has discovered a terrible state of affairs in that unhappy country.

Two Americans there have been ruthlessly killed. Moreover, the general condition of the country is little short of anarchy. Freedom of speech and press have been destroyed. Under the circumstances America cannot shirk the duty of "interceding," even though our government be driven to the extreme of annexing the Central American republic.

If there really were any patriotic motive behind Secretary Knox's act, an invitation for him to do a little domestic house cleaning would not fall upon deaf ears. It might respectfully be submitted:

Against the two Americans killed at Nicaragua, a hundred times two were killed in the Cherry mine recently. Will Secretary Knox hasten to have the disaster investigated by a committee of miners?

Hundreds of American citizens are incarcerated in Spokane jails for exercising their right of free speech. Will Secretary Knox use his prestige to have them set at liberty and the local authorities indicted for violating the law?

Fred Warren, Gompers, Mitchell and Morrison have jail sentences hanging over their heads for printing what is indisputably true. Will Secretary Knox try to prevail upon his party to impeach the judges who have overridden the constitution of our country?

And will the secretary, when Congress next convenes, urge President Taft to ask it to look into these many flagrant instances of treason to the "republican form of government," which Congress is empowered to secure to the several states?

In all likelihood Secretary Knox will do none of these things. For the question at Nicaragua is not one of the murder of two Americans, nor yet the jeopardy of political rights.

American capital is insecure at Nicaragua. And the interference of our government is largely, if not altogether, for the purpose of aiding capital invested there to increase and multiply.

Nor is this the first time in our history that the men who have the greatest possessions swayed our government. The story is quite a curious one.

Hardly was the war of the revolution over against England, wherein France served us as an ally, when this government coquetted with England and almost came to blows with France for the right to navigate the Mississippi and seize the Louisiana territory.

Later on this government assisted the Texans to throw off the Mexican yoke, and even went to war with Mexico over Texan boundary disputes. At the present time this government embraces the despotic government of Diaz and acts as his bloodhound.

In 1898 this government plunged us into a war with Spain, avowedly for the attainment of "Cuba libre." No language was too strong for the American press to use in denouncing the Spanish government. It was pictured as one of the most cruel and tyrannous. The other day Spain shot down Francisco Ferrer, and scarcely any but Socialist and labor papers uttered a word in protest.

What is the explanation for this inconsistent course of our government?

The only sentimental one our jingo friends could offer would be that after having defeated the various nations it was the Christian mercy of the victor to atone in a measure for the misfortune brought upon the vanquished. Such an explanation will do for school children.

The fact of the matter, however, is that behind every martial entanglement lurks the desire for financial conquest. Upon this presumption the inconsistent course of our government is readily comprehended. It is this: As quickly as a government was defeated, its securities were bought up by the men of means of the victorious country, bought up in a low market. It then became their patriotic duty to make an alliance with the vanquished people.

Jingoism is indeed "the last resort of a scoundrel." Internationalism and peace is the ideal of the workers.

THE CIVIC FEDERATION AND SOCIALISM.

When Socialism becomes a menace to the exploiters of any country, they organize to fight it. They did so in Germany under the title of the Reichsverband Gegen Die Social-Democratie (Imperial Anti-Socialist Union). In England they call themselves the Anti-Socialist Union. In the United States they have veiled their object under the title of the Civic Federation.

The methods of these organizations are practically the same.

They pretend a friendship for such unions as they think they can influence, subsidize such former Socialists as are for sale, seek to arouse prejudice against Socialists among union men, and in general seek to split up the ranks of the workers as much as possible.

The last number of the Civic Federation Review is filled with matter shrewdly chosen to this end. Socialist literature has been ransacked for criticisms of trade unionists, and these are cleverly placed alongside attacks by the Employers' Association in a dishonest attempt to give the impression that both classes of criticism have the same object. Of course no quotations are given from the thousands of articles defending trade unionism which have appeared in Socialist publications. The quotations given are torn from their context and distorted to convey the idea that they were written in a spirit of

destruction instead of being a part of an effort to strengthen and build up the movement of organized labor by eliminating its weaknesses. It would have been equally easy to have obtained quotations from Socialist publications criticizing the Socialist party, and to have proved in this manner that all Socialists are opposed to that party.

It is actions, not words, that count in determining intentions. The time when the union needs support is when it is fighting for better conditions. Then is the time when its friends and its enemies are divided. How does the attitude of the organs and officials of the Civic Federation and of the Socialists meet this test?

When the Steel Workers went out at Homestead, where did the Socialist press stand—and where was Carnegie of the Civic Federation?

When union men on the New York street railways were fighting for the very life of their union, where did the Socialists stand—and where was Belmont of the Civic Federation?

These were the times that tried men's pretensions!

At this moment Gompers, Mitchell and Morrison stand in the shadow of the prison doors. They are the particular individuals at whom some of the strongest criticisms of the Socialist press have been directed—they are the ones for whom the National Civic Federation pretends the greatest love.

Let us apply the test of deeds in time of need:

The National Civic Federation Review has just appeared. It has twenty-four large pages, and not one line of protest against the imprisonment of these men.

Hundreds of Socialist papers have been published during the last month. It would be hard to find a dozen copies of these that have not spoken against the imprisonment of these men.

Who are the real friends of Union Labor?—Chicago Daily Socialist.

In Memoriam.

Cobalt, Ont., Nov. 28, 1909.

Resolutions re death of Brother Adam Adams:

Whereas, Through the unsanitary conditions prevailing in the camp, we have lost our esteemed brother, Adam Adams, who died of typhoid fever on November 20, 1909, adding another victim to the already too-numerous lives sacrificed for the greed of profit; therefore be it

Resolved, That we, the members of Cobalt Miners' Union No. 146, W. F. M., offer the bereaved relatives our heartfelt sympathy in the irreparable loss sustained; and be it further

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be sent them, and a copy spread upon the minutes of our local, a copy sent to the Miners' Magazine for publication; and be it further

Resolved, That we drape our charter for a period of thirty days.

COBALT MINERS' UNION NO. 146, W. F. M.

ETHELBERT JONES,

JOHN FRASER,

ALBERT NAP GAUTHIER,

Committee.

(Seal)

Burke, Ida., Nov. 26, 1909.

Resolutions adopted by Burke Miners' Union No. 10, W. F. M.:

Whereas, This union has received the sad news that death has again entered our ranks, and taken from our midst our beloved brother, Clifton A. Dudley, whose untimely death is sincerely mourned by this union and his many friends in the district; therefore be it

Resolved, That our charter be draped in mourning for a period of thirty days in honor of our deceased brother, and a copy of these resolutions be sent to the bereaved relatives of the deceased brother, a copy be spread on the records of this union and a copy be sent to the Miners' Magazine for publication.

O. F. MONTY,

H. H. PERSEIL,

L. A. REESE,

Committee.

(Seal)

Burke, Ida., Nov. 26, 1909.

Resolutions adopted by Burke Miners' Union No. 10, W. F. M.:

Whereas, Death has again invaded our union and taken from us our oldest and best brother, Samuel Norman, who has been a true and loyal member of Burke Miners' Union of the W. F. M. since it was organized, and has served his organization faithfully as an officer and member and has always proven a man of sterling honesty and was loved by all who knew him; but the dread disease, consumption, which is the fate of many a miner, after a long illness sapped his life away, and this union and Labor's cause has suffered an irreparable loss; therefore be it

Resolved, That we extend our heartfelt sympathy to his bereaved family; a copy of these resolutions be sent them; a copy be spread upon the minutes of this union, a copy be sent to the Miners' Magazine for publication, and our charter be draped in mourning for a period of thirty days in honor of our deceased brother.

O. F. MONTY,

H. H. PERSEIL,

L. A. REESE,

Committee.

(Seal)

IN MEMORY OF FERRER.

Another name has been added to the long list of martyrs. Another life has been sacrificed to the God of Mammon. Professor Francisco Ferrer has been atrociously murdered—shot to death under the guise of "law and order."

For the establishing of modern schools and educating his countrymen he has forfeited his life. An extract from the text of one of his books asserts, in substance that—

"Society is divided into two distinct classes: the one class which performs all the useful work of the world and is robbed of the fruits of its toil; the other, the exploiter class, which has seized upon law and constitutional authority as a means of accomplishing its selfish end, using Clericalism as an aid to hold the worker in degrading subjection."

This latter class is composed of the same social element which caused Socrates to drink the hemlock, crucified the meek and lowly Nazarene, persecuted Voltaire, exiled Marx, hanged John Brown and paralleled history in their persecution of the officers of our own organization, Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone; therefore be it

Resolved, That we, the officers and members of Corbin Miners' Union No. 191, W. F. M., here in regular meeting assembled, denounce the execution of Francisco Ferrer as nothing short of political assassination.

ALLEN CAMERON,

JAMES BELCHER,

W. A. WILLIS,

Committee.

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