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THE MINERS MAGAZINE

INDEPENDENCE
EDUCATION ORGANIZATION

Published Weekly by the

WESTERN FEDERATION OF MINERS

Denver, Colo.
Feb. 22
1912
Volume XII,
Number 452



WEALTH
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EDUCATION INDEPENDENCE ORGANIZATION

MINERS' MAGAZINE



Published Weekly by the
WESTERN FEDERATION OF MINERS

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 Communications not in conformity with this notice will not be published.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

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John M. O'Neill, Editor

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

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GARY of the steel trust sees the coming deluge, and he sounds a warning. His warning has come too late.

THE NEW YORK SUN has branded Theodore Roosevelt as a "drunkard, lunatic and criminal." The New York Sun should know what it is talking about.

ANDREW CARNEGIE and Cardinal Gibbons have come out for the renomination of President Taft. The interests of the cardinal and the steel king must be identical.

THE SECRETARY of Kimberley Miners' Union No. 100, W. F. M., at Kimberley, British Columbia, has notified headquarters that Moyer Miners' Union No. 71 at Moyer, B. C., has consolidated with Kimberley Miners' Union No. 100, and all cards issued by No. 71 should be reported to Kimberley Miners' Union No. 100, W. F. M.

THE IMAGINATIVE STATISTICIAN is again with us. He has calculated that the nearly two billions of gold which the United States now owns weigh 7,720,000 pounds, that it would take 4,000 horses to pull it in wagons, and that when they struck the country roads they would have to stop. This is fine reading for men out of work.—National Socialist.

THE LABORING PEOPLE at Vancouver, British Columbia, are getting a taste of Cossack rule beneath the fluttering folds of the flag of old England. Free speech is denied, and the subjects of a king have discovered that the methods employed by capitalists to suppress the liberties of the people are the same in Canada as in all other parts of the world. There can be no real liberty while capitalism wields the sceptre.

A FIRM in Boston that employed a night watchman was brought into court on the grounds that the watchman was forced to work more than eight hours, and thus the eight-hour law was violated. But the court was equal to the emergency and handed down a decision, that as the watchman was not a workingman, no violation of the eight-hour law had been committed. Solomon in all his wisdom was a "piker" compared to this profound Boston jurist.

ORGANIZED LABOR has fought the battle for the working class. It has won every victory in the past, and it will in the future. This will be true directly or indirectly in the political field. Whether the unions as organizations go into politics or not, the men who have proved worthy in the labor movement will be—must be—the servants selected to do the work politically. The experience and drill in union work and in the central bodies qualifies them for public service. The confidence they inspire by long years of service in labor's cause will be necessary. We must know our men. Promises and pledges are good as far as they go, but years of faithful service are the best guarantees of the future.—Seattle Union Record.

IN THIS ISSUE of the Miners' Magazine will be found a lengthy and interesting communication from an organizer of the Western Federation of Miners in the state of Michigan.

The organizer lays no claim to brilliancy as a writer, but his article on conditions that prevail in his district is one of the best that has appeared in the official organ for years. It is concise, plain and unvarnished, and every member of the organization, upon reading this article, can have a clear conception of the tyranny of the economic masters in the iron and copper regions of Michigan.

The editor would urge every member of the Federation to read the communication under the heading "Signs of Awakening in Michigan."

A NUMBER of prominent "labor leaders" are boosters for that organization known as the Militia of Christ. The organization was launched at the residence of Archbishop Glennon of St. Louis, the clerical dignitary whose cathedral was built with scab labor. These prominent "labor leaders" who are members of the Catholic church have permitted their religious zeal to blind them to the duty they owe organized labor. The Militia of Christ has the approval of capitalism and has the sanction of every prelate of the church who believes that slaves should render submission to their masters.

When "labor leaders" identify themselves with the Militia of Christ they consciously or unconsciously lend themselves to a movement that has for its object the weakening of the labor movement of this country.

PRESIDENT MOYER and Vice President Mahoney returned to headquarters last week after meeting with the representatives of the United Mine Workers at a session held at Indianapolis by the Mining Department chartered by the American Federation of Labor.

At the session of the Mining Department, Charles H. Moyer was elected president and Edwin Perry, secretary; while Hayes and Perry of the United Mine Workers and Moyer, Mahoney and Mills of the Western Federation of Miners constitute the executive board of the

Mining Department. The president and secretary were instructed to open communication with the Steel Workers, Longshoremen and other labor organizations whose members are employed in correlative industries, with the view of building up a Mining Department that will be a power in the labor movement of this country.

A FEW WEEKS AGO a report appeared in the press to the effect that the employes on several railroad lines were about to form a Systems Federation and that the railway magnates had become alarmed upon hearing that such a move was contemplated by railway employes.

Why did the railway magnates become alarmed? Was it because men in their employ were about to do something inimical to the interest of employes? No. The railway potentates feared for themselves, for they readily recognized the power of an organization that sheltered beneath one flag every man in the railway service. As long as railroad employes are divided into regiments of labor such as the Brotherhood of Engineers, Brotherhood of Firemen, Railway Switchmen, Brotherhood of Trainmen and Brotherhood of Conductors, and these various regiments of labor tied up by separate contracts expiring at different periods of time, the railway magnates suffer no penalty of sleepless nights devising ways and means by which employes can be controlled. But when employes recognize their class interests and proclaim that "an injury to one is an injury to all," and take steps to bring about the solidarity of labor in the railway service, regardless of crafts or trades, then there is consternation among the captains of the transportation industry.

The near future will see the railway employes beneath one banner, and then such an organization will be invincible on the industrial battlefield.

GENERAL ROBERT BADEN-POWELL, who led Great Britain's forces in crushing our sister republic in South Africa, and slaughtered thousands of patriotic, liberty-loving Boers, has arrived in this country. His reception has not been so enthusiastic as the "toadies" had wished. Taft stultified the nation by receiving this republic crusher at the White House, but he it said to the credit of the American boys that in all that big city not more than 400 could be found to turn out to honor this notorious butcherer of men. That, however, was 400 too many, and we are sorry that there is one boy in all this nation who would turn out to honor this man who had so large a part in crushing out of existence a free, republican government, patterned after our own nation, in South Africa. The press dispatches informed us in the beginning that General Baden-Powell was coming to "make inspection of the various Boy Scout regiments scattered throughout the United States, a movement which he started in England." The kind of an inspection he has in view is revealed in later

information which discloses the fact that it costs \$500 to secure a visit to a regiment by the butcherer. This interesting information leaked out when the Boy Scouts of Des Moines refused to be worked for this handsome donation to the enrichment of the private fortunes of the General. For years Europe's diseased, debauched and bankrupt "nobility" has been grabbing off the daughters of our wealthy class, and now her warriors come to teach our boys the detested and barbaric war spirit and then rob them by making a charge of \$500 to inspect their regiments. We hope, however, that the butcherer's visit and his methods will have the effect of revealing this whole detestable business in all its hellishness to the eyes of our American boys. We ask them to examine the feet of this "idol" as to the very poor quality of clay they contain.—Labor World, Spokane.

THE LATE CONVENTION of the United Mine Workers showed a more progressive spirit than any other preceding convention of the United Mine Workers. The delegates seemed to be aroused to the necessity of taking such action on important questions affecting the labor movement as would prove to the outside world that labor was no longer blind to the class struggle.

The convention went on record in no uncertain manner for industrial unionism and for united political action at the ballot box. The convention favored the government ownership of all industries and recognized the labor movement as international by selecting two delegates to attend the World's Mining Congress. The delegates recognized the fact that labor produces all wealth, when the declaration was made that the miner is entitled to the "full social value of his labor."

The National Civic Federation was given a few more knock-downs, and no delegate in the convention had the temerity to even attempt to waste any energies in lauding an organization that arranges annual feasts for "labor leaders" in the hope that such "labor leaders" in gratitude might chain the aggressive spirit of those who pant for real liberty.

The convention, without a dissenting vote, declared for woman suffrage and urged that boys under 16 years of age shall not be permitted to enter the mines.

Biennial conventions and elections shall take the place of annual conventions and elections, as a matter of economy, but the constitution has been so revised that any official of the organization can be recalled at any time for a failure to discharge his duties.

The official organ of the coal miners is to be made a more potent factor in the education of the membership, and its columns are to be opened to the free discussion of every political question that affects the working class.

It can be truly said that the late convention has taken a forward step, and it can be safely predicted that the organization will continue to move forward year by year, until "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness" shall become the heritage of laboring humanity.

They Will Yet See the Class Struggle

THE STRIKERS at Lawrence, Massachusetts, have had some lessons which should open their eyes to the class struggle, and those sages and philosophers who declare there are no classes in this country, should feel the blush of shame mantling their cheeks if they ever again repeat the hoary lie of an "identity of interest" between employer and employe.

The "identity of interest" between the mill owners and the textile workers was so apparent that the mill owners insisted on the slaves working for starvation wages, and when they refused to toil and sweat to pile up dividends for exploiters, their generous masters called upon the governor of the state to call out the Cossacks, in order that the victims of hunger might be fed on a lead diet.

The mill operatives have probably discovered, through prods of bayonets and blows from policemen's clubs, that "friends of labor" before election can always be depended upon after election to administer brutality to the working class, under the pretext that "law and order" must be upheld.

In the early part of the strike dynamite in large quantities was found, and immediately a subsidized press heralded its accusation against the strikers, but upon investigation it was found that the de-

fenders of "law and order" had planted the explosives, in order that labor on strike might be charged with a conspiracy to destroy property and human life. When an investigation revealed that the strikers had nothing to do with the planting of dynamite and when that investigation disclosed the identity of the parties shouting for "law and order," who had planted the explosives, did the officials in authority take steps to punish the guilty?

Ah, no; the class that rules is class conscious, and no member of the taper-fingered gentry must be exposed to incriminate that element, which like kings of old, "can do no wrong." The penalty of law is only to be meted out to the disinherited; to those rebellious slaves who refuse to remain at work and accept the paltry wage that dooms human beings to huts of squalor and wretchedness. The state militia is never called on to murder the anarchy of capitalism, but to suppress the liberties of the working class.

Some day the class that works will grow wise from lessons learned in the school of experience and taught by capitalism, and when that day comes, the workers will no longer be looking into the polished barrels of rifles, for they will have overthrown a civilization that can only be maintained through Gatling guns and cannon.

Another "Friend of Labor"

A SHORT TIME after the returns of the late election in Los Angeles were made known, the Catholic Fortnightly Review had the following editorial comment:

"The capitalist press all over the country has fairly gloated over the 'defeat' of the Socialist candidate for mayor at the recent municipal election in Los Angeles, Cal., which occurred a few days after the sensational ending of the McNamara trial. One of our Catholic weeklies even went out of its way to congratulate Bishop Conaty's official organ, The Los Angeles Tidings, on the 'glorious victory' achieved under Catholic leadership (?).

"Carefully and impartially analyzed the result of that election is anything but a matter for congratulation on the part of those who regard Socialism as a serious menace. At the previous municipal election the Socialists had polled only 11,000 votes, less than 18 per cent

of the total. In the face of the startling and confusing McNamara episode, with all the business interests and 'respectable' organizations fused against them, with little or no money themselves but plenty on the other side, with most of the newspapers opposing them—the Socialist party polled no less than 52,000 votes, over 38 per cent of the entire vote cast.

"If this be victory, the Lord shield us from 'defeat!'"

The Review in the above comment can discern that the near future is pregnant with disaster for all the allies and hirelings that are utilized to uphold the reign of capitalism. The 52,000 votes polled in Los Angeles against the combined forces of "predatory wealth" heralds the coming of an election day when right shall triumph against all the political conspiracies hatched by legalized pirates and backed and supported by the deluded dupes, whose mental vision is blind to the

infamies of a system that worships *gold* and degrades *man*.

But the most significant part of the editorial comment of the Review is the following:

"One of our Catholic weeklies went out of its way to congratulate Bishop Conaty's official organ, The Los Angeles Tidings, on the 'glorious victory' achieved under Catholic leadership (?)."

The Los Angeles Tidings, the mouthpiece of a Catholic bishop, was in harmony with the Los Angeles Times, the mouthpiece of General Otis, in waging war against the forces of organized labor in Los Angeles, and the Tidings is congratulated by another Catholic weekly on the "glorious victory achieved under Catholic leadership"—a *victory* that prolonged the rule of mercenary brigands and a *victory* that will keep the yoke of a political oligarchy, fed by corruption, on the necks of the people for a few more years.

Those who have suffered political defeat in Los Angeles, and the *defeated* means the working class, will remember that the Tidings joined hands with the Times in the war against labor and the *defeated* in the hour of triumph in the political arena of the future will not forget that the Tidings and other Catholic journals were arrayed against the oppressed, struggling to emancipate themselves from the clenched grasp of heartless greed.

We have been told frequently that the Catholic church is "the friend of labor," but when laboring men standing under the banner of unionism behold bishops and priests using the church and its journals as political machines to defeat labor at the polls, the declaration that the Catholic church is "the friend of labor" will only bring a sneer to the lips of men whose intelligence will resent such a falsehood.

The Battle Will Go On

THE CAPITALIST PRESS of the country is jubilant over the fact that fifty-four men have been indicted by federal grand juries in connection with the various explosions that have taken place during the past six years in different parts of the country.

Nearly all the men indicted have been identified in an official capacity with the Structural Iron Workers. Morgan decreed a number of years ago that unionism must be ultimately banished from the steel industry, and every organ pledged to the interests of exploitation must gloat editorially over the indictments that are brought against men who have been prominent factors in the labor movement, in order that such journals may merit the approbation of a master class.

The enemies of organized labor are hugging the delusion to their breast that these indictments that have come from a federal grand jury, charging fifty-four labor officials with certain violations of law, will have the effect of shattering the strength of the labor movement in this country, but these enemies of labor have failed to analyze the deathless spirit that actuates determined men to push forward in the great battle for human liberty.

No great cause that had for its object the amelioration of conditions that degrade and hold humanity in slavery, ever escaped the penalties which a ruling class could inflict, and the labor movement must not expect to escape the missiles hurled by capitalism. But the labor movement will become stronger through the persecution of its enemies. Men of heroic mould do not succumb or surrender in the storm of battle,

but with determination written on their faces, they march forward to the goal of ultimate victory.

England in the days of '76, through her well-fed and well-clad soldiers, issued the command to the ragged patriots of Concord and Lexington: "Disperse, ye rebels!" but beneath the ragged coats of the pioneers of thirteen colonies there beat brave hearts, and ragged heroes refused to quail in the presence of the armed might of King George the III.

In the days of '61 chattel slavery flourished, and the men who spoke for human freedom were reviled and persecuted, but a time was ushered in when the power that maligned and persecuted the abolitionist was crushed, and 4,000,000 of human beings were lifted to the plane of American citizenship.

All the powers on earth cannot crush the spirit that is ever panting for industrial liberty. The great cause, whose principles have brought men and women together to give battle to the hosts of Mammon, may be retarded and delayed in its growth and development, but as long as *wage slavery* remains, the sentiment for liberty will grow stronger, until capitalism goes down to its death before the united power of labor that is demanding *justice*, and nothing less will be accepted.

The future will see many men charged with crimes. Some will go to prison and others may go to the scaffold, but the battle against wrong will go on, until there is built on this planet a *real industrial democracy*, in whose atmosphere slavery cannot live.

The Oriental Ball

(By John D. Barry, in the San Francisco Bulletin.)

LAST NIGHT, at the St. Francis hotel, labor had a great triumph. It gave an exhibition of what it could do for developing beauty in the world that has never been equaled in San Francisco; that has, indeed, seldom been equaled anywhere. As hostess it presented a charming young woman, of distinguished manners, whose husband owns a large accumulation of the products of labor. Credit for the exhibition should be given to her originality and to her social and civic enterprise. She conceived the idea of inviting two hundred of the most successful accumulators of labor products to a kind of dance that should provide opportunities for effects of aesthetic splendor. So she determined to make it reflect the Far East and to call it the Oriental Ball.

For weeks in advance the guests made their preparations. Many decided to reveal themselves as the great accumulators of labor products in the history of the world, kings, queens, sultans, sultanas, emperors, empresses, princesses and princes, wearing some of the rarest achievements of labor in the way of exquisite fabrics and costly jewels in quaintly devised and elaborately wrought settings of silver and gold.

The planning of the costumes required so much knowledge that an adviser had to be called in, one that had spent years of study in the matter of costuming, a laborer that had won the right to be called an artist.

Till late in the evening laborers toiled at the St. Francis to make the setting appropriate. When the hour arrived for the opening of the ball, close to midnight, it was as if a magician had waved his wand and set down in the hotel a magnificent palace from the heart of the Orient. The walls and the ceilings had disappeared behind delicately tinted lattice work and rich Egyptian and Persian tapestries and embroideries of antique pattern, the work of fingers made cunning by years of arduous service. The court of entrance was modeled on a Spanish castle. In the center stood a Roman fountain, tossing spray into a pond, where goldfish were swimming. On all sides stood trees, with touches of rich color from the parrots and cockatoos in their branches.

In the ballroom a great canopy gave the effect of a vast tent. Here and there a fold of tapestry would reveal an opening into an alcove decorated with Oriental splendor, lighted with jeweled lamps and scented with rich incense. There on the couch the favored Oriental beauty might recline and smoke a cigarette and peer at her admirers with half-closed eyes from behind her veil. In the background stood orange trees and flowering plants and clustering vines with singing birds darting here and there.

As the guests assembled and mingled on the floor the scene was of marvelous beauty. In the soft lights the jewels shone and the delicate fabrics revealed themselves in all the miracle of color and design. In the weaving of such fabrics many women of both the past and present had worn their fingers and their faces and their bodies till they become hideous to the sight. For the capture of those jewels men had slaved for days and months and years in the darkness and the damp and the mire of the earth. Some of them had found themselves caught there and, as the earth held them in its embrace and they struggled less and less desperately for light and air, they wondered what the world would do to their helpless wives and children on the crust above.

But, of course, the women that wore those jewels and those fabrics did not think of such things. They were at the Oriental Ball to celebrate, not the tragedy of labor, but the power of labor, the energy, the daring, the skill, the generosity and the marvelous genius in the achieving of beauty!

To make the exhibition thoroughly effective the guests arrayed in the rich products of labor promenaded in the ballroom. They danced, they exchanged graceful salutations, they ate and they drank and they admired one another for the products of labor so impressively displayed.

At 3 o'clock the revellers began to go home. The last to stay fled before the morning light.

Among the guests there were many highly successful laborers, the winners of the great prizes and the most adroit exploiters of other people's labor. But the great mass of toilers, the grapplers with the forces of nature, were not represented in the two hundred. They were asleep, recuperating for the work of the next day!

Democracy Must and Will Triumph

THE FOLLOWING appeared in a New York publication shortly after the late election in Germany:

"No increase in the Socialist vote in Germany can ever turn the empire into a Socialist commonwealth, say some British observers, for the monarchy would turn to the sword if defeated at the polls, and

drown the mobs of workers in a deluge of blood and fire."

The above sentiments expressed by "British observers" and published in a New York Periodical is somewhat significant and will have a tendency to create an impression in the minds of the people that the class that rules will refuse to submit peaceably to the voice of the

majority as expressed at the ballot box. The ballot is a bloodless weapon, by which wrong may be redressed, providing that men yield obedience to the will of the majority as expressed at the polls. But if the voice of the majority is scorned by the minority, and that minority resorts to the weapons of violence to retain a hold on the functions of government, then the majority will be forced to resort to the same weapons as the minority, and insolent aristocracy will go down before the omnipotent democracy of a people aroused to a sense of justice.

Such sentiments as expressed by "British observers" are clearing the vision of the great mass of the people whose intelligence is becoming awakened to the fact that a class of privilege will resort to any means or methods to remain on the throne of authority and use every function of government to hold in servitude and subjugation the multitude whose misery and degradation makes it possible for the comparatively few to revel in indolent splendor.

The great mass of the people whose shoulders have been weighted with the wrongs of centuries are not willing to remain but little longer on their knees. The victims of oppression are slowly but surely rising to their feet and demanding in no uncertain tones that liberty shall be

the heritage of humanity and that despotism shall be swept from the face of the earth.

The "British observers" should realize that this is an age of education and that missionaries in the cause of human freedom are dispelling the superstition that was born of the cunning to enslave the world, and that as the race climbs the heights of intelligence, the closer is the dawn of a civilization, when the hand of toil shall refuse to grasp the sword to crimson the earth with human blood. "The mobs of workers" will not be drowned "in a deluge of blood and fire," for the "mobs of workers" will refuse to fight other "mobs of workers," in order that privilege and royal-robed parasites may continue the reign of tyranny at the expense of the freedom of humanity.

The thrones are tottering and capitalism can feel the symptoms of approaching dissolution as the people accept the gospel of Socialism. Socialism is coming, and the co-operative commonwealth will be established, even amid the wreck of empires and the crash of thrones, amid the scattering of kingdoms and the fall of that *royal insolence* that spurns a democracy.

Money---The Real Ruler

OCCASIONALLY an editorial writer on one of our "great" daily newspapers will give vent to his pent-up emotions, and for a few brief paragraphs give utterance to some unconventional truths. Judiciously uttered, such "radicalism" is a good asset, even for the most conservative of journals. It gives them a standing as liberal, broad and progressive organs of public opinion, which is designed to palliate their offenses against truth and progress when someone comes along and proposes to abolish the evils of capitalism by abolishing capitalism itself.

In an editorial discussion of world politics in the Chicago Tribune we find the admission that:

"It is a truism that modern nations cannot go to war without the assent of the bankers. But it is probably true that the Boer war was not the only conflict brought about for the benefit not of national welfare, but of a powerful group of financial interests. Wars once were made for dynastic reasons. To what extent are they now made for billionaires? International politics is a mystery to the people, who are beginning to suspect that imperialism may be only a splendid show to arouse their patriotic passion and their national ambition, while covering the desire of financiers to seize upon sources of wealth."

It is not an unusual thing for our "great" newspapers to assert that the men who control the finances of the civilized world control international politics and have the power to make or veto wars. But the admission is a very serious one and a very dangerous one to capitalism if carried to its logical conclusion. For if the great capitalists control world politics, inevitably they must control the internal politics of the nations whose foreign relations are in their hands. So while the "average citizen" congratulates himself that "the people rule," as a

matter of fact the real rulers are the men who control the nation's finances and industries. To tell him that in world politics money rules is to reveal to him an essential part of a truth in which he is vitally concerned.

In the panic of 1907 we had an illuminating illustration of plutocracy's power. A few weeks before the panic Mr. Roosevelt, who was then president, was going up and down the land threatening the malefactors of great wealth with the penitentiary. Every "Progressive" and radical politician and newspaper in the land was bristling with epithets and denunciation of our captains of finance and industry. To one not accustomed to our political methods the people under the leadership of Mr. Roosevelt, may have seemed to be on the verge of seizing the trusts, hanging Morgan and Rockefeller and confiscating the property of every man of wealth who did not behave decently.

"O what a difference in the morning!" With the breaking of the panic, the enemies of the malefactors of great wealth were overcome by a great fear. They fell, virtually, upon their knees and with teeth chattering implored and begged Morgan and Rockefeller to save them. The United States treasury was placed at Morgan's disposal. He and his associates were given executive dispensation to violate the anti-trust law and take over on behalf of the steel trust its most formidable rival. The muckrakers were seized with palsy. Even our own Mr. LaFollette, who a short time before was so provoked at corporate insolence that he thought a fit and proper punishment would consist in hanging Stuyvesant Fish by the thumbs, impatiently held his peace. Capitalism had showed its teeth! It not only can stop war, but it can stop business! And when business is stopped, "Progressives" stop with it.

Capitalism cannot be cured; it must be ended.—Milwaukee Leader

A Profound Thinker

WILLIAM J. BOWEN seems to have immortalized himself at the convention of the National Craft of Bricklayers, held at St. Joseph, Mo., in the month of January. Even the capitalist press has seen fit to advertise the sentiments expressed by the gentleman who presided as chairman over the deliberations of the convention. The capitalist press never fails to give honorable mention to an official in the ranks of organized labor whose brain shows the mentality of the infant, or in whose skull the tapers of intelligence have not as yet been lighted.

Bowen, in the course of his speech to the convention, said: "Labor should not regard capital as its enemy, for without capital labor could have no employment." How brilliant must have been the brain in which such a fallacy was born! What a profound thinker is Mr. Bowen, and how deeply must he have probed into the economic problem to discover that labor would be jobless without capital! But the men of Mr. Bowen's craft do not seem to agree with the chairman of the convention at St. Joseph whose massive intellect must have been seriously taxed to have given capital a priority to labor.

The bricklayers of Los Angeles, California, drafted and adopted the following resolution, which demonstrates that some men who handle the trowel have but little respect for the gem of wisdom that fell from the lips of Bowen.

The resolution adopted at Los Angeles is as follows:

"Resolved, That whereas, William J. Bowen, chairman of the National Craft of Bricklayers, in his address at the opening of the convention at St. Joseph, Missouri, did make the marked statement contained in the accompanying newspaper of the issue of January 8th, 1912; and

"Whereas, Many reading the same may take it for granted that the whole rank and file of the bricklayers' craft do indorse and believe the same statement; therefore, we the undersigned members of the

Bricklayers' Craft No. 2 of Los Angeles do herewith enter our protest against this statement, and state on our belief that no advancement will be made by the working class as long as they allow those holding such ideas to represent them and hold high office, and the worse it will be for the rank and file.

"CHARLES HASS,
"AL SANDOO,
"TOM HOME,
"WILLIAM HOLME,
"J. V. McCARTHY,
"J. B. WILLIAM."

The above resolution shows that the rank and file of the bricklayers are not in harmony with the idea expressed by a labor official, whose head must have stopped growing when he was a boy.

Bowen should have known that labor created capital, and such being the case, how was it possible for labor to become employed before the creation of capital? The men who came over in the Mayflower and set foot on the soil of a wilderness did not have capital, but when their brawn and bone applied to the natural resources of the earth had created capital, then a mother country looked with covetous eyes across the sea and became interested in the pioneers of a new world who had fled from the land of their birth to escape the penalties of royal despotism. When man became an inhabitant of this planet history does not tell us that he was supplied with capital, and if he was without capital, then will the brilliant and peerless Bowen tell us in what manner it was possible for Adam to secure a job?

It is true that capital is not the enemy of labor because labor created capital, but there is a vast difference between capital and the capitalist. Labor created capital, but the hellish industrial system under which we live created the capitalist. Bowen should not waste his energies in a labor organization, but should take a course of study in an old ladies' home, or make application for sporting editor of the War Cry, the official organ of the Salvation Army.

Gary Is Too Late

E. H. GARY made a speech in New York recently which not only created a sensation among his hearers, but the report of his speech in the press has caused some of the exploiters throughout the country to do a little serious thinking. Gary, the steel magnate, judging from the sentiments expressed in his speech, has had his ear to the ground and must have heard the rumbling of the coming earthquake.

The press report of Gary's speech is as follows:

"New York, February 12.—'Unless capitalists, corporations, rich men, powerful men, themselves take a leading part in trying to improve the conditions of humanity, great changes will come, and they will come mighty quickly and the mob will bring them.'

"Not since Andrew Carnegie astounded his former business associates by calmly announcing that the tariff should be removed from steel have financial circles in New York been so aroused by this statement made by one of its leaders, E. H. Gary, chairman of the board of the steel trust.

"The Gary statement was part of a speech he delivered Sunday morning to the New York Lehigh Club. Gary made it very plain that the people generally are 'evinced a readiness to take things into their own hands.'

"He also stated that the 'spirit of unrest' was not confined to the United States but was world-wide.

"Perfection of means of communication and 'appeals to the prejudice of what it has seen fit to consider the masses,' were the reasons assigned by the steel magnate for this condition.

"'Things are being said,' he declared, 'very similar to things said just before the French revolution. I tell you that the spark may yet make a flame, and that soon. I have an especial reason for saying this,

a reason that affects you and me. Men of great power and influence in the affairs of the country have not all of us done the fair thing. It is imperative that something be done to improve the condition of mankind. Cannot we ourselves do something to improve that condition?

"'I say that it is not only good morals but good policy likewise to improve those conditions. I appeal to you all in your dealings with men under you to do the square thing.'

No one will dispute the fact but that Gary had an "especial reason" for making a speech in New York to his colleagues in exploitation. Gary sees "the handwriting on the wall" and he realizes that something must be done and done quickly, or capitalism will be supplanted by Socialism.

Gary has looked across the sea and knows that the throne of the Kaiser is crumbling, and he likewise sees a threatened strike in England of such magnitude that every industry of Great Britain may be paralyzed. He can hear the discontent on the soil of our boasted republic, and he knows that hungry millions may become desperate and rise in their might against a system that starves humanity to enrich a class of privilege.

He knows that the yoke of wage slavery is galling to the neck of labor, and Gary in his speech pleads with the legalized robbers to throw a few more crumbs to the "mob," in order that labor may be placated. Crumbs will no longer satisfy, for men and women in every civilized nation on earth are demanding the *whole loaf* and nothing less will bring universal peace to a starving world.

Gary is too late with his proposed palliative, for the missionaries of economic liberty have planted the seed that will bring forth the fruit of a civilization that will bear no taint of the soulless profit system that grinds humanity into dividends.

Prostituting Religion to Save Capitalism

IT SEEMS that every evangelist who is recognized as an eloquent exhorter is certain of securing lucrative employment under the management of the "Men and Religion Forward Movement." The evangelist drawing "filthy lucre" from the coffers of the Morgan-Rockefeller religious syndicate has been sent into Milwaukee, one of the strongholds of Socialism in this country, in the hope that labor can be diverted from traveling towards the goal of industrial liberty.

The following in a press dispatch from Milwaukee shows that a Biblical scholar is endeavoring to prove to his paymasters that he is making an heroic effort to be worthy of his fees:

"Milwaukee, Wisconsin, February 10.—The 'time for manicured Christianity is past.' The old idea of Jesus Christ as the gentlemanly sort of person going around with a sweet smile on his face, is in the discard and we must pick up the sword he has given us and get out and fight. If men got together and said 'We want decency in this community and we want it now' the dives would close up in short order.

"This was the statement of Prof. Shaller Matthews, dean of Chicago University's divinity school and former editor of 'The World Today,' talking on the Men and Religion Forward Movement here.

"'We need more masculinity in our Christianity, a new heroism,' he declared. 'The capacity to fight is about the only prerogative a man has left in these feminized days.'

This disciple of the "Prince of Peace" has declared war on the dives, and holds that if men get out and *fight*, these dives will be closed and there will be *decency* in the community. Dives are the products of capitalism, and dives cannot be removed until capitalism is overthrown.

The professor of the divinity school of the Chicago University holds his job as teacher by the consent and permission of John D. Rockefeller. It is not reasonable to presume that a beneficiary of an institution founded and promoted by the oil king of the earth will use bare knuckles in fighting a system that produces dives as naturally as unsanitary conditions breed disease.

The saintly gentlemen who makes the pretense of having his eyes glued on heaven will not assault the system that makes it possible for Hairless John to be crowned as a financial king, standing on the pedestal of a billion. Ah, no; this superficial wind-artist will confine his denunciation to the *effects* of the hellish system under which we live, and leave unmolested the *cause* that fills the world with vice and crime.

Religion is to be prostituted, in the hope that the reign of the profit system may be prolonged, but regardless of all the professional exhorters that churches may furnish to disseminate the verbal drugs of the Men and Religion Forward Movement, the battle for human liberty will go on, until the last vestige of industrial despotism is banished from the earth.

Playing the Game of Politics

FROM PRESENT INDICATIONS it seems to be only a question of time when the United States will hoist the Stars and Stripes above Mexico. Several daily journals are now preparing the public mind to accept the annexation of the republic on the south. A number of corpulent American capitalists are heavily interested in the natural resources of the republic in which Diaz reigned so long as a despot.

These American capitalists have reached the conclusion that Mexico can be more successfully exploited under the emblem of American liberty than any other flag, and consequently are paving the way for the *patriots* of Young Columbia to invade the southern republic.

It is a noticeable fact that John Hays Hammond has extensive interests in Mexico and is now there conspiring with others to place Mexico under the flag that was carried to Cuba and the islands of the Pacific. It will be remembered that John Hays Hammond was likewise in South Africa before England declared war against the Boer republic, and it is likewise known that John Hays Hammond had much to do with hatching the conspiracy that brought the flower of the English army

into the domain of Paul Kruger.

John Hays Hammond is an intimate friend of "God Knows" and "Injunction Bill," being the commander-in-chief of the United States forces, it is somewhat easy to discern how matters can be arranged so as to fly the American flag across the Rio Grande.

Something will be "pulled off" whereby appeals to patriotism can be made through those journals that are but the mouthpieces of those bloated and arrogant capitalists who have mighty interests in Mexico, and the thoughtless, callous-fisted citizen who has been idle and hungry for months beneath the folds of the Starry Banner on American soil will feel that *the honor of his country is at stake* and his bosom will heave with emotion as he hears the bugle call summoning the patriotic proletariats to cross the border to expel the Maderestas from the throne of power.

Again, the heavyweight statesman who occupies the presidential chair is fighting for his political life, and if the fires of patriotism can be kindled to invade Mexico, millions of voters will lose sight of real issues and the fat man will capture a second term in the White House.

Report of Fraternal Delegates to the Twenty-Third Annual Convention of the United Mine Workers of America

Denver, Colorado, February 7, 1912.

To the Officers and Members of the Western Federation of Miners:

We, your fraternal delegates elected by the nineteenth annual convention of the Western Federation of Miners to represent you in the

twenty-third annual convention of the United Mine Workers of America, beg leave to submit the following report:

We arrived in Indianapolis on January 16, 1912, and had the pleasure of being present at the opening of the convention, which con-

vened at 9 a. m. on that date. After the organizing of the convention we were introduced by President J. T. White, and after each of your delegates delivered a brief address to the convention we were welcomed by a rising vote and most cordially invited to attend each and every session of the convention, which we did.

We find that the United Mine Workers of America are fully awake and recognize the struggle in which their class is engaged. The deliberations of their sessions prove to us that they not only meet to consider the interests of the men employed in the coal industry, but that they had in mind the interests of the wageworkers wherever they may be found. Many matters were introduced and discussed relative to the future of the organized labor movement and the best methods to be pursued in bringing about a more thorough solidified organization.

After listening to the discussions which took place and conferring with a great many of the delegates and officers we feel confident that the United Mine Workers of America are desirous of the closest practical affiliation between the two miners' organizations, but after questioning your delegates and more fully understanding the differences in the mining of coal and metal, they were agreed that there was much to be done in the way of education, etc., before the time would be opportune for a solidification of the two organizations. They realize, as does our own organization, that the great problem which confronts us is the educating and organizing of the vast army of unorganized workers and that the future of our movement depends upon the success which we may attain along those lines.

Among many important matters considered was that of an interchange of cards between the miners' organizations, as well as with others. Education along these lines is what is required, and when the organized workers can be brought to realize not only the justice but the far-reaching importance of this system, we will have taken a long step toward industrial organization. President White, in his annual report, fully realized the importance of this question and recommended that every effort should be put forth, not only to organize and educate those who are not in the organization, but to educate those already organized along more progressive lines in order that we may bring about the unity of the workers in its fullest sense.

We find that there is considerable difference in conducting the affairs of the United Mine Workers of America and the Western Federation of Miners. The Mine Workers' jurisdiction is divided into districts. All locals in said districts must be members of the same. The business of these districts is conducted by a president, secretary, treasurer and executive board. They also provide for sub-districts, both districts and sub-districts being governed by the international constitution and in questions of dispute, affecting wages or conditions of employment as well as appeals and grievances the jurisdiction of the international organization shall be recognized, and the decision of the international executive board is final and binding, subject to review by an international convention.

There was in attendance at the convention 1,300 delegates. Business was expedited considerably by modern methods of procedure. The credentials committee convenes at headquarters some three weeks prior to the assembling of the convention and pass on all credentials, their report, as a rule, being accepted by the convention. On the first day of the convention the president appoints a committee of three whose duty it is to receive and pass upon all resolutions and amendments to the constitution presented by the delegates, and distribute them to the proper committee which has been appointed to act upon them, thus avoiding a great deal of unnecessary delay which is generally caused in conventions by reading and referring such matters to committees.

Your delegates will state for the information of the rank and file of the W. F. M. that the constitution of the A. F. of L. does not allow the granting of charters by the United Mine Workers to departments or international unions. They can only issue charters to local unions, as does the Western Federation of Miners. Therefore, in considering the question of an amalgamation of the two organizations, the locals of one would necessarily be compelled to accept charters as local unions from the other.

As we have stated, we were in attendance at all of the sessions of the convention, observed closely the manner of transacting the business of the United Mine Workers, discussed with delegates the methods employed in the mining of coal, and after so doing, and studying their constitution, we are agreed that the time has not as yet arrived when the interests of the workers employed in the metalliferous mines, mills and smelters can best be conserved by sinking the identity of the Western Federation of Miners and becoming a part of the United Mine Workers of America. There are many matters that must be understood by both organizations and problems to be worked out before such a move, in our opinion, would be practicable. The United Mine Workers not only believe in the contract system, but provide in their contracts for a check-off system, which insures to them the payment of all dues and assessments from each and every member of the organization. Without this system, experience has taught the Mine Workers that their revenues are at all times uncertain, but with that in their contract, every man, when he secures employment in an organized district, must contribute his initiation fee and such other financial obligations as may be provided for during the life of the contract by his organization.

While the convention was going on, or rather before its final adjournment, the operators from Illinois, Ohio, Indiana and Iowa arrived in Indianapolis, and a joint conference was held between them and the representatives of the miners for the purpose of negotiating a two years' contract, but at the time of our departure an agreement had not been reached, and we were later informed that the conference adjourned to meet at a later date. It is to be hoped that a satisfactory settlement may be reached, as it means much for the coal miners and the working class of this country, for with a definite understanding between the

organization and their employers for this period of time the United Mine Workers of America would be in a position to center their entire efforts on the organizing of the thousands of unorganized people in their industry.

The following is a synopsis of some of the resolutions which were adopted by the convention:

"That this convention go on record favoring government ownership of all industries."

"A resolution was introduced, the sense of which was that the United Mine Workers withdraw from the American Federation of Labor, but the committee on resolutions submitted the following substitute to the resolution, which was amended and adopted by the convention which reads as follows:

"Your committee recommend that inasmuch as unity of action on both the industrial and political field is necessary in the work of emancipation of the wage worker and the American Federation of Labor will not become stronger and better by part of the workers leaving it, but can be made into any kind of movement the workers want to make it, we therefore cannot concur in the idea of seceding from either the American Federation of Labor, or any other part of the labor movement, and therefore non-concur in the entire resolution, except that we recommend that the delegates to the next convention of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to work for the inauguration of the referendum method of election of officers."

"Resolved, That we, the officers and delegates of the twenty-third annual convention of the U. M. W. of A. favor in its entirety the old age pension bill introduced by Congressman Berger, especially that clause which makes it imperative that no court or judge shall ignore, avoid or annul the expressed will of the people's chosen representatives; and be it further

"Resolved, That we extend an invitation to Congressman Berger to address this convention before adjournment."

"Resolved, That we recommend that it is the sense of this convention that the method of organization by industry be inaugurated wherever possible and the delegates to the next American Federation of Labor convention be instructed to use every endeavor to bring this about, and we further recommend that representatives of the international and district conventions of our organization visit the different labor conventions wherever possible and use every endeavor to mold sentiment along these lines."

"Resolved, That where there are no compensation laws in states where the mining industry is located that the international and district organizations lend all their power and assistance to the end that such a law may be enacted."

"Resolution to appeal to the members of the United States Congress for the abolition of the abuse of government by injunction."

"Resolution commending the Socialist party and its news journal and all other papers that have championed the cause of labor."

We make mention of the following amendments made to the new constitution which was adopted by the convention:

The preamble was amended by striking out the words "an equitable share of the fruits of their labor," and inserting the words "the full social value of our product."

The following amendment was made to the constitution with the object of preventing individuals from being elected to office who have not had the experience, and sometimes not working for the best interests of the organization, detectives and such like: "That a man must have had five years' experience in a coal mine before being eligible to office, and to strike out the words "or an affiliated organization."

The convention reaffirmed that clause in their constitution wherein it prohibits members of the United Mine Workers from belonging to the Civic Federation.

The convention also amended their constitution so that the international executive board cannot levy more than two assessments in one year on the membership without being authorized to do so by referendum vote of the membership.

The following delegates were elected to represent the U. M. W. of A. for the year 1912:

Delegates Germer and Lackey, to the World's Mining Congress to be held in Europe in June, 1912.

Delegates Lord and Cameron to the W. F. of M. convention.

Delegates McDonald and Moore to the World's Mining Congress to be held in Europe in June, 1913.

In conclusion we wish to inform the officers and members of the W. F. M. that it is our intention to render a detailed report to the twentieth annual convention, yet we feel it our duty as your representatives, to say at this time that we cannot believe that the time is now opportune to sink the identity of the W. F. M. and become a part of the United Mine Workers of America, as we are firmly convinced that the negotiations carried on between the two organizations for the past two years have brought them much closer together, and the organizing of a mining department will result in establishing a defensive and offensive alliance by which united industrial action can be obtained between the two organizations and others correlative to mining. Observations have satisfied us that there are many serious problems to be solved before it would be practical for the two organizations to amalgamate. While we have not been privileged to attend any of the past conventions of the United Mine Workers, yet we feel that the work done by the twenty-second annual convention and the sentiment expressed by the delegates justify us in saying that it will go down in history as the most progressive convention ever held by that organization. Fraternally,

EDWIN YOUNG,
JNO. A. MacKINNON.



INFORMATION WANTED.

Information is wanted of the whereabouts of George T. Banbury, formerly of Chateaugay, New York. By the will of the late George Banbury of Wallingford, England, he has been made one of the beneficiaries of his will. Any one knowing his present address will please write John A. Banbury, 1705 Lackawanna Ave., Superior, Wis.

INFORMATION WANTED.

Information is wanted of the whereabouts of John Barrier, who was a member of Altman Miners' Union No. 19, of Altman, Colorado, some twelve years ago. When last heard from, he was in Butte, Montana, ten years ago. Anyone knowing his present address will confer a great favor by writing to Richard Barrier, South First street, Guthrie, Oklahoma.

DECLINES TO BE A CANDIDATE.

Butte, Mont., Feb. 12, 1912.

Editor Miners' Magazine:

Kindly publish the following in the next two issues of the Magazine: To the Officers and Members of All Local Unions of the Western Federation of Miners:

I take this method of informing you that I am not a candidate, and do not desire to be nominated for office by any local of the Federation.

DAN D. SULLIVAN,
Executive Board Member.

WHAT'S THE USE?

What's the use to worry?
You've not got long to stay,
Why not take things easy
As you pass along Life's way.
'Twill do no good to worry
If things are going wrong,
You may as well be pleasant,
Meet reverses with a song.

What's the use to criticise,
What's the use to knock,
What's the use to ridicule
Or at some throw a rock.
Don't appoint yourself a censor;
No matter what you do,
This great, big world was never made
For just a chosen few.

There's none of us that's perfect,
There's few of us that stay,
And never stray or wander
From the straight and narrow way.
So when you start to hammer
Some poor fool who's gone astray,
'Twill do no harm to pause and think—
You may lose your grip some day.

What's the use to kick one
Who's just about to fall?
If you do not care to help him,
Don't mention him at all.
You'll find if you take notice
That what I say is true,
While there may be faults in others
There's a flaw or two in you.

(This poem was copied at San Quentin Prison by "Mother" Jones.)

WHAT CONSTITUTES SELF GOVERNMENT?

(By I. Tarkoff, Montrose, Colo.)

We hear a great deal about how the Russian, Cuban, Filipinos, Mexican or other people are, or are not, fit for self government. The question arises as to what constitutes self government, and how can we prove who is, and who is not, fit for self government?

Undoubtedly the only people who are fit for self government are those who exercise what rights and duties they have in the government under which they live, or the organization they voluntarily enter. For instance, in the United States we have as citizens the right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, which is expressed through our right to the ballot; and have the duties of sustaining our government, even though it takes our very lives to accomplish it.

Rights and duties go hand in hand; one is impractical without the other. Rights without duties are monarchical, despotic or monopolistic; and duties without rights are burdensome and destructive. The test of any government or organization is, "have they or have they not, well balanced rights and duties for their citizens or members?" If rights and duties are well balanced it is a just government or useful organization. If not, it is despotic as a government and a fake or a dream as an organization.

But the whole thing hinges on the right to the ballot in such government or organization. For ages, the human race has tried to settle their differences or realize their ideals without the aid of the ballot; and failed. It has cost the human race oceans of blood to establish the right of the ballot. Now since we have that right, what opinion can we have of those who will not exercise it, other than that they are not fit for "self government"? They do not belong to the age of the ballot, but to the dark ages when the armored knight held his tyrannical sway everywhere. There never was any danger of any ordinary mortal not doing his duties toward his superiors. That part of life he was always compelled to do. If he was ever permitted to neglect any duties at all, it was duties he owed to himself or his fellowmen of his own station.

The greatest heritage of the human race is the ballot. So far it has proven to be the most powerful weapon of all ages; and he or she who has the right to the ballot and refuses its aid or power by not exercising it wherever possible, is less fit for self government than the Mexicans, Cubans, Filipinos, Hindoos, Russians or other people who have not the ballot to aid them in their struggles for life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. The test of self government is in the exercise of the ballot. Those who can and do exercise their right to the ballot are fit, and those who can and do not exercise their right to the ballot are unfit for self government. (Personally I believe in heavily fining or taking away the right of citizenship of anyone who, without cause, fails to exercise his rights or perform his duties of citizenship. My contempt is for such dangerous fools in a paradise.) In voluntary or free organizations, we always find that those who join and do not exercise their rights and duties in such organizations through the ballot, compel or help to build up an autocracy at the head of such organizations. Socialist organizations are not exempt from this.

Now what should be the first duties of such an organization as the Socialist party, which claims to stand not only for political, but industrial democracy? Just imagine an industrial democracy among a people too ignorant, or unwilling to exercise the right of self government through the ballot. Impossible! Preposterous! It is unimaginable, if the Socialist party has any duties at all; first of all, it must teach and compel the practice of democracy and self government by the members in its own organization. It must be made the training school for democracy and self government; and not a battlefield for ambitious leaders. Just imagine an industrial organization of 120,000 members in a Socialist co-operative commonwealth sending out a referendum about its affairs, and only one-tenth or one fifth of its members vote and decide for the rest what to do or what is right! And that is the exact condition of the Socialist party in the United States today! You must not neglect your duties to your superiors, relating to payment of dues, but you can neglect your duties to yourself and your kind, by not exercising your right and performing the duties of self government in the Socialist party, the same as in capitalistic organizations. You ask me what can we do to remedy it? Let majority rule mean a majority of all the membership must decide.

SHALL SOCIALIST CHURCHES BE ESTABLISHED?

(By R. A. Dague, Author of "Henry Ashton," etc.)

There are several millions of labor unionists and Socialists in America. A majority of them attend church services regularly. Millions of them are members of the Catholic or Protestant denominations. It is their money contributions, chiefly, which erects the meeting houses and pays the salaries of the pastors. What do they receive in return? Promises that if they will be quiet and content with their poverty and hard economic life here, and continue to contribute liberally till death overtakes them, then they shall go to heaven hereafter.

They are taught they must meekly submit to the "powers that be"; that poverty is unavoidable, is necessary, and that there must always be rich and poor, master and servant. They are admonished, lectured, scolded and threatened. They know that a few rich men, many of them selfish, proud oppressors of the poor, dictate the policy of the society, decide what pastor shall or shall not be employed, and muzzle the preacher so that he dare not utter a word contrary to the opinions of the rich pew-holder.

They read that Jesus was born in a cow-stable; was reared in poverty; worked at manual labor; selected twelve workingmen for his disciples; preached communistic doctrines; advocated universal brotherhood; associated with the poor; denounced most scathingly the selfish rich; opposed war and won the love of the "common people," who heard him gladly; and incurred the hatred of the capitalists and rulers. His disciples and followers preached and practiced these doctrines for three hundred years, and until the Pagan Emperor, Constantine, got control of the Church and changed both its doctrines and practices. For communism he substituted the private ownership of property of all kinds; he fostered war instead of brotherhood and peace; he gave greater liberty to the rich and heaped heavier burdens upon the poor; in short, he "paganized the Christian Church." Many of the early Church fathers protested, but without avail. The anti-Christian teachings triumphed. Ever since Constantine's day, the Church has justified war and defended slavery and monarchy, and approved of usury, and the right of the speculator and powerful masters to exploit the workers, and has contended that slavery and poverty are ordained of God, and that the rich have a divine right to take from the poor a large part of their earnings without returning an equivalent therefor.

But now comes labor unionism and Socialism with the following mottoes emblazoned upon their banners:

"An Injury to One Is the Concern of All."
"Equal Opportunities to All; Special Privileges to None."
"Let Every One Be Rewarded According to His Deeds."
"Universal Brotherhood" and "Universal Peace."

Thousands are asking: "Are not these mottoes in harmony with the teachings of Jesus?" And I again make the enquiry: "Why should working people and Socialists go to a church which persists in preaching more of the doctrines of Constantine than of Jesus Christ?" I do not hesitate to say to working people: "If your pastor fails to speak out against plutocracy and the competitive system of industrialism, and defends the private ownership of those things which should be owned collectively, and refrains from preaching practical Christianity, then stop going to that church, and go and listen to the Socialist minister. If you know of none such in your town, then get busy, organize a society, employ a pastor, and establish a Sunday school for the children."

Hundreds of honest ministers, now muzzled, would rejoice exceedingly to be unmuzzled, and to be called to preach pure Christianity instead of a paganized religion, if they were assured of a living support. Today they are poor, helpless wage slaves like yourselves. Help them to throw off their chains. Within the past few years, a number of able ministers have been forced out of pulpits for preaching Socialism, and others have voluntarily stepped out because they dare not deliver the whole message of Christ without bitter persecution. These honest men should be promptly employed by the Socialists and labor unionists to conduct public meetings. There is not a city in America in which one or more churches of Socialism might not be easily organized and meetings held every Sunday with full houses, presided over by a preacher who, without any strings upon him, could proclaim the whole gospel of Jesus.

Socialism makes no claim of being a religious movement, but proposes to deal with economics and civil government only, but the fact is that its teachings have been found to be in strict harmony with the life and teachings of the founder of Christianity. A writer in the Encyclopedia Britannica says: "The ethics of Socialism are identical with the ethics of Christianity." To some people Socialism is a methodical, logical and thoroughly just system for carrying on a high civilization; to others it is all that and practical Christianity besides. I do not advise Socialists and working people to withdraw from the church in which the pastor is a Socialist or where Socialism is treated honestly and respectfully, and there are many such pastors, but I do advise them to absent themselves from those aristocratic, selfish, proud, paganistic churches in which Socialism is grossly misrepresented.

A system of theology which leaves out the fundamental principles of Socialism, labor unionism and universal brotherhood is not Christian, and not worthy of the support of the Socialist and unionist who are striving to abolish war and to establish on earth a co-operative commonwealth—a universal brotherhood.

Miss Frances E. Willard, that noble, Christian woman, among her last utterances, said: "Socialism is the bone and marrow of the gospel of Jesus Christ. It is Christianity applied. It is God's way out of the wilderness into the promised land."

In conclusion, I repeat: Let working people refrain from going to mammonized churches; let them rent a hall, employ an honest, fearless preacher to present to them the true teachings and history of the life of Jesus until such time at least when the existing Christian Church—so-called—shall discard the religion and practice of Constantine and substitute therefore the teachings and practice of Jesus Christ. Let them also establish Sunday schools, withdraw their children from those schools that are cultivating the war spirit under the Boy Scout movement, and let them be taught in the Socialistic Sunday school, kindness, equity, universal brotherhood and "peace on earth, good will to men."

Tacoma, Wash., Feb., 1912.

A QUERY.

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

Self-styled Disciples of Christ ye stand,
At your shrines the ignorant kneel;
Ye have builded shrines all over the land,
Your baneful power thousands feel;
Ye have hoarded up a golden store,
Like kings and princes ye live,
Are not content, but ask still more,
But—what, in return, do ye give?

Ye preach of a Heaven after death,
Speak not of this Hell on earth;
Ye speak to the rich with bated breath,
Who despise the poor from their birth;
Christ loved the weak and humble poor,
'Twas for them He came to live,
To them He gave His promises sure;
But—ye hypocrites—what do ye give?

Ye preach submission to wealth and power,
And the laws that rich men make;
Ye never submit; but cringe and cower
And the dole of the ignorant take.
To further ensnare, enthrall and blind,
As long as their kind shall live,
And prey on the fears of their narrow mind,
But what—answer—what do ye give?

Ye barter the gifts of a living God,
Ye enslave the soul for gain,
Walk not in the path that Jesus trod,
His laws ye spurn with disdain.
Your God is Mammon, your Christ is gold;
Your creed to the poor is: labor and live.
And ye garner the coin—hard, yellow, and cold,
But—whited sepulchres, what do ye give?

Ye are accursed and damned for aye,
By the very Christ whose livery ye wear;
His words still live; they can never die,
Though your words still enslave, ensnare.
Who made you Keepers of Heaven and Hell?
Ordained the celibate lives ye live?
The power ye wield, ye know full well,
But—answer to God, what do ye give?

Ye serve not God nor the Nazarene;
Ye live for pomp and power and spoil,
And well ye know your might, I ween,
And the tribute ye levy on sweat and toil.
Ye robbers of men, enslavers of thought,
On the blood of men, like vampires, ye live!
From ye can the blessings of Heaven be bought,
But—what do ye give? Answer! What do ye give?

NEWS FROM WASHINGTON, D. C.

(By National Socialist Press.)

Washington, Feb. 14.—The committee on ways and means of the House of Representatives is still "considering" the Esch bill which provides against the use of the deadly white phosphorus in the manufacture of matches. This is the answer the committee gives. But, in fact, the committee has pigeonholed this humanitarian measure and unless Congress hears soon from the American working class the match manufacturers will win out.

The greatest secrecy has been maintained regarding the disposition of this measure. The members of the committee refuse to give the names of the sub-committee which is "considering" this bill. But it has been learned that Representative Claude Kitchin of North Carolina is chairman of the sub-committee. According to his conduct at the recent hearing on the Esch "phossy jaw" bill before the full committee, Kitchin is opposed to the passage of this measure. Kitchin is a crank on free trade and is therefore afraid that the passage of the Esch bill may give the opportunity to the American match manufacturers to ask Congress to protect them against foreign competition.

The Esch bill has been before Congress many years. It aims to do away with the unnecessary use of the poisonous phosphorus. All European governments forbid the use of this chemical. But in this "land of the free" scores of workers are annually made victims of the dreadful disease "phossy jaw" just because the workingmen here have no influence in Congress.

Plays for Socialist Vote.

Representative William La Follette of Washington is playing for the Socialist vote, just as his Wisconsin relative is doing on a larger scale. In a circular just issued by this Pacific coast "statesman" he makes this promise: "Even those measures offered by Congressman Victor L. Berger of Wisconsin, which seem to be in accord with the wishes and needs of the people, will have as hearty support from me as those introduced by my Republican colleagues."

La Follette is no doubt reading the handwriting on the wall.

Socialist News Corroborated.

On January 22nd last the National Socialist Press sent out a story from

Washington stating that Senator La Follette was a "stalking horse" for Theodore Roosevelt in the race for the Presidency. A few days ago La Follette quit the race "owing to illness."

The real reason for La Follette's retirement is that Medill McCormick, one of the "angels" who put up the cash for the Wisconsin Senator's campaign, withdrew and joined the Roosevelt forces. It is said in Washington that McCormick is an agent of the Gary-Perkins political machine which has elected our last three Presidents.

Gary is chairman of the board of directors and Perkins is chairman of the committee on finance of the United States steel corporation, which was organized by J. Pierpont Morgan.

Without Wall Street's support it seems that even an insurgent has no show in the capitalist political game. La Follette has probably learned this lesson.

Labor Back of Revolt.

Unless Madero promises the Wall Street interests that he will in the future use the mailed fist on the Mexican working class nothing can prevent the United States troops crossing the Rio Grande.

American capitalists are very much incensed over the compromising tactics that have been indulged in by the present ruler of Mexico. They have learned that Madero had assured Mother Jones and L. Guiterrez de Lara, the Mexican Socialist, that he would not interfere with the unionizing of the miners of Mexico.

Wall Street has also learned that organizers of the Western Federation of Miners have been very active in Mexico lately and that they have been succeeding remarkably well. These organizers were never allowed to do their work openly when Porfiro Diaz held the scepter. But under Madero they have not only been allowed to do their work, but, according to information received here, have even received encouragement from the more enlightened Maderistas.

Recently a strike of 8,000 cotton workers took place in Mexico City. They had been receiving 35 cents a day and were forced to pay about 80 cents a week to the company for the privilege of living in foul huts, reeking with vermin. The workers rebelled, and, under the leadership of de Lara and other progressive workers, crippled the cotton industry in the federal district.

These cotton mills are in the main owned by capitalists of the United States. And they want Madero to handle strikes just as our governors and Presidents do. So Wall Street wants to take charge of things in Mexico and give the people of that country a taste of "American Freedom."

For Probe of Lawrence Strike.

Forcing the attention of Congress to the pitiful conditions of the striking workers of Lawrence, Mass., Victor L. Berger, the Socialist congressman, has introduced a resolution providing for the election of a committee of seven "to investigate the relations of the American Woolen Company to the strike of its operatives."

"The American Woolen Company, a corporation engaged in interstate commerce and practically controlling the worsted woolen mills of the country," declared Berger in his resolution, "has for years been the recipient of a government subsidy in the form of an exceptionally high tariff. The tariff has in recent years been raised to a point which has caused even the President of the United States, who was elected on a protectionist platform, to declare that it is indefensible."

"In spite of this government subsidy, by which enormous profits have been taken from the American people, this corporation has steadily decreased the wages of its operatives until they are now conceded to be the lowest paid in any of the important industries of America; has forced these operatives from employment and imported to take their places thousands of men, women and children from the sections of Europe where the standard of living is lowest."

Representative Berger says that the Lawrence operatives have been goaded into revolt by a long series of oppressive acts and abuses, ending in a reduction of wages of 50 cents a week out of an already miserable wage averaging less than \$6 a week.

Pointing out that in the disturbances growing out of this strike lives have been lost and persons injured, property has been destroyed, trade and industry have been paralyzed, and armed force has been brought to the scene, Berger declares that "this corporation, in spite of disasters to an entire community, which have been caused by its policy, has steadfastly refused to treat with its operatives."

THE X Y Z OF THE ALDRICH SCHEME.

(By A. J. Stafford in New York Call.)

Not so many years ago, we thought the men we elected to run this country were great statesmen, who vied with one another in making laws for the State; for all the people. We used to hear a lot of talk about equality of opportunity, and the greatest good for the greatest number. We thought that they would fall over one another to make laws for the workingman and farmers.

But in the last few years we have found out that our "Great Statesmen" are nothing but cheap political frauds and grafters. They make laws solely for the big capitalists, who furnish the money to elect them. All these laws are against the interests of the working class. I may say that it is a matter of common knowledge that the government of our great and glorious country, acts as a business agent for the ruling class. Our foreign representatives are required to look up opportunities for "Business." All the laws are made for the "business interests;" none for the farmers and workingmen. The quarrels over laws are always between different sets of capitalists.

"Thou shalt not steal," has no influence with the "great statesmen" elected by the people of this country.

It is also a fact, not generally known, that the government acts as a purloining agent for the ruling class. Land, property, money, privileges, and credit, belonging to the people, are given as free gifts to the capitalists. Land grants, subsidies, high salaries, licenses, "contracts," charters, laws allowing the banks to issue paper money—these and many more are all parts of the general scheme of plunder.

The above facts are called to mind on reading "The A B C of the Aldrich Plan," by Roger W. Babson, in the Saturday Evening Post of December 25th.

Now, a plain unvarnished steal cannot be named for what it really is; that would raise a storm of protest from even such a dull being as the average voter. How would this sound: "A bill to give certain men a large tract of land for nothing," or "An act to give a few notorious crooks money to build a railroad, and then give them the railroad;" or this: "An act to compel the United States Government to print a few billions of dollars of 'bogus' money, and let the leading banks pass it, so that they can get the amount for nothing?" Genuine titles like these would give the whole graft away, so they give their schemes false names.

The "Fowler Currency Bill," which would have allowed the banks to issue a few billions of dollars of counterfeit money, called "bank notes," was named, "An Act to Maintain the Gold Standard." The Aldrich currency bill, which turns the same colossal trick for the bankers, is described as an act of benevolence.

What is this Aldrich currency bill?

First let Mr. Aldrich tell what it is for, through his mouthpiece, Roger W. Babson:

"The bankers of today find themselves unequal to the demands of this

new era. . . Generally, bankers are able to take care of themselves; not infrequently they pass through panics with increased profits. This is not to say banks like panics. . . All are familiar with 1873, 1893 and 1907, and their panics. Wages were cut, farmers could not sell their products, and business men were helpless. . . It is a matter of wonder that the people have submitted so long to the dangers of the crude system of banking we now have. . . We have a new era in banking in every country, but the United States. . . I am simply interested in the welfare of my country. . . I present this plan because I believe it is the best method to be employed on behalf of the people."

The above is a small part of the A, B, C dope. Now for the scheme itself. Briefly, here it is: To unite all the banks of the country (except those that are crowded out) into one mammoth banking trust, with over \$20,000,000,000 in resources. The country is to be divided into fifteen "districts" with a big trust bank in each district, and a grand central bank, with \$300,000,000 capital, ruling over all. This is to be located in Washington, D. C. (For the A, B, C class, Mr. Aldrich says that this is not a trust, but a "co-operative union of banks;" and not a "central bank," but a "grand central reservoir," to be called "a National Reserve Association," doing a banking business!)

This central bank is to be controlled by forty-five directors, with an executive committee of nine! The manner of electing these directors is complicated; A, B, C says that it is "democratic" and no "clique" could get control, but the way Mr. Aldrich proposes is similar to the manner in which United States Senators are elected. It may be set down as a fact that the same money power that puts such men as Mr. Aldrich in the Senate will take care of that executive committee of nine.

Now, when this central bank is established (with Rockefeller's son-in-law or Morgan's partners in charge) what will be its powers?

They are many and far reaching, but difficult to trace out in Mr. Babson's A, B, C. While the alleged benevolent features are given prominent positions, the extraordinary powers are casually mentioned at the ends of long sentences. Says the A, B, C:

"All the privileges of the National Reserve Association must be equitably extended to every bank holding its proportion of the stock of the National Reserve Association."

But this is only a pretense. Here are a few "privileges" that cannot be "extended to every bank:"

"But the National Association should pay no interest on deposits. . . It is planned that the government of the United States shall deposit its cash balance with the National Association. . . The rates of discount which the National Reserve Association shall have authority to fix, etc. . . There shall be no further issue of circulating notes beyond the amount now outstanding by any national bank. . . The National Reserve Association shall issue . . . its own notes as fast as the outstanding notes. . . shall be presented for redemption, and may issue other notes from time to time to meet business requirements. (This means that when business men want money in any quantity the trust bank will have it printed and lend them all that they can pay interest on); it being the policy of the United States to retire as rapidly as possible, consistent with the public interest, bond secured circulation and substitute therefor notes of the National Reserve Association."

Now this has not been the "policy of the United States" in the past, but if Mr. Aldrich says that it is the present policy his word goes. He represents the interests that control the United States government.

Here is another little "privilege" that cannot be extended to all the banks. Says Mr. Babson: "I think that all will agree as to the necessity of a central reserve association for the bank reserves of our country which will see that each bank has its proper supply of currency, and that none be allowed to selfishly hoard money to the detriment of business."

This Aldrich money trust would have a complete monopoly of finance, and be controlled by the same men that control the other trusts. This new "greatest trust in the world" will do a wholesale banking business, with fifteen branches in the United States, and other branches in all foreign countries; it will handle all the funds of the United States; the government will deposit all its money in the trust banks without interest, and make all payments through them. It (the trust) will issue all the new currency and regulate the supply to each bank; it will stop the local banks from issuing bank notes; it will flood the country with billions of dollars of counterfeit money, called notes of the National Reserve Association.

Why will this be counterfeit money?

Because every bank note is counterfeit money. When the nation issues notes in payment for services or property, the nation gets something for nothing for the time being. All the people hold these notes, and the profit or loss is about equally distributed. The people simply hold their own notes. It makes a light form of taxation.

But the party that first exchanges a mere paper note for value gets something for nothing. When a bank gives its note for value received, that bank gets something for nothing, and holds it as long as the notes are kept in circulation by the people. This is all that the person who utters illegal counterfeit money does—gets something for nothing.

Our national banking laws cannot make this "bogus" money good for the people. They simply protect the banks in "shoving the queer."

This central bank could easily crush out any small bank or business by the simple withholding of credit and money.

At the present time, through collusion with good Democrats and Republicans, the bankers have got a powerful grip on the money and business of this country. The Aldrich scheme would, in time, give a banking trust absolute control of all the money, business and property of this nation.

SIGNS OF AWAKENING IN MICHIGAN.

For nearly three years the Western Federation has kept a score of organizers, speaking different languages, on the field in the mining districts of Michigan. Up to the present, this force of organizers has not been able to bring about such results as some of the most optimistic members in well organized mining camps have expected. But the day of general awakening seems to draw nearer. The cost of living, which has risen enormously in every corner of the land during the last few years, has climbed to such a height in these mining camps that it is almost impossible for some of the miners with big families to have meat in their dinner pails. Instead of eating beef steak and pork chops as they used to, they are taking to cod-fish and "Silakka" (a fish resembling sardines, imported here from Norway, Sweden and Finland) and all other sorts of cheap stuff. This is especially true in the iron district where the steel trust is dominant and where the men have worked only half time since the fall of 1907.

In the copper district, the men are still working under the reduced wage scale which went into effect on the eve of the panic of 1907. They are getting from \$43 to \$65 a month, while everything, with the exception of house rent, is pretty near as high here as it is in Butte, Montana, where they are getting \$3.50 per day.

This high cost of living has set even the most conservative "block heads" to thinking and although the membership of the unions has not increased very fast, nevertheless, the dissatisfaction and discontent have found their way to every house. And the sentiment towards the mining corporations has changed entirely. A few years ago if a man went amongst the miners in Calumet—the biggest camp in the state—and said something against Calumet and Hecla, they at once took it upon themselves to defend the com-

pany. Only four years ago the Finnish miners were holding big mass meetings protesting against the Socialists and denouncing them as anarchists, because the Socialists dared to say that the mining companies were robbing them. Today the sentiment is just opposite. If you say anything now in favor of the company you get a sharp look from every direction and if you continue the argument by saying what they themselves were in the habit of saying that, "the company gives just as much to its employes as it can afford to give," you're running a chance of getting a pair of black eyes.

In addition to this, the companies are forcing more work out of them now than they ever did before. There is plenty of men on the surface now-a-days and the bosses are taking advantage of that. In nearly all the copper mines they are demanding more holes and more cars. A good example of this squeezing is furnished by Quincy mine in Hancock. Three years ago the miners drilled only four six feet holes in a shift. That was the standard then. Later, when the number of the unemployed grew, they demanded five six-foot holes and still later they wanted six and a couple of months ago, the captain went before the men and said: "Any one of you fellows that does not drill eight six feet holes in a shift, will be fired!" That was a very harsh statement and some of the miners wanted to strike at once. But as a large number of the men working in that mine happened to be members of Hancock Miners' Union, the unorganized did not succeed in their attempt to inaugurate a strike. The organized portion told the unorganized that they must learn how to organize before they can learn how to win, and they took the advice so seriously that the membership of the union has nearly doubled since.

New Machine a Great Factor.

Last fall the mining companies began to buy and take into use new drill machines that need only one man to operate. Calumet and Hecla, which well compare in size to Amalgamated in Montana, bought one thousand of these "one-man-machines" and the other companies are following. There are several hundreds of these machines in operation already and it seems if the corporations carry into effect all of their present intentions, that this machine may cause general uprising in this whole copper district. To give you a more clear understanding of the situation I will illustrate how they are introducing this new instrument. When the machines arrive at the mine the bosses will select a few men that they know to be "good workers." To each one of them they turn over one of these machines. Then the men are put to work in a contract and told that they get every cent they make. This way they have the speediest men to set the pace that others have to follow. But the companies are not satisfied with this. Together with the first few machines they sent down a few of their clerks, timekeepers and sometimes an expert, sent here from somewhere, to take down on the table, provided for that purpose, every move the men make in working with the machine. When he starts to set up, the timekeeper is there to take down on his paper how many minutes and seconds it takes to set it up, how long to start the hole, how long to drill the hole and so on. If it is necessary for the men to go into some old stope to satisfy his physical being—even that is marked on the white paper and accounted. This is done with a view of finding out just exactly how much a man can do with that new instrument, which he handles all alone with no partners whom he could blame if everything did not go just the way it should. To me it seems as if this was a first step in the way of "scientific management," part of that new squeezing plan called "Taylor system" in the industrial annals of capitalism.

We can not yet say how many different ways this new instrument will effect labor in the mines. But one and the main thing we can see already and that is: that it will turn the conditions of miners from bad to worse. It will enable the corporations to squeeze more work out of the miners hide and in that respect it is bound to become also a potential factor in promoting the organization. A good many miners realize this fact already. In many instances men have refused, individually, from operating this machine, while in other mines they are talking about striking against it collectively. If they strike, unorganized as they are, it will be a revolt of empty stomachs against iron and steel; if they don't strike, it will grind them down still lower to the depths of misery. So the only alternative left to them is the organization, through which they may use their united strength intelligently.

Struck Against Fining System.

Some of the copper companies have, in addition to other squeezing methods, deducted fines for broken tools. If a man happens to break a piston or some other part of his machine the company deducted \$5—\$10 and in some instances as high as \$20 from his pay. This has been practiced continuously in some mines. In the last month the Mohawk Mining Co. resorted to this practice. They deducted \$5 and \$10 from each man in 14 parties, about \$280 in all. All this was deducted from last month's pay for machines broken earlier. It was a small thing compared to others they have to suffer, but it enraged them so that they struck like one man on the Monday morning following the pay day. As there was only a few amongst them that had ever had any connection with labor organizations they did not know just how to go at it. Anyhow they selected a committee of twelve to see the manager of the company, Mr. Smith, and ask him if he is willing to abolish the fines system and pay back all the money deducted. The committee went over to Mr. Smith and was given a hearing. But Mr. Smith's answer was that all the men must resume work at once, after which he "MAY" consider their grievances individually.

Meanwhile the news of the strike spread to nearby towns and four of your organizers, brothers Judich, Jedda, Opman and the writer hastened to the scene together with brother Wilkingson, president of 203. When the strikers met in the hall that night to hear the committee's report, we were there. The captain of the mine, Mr. Bouden, was also there with the company marshal, sitting on the stage right in front of the strikers. It was a peculiar sight. On the floor of the hall there were over 4,000 strikers, men that had rebelled against the company's oppressive methods; in front of them sat the committee of twelve, and alongside of them the captain and the marshal. It was evident that a large number of the strikers were against the "caps" present. But there were no men on the floor that dared to move that the captain and the marshal be excluded from the meeting, when the "cap" was facing them. And when the "cap" arose and asked if there was anyone in the hall who had any objection to his presence, there were only two voices; on the contrary they voted that he should remain. With captain on the stage no one dared to speak against the company. Finally they selected Brother Harry Brown for permanent chairman and he, before taking the chair, declared that it was contrary to the rules of mass meetings to permit the company representatives to remain in the hall and they retired. Thus one man who had sat a few years in the union meetings did what over 400 unorganized men dared not to do.

After the strikers had decided not to go back to work on company's promise and instructed their committee to see Mr. Smith once more. I asked for the floor, which was granted. I made a short talk on unionism in English, with my Finnish accent, of course, and at the end of it asked all those willing to join the federation to raise their right hand. To my surprise nearly every hand went up. I did not expect to see this, as much of the strikers were "cousin Jacks," who in the past have paid but little attention to our appeals. They say that Englishmen do most anything after they get started once, and we were given another proof of that when they invited, by unanimous vote, Brother Wilkingson and myself to speak again at their meeting the next day.

That vote had a decided effect on the strike situation. When the bosses

heard that their "own loyal men" had voted to affiliate with the Western Federation of Miners they at once began to prepare for the settlement. And so it happened that when the strikers again met the next day they got what they wanted and a little more. The manager promised that he would put a "machine doctor" into the mine, who will examine the machines and replace those not in good order with new ones. And besides this, he said he would give premium for the parties having the best record for machines.

Thus the company took away from us one of the best opportunities we have ever had to propagate the principles of unionism among the English-speaking miners. But while it did that, it shows to the miners how the corporations fear the Western Federation and that is worth more.

J. VALIMAKI.

TRADE UNIONS AND THE SOCIALIST PARTY.

(1.—A Bit of History. By Robert Hunter.)

The attitude which Socialists should take toward trade unions has been a subject of endless discussion in the councils of our party. In all meetings and conventions of Socialists the "Trade Union Resolutions" have awakened a bitterness that seems to many new comrades difficult to understand. The older comrades have not, however, forgotten that the trade union policy of the Socialist Labor party was the chief cause of its complete obliteration as a political force in America.

By a policy of friendliness toward organized labor the Socialist Labor party built up a strong working class political movement. It reached the zenith of its career in the middle of the nineties and then it altered its policy toward the unions. As a result chiefly of this act it was literally torn to pieces and destroyed.

The rapidity with which destruction overcame it is startling. The Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance was launched in 1895. It was an attempt to form a new national labor movement pledged to the principles of Socialism. It was hoped that it would displace the Knights of Labor and the American Federation of Labor. This new organization aroused the most bitter controversy. Although endorsed by the Socialist Labor party convention of 1896, the dissensions which it created in the Socialist movement must ever remain a warning to those who believe that the attitude of Socialists toward labor organizations is a matter of little moment. Indeed, the present Socialist party owes its very existence to the anti-trade-union policy of the Socialist labor party. The first act of the Rochester convention, therefore, was to repudiate the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance and to proclaim its sympathy with the struggles of all trade unions, regardless of national affiliations. The later union of all Socialists opposed to the old Socialist Labor party reaffirmed this attitude, and, despite opposition, it has been the policy of the Socialist party ever since.

At the national convention of the Socialist party, May, 1904, it was declared: "The trades and labor union movement is a natural result of the capitalist system of production and is necessary to resist the encroachments of capitalism. . . . In accordance with the decisions of the International Socialist Congresses in Brussels, Zurich and London, this convention reaffirms the declarations that the trade and labor unions are a necessity in the struggle to aid in emancipating the working class, and we consider it the duty of all wage workers to join with this movement. Neither political or other differences of opinion justify the divisions of the forces of labor in the industrial movement."

The last sentence is of the utmost significance. The Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance was an attempt to organize the workers on political lines. Had it been successful the trade unions would have been divided into Democratic, Republican and Socialist unions, or at least into Socialist and anti-Socialist unions. In every shop and trade the workers would then have been split into political factions that would have rendered all united action impossible. The resolution of the Socialist party condemns not only political divisions in the trade union movement but also other divisions on the grounds of opinion, whether religious, political or economic. It condemns all rival unionism and puts the stamp of Socialist condemnation on every form of dual unionism.

Before the national convention of the Socialist party held in May, 1908, a new dissension had arisen in the Labor movement. It was no longer a question only of politics, it was now a question of the form of organization. Industrial unionism had launched itself, in antagonism to craft unionism, and the advocates of the new idea sought to draw the Socialist party into the dispute. Industrial unionism was to be the panacea for all human ills. It was to abolish the capitalist system and to usher into being the New World. It drew to its banner every enemy of the American Federation of Labor and, among the others, most of the Socialist Labor party men who had set out to "smash" the trade union movement. A great debate took place at the convention and finally the following paragraphs were adopted as a part of an address to organized labor:

"1. That the party has neither the right nor the desire to interfere in any controversies which may exist within the labor union movement over questions of form of organization or methods of action in the industrial struggle, but trusts to the labor organizations themselves to solve these questions and to evolve in the direction of ever closer solidarity and ever more effective action on the industrial field.

"2. That it is the interest and the duty of the party to give moral and material support to the labor organizations in all their defensive or aggressive struggles against capitalist oppression and exploitation, for the protection and extension of the rights of the wage-workers and the betterment of their material and social condition."

This resolution not only reaffirms the previous position of the party, but it adds a new point of view, and that is that the party recognizes the trade union as a distinct, separate and autonomous organization to which the Socialist party has no desire to dictate.

For years certain leading Socialists had considered themselves as the sole guardians of the working class. They had the sole science. They knew the sole road to emancipation. They alone were fitted by knowledge to assume the leadership of all movements, political and industrial, of the working class. It is noteworthy, therefore, that in 1908, after thirty years of bitter experience, the largest body of Socialists ever assembled in national convention frankly declared that as a party they had no business to meddle with the internal policies of the trade union movement.

In the Socialist convention of 1910 the trade union question came up again. This time it appeared in somewhat more subtle form. The advocates of industrial unionism urged that the party point out to the working class the advantages of industrial organization. This was apparently inoffensive, as not only nearly every member of the party but the vast majority of the trade unionists believed in the industrial form of organization. Nevertheless the party rigidly adhered to its previous attitude and again definitely asserted that it had "neither the right nor the desire to interfere in any controversies which may exist within the labor union movement."

The position of the Socialist party is, as we see, unmistakably clear. During its entire history it has kept faithfully to its original position. It has again and again debated the question at length. The opponents of the party's policy have assailed its position from every angle, yet every time they have gone down to defeat.

I shall attempt in the articles that follow to go more fully into this vital question, and shall endeavor to show that the policy of the party is founded not only upon the best thought of the chief Socialists from Marx to Bebel and Kautsky, but that it is also the practice of every European Socialistic movement.

The Socialist party is nothing and should come to nothing, unless it be the real political representative of the working class. It is certain, therefore, that it must maintain the closest relationship with all other organized movements of the working class. The strongest bonds of sympathy and fellowship should exist between the party and the unions.

But the trade union has its own great role to play, and it must never forsake its proper work in the effort to become a political party, nor should it ever allow itself to be used as the tool of any party. Neither should the party forsake its proper work and attempt to become an industrial movement, or indeed use its power to meddle with the internal policies of the trade unions.

This is, as I shall show, the position of the International Socialist movement. Wherever any other policy has been adopted on the part of either the party or the unions—these two great arms of the working class—the result has been always to weaken, and sometimes to destroy, either the one or the other.

II.—The Views of Karl Marx.

In 1871 Karl Marx wrote to Speyer, who was then prominent in the American working class movement: "You must endeavor to gain the trade unions at all costs." A few days later he wrote to another American Socialist: "The International has been founded to set up the real organization of the working class, instead of Socialist and half-Socialist sects."

These two brief quotations from Marx appear to me to be of the greatest possible significance. If any working-class leader had ever been through hell, Marx was surely that one. A few years before he had set out to organize the workers. At the very moment the above words were written the International Workingmen's Association was the terror of all Europe. But while the princes of commerce and the despots of politics were paralyzed by the fear of this new spectre, no one knew so well as Marx its utter helplessness.

It was being literally torn to pieces by internal dissensions. However much the leaders hated capitalism, they hated each other more. It is not a pleasant experience to see the work of years destroyed by warring sects, and Marx, was undoubtedly undergoing at the time he wrote to his American friends the same revulsion towards sectarian Socialism that he had experienced more than once before.

And as he drew away from the bitter dissensions of the warring sects, he turned with increasing respect and hope toward the actual organized movement of the working class. In 1875, when the various German organizations of working men met together for the purposes of unity, he wrote to Bebel, Liebknecht and others: "Every action, every positive step forward, is worth more than a dozen programs." He then urges his German comrades, if it is impossible to have adopted a consistent Socialist program, to merely join the workers in one organization without a program.

In other words, Marx's idea was clearly and unmistakably this: That the organization of the working class was the all important thing. He did not withhold his sympathy and aid to the working class because it was not already Socialist. He did not get to the working class with a certain program, announcing that they must accept that program or be damned. He did not say that the workers must organize in a certain manner, or he would withhold his sympathy. In fact, there is not anywhere to be found in Marx's words or actions a single thing to suggest the sectarian spirit.

What then did Marx mean when he wrote to Speyer: "You must endeavor to gain the trade unions at all costs?" Did he mean that unless the trade unions would adopt the Socialist program that Socialists should attempt to destroy them? Did he mean that Socialists should enter the trade union movement merely to make it the side show of a political party? These are questions worth thinking over, and fortunately Marx himself has supplied the answer.

In 1869 Marx had an interview with Hamann, the secretary of the German Metal Workers' Trade Union. In this interview Marx said:

"The trade unions should never be affiliated with or made dependent upon a political society, if they are to fulfill the object for which they are formed. If this happens, it means their death blow!"

Now this statement of Marx's is so absolutely contrary to the view taken by some of the early Socialists in this country and by some Socialists even today, that it may well cause amazement. And some may even ask: "What in the world is the use of bothering with trade unions unless our purpose is to make them Socialists? Why should we attend union meetings or bother with the mere daily struggle of the working class to better its hours and conditions unless our end and aim is to make the trade union a Socialist movement?"

Such questions serve merely to prove one thing: That the men who ask them have never grasped the philosophy of Marxian Socialism. Here and there a man of the middle class may be converted to Socialism through appeals to his heart and conscience, but the mass of the working class will be converted to Socialism by their actual struggle against the capitalist class. By organization they will learn their need of each other. By actual effort to improve their condition they will learn the hard facts of capitalist society. By trade union organization and by the results of their struggle will they learn the need of political action.

"The trade unions," says Marx, "are the schools for Socialism. The workers are there educated up to Socialism by means of the incessant struggle against capitalism which is being carried on before their eyes. He (the trade unionist) becomes a Socialist without knowing it."

I urge the readers to notice one point. Marx does not say that trade unionists will become Socialists by books, by speeches or by resolutions, by attacks on the union, by bitter dissensions between Socialists and anti-Socialists in the union. Not at all. The trade unionist will become a Socialist without knowing it, as a result of the incessant struggle against capitalism.

In the time when Marx was most active in the labor movement, there were, says Kautsky, "many Socialist schools, each swearing to the genuineness of its own patent pill for the cure of all the ills of society, and each trying to rally the workers around itself. The various schools were at war with one another and were thus instrumental in splitting the working classes, rather than in uniting them. . . . It thus seemed to Marx," says Kautsky, "that to save the trade unions, they must hold aloof from political organizations."

Surely there is nothing more astounding than the manner in which many of our earlier comrades, while claiming to represent the teaching of Karl Marx, violated every principle of his faith. For years they sought to use the trade unions for political ends. For years some of them endeavored to split the working class into warring sects. For years they went to the workers with the orthodox faith, threatening that if the workers would not accept that faith without question they would serve upon them a sentence of utter damnation!

Curiously enough, this intolerant and fanatical zeal of the early Socialists was limited to the English speaking countries. And the chief reason for its prevalence in these countries was undoubtedly because in both England and America the early Socialists found in the field ahead of them a powerfully organized working class movement. Naturally they went first to these organizations, to convert them to the new doctrines. But, instead of looking upon them as an unconscious and highly satisfactory working out of the Marxian doctrines, they insisted upon their entire reorganization and the adoption of a Socialist program.

The Socialists declared that their position was the orthodox one and all others were heretics. The impatience and fanaticism of these early Socialists was never better described than by Engels, the lifelong friend and companion of Marx.

"The S. D. Federation here (England)" said Engels, in 1894, "shares with your German-American Socialists the distinction of being the only parties who managed to reduce Marx's theories of development to a rigid orthodoxy: 'That workmen shall not perceive that theory by their own work and own class feeling, but must swallow it as an article of faith at once and without any development.' Therefore both remain sects, and, as Hegel says, 'Come from nothing, through nothing, to nothing.'"

And that is exactly what happened until the present Socialist party was launched with its policy of giving all aid possible to every movement of the workers, regardless of their political or economic faith.

That is exactly what happened until the Socialist party gave up the old policy of meddling with the internal problems of the unions and set out to achieve its own great work of organizing the working class into one great political movement.



FACT AND FANCY.

The query as to what would happen in case an irresistible force met an immovable object has never been definitely answered, owing, no doubt, to the limitations of the human mind.

But we can easily conceive that when two bodies of equal force, moving in opposite directions, meet, the result will be a deadlock. Both will neutralize each other.

But this logic cannot be applied to social and industrial antagonisms in which both sides show equal strength. At least, this seems to be the idea of Mr. John Mitchell, late of the Civic Federation, and member of the American Federation of Labor, likewise.

Mr. Mitchell declares that when trades unionism, through organization, attains exactly equal power with the employers' organizations, the result will be—the realization of trade union ideals. This is how he expresses it, according to the news reports, in a recent address at Montclair, N. J., where he was introduced by a local millionaire, a member of the Steel trust:

"The ideal of trade unionism will be attained when a strong organization of labor, supplied with an ample reserve fund and embracing every workman in the trade, shall find itself face to face with an equally strong association of employers, embracing every employer in the trade. The two will then meet on a basis of approximate equality. The result of such a state of affairs, which we are now rapidly approaching, will be that an equitable contract can be arrived at, thus firmly establishing peace and prosperity in American industry."

We have often heard both Mr. Gompers and Mr. Mitchell allude in a vague and abstract way to something they called "the emancipation of labor," though they were never very definite about the matter, usually mentioning it to deny that Socialism could bring about such emancipation, and assert at the same time that trade unionism could. However, Mr. Mitchell in this case is somewhat more definite. It is for Mr. Mitchell somewhat of an advance on the idea he put forth several years ago that all trouble between capital and labor could be settled by both sitting down and "looking each other in the eye." He said nothing at all about power at that time, but now seemingly finds that it is a necessary factor in the situation.

Still the logic involved is not entirely satisfying, and it is not very difficult to point out its deficiencies.

It is admitted that labor is enslaved and oppressed by capital, otherwise it is folly to talk of it needing "emancipation."

And the reason why it is so enslaved and oppressed is because it is inferior in power to capital, and at present must yield to the stronger.

Therefore, says Mr. Mitchell, all that is needed is equal power—no superior but equal power. That is to say, that labor can attain all its "just" demands by strengthening itself to the point where it can fight not a winning battle but a drawn battle. He believed trade unionism was approaching that point. And the steel magnate who acted as his chairman and whose corporation has crushed out every vestige of unionism in its employ never cracked a smile when he heard this optimistic declaration.

But even if it were admitted that trade unionism were approaching that point of strength, how would Mr. Mitchell propose to keep it there and prevent it from growing stronger? How would he call a halt upon it to prevent it from becoming stronger than capital and overreaching its "ideal"?

Mr. Mitchell finds no difficulty in imagining two equally balanced powers, remaining permanently equal, though both are constantly changing in the matter of strength. That capital is growing stronger all the time he can hardly deny, seeing that he asserts the same thing of labor.

It takes an extremely fertile imagination to get away from the palpable and disconcerting fact of the class struggle, and in this instance that is exactly what Mr. Mitchell is trying to do. Hence his fantastic conception of stopping the conflict by imagining both combatants permanently equal in strength, and, of course, it is no very great exercise of the imagination further to declare that such a condition would bring "peace and prosperity."

As a matter of fact, if we can imagine such a permanent condition, it would mean the destruction of all progress—anarchy, chaos and stagnation—and the final dissolution of the social fabric. If it were possible, which it is not, the result would be exactly as in the world of physics when two bodies of equal force meet. It would result in the cessation of progress for both.

Fortunately for society, the conception is an impossible one—a fantasm conjured up in the brain of a labor leader who fears to face the actual conditions and recognize the existence of a social struggle that must be fought to a finish.

Mr. Mitchell's idea of "equality" is the equality of death, while on the other hand the Socialist conception of industrial equality is bound up with the triumph of labor over capitalism. The first is the baseless fabric of a dream, while the other is rooted in the actual conditions of industrial society and proven by the political and economic processes by which the existing antagonisms are manifested on every hand. The dragging of Mr. Mitchell out of the Civic Federation by his union was one of these incidents, but, no doubt, Mr. Mitchell can easily convince himself that the union is weaker instead of stronger in consequence of that action. A person with imagination enough to publicly put forward the theory of equal power of labor and capital as the ideal of trade unionism, and do it on the same platform with one of the union-crushing magnates of the Steel trust, is certainly capable of the highest possible flights of fancy. But fortunately, while Mr. Mitchell is thus sporting himself in the empyrean, the class struggle goes ever onward on the solid earth beneath as the medium through which all social, political and industrial progress is alone possible.—New York Call.

JOY OF LIFE.

We are here in a wonderful world full of joy and delight. To move freely on the earth, to eat of its fruits, drink its waters, and breathe its pure air, are things in themselves delightful to healthy animals. Out of the fulfillment of these needs comes the animal joy of life, intensified in the sensitive and highly developed human to marvelous ecstasy.

Young things chiefly show it. Watch the young animals to see the joy if living spontaneously and beautifully expressed; with each breath life so fills them that the most extravagant gambols can hardly give vent to the joys they feel. And the young humans, if allowed something of that freedom in which the young of other species develop, are the most delightful witnesses to this universal joy of life. Strip healthy children, not only of hampering clothes and wrappings, but of hampering authority and governance, put them in healthy and beautiful places, and watch them in their free pleasures.

Later in life the joy is no less intense, though different in quality and expression. The healthy man or woman of well developed body and mind who goes out upon the earth as it is in unspoiled places, and senses its beauties and delights, is filled with a rapture and fulness of life that none can describe, which even the great artists can only faintly express. And with it comes all that makes life worth living; love and kindness and companionship are its fruits.

All this inexpressible joy of life is ours. It is a part of our nature and we feel the need for it as we feel the need for food and drink, an elemental longing that burns and wastes us if it is not satisfied. And here is the wide world around us and all its wealth to satisfy. All this is ours!

And yet it is not ours. We have nothing of it. Except in rare glimpses we are hardly touched by its joy, and at every turn our freedom to experiment is balked. Instead of golden atmosphere, purity and satisfaction, we have black darkness, filth, misery, and an unquenched longing. Instead of love, kindness and companionship we have hate, cruelty, and bitter strife.

Human life is terrible.

We take it as it comes because we are in the chains of habit; we take it as it is because we have grown amidst its horrors, and they have become commonplace to us. But nevertheless it is terrible beyond words, and we realize this still in moments of inspiration or of unusual bitterness.

Human life is terrible. Its possibilities of intense happiness. Its actualities of degradation and misery, make it one long tragedy from generation to generation.

Humans are born healthy, strenuous and self-assertive like other animals. Under the conditions existing for the majority those strenuous and self-assertive human born babies grow to be wretched slaves, leading lives of drear discomfort, oppression and pain; under the best conditions, existing for a small and privileged minority only, they grow to be callously cruel tyrants, directly or indirectly practicing tortures upon their kind, incomparably more horrible than anything else in the whole animal world of passion and the rage for food. In the past human tyrants have tortured and killed the best thinkers and most courageous in action of our race. In the past tyranny has tormented the tenderest human bodies and crushed out the joy of life in blood and agony. This is true of the past, but it is also true of the present. Tyrants of today are doing the same.

We live in the midst of this torture; we grope about in the darkness and dirt of cities and everywhere we see and feel as if in endless panorama, the same pain and despair. The torture chambers of our modern tyrants are the factories and mines and other hells in which their slaves produce their wealth.

Comfortable professors of history write indignantly of the tortures of past times; they feel no shame and anger, it seems, because of the tortures suffered in every country today. And yet these things are known to all.

In Russia, a brave girl, Marie Spiridonova, whose heart is set aflame by the sight of suffering, shoots one of the worst torturers and is instantly set upon by others and put through all the diabolical torments which fiends can invent. And not she alone, but many. In Japan the revolutionary Kotoku is executed because he attempted to give the means of free thought to his countrymen that they might free themselves. And not he alone, but many. In Republican France, the fearless Gustave Herve, for four lines of brace defiance, is condemned to four years of prison—for each line a year—and when he continues from his prison to denounce the tyrants and arouse the slaves, he is taken from amongst the criminals to stop his voice. And not he alone, but many. In Spain, the gentle Ferrer is condemned by a military tribunal without the hearing of witnesses in his defense and hastily shot before public opinion can prevent the crime. And not he alone, but many. In the British Empire, the torture of the Indian, Gulab Bano, is concealed and condoned by officials, and is a thing so habitual to British tyranny that when made known at last it hardly evokes more than a few shocked exclamations, immediate apologies, and denial of its horror as "exaggerated accounts." Yet the woman died a lingering death after it. And not she alone, but many.

Not in one or two cases only, but in innumerable cases of untold suffering; not in one country only, but in every country upon earth.

If mothers and fathers fully realized the horrors of modern human life they would scarcely dare to let their children survive to enter it.

And we live in a wonderful world offering us joy and delight.

A little labor, in combination with our fellows according to experience, would secure for each of us everything necessary to comfort and health. The riches of earth are there for the taking, the joy of life is for all. The earth is for us, and yet it is not ours.

Between us and the joy of life stand those few who own the earth and all the means whereby our needs can be satisfied.

The earth is in their possession and yet it is not theirs. That possession does not bring to the individual possessors that which makes life worth while is shown in the records of their despicable lives, testified to in their law courts, by their drink bills and their doctor's bills, by their unwholesome bodies and stupid degraded faces. These filthy people know nothing of the joy of life.

They are owners, and therefore they can come between us and our enjoyment; they can deprive us of earth's delights, but they can not know themselves. They can enslave us and impose upon us the most miserable conditions of slavery, and through the power of ownership they can hold us down by armies of police and soldiers; they can torture us in body and mind they can shut us out from the pleasant wholesome places and force us to live and labor in the hells of industrial cities. All this they can do but they can not themselves experience the good they keep from us. The curse of hatred and strife and disease which they impose upon us they can not escape themselves.

They hold the earth by the power of ownership, but it is not theirs.

It is ours when we make ourselves strong to take it, when we break down the property superstitions and powers, and the authority which supports them. For this we have to use a mightier power—the power of the producers who make human life possible, and who can also make it impossible for those who hold from them the things necessary to their labor; who can make human life impossible except under conditions, fitting to humanity, of common ownership and opportunities for all.

The property owners hold the earth as long as we submit to their dominance; but when we shall submit no longer it is ours for the taking with all its beauty and delight.

The joy of life is for us.—Lily G. Wilkinson, in *Edinburg Socialist*.

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The average wage paid to a girl in a paperbox factory, sweatshop and department store will range from \$4 to \$5 a week. In cities like Chicago, New York and Boston these girls must pay \$1.50 a week for a room. Out of the remainder they must buy clothes and food, pay their doctors' bills, get their amusements, etc. Clothes are expensive. The cost of living is high. Work is hard and tiresome. The hours are too long. Work is also monotonous because it is so arranged today that the worker is nothing more than a part of the machine. The desire for nice clothes is there, whether the wage is little or big. The yearning for something more pleasing than making a garment or a paper box or selling over a counter is within a girl regardless of how much she earns. And the everlasting question arises, "What is to be done?"

Many of these girls pick up sufficient courage to tell the foreman or superintendent that they can't possibly get along on the wages they get, and they hope that he will give them a raise. Instead of her hope coming true, he looks at her, sizes her up from head to foot and asks, with a friendly smile, "Why don't you look for a friend on the side?"

If you don't believe this, gentle reader, go and try a job in one of the big department stores and convince yourself of its truth.

Unfortunately for the girl of small intelligence, this suggestion works oftentimes. She doesn't bother the foreman again, but thinks over what he has said to her. In her imagination she sees herself with one who would really be a friend to her. She is tired of cheap moving picture shows and would like to be taken to real theaters, to nice restaurants and to many attractive places. So she decides to do what other girls have done and look for a "friend." It is easy enough to find one, for there are thousands of "friends," whose chief business it is to pick up these tired-out, underpaid wage slaves and get them into a life of hell by giving them a "good time" for a little while.

The little shop girl's "friend" takes good care of her. He takes her to a theater and after the theater to a "swell" place for supper. There she meets many men and women who eat, drink and are merry. Music, dancing and wine are all for her. She is told by her "friend" that he loves her and that he always will. He buys her new and pretty clothes, and, in short, sees that her desires are satisfied. He finally persuades her not to go back to the store and work her life away. And what is the use of going home? Did she not have enough of wretchedness, misery, poverty and worry there? And so the girl, intoxicated with the excitement of the new life, quits the store and leaves her home to live with the "friend." Then follows the tragedy.

There are many girls who do not go into the business because of getting nice clothes. They are forced into it because there are families to support and not enough to support them on—that is, not enough to buy the actual necessities of life. Some of us who have worked in factories KNOW THIS TO BE A FACT, for we have seen it with our own eyes.

In the year 1907 the statistics of New York showed that more than 65 per cent of the prostitutes came from the slum districts. What does that mean? WHO LIVE in the slum districts? The working class, of course. Low wages paid to the father, low wages paid to the girl, and THAT IS WHAT FORCES HER INTO THE RANKS OF THE WHITE SLAVE. Don't forget that.

What is to be done, then? GIVE THE GIRL WORKER A CHANCE TO LIVE, a SHORTER WORK DAY, WAGES SUFFICIENT TO COVER PRESENT-DAY NEEDS. Make her working and living conditions human and there will be little or no temptation to go out at night for pleasure or to look for a "friend."

How to do it? Join the union. Organize one if there is not one in your trade. Start today. Don't wait for tomorrow—tomorrow may never come.

Remember that white slavery is an economic problem. Yes, a bread and butter question, and the evil of white slavery, together with all other evils such as child labor, industrial robbery, political corruption, hypocrisy, will exist just as long as a system which produces these things exists.

The problem of white slavery will be solved when all economic problems are solved. And many other problems may be solved when the working-class man and woman learn to use their power on the economic as well as on the political field.

Intelligence and organization are the watchwords!—The Progressive Woman.

In Memoriam.

Silver Peak Miners' Union No. 253, Mary Mine, Nevada.

Blair, Nev., Feb. 1, 1912.

Whereas, Almighty God, the Great Ruler, has in his infinite wisdom, called from earth our worthy friend and brother, E. H. Maddison, be it

Resolved, That while we mourn the loss of our brother we bow in submission to the Divine Father, believing that He doeth all things well. Therefore, we tender to the sorrowing family of the deceased our heartfelt sympathy in this their time of affliction, and commend them to the God of Love who bids us hope beyond the tomb; be it further

Resolved, That our charter be draped in mourning for thirty days;

That a copy of these resolutions be sent to the bereaved family, and one to the Miners' Magazine.

H. J. O'BRIEN,
SAM JONOVICH,
J. G. NORMAN,

Committee.

(Seal)

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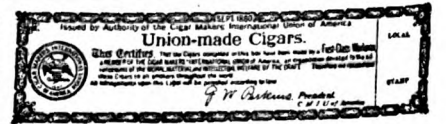
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