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UNION MADE.

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THE BEST FOR MINERS

THE KIND YOU HAVE BEEN
WEARING FOR 20 YEARS.
THEY'RE BETTER THAN EVER. ALL DEALERS SELL THEM

The BAYLY - UNDERHILL Co. --- Denver

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

JOSEPH RICHARDS

FUNERAL DIRECTOR

15 to 19 South Montana Street. Butte, Montana.
The Oldest Undertaker In the City. Both Phones.

O'Rourke Shoe Co.

SHOEMAKERS

Repairing by Goodyear System.

17 N. WYOMING ST. BUTTE, MONT.

DON'T BE A SCAB

DON'T GO TO THE MINING CAMPS OF SO. DAKOTA

Where members of Organized Labor are Locked Out because they refuse to scab and sign the following pledge:

"I am not a member of any labor Union and in consideration of my employment by the HOMESTAKE MINING COMPANY agree that I will not become such while in its service."

BUTTE MONTANA

HENNESSY'S

CORNER GRANITE AND MAIN STREETS

WITH STORES AT ANACONDA AND CENTERVILLE

Pure Food Groceries

Nothing but the best. Prices the lowest consistent with Quality.

Everything for Everybody.

We sell the World's best union-made clothing hats, caps, shoes and furnishings for men and boys; women's, misses' and children's ready-to-wear apparel, shoes, hosiery, underwear and furnishings. The largest and most complete stock of silks, Dress Goods and domestics, Jewelry and Notions, Drug Sundries and Toilet Lotions.

The best known makes of furniture, beds and bedding.

WE FURNISH YOUR HOME ON OUR EASY PAYMENT PLAN

The Finest and Most Up-to-Date Meat Market, Bakery and Delicatessen in the Entire Northwest.

The Choicest Fresh Meats

Every piece must pass government inspection. None but the best sold here.

The cleanest, most sanitary meat department in the state.

— DRINK —

CENTENNIAL WIENER BEER

Best Brewed in Butte — None But Union Labor Employed — On Draught at All First-Class Saloons

EDUCATION INDEPENDENCE ORGANIZATION

MINERS MAGAZINE



Denver, Colorado,
Thursday, April 18, 1912.

Volume XII., Number 460
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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 Communications not in conformity with this notice will not be published.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.

Card of the Homestake Mining Co.

Lead, S. D.....19..

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

Occupation

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Signed

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Department

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PRESIDENT MOYER left last week to visit the local unions in Utah.

AS LONG as labor is on its knees, capitalism will remain on the back of labor.

SEVENTEEN THOUSAND carpenters on strike in Chicago, is evidence of that boasted "identity of interest" between master and slave.

AT THIS WRITING strong hopes are entertained that the miners and operators will be able to adjust differences in the Anthracite coal fields.

WALL STREET recognizes President Taft as a statesman, and as the interests of the people and Wall Street are identical, Taft should be acceptable to the people (the mob).

THE JOURNALIST who is a successful liar for "predatory wealth," draws a large salary and lives in a beautiful home. The journalist who writes the truth for humanity, is in debt and usually dies in a garret.

THE PREACHERS and the wrecks of the "Red Light" district of Milwaukee were allies of the non-Partisan ticket. The Socialists can well afford to be defeated than to pander to saintly hypocrites

and the unblushing damsels of brothels. When fallen women and preachers join a political combination to purify the moral atmosphere of a city, there is hope for regeneration in Hades.

MAX HAYES of Cleveland, tells us that Rockefeller's daily income is a stack of \$20 gold pieces placed one upon the other about as high as a modern six-story building. "Jawn" is one of those fellows who says, "Don't get socialism, boys, you'll have to divide up." Of course, "Jawn" believes in subtraction, that is, he subtracts everything from his slaves except a meager subsistence, and he don't give them that because the "good book" says he should—He needs them in his "biz."—Emancipator.

THE PEOPLE of Des Moines, Iowa, in a recent election of city officials, served notice on the public service corporations and their daily journals, that they were no longer blind to their interests. The officials of Des Moines who established a market house to deliver a solar plexus blow to the food trust were bitterly assailed by the three daily journals. The mob, politically assassinated the servile creatures nominated as candidates for office by "Big Business." The mob will yet give heart failure to capitalism.

THE PACKERS won out and the people—the sovereign people—who are kings in America, got the axe. The great and mighty magnates of the beef trust can do no wrong in the eyes of a federal court. When the embalmers of beef unloaded their carrion on "Uncle Sam" to poison patriots in the war with Spain, the sources from which slush funds come for national political campaigns, were not molested. Federal courts are a part of the corrupt administration at Washington, and the lawyer converted into a federal judge by a President, must so conduct himself upon the bench as to be worthy of the congratulations of "predatory wealth."

A verdict for the people would have been treason to capitalism.

CARDINAL O'CONNELL has declared that President Taft told him that the Roman Catholic church is safeguarding liberty, and the Cardinal has felt grateful to "Injunction Bill" for imparting to him such priceless information.

The Cardinal, in all probability, would never have discovered that the Catholic church was "safeguarding liberty" were it not that Taft became confidential with this dignitary of the church and imparted to him such a valuable admission. The Cardinal is against Socialism and so is "God knows."

"Injunction Bill" is against the initiative and referendum and recall, and so is the Cardinal.

Taft is a plutocrat and stands for the supremacy of a class of privilege and so does the Cardinal.

Taft is banqueted by "Big Business" and so is the Cardinal. Taft and O'Connell are birds of the same feather.

THE NON-PARTISAN TICKET with its victorious candidates is still celebrating the victory over Socialism in Milwaukee. The long, lean, hungry look of political grafters have given place to smiles of joy as the spoilsman anticipate the rich pickings in the pastures of Milwaukee for the next two years. It required nine daily newspapers, all the priests and preachers and all the consolidated forces of capitalism to defeat the Socialist ticket in the beer city of Wisconsin.

But the present smiles of joy will be replaced with pains of anguish, for in two years hence, the Socialist party of Milwaukee will reach such

proportions that capitalism, wearing the mask of non-Partisan, will meet its Waterloo.

Thirty thousand men who voted the Socialist ticket in Milwaukee at the late election, will be tireless for the next two years and their missionary work will bring the necessary thousands under the flag of real Democracy, to bring about the downfall of the political oligarchy built by capitalism in Milwaukee.

GOVERNOR HUNT of Arizona is not meeting with laudations from the corporate interests. His message to the Legislature of Arizona and his official acts since he was inaugurated as chief magistrate of the new state, have made "predatory wealth" feel somewhat frigid towards the man, who, by his conduct, has recognized the fact that the *people* have some rights and liberties which should not be assailed by the will of economic masters.

Regardless of the fact that President Taft refused to sign the bill for the admission of Arizona until the clause of the constitution was withdrawn providing for the recall of judges, yet, the governor of Arizona, realizing that the people demanded such a provision in the constitution of the state, placed the matter before the law-makers, urging that an amendment shall be submitted to the people, whereby judges controlled by corporate interests, can be relegated to private life.

The governor of Arizona, refusing to stand upon a platform built by non-union labor, has given spasms to the Posts and Kirbys of Arizona, and demonstrated that the chief executive of the newly admitted commonwealth has some courage that cannot be awed or intimidated by the combinations that corrupt courts, bribe legislative bodies and use the functions of government to suppress the freedom of the masses of the people.

MANY OF THE MERCHANTS of Lead, South Dakota, who were once members of the "Loyal Legion" have discovered that their loyalty to a mining corporation that declared that unionism must be banished from the mining district of South Dakota, does not pay dividends, and these merchants are now in rebellion against the Homestake Mining Company.

They have discovered that scabs and strike-breakers are rather poor material upon which to base commercial prosperity.

The merchants of Lead are beginning to realize that if the Homestake Mining Company can permanently maintain the lock-out and strangle unionism to death in the Black Hills, then the vast majority of the merchants must search for new fields for business, because remaining in Lead means bankruptcy for the merchants.

The Homestake Mining Company organized the merchants to support the lock-out, but the merchants have discovered that the great mercantile institution operated under the management of the Homestake Mining Company controls the patronage of the scabs and strike-breakers, and the merchants have now awakened to the fact, that they were but the dupes of a corporation and used as tools to aid in shattering the forces of organized labor in the Black Hills.

The men in the Black Hills who have stood against the lock-out for nearly thirty months, are still hopeful of forcing the Homestake Mining Company to recognize the card of a union man.

MRS. FREMONT OLDER, the wife of the editor of the San Francisco Bulletin, spent two days in Lawrence, Massachusetts, during the strike of the textile workers.

When interviewed, after returning to her home in San Francisco, she declared that the churches, courts, soldiers and police were arrayed against starving men, women and children.

Such a statement from a woman of the prominence of Mrs. Fremont Older, is worthy of serious consideration. Scarcely anyone will accuse her of giving utterance to a deliberate falsehood, and if her statement relative to the churches is true, then what must be the estimate placed upon the churches by honest and fair-minded men?

The ordinary man would naturally entertain the opinion that temples consecrated to God would be found fighting the battles of the impoverished and oppressed, instead of being an ally of a master class, to crush the hopes and aspirations of the victims of insatiable exploiters.

The churches of Lawrence, Massachusetts, according to the statement made by the wife of the editor of the San Francisco Bulletin, must be dominated by the mill owners, and the *dictum* of these industrial tyrants must be *law* to the clerical lickspittles who have disgraced the pulpits of Russianized Lawrence.

It is no wonder that the callous-handed element of society is looking with suspicion on the temples of the Lord, and it is no wonder that the minister of the gospel is losing his standing as a representative of Christ.

THE NORTHWEST FORUM, published at North Yakima, Wash., had the following concise editorial under the heading, "Industrial Strife Universal":

"As a result of the strike in the lumber mills at Hoquiam, Wash., a wholesale deportation of the strikers was attempted by self-constituted bands of armed citizens Monday morning. According to reports from the seat of the trouble, 140 strikers were crowded into two box cars and the doors spiked down when the sheriff interfered and released the prisoners.

"Mob law was attempted in Colorado several years ago, when similar outrages were perpetrated on innocent workingmen and their

families. Deportations and killings by members of the 'Citizens Alliance,' a semi-military organization under the direction of the Mine Owners' Association, are yet vivid in the memories of those who read the current news of the time. 'Darkest Colorado,' they called it, in states where law and order prevailed.

"Let it not be said of Washington that mob rule has supplanted the civil authority, making military rule possible in a land where wise councils, backed by an intelligent ballot, should remove forever the fundamental cause of strife.

"Throughout the entire civilized world there is strife, bitter, perennial and increasing, as the ever-widening gulf between the exploiter and the exploited expands.

"Distress, alike in monarchial Europe or republican America, where like causes are producing the same dire consequences, confronts the parliaments of both hemispheres. There is but one solution: The machine must become the servant if mankind would be free."

THE FOLLOWING ADVERTISEMENT recently appeared in a number of the leading journals of the Eastern States:

!! ATTENTION !!

Gentlemen:

We wish to call your attention to the present labor situation in the coal mining industry.

Should a strike take place we are in a position to furnish you with guards or special policemen for the preservation of life or property.

We can further furnish all classes of non-union help to take the places of men on strike.

Should you wish to be relieved of the responsibility, we can take entire charge of the situation, establish a regular military system, and feed and lodge all help.

We wish to call your attention to the fact that we are positively the

Largest Strike-Breaking
Bureau in the World

Among the hundreds of strikes which we have successfully broken we might mention the following: Pressed Steel Car strike at McKees Rocks, Pittsburgh; Philadelphia; Philadelphia trolley strikes; Lehigh Valley R. R. Company; Delaware & Hudson Company; Central R. R. of New Jersey; New York, Ontario & Western; Vermont Central R. R.; Baltimore & Ohio R. R.; Baldwin Locomotive Works, and the Erie R. R.

Our offices can be reached night and day by telephone and should you desire any further information we would be glad to send representative.

BERGOFF BROS.

Strike Service and Labor Adjustors

NEW YORK: 140 LIBERTY STREET

Telephones: Bat. 4834-4835, Bayonne 959-75

CHICAGO: 154 WEST RANDOLPH STREET

Telephone: Franklin 101

The above advertisement should awaken the labor movement to the fact, that even a strike-breaking agency has a license to not only furnish strike-breakers but likewise the military force to shoot down strikers should they incur the displeasure of the armed thugs of a strike-breaking bureau.

Let us no longer paint pictures of Darkest Russia and let us no longer portray the fiendish brutality of the Cossacks beyond the sea, for here in America, under the boasted emblem of the Stars and Stripes, the red-handed butchers of America, paid and maintained by licensed aggregations as professional murderers, can give the Cossacks "Cards and spades."

THE FOLLOWING appeared in a late issue of the Labor World of Duluth:

"The joint federation of striking employes of the Illinois Central and Harriman lines are putting up the gamest fight ever conducted by a band of workmen in America. The strike has lasted six months and every man is as true and as steadfast to-day as he was on the first day of the strike.

"President Markham of the Illinois Central stated to Governor Brewer of Mississippi, at the conference held for the purpose of attempting to settle the trouble, that it had cost his road \$17,000,000 already, but it had been re-imbursed from other sources \$15,000,000, thus admitting the charge that the railroads were federated—a privilege they deny their employes. It is given out on good authority that the strike is costing the American railroads approximately \$7,000,000 per month.

"In a statement issued this week by President Kline of the railway department of the American Federation of Labor he says: 'We are convinced that we are winning the strike. The motive power and car equipment is being kept up by means of robbing bad-order cars and dead locomotives which crowd the company's side-tracks. Thus, with a few mechanics they have among the strike-breakers, the companies have been able to worry along.

"We believe the companies are willing to continue the strike longer if by so doing they can starve our men into submission. If we convince them they cannot starve the men a settlement will follow. All the men ask for themselves during the strike is doughnuts and coffee; their wives and children must have more.

"If all the union men in the country, especially those who are working on railroads and who would ultimately be benefited by the sue-

cess of our strike, contributed at least one day's pay per month, it would solve the problem of financing our strike."

According to the above, it would seem that the railroads of America are federated, in order that railroads involved in a conflict with employes shall be reimbursed for losses sustained during strikes. The fact that the Illinois Central has already sustained a loss of \$17,000,000 and that it requires a fund of \$7,000,000 per month to make good the deficit sustained by the strike, is strong and convincing

evidence that the railroads are feeling the power of the Railway Employes' Federation.

Were the conductors, firemen, trainmen, engineers and switchmen under the banner of the Railway Employes' Federation, the strike would have been won long ago, but it will require time and some educational work to expel aristocracy from the railway brotherhoods and establish a democracy wherein every employe of the railroads will recognize the fact that "An injury to one is the concern of all."

Socialist to Be Silenced by the Bullet

A CATHOLIC PRIEST of Brooklyn, New York, named Rev. John L. Belford, has vomited his venomous hatred against the Socialist. The clerical lunatic, thirsting for the blood of the Socialist, expressed himself as follows through the columns of the *Nativity Mentor*:

"The Socialist is busy. He flaunts his red flag and openly preaches his doctrines. His great point of attack is religion. His power is an actual menace to our city. There seems to be no law to suppress or control him. He is more dangerous than cholera or smallpox—yes, he is the mad dog of society and should be silenced, if need be by a bullet."

The above language from a Catholic priest dishonors the church to which he belongs. The heartless and soulless wretch who could give utterance to language that incites murder in the human heart, has no place in society and should be chained like a wild beast in an iron cage.

Many men, thoughtless and superficial in their mental faculties, cling to the hoary belief that a Catholic priest is the spokesman of God, and that the sentiments which fall from his lips have the approval of an omnipotent being.

Men whose mentality is weak through superstition, can be influenced by the verbal froth that pollutes the lips of a would-be murderer wearing the sanctified robes of Christianity.

The mad dog in the pulpit of the Catholic church should grace a straight-jacket and be placed in the custody of guards who should see to it that his hellish utterances are not heard by men who can be incited to deeds of violence through the ravings of a clerical maniac.

Had a Socialist declared that Catholics should be silenced, *if need be by a bullet*, there would be a howl of indignation from the pulpit of every Catholic church on this continent, and the ministers of the Catholic church would be justified in calling upon all the powers of government to suppress the seditious doctrines of an organization whose mouthpieces advocated the use of the bullet.

This fire-eating outlaw, trained in the Catholic church and pretending to follow in the footsteps of the humble Carpenter of Nazareth, openly and boldly advocates murder, and no protest is raised by those respectable journals that lay claim to being moulders of public opinion.

The prelate of the Catholic church in Brooklyn realizes that the unanswerable arguments of Socialism cannot be met by the defenders of the present murderous system of exploitation, and having no logic to combat the doctrines of Socialism, he would use the *bullet* to silence the man whose preaching is awakening the world from the lethargy of centuries, and opening the eyes of labor to the brutal despotism of a master class.

Real men, equipped with intelligence, meet their adversaries with logic and argument, but brutes having human shapes, use the weapons of violence.

Socialism will not even be suppressed by the *bullet*, for Socialism, being the essence of real Christianity, will live and grow more powerful as humanity comprehends the meaning of its philosophy.

The world is seething with discontent, and all the golden promises made from pulpits relative to eternal glory beyond the grave, are futile and helpless in placating the countless millions who are suffering the pangs of hell in the slave pens of the profit system.

The slave is demanding liberty, and liberty will be wrested from the clenched fist of greed, regardless of all the crazed fanatics that ever wore the garb of Christianity, to conceal their treachery to the struggling victims of poverty.

Labor is thinking, and the working class can no longer be held in subjection by threats of eternal damnation, or hypnotized by wreaths of glory in the "Kingdom Come."

Superstition has had its day, and *reason* is now lighting the world with its flames of intelligence, and the slave is destined to become "the noblest work of God."

What's to Be Done?

FREEDOM OF CONTRACT, for the workers, once the cornerstone of capitalistic exploitation, is now being pried loose and transformed into a projectile which promises to batter down the entire structure of wage slavery.

The laborer was a free agent. He could sell his labor power to whom he wished, or withhold it, if the terms did not suit. It was this that constituted him a "free man," and this inestimable privilege his exploiters sedulously preserved to him. All they asked was an equal right with him in this freedom. If he was free to discharge himself, they must necessarily have the "right of discharge" also.

It worked all right—for the capitalists—until the laborers got together in great masses. And now we hear no chanting of the praises of freedom of contract from the capitalist camp. On the contrary, they want to abrogate it, but know not how to accomplish their object.

Here, for instance, is the New York Journal of Commerce editorially declaring, ament the threatened strike of the railroad engineers, that "it is preposterous that it should be within the power of an organization of men to order such a thing." Which is possibly so. It is almost as preposterous as having an organization of six or seven men controlling the entire railroad system of the country, with power to "stop every wheel on 200,000 miles of track" if they see fit, a statement that has been made a thousand times, and has been quoted by the Journal of Commerce itself, and become a sort of familiar household word to the public. If we have stood the control of these six or seven men for many years we may be able to survive if they are temporarily supplanted in the wheel-stopping function by 25,000 engineers. It may seem preposterous, to be sure, but we have the consolation of knowing that we live under a preposterous system all through.

"If the business of the country," continues the Journal of Commerce, "is to be scourged with scorpions at the behest of a labor organization, or even menaced every time there is a demand for higher

wages, some governmental means will have to be found for stopping that kind of economic barbarism." The Journal of Commerce is of the opinion that "there certainly should be some way of settling such a question authoritatively and conclusively," but it does not suggest any, though it is certain that there is at least one, maybe more.

The engineers, like all other strikers, are but exercising their inalienable right of "freedom of contract." Does the Journal of Commerce want to abrogate it? How about compelling men to work against their will? How about introducing chattel slavery, or, at least, peonage, once again? Why didn't the British capitalists turn the army upon the coal miners and force them back into the pits at the bayonet point? Why doesn't the Journal of Commerce recommend that method for dealing with the railroad engineers and coal miners on this side? Why not chain the engineers to their machines and place sentries at the pit entrances to prevent the miners coming up before they have sent up the necessary amount of coal? If the Journal of Commerce has anything better to suggest, why doesn't it suggest it? That would at least be an attempt to settle the question "authoritatively," if not "conclusively."

The Journal of Commerce is up against the Sphinx riddle that capitalism is called upon to answer, and cannot. And the Sphinx destroyed those who could not answer her riddles. Myth as well as history has the quality of repeating itself, and the freedom of contract, which was always a myth so far as the workers were concerned, is now being transformed from a bulwark of the system of capitalistic exploitation to a most potent instrument for its destruction.

The reason that the Journal of Commerce suggests nothing is that it has nothing to suggest. There are just two alternative proposals possible—a return to open, undisguised slavery, or an advance to Socialism, and the Journal of Commerce dare not suggest either.—New York Call.

Dr. Wiley's Resignation

DAMNED with faint praise from the nation's chief executive, hampered by a reactionary departmental chief who has long since outlived his usefulness, badgered by a pettifogging lawyer of the night school variety who, as a representative of the vicious interests was able to nullify or render abortive efforts made in the interest of public health, Dr. Wiley has given up the unequal fight and handed in his

resignation. Thus retires from the government service one of the most useful officials this country has ever had. An implacable foe of fraud and deceit, Dr. Wiley has for years stood between a more or less helpless public and the vested interests that have developed to a science the business of adulterating foods, sophisticating drugs—thus in many ways threatening the public health. On every debatable question re-

garding the wholesomeness of foodstuffs, Dr. Wiley was consistently on the side of the people; his superior officers have been just as persistently on the side of those who have made their millions by substituting cheap and often poisonous drugs for more expensive but wholesome foods. Assailed from without by some of the most powerful, vicious and corrupt organizations, he was antagonized from within by the political henchmen of the same organizations. To Dr. Wiley more than to any other one man, says The Journal of American Medical Association, the public owes the Food and Drugs Act, and to Dr. Wiley, it also owes whatever of good has been accomplished by that act. It is to be hoped that his forced retirement will result in such an upheaval of public indignation that the forces of evil at present in control of the Department of Agriculture will be driven into political oblivion and the department filled by men who hold decency above dollars, probity above pelf and public health above private gain.—Labor World, Spokane.

The above editorial in the Labor World of Spokane, is grounded on truth, and not even the men responsible for the resignation of Dr. Wiley can deny the facts set forth in the World.

Dr. Wiley endeavored by every effort to protect the safety of human life, but as the protection of human life from adulterated mer-

chandise was against the interests of combinations that contribute vast sums of money to national political campaigns, it became necessary to make it so unpleasant for Dr. Wiley, that to uphold his dignity, his only course was his resignation.

The Manufacturers' Association brought all its united power and influence to the administration at Washington, and had Wiley refused to retire gracefully from his official position, he would have been scalped by the "higher up" *servant of the people*, who hears a master's voice. To protect public health from the manufacturers of poisoned products or "embalmed beef," incites the relentless wrath of "Big Business," and as "Big Business" is a potent factor in Presidential campaigns, the man who dared to do something to insure the safety of public health, was officially crucified to appease the outraged indignation of mercenary hyenas whose dividends from adulterated foods were far more vital and precious than the health and life of human beings.

It is to be hoped that the people will sometime awaken from their long sleep and fix their gaze long enough upon the murderous system of profit to demand in thunder tones that *life* shall be paramount to the *dollar*.

He Is Making Discoveries

RABBI W. S. FRIEDMAN of Denver, in a sermon recently delivered before the members of his church, dwelt upon the conditions that confront society and openly expressed the belief that the liberties of the people are menaced. The following are some of the significant extracts taken from Friedman's sermon:

"The idolatry of individuals has been promoted so that man thinks only of himself.

"No man will deny that there is not a reign of lawlessness everywhere.

"Class has been arraigned against class, and caste, with money as the basis of power, is fathered.

"Women look upon the sanctity of motherhood as a burden.

"Crime is increasing out of all proportion to the increase in population.

"Anarchy which is smooth and utilizes the law to overcome the law is more dangerous than anarchy of the bomb.

"The divorcees will soon be as many as the marriages.

"Every government is the outgrowth of forces among the people. This government was in the hearts of the people long before the constitution was written. It was in the hearts of the people that came over in the Mayflower.

"Government originated in the family of primitive man, with the father the ruler, and this grew into the father of the clan and into the monarchical form of government, and then came the republic, an out-

growth of the forces among the people. In those old days it was a matter of civic pride and civic honor how a man conducted himself in office, but what a change today! No man can study the political situation to-day and say 'All is well,' for we have been transformed from an agricultural people into a mass in the cities that has caused the high cost of living, for the demand exceeds the production. It is this overcrowding of the cities that is a menace to liberty."

Rabbi Friedman has made some statements that deserve, not only consideration, but those statements if true, demand that *conditions* receive heroic treatment immediately.

There are a few who will dispute the veracity of the majority of the statements made by the rabbi of the Jewish temple, but the question arises, as to what shall be done to remedy the conditions which have brought forth such a sermon from a preacher in one of God's temples?

When a physician calls upon a patient he immediately makes an investigation of the condition of the patient, and after ascertaining from investigation the nature of the patient's illness, he immediately prescribes for the patient.

But the rabbi, after stating the diseases that affect society, forgets to prescribe a remedy.

We are glad, however, that Dr. Friedman has discovered that society is suffering from illness, that liberty is menaced, that *class* is arrayed against class and that divorce is making marriage a farce.

When men discover that society is diseased, it is but a question of time until such men will be searching for the remedies.

Thirty Thousand Votes — Good Night!

IT IS COMING: The cloud in the sky—Socialism.

You who are gentlemen and masters of the bread, no longer smile when Socialism is mentioned. You know that this new force in American politics is coming with the speed of the winds.

By uniting your two dying political parties you captured the offices of the Milwaukee election. But it is only for a day. You know that your henchmen made a supreme effort to bring out a full vote. You wanted to annihilate Socialism. You said you would deliver such a crushing defeat to the Socialists that they would never again be an issue in the city of Milwaukee.

Your henchmen did their work well. They voted the lame, the blind and the crippled. Yet, with all of this effort, there was no gain in the combined Democratic and Republican vote. You now know that even if both your parties hold up to their present strength, it will be impossible to defeat the Socialists in future elections.

You made no gains. The Socialists gained by thousands, and that is the thing which now troubles you.

Yes, the specter of Socialism has even entered the White House and so badly scared your fat, smiling President that he did not dare send a Socialist editor to jail. It has also entered the nation's capital, and your political parties are helpless before it.

Among your kind you hear it whispered that Socialism is inevitable. You do not exactly know why it is inevitable, but the top layer of your brain tells you to prepare to get off our backs.

To-day you own and control "our" government, the natural resources and all the great industries. You hold in your hands the health, the happiness and well-being of millions of human beings—and you have no sense whatever of your social responsibility.

That is the big reason why Socialism is inevitable.

You, who are the owners, could meet in a Wall street office and decide upon a program of social reform that would do away with all the misery now in the world.

But the only thing that concerns you and your kind is profits.

Yesterday we appealed to you but you were deaf to our cries. We told you that millions of our brothers were unemployed, that those who

were fortunate enough to have employment labored for starvation wages; that hope had deserted the hearts of thousands of our wives and sisters, and that we were sorely pressed—even to the point of violent revolution.

Your reply was: "What has this to do with me? It is none of my business."

To-day we realize that it has been this way since the beginning of civilization. It was the same in the olden times of feudal barons and kings.

Your professors in your universities do not sneer at Theodore Mommsen, the German historian. He painted this picture of the Roman republic just before its fall:

"In consequence of this economic system, based both in its agrarian and mercantile aspects, on masses of capital and speculation, there arose a most fearful disproportion in the distribution of wealth. The often used and often abused phrase of a commonwealth of supposed millionaires and beggars applies perhaps nowhere so completely as to the Rome of the last age of the republic."

The millionaire and the tramp! The master and the serf! Respectability the proud monopoly claimed by those who live off the labors of others; rags and starvation the badge of those who toil, produce and suffer.

Says the German scholar Mommsen:

"To be poor was not merely the sorest disgrace and the worst crime, put the only disgrace and the only crime. For money the statesmen sold the state, the citizen his freedom and vote. For money the lady of quality surrendered herself, as well as the common courtesan. Men had forgotten what honesty was: a man who had refused a bribe was regarded not as an upright man, but as a personal foe."

These frightful conditions existing in Rome and so vividly pictured by Mommsen, are with us to-day in America. And you, who are gentlemen, captains of industry, and masters of the bread are responsible. You are responsible for the reason that you use your wealth to uphold our present economic system. You buy up newspapers to influence public opinion to your way of thinking. You buy up senators and congressmen to pass laws which gives your class the right to exploit the weak. You use your wealth to own judges who do your

bidding and carry out your law to keep the workers "in their place."

Because you fight all efforts now being made to bring about a better civilization, you are directly responsible for the discontent that is sweeping the nation. Just as the Roman capitalists were responsible for the conditions then, so are you responsible for the misery and starvation in America.

Let us glance at the pages of history in the days of Carlyle. He begged the kings and the aristocrats to relieve the suffering of the people. He pointed out that the people perished for want of leadership; the sick, the idle, and the famished overran the land. Anarchy and chaos ruled.

Carlyle spoke the truth, yet the ruling class refused to listen. The men of power had only contempt and derision for him. The ruling class forgot their social responsibility and later were destroyed by the people in revolution.

Yesterday, we the workers, went among you to plead, but nothing came of our efforts. You were comfortable, you were content with things as they were, and beyond the giving of alms you did nothing.

But with the coming of the Socialist movement we cease to be objects of pity and charity. Conscious of our wrongs, and how to right them, we no longer look to you for our salvation. We sound the call for the solidarity of the workers of the world. Against your political economy and science, the law, the morality, the art and ideals of your class, we submit our own political economy, science, law, morality, art and ideals. Against the present we offer the future.

Under your system of government, rottenness in higher places has become the national sin; immorality and greed heed no restraint and acknowledge no limits; the few dominate and monopolize power, riches, government, business and law. The workers are mocked, deluded, and robbed in every conceivable way, so that few have vast wealth and the many extreme poverty.

Your frightful system gives us, on the one side of the city, horses, dogs and cats as the pampered pets upon whom countless thousands are spent and to whose every need brass buttoned liveries attend. On the other side of the same city men die of starvation, women sink under the pitiless lash of starvation wages in the hells of vice and crime, and children die for a breath of God's pure air.

Because you possess, as your exclusive private property the lands, mines, factories, railroads and other important instruments by the use of which goods are produced to satisfy human wants, and which you manufacture only for profit, you force these horrible conditions upon us.

But watch the cloud. We are determined men and we have decided that your system is intolerable and must be changed so as to be operated for the benefit of all the people.

We are moved with "divine discontent," we have built up the most powerful political party in the world. Its marching feet are heard in every civilized country on the face of the earth. From a small handful of intelligent men it has grown to incredible proportions. We demand and are determined to obtain human conditions for ourselves, and our families, and for that reason Socialism is inevitable.

In the past you have killed, exiled, ostracised our brothers because of their convictions. Because of your cruelty a mighty host of comrades with the unquenchable fire of justice burning in their breasts—a fire that all your jails, all your gibbets and all your racks could not extinguish—have gone to their graves unwept and unknown.

But your puny efforts to kill our creed of democracy and justice has only added fuel to the fire.

To-day we no longer fear you. With 30,000 fearless men in Milwaukee, with 2,000,000 in the nation, with 12,000,000 in the world, all united under the banner of the International, we have nothing to fear. We look you straight in the eye and we laugh at you. We defy you!—G. N. in Milwaukee Leader.

The Siberia of Colorado

THE MINE OPERATORS of the Cripple Creek district have launched a new organization known as the Miners' Protective Association and established a new card system, in order that no man, unless approved by an executive committee of the Miners' Protective Association shall receive a license to search for employment in the czar-governed mines of the district, where mine operators, business men and state militia once yelled in chorus: "To hell with the constitution." The last annual convention held in Butte, Montana, decided to hold the next annual convention in Cripple Creek, and when such startling news reached the mine operators, the *liberty-loving exploiters* who refuse to permit their slaves to become members of a labor organization, held a meeting at Colorado Springs (Little Lunnon) and immediate steps were taken to forge more firmly the fetters that already shackled the freedom of the unfortunate victims of Cripple Creek, whom circumstances have compelled to remain in a mining district, where liberty has been murdered by the economic power of a combination that sneered at law and spat upon the constitution.

The Miners' Protective Association is under the absolute domination of the mine operators. Its laws and constitution have been drafted and adopted by the mine operators, and the slaves of the mines have had no voice in framing the laws or constitution to which they must yield implicit obedience in exchange for the privilege of searching for a job in the Siberia of Colorado.

In order that the membership of the Western Federation of Miners may have a clear conception of the new despotism in the Cripple Creek district established by a Miners' Protective Association and in order that labor throughout America may know that every *principle of democracy* has been assassinated in Cripple Creek, it is only necessary to quote the following which appeared in a recent issue of one of the Cripple Creek daily journals.

The article is as follows and tells the story of human rights being dead in Teller county:

"At most of the shaft houses in the Cripple Creek mining district to-day will appear a notice which is as follows:

"After April 3 any person who shall receive employment or be granted leases on any property owned or controlled by this company in the Cripple Creek mining district shall before such employment present for inspection a certificate of membership in good standing in the Miners' Protective Association.

"This does not apply to those who are at present employed, who will be notified at a later date."

"The Mine Owners' Association, a new organization composed of mine and mill owners in the Cripple Creek district, has been incorporated under the laws of the state of Wyoming. The scope of this organization is broader than the purposes of the old Mine Owners' and Operators' Association. It has for its purpose the promotion of good feeling among the working men; to secure a better class of men in the Cripple Creek district; put down highgrading and to prevent the domination of any lawless labor organization or element in the Cripple Creek mines, although the association is not opposed to any law-abiding organizations and the operators believe that the men should be organized for their own protection—hence the Miners' Protective Association, a new association of which every man employed in the district must be a member.

"The members of the Mine Owners' Association compose about 95 per cent of those employing labor in the Cripple Creek district. Each member is bound by the articles of corporation and each has faithfully promised to carry out the laws of the association to the letter under pain of a heavy penalty.

"The association considers the Western Federation of Miners as an organization, a lawless association and any member of it, will, in all probability, be refused membership to the Miners' Protective Association.

"The notices, a copy of which is printed above, will be posted at the mines this morning. Just as soon as possible membership certificates to the Miners' Protective Association will be issued. Every mine owner, superintendent, manager, mucker, machine man and all employes around mines and mills must be members of the Miners' Protective Association before they will be given employment. Just what method will be employed in granting these memberships is not known, but it may be that mine by mine the men will be examined as to their qualifications to be members of the protective association.

"Beginning Thursday, no man will be put to work unless he has a certificate from the new association. These may be secured during the mornings at the office of the Mine Owners' Association either in Cripple Creek or Victor from D. I. Woodruff, who is secretary of the protective association.

"In addition to the Miners' Protective Association, its purpose and scope being described hereafter in the by-laws and the constitution which are printed in full, Mr. Woodruff will establish a free employment bureau. His method of conducting this bureau will be an innovation and will be entirely fair. The men not employed will have their names as well as the experience and other data put on a card index which will be handy in the office of the association. When the Portland mine, for instance, desires a hoist engineer, Mr. Woodruff will give the company a list of all the hoist engineers not in employment and let the Portland officials select their man. This will be the best system which can be found and it will be entirely fair.

"The present card system in effect by the old Mine Owners' and Operators' Association is not entirely in effect as the superintendents have become lax in its enforcement. It is said, especially among the foreigners, that three men are working on one card and that the permits have been bartered and traded in by the miners. Under the new system each superintendent and shift boss will make sufficient inquiries and satisfy himself that the man presenting the card is the rightful holder.

"It is hinted that there will be an effort made to clean up the district of a class of foreigners who have come here within the last few years and it would not be surprising if the men from the Southern European countries would fail to qualify in the applications to become members of the Miners' Protective Association. If this be the case, it may be expected that a better class of men will be found in the district and that the standard of the workingman will be raised. The plan as evolved will work havoc upon certain classes in the event that men who are known to be members of the Western Federation of Miners are refused cards.

"It is anticipated that within a month all of the mines will have the new cards and that at that time there will be no one working in the district who is not a member of the Miners' Protective Association. This association complies with the law of Colorado in every respect, it is said.

"To become a member of the Miners' Protective Association it will not be necessary to pay any fees for the Mine Owners' Association will maintain it. Neither will the protective association or the Mine Owners' Association engage in politics under its constitution.

"There will be no effort made toward reducing wages or lengthening hours. This has never been hinted at, but on the other hand the efforts of both associations will be to improve conditions.

"The following is the constitution of the Miners' Protective Association:

CONSTITUTION.

THIS ORGANIZATION SHALL BE KNOWN AS THE MINERS' PROTECTIVE ASSOCIATION.

I.

OBJECTS.

"The objects of this association shall be:

"To unite its members in closer and more confidential relations for the mutual good of all;

"To establish, if possible, between employer and employes such amicable and friendly relations and mutuality of purpose and aim as will result in the greatest good to both capital and labor, employer and employe;

"To protect, insofar as possible, its members in and about the mines and mills and samplers in the Cripple Creek mining district against loss of earnings through irresponsible employers;

"To prevent injury by accident while in the performance of their duties about the mines, mills and samplers;

"To promote honest and fair dealings between employer and the employe;

"To encourage good, honest and faithful service for good wages and to discourage all individual or organized effort tending toward dishonest or careless indifference of the rights of the persons or property of either the employer or employe; and

"To use its best endeavor to aid in securing employment for those members who desire same.

II.

MANAGEMENT.

"The affairs and business of the Miners' Protective Association shall be under the management and control of an executive committee consisting of five members, and E. W. Giddings, Irving Howbert and E. M. De La Vergne are selected as a committee on organization and to name an executive committee of the Miners' Protective Association, which executive committee shall serve for the first year of the existence of the association.

BY-LAWS.

ARTICLE I.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

"The affairs and business of the Miners' Protective Association shall be under the management and control of an executive committee of five members.

ARTICLE II.

MEMBERSHIP.

"Section 1. The membership of the protective association shall be confined to such mine owners, mill owners, mine operators, lessees, and employes of same, as shall be recommended for membership by the executive committee of this association, and who shall agree to conform, and abide by the constitution and by-laws of this association.

"Sec. 2. Application for membership in this association shall be made to the executive committee of the same.

"Sec. 3. When applications have been approved by the executive committee, the applicants may become members by signing the constitution and by-laws of the association.

"Sec. 4. Upon compliance with the foregoing requirements the persons becoming members shall receive membership cards of the association; such cards to be good for that calendar year only.

"Sec. 5. Membership cards may be revoked at any time by the executive committee whenever such committee shall be satisfied that the member holding card is not living up to the obligations imposed by the constitution and by-laws of this association.

"Sec. 6. Membership cards shall not be transferable by assignment or otherwise, only valid when presented by one whose name is signed on card.

"Sec. 7. In case of loss of card, the member sustaining such loss shall immediately notify the executive committee of its loss, cause or probable cause for same, and request the issuance of a duplicate card."

The editor shall refrain from making further comment on the Miners' Protective Association at the present time as we desire that the membership shall assimilate thoroughly the article taken from the Cripple Creek journal which gives publicity to this industrial slavery that is now being established. We desire that every reader of the Miners' Magazine shall urge that every member of the organization shall be made thoroughly acquainted with the new despotism established in Cripple Creek and that the condition that now prevails in Colorado's Siberia shall be made the subject of discussion in every local union.

The editor will give Cripple Creek more of his attention in the near future.

We Need "Progressive Oil"

THE LAST ISSUE of the Miners' Magazine contained a lengthy communication from Poreupine Miners' Union, which the press committee insisted should be published in the Miners' Magazine. There likewise appeared two letters from the secretary of the Poreupine Miners' Union and likewise the answer of President Moyer to the Poreupine communication. It is presumed by the editor that ere this the membership of the Western Federation of Miners have thoroughly digested the communication and answer.

It is absolutely necessary that the local unions throughout the whole jurisdiction should weigh carefully all the statements of this communication and answer, and by so doing they will be able to render an intelligent verdict on the questions that have been raised and answered. The time has passed when mere statements and charges, unsupported by any proofs, will be accepted by intelligent men.

The burden of the communication that comes from the Poreupine Miners' Union through a press committee, is a heart-breaking lament as to the lack of *new blood of a revolutionary hue* that seems to be responsible for the present stagnation of the organization.

According to the infallible philosophy of the *wise men* of No. 145, "the sun, moon and stars stood still" and the earth became motionless since 1906.

The men of Poreupine whose hearts bleed with indescribable anguish, have discovered that the W. F. M. machine is *dormant* and unless the membership are aroused from the effect of the anesthetic, called *lethargy*, we shall go back to *barbarism*.

What a horrible prophecy!

How prolific must have been the brain in which such a nightmare was born!

What great drops of *blood* must have stood out upon the brows of the agonized anxious ones of Poreupine, as they contemplated the "mire of oblivion" into which the W. F. M. is sweeping! It is no wonder that the *patriots* of Poreupine with *red blood* leaping through their veins, appealed to the delegates to the twentieth annual convention to come loaded with a stock of *progressive oil* to lubricate the rusty and *dormant* W. F. M. machine.

Wizard oil or Frazer's axle grease do not contain those powerful ingredients that stimulate a labor organization to renewed activity, but "progressive oil," made and vouched for by graduates in the pharmacy of the I. W. W. institute, is guaranteed to make things move.

If in the year 1906, the sentinels of the W. F. M. had only discovered the magic power of "progressive oil," the "mire of oblivion" would not now be threatening us, nor would we be going back to *barbarism*.

How blind, indeed, must have been the membership of the Western Federation of Miners, who for six long years did not realize that we had become *dormant* and had no conception of the life-giving power of "progressive oil."

If "progressive oil" will regenerate the W. F. M., then why do the fearless and unafraid of Poreupine manifest no disposition to furnish the "progressive oil" themselves, and not call upon the general membership for the *stock of lubricants* to grease the W. F. M. machine?

Is "progressive oil" more costly than assessments?

But the press committee says: "A few years ago the Industrial Workers of the World was considered to be "It" by the W. F. M. A year later by a referendum vote we amended "It" to read, "It is not."

In answer we might say that there was a time when Judas was "It" with Jesus Christ and there was a time when Benedict Arnold was "It" with George Washington, but there came a time when the *treason* of both made it necessary for Christ and Washington to repudiate the traitors.

The press committee might have related some history in connection with the I. W. W., which made such a so-called labor organization "It is not" with the Western Federation of Miners. The press committee might have told us to how the second annual convention of the I. W. M. trampled the constitution and by-laws of the organization under its feet, and proceeded to do business without any regard to the organic law established by the referendum vote of the membership. They might have said that *democracy* in the government of the organization was banished from the second annual convention and that a comparatively few men, who were delegates, attempted to take the bit in their teeth and issue mandates that should supplant the constitution established by the membership. They might have told how this glorious I. W. W. split into two factions, and there is scarcely anyone now who would be able to determine which faction is now the real genuine article, manipulated by "progressive oil."

But the press committee says: "Is it not sufficiently plain to you that the I. W. W. is the only union that the masters fear? What about McKees Rock strike and the Lawrence, Massachusetts strike, and the free speech fights? Are they putting up a good fight or are they not?"

It would seem to an intelligent man that if the press committee had any facts to present as to the *results* of the McKees Rock strike, the Lawrence, Massachusetts, strike, or the free speech fight, they would have presented the *results* of such battles.

What was accomplished at McKees Rock and what has been achieved by all the noise made by the I. W. W. relative to free speech?

The strike at Lawrence, Massachusetts, made known to the labor movement of this continent the brutal conditions that prevailed in the peoned mills of the operators and whatever was accomplished was not through the I. W. W. but through the whole labor movement of this country which sent the "sinews of war" to feed the strikers. Organized labor, that forced Congress to turn its vision upon the prison pens of profit of Massachusetts that were grinding dividends from ill-paid

and slowly murdered children that had been robbed of childhood and sentenced to wage slavery, won whatever has been achieved in the mills of Lawrence.

Whatever was accomplished at Lawrence, Massachusetts, was due to the united power of organized labor of this country and due to the alarm of the mill operators entertaining the fear that an investigation forced upon Congress by the labor movement of America, might result in the removal of a protective tariff from the product of the mills. It was this fear on the part of the mill owners that brought about concessions to the slaves of Lawrence, whose condition appealed to the sympathy of the working class of the whole country.

A noise for free speech was made in Spokane, Washington, and the I. W. W. sent out circulars appealing to workingmen to come to Spokane and fill the jails, in order that the city of Spokane might be bankrupted. But the authorities of Spokane furnished jail accommodations for all who came and when the yelping dervishes of Spokane discovered that the transient invaders would be made guests of the city on light diet, they immediately sent out other circulars begging for funds to fee lawyers, in order that the imprisoned might get out of jail.

The wise and brainy heroes incarcerated in Spokane, whose blood was of a *revolutionary hue*, likewise declared a "hunger strike" in contemplation of capitalism dying with grief over labor gladiators crossing the Great Divide, via the starvation route.

How panic-stricken must have been the capitalists of Spokane as they beheld labor in jail, refusing to eat?

Such a clever move to bankrupt Spokane through non-consumption, must have put wrinkles of laughter on the sombre faces of old maids and furnished amusement for that intelligent and long-eared quadruped known as the jack-ass.

A grease-spot hardly remains in Spokane to tell of the free speech fight, and McKees Rock has almost forgotten such an organization as the I. W. W.

Blare of trumpets or shrieks from expanded lungs do not build up labor organizations. Froth and foam have no substance and are ephemeral as morning dew under a summer sun.

But the press committee want "men not afraid of prison bars, men not afraid of the gallows if necessary, men willing to meet force with force, men who won't levy assessments continually for two long years and send out an occasional polished circular telling us the fine show we have of winning."

The above quotation from the Porcupine communication should impress the readers of the Miners' Magazine, and should leave no room

for doubt, but that men who falter at assessments, are not *afraid to die* to uphold the cause of the working class.

Men who balk on assessments to feed their brothers in a lock-out will surely not be "afraid of prison bars," the gallows or shrink from meeting force with force.

Men who complain of parting with \$1 per month to defeat a lock-out and maintain the right of labor to organize must need "*progressive oil*" to make them *militant*.

But the press committee complains that the editor hesitates to publish articles that are not "in harmony with his views, and that if he publishes any article that criticizes the executive board, he "spews his wrath on the poor illiterate wage slave who will never get a chance to come back in a rebuttal."

Only that we feel that the press committee would scorn to write anything that resembled a falsehood, we would be tempted to use that ugly word that sometimes results in disturbing the peace. But as we feel that *militant men*, with blood in their veins of a *revolutionary hue*, men who are not *afraid of prison bars or the gallows* would look upon a cool, deliberate lie as repulsive, we shall refrain from even intimating that the press committee handles the truth in a reckless manner.

The answer of President Moyer to the Porcupine communication in the last issue of the Miners' Magazine, covered the ground completely, and demonstrated beyond every question of doubt, that the press committee was a stranger to the history of the Western Federation of Miners.

The hysteria of fanaticism or blood-curdling war-whoops, will not affect the capitalist system that enslaves laboring humanity. The labor movement must be guided by intelligence and men in official positions must be diplomats, equipped with brains to measure steel with the conspiring enemy that schemes night and day, to weaken the labor forces of a continent.

The man with the loud mouth and the infant brain may make a noise, but noise will not affect seriously the class that occupies the throne of power.

Education and organization are the forces that will bring capitalism to its knees and supplant wrong with the reign of justice.

As labor advances in intelligence, labor will become more powerful on the industrial battle field, and labor's economic power expressed at the polls through an intelligent ballot, will sweep the wrongs of centuries into forgotten graves, and even the press committee of Porcupine will yet realize that there are some things that are even more potent than "*progressive oil*."

Correspondence Between Porcupine Miners' Union and President Moyer

WHEN JAMES D. CLUNEY received the lengthy communication from President Moyer which appeared in the last issue of the Miners' Magazine, which communication had for its object the prevention of the official organ being used for campaign purposes in the interests of any candidate for office, the communication of Moyer met with the following reply from the secretary of the Porcupine Miners' Union:

"South Porcupine, Ontario, April 1, 1912.

"Mr. Charles H. Moyer, President W. F. of M., Denver, Colorado:

"Dear Sir and Brother—At our last regular meeting I read your lengthy communication scoring the Porcupine press committee and the officers and members of Porcupine Miners' Union No. 145, W. F. M., for having the audacity of sending an article to the editor of our official organ for publication. As I am only one member of this local and a servant at that, I shall refrain from commenting any further at this writing, only to proceed with the following instructions, which are as follows: That you proceed to publish that article as duly passed by this local, and that you use whatever language you desire in commenting on same, but it is to be understood that space be reserved in the magazine for us to reply; then if you desire you may have the final word.

Yours fraternally,

"JAMES D. CLUNEY,

Secretary-Treasurer No. 145, W. F. M."

The above letter from Secretary Cluney was answered by President Moyer and is as follows:

(Copy.)

Denver, Colorado, April 12, 1912.

Mr. D. J. Cluney,

Porcupine, Ontario.

Dear Sir and Brother: Yours of the first reached headquarters in due time and I note the instructions which you say you have received from the Porcupine Miners' Union, which was to notify me that we proceed to publish the press committee's article in the official organ, and that the union had decided to be liberal enough to permit me to answer in my own way. I am sure it would have been difficult for me to determine just what the Porcupine local would wish in the way of a reply, but as you will note in this week's issue of the Magazine, I have had no desire to add anything to my reply to the Porcupine local's article dated March 10, as I consider it a complete answer to the charges made in said article, and believe it to be a courteous reply considering the language used in the committee's article.

I have noted with much interest that part of yours of the 1st where you say, "I am only one member of this local and a servant at that, and for this reason I shall refrain from commenting any further at this writing." Just what you mean by this I am unable to determine, but as you mention "this writing," I take it that I may expect that you will comment further at a future time. As to being a servant of the union, therefore compelled to carry out their instructions, it is surely your duty to do so as long as those instructions are not in conflict with your duty as a man and member of the Western Federation of Miners and not intended to commit you personally to something that you cannot endorse, yet I infer that the instructions of the local met with your approval; as did the contents of the committee's article, as you were one of the committee, and as a matter of fact, wrote the article yourself. While you may be a servant of a labor organization, yet, having had some little experience in that capacity, I want to say that no labor organization, society or individual can compel me, simply because I may be representing it, to write or attach my signature to other than a statement of facts, or in a verbal or written statement, slander and vilify a man who has given me no occasion for doing so and whose attitude toward me in the past has been of the most friendly and honorable character. In other words, I do not propose to make enemies of my friends to hold a thankless job in a labor organization.

As to my reply to the committee's article I shall leave it to the readers of the official organ as to whether I took the Porcupine Miners' Union to task for having the *audacity* to send an article to the editor of our official organ for publication. The article and answer being printed in the same issue will be the best evidence as to whether the article justified the language used in the reply.

I want to say further in regard to the appeal for sympathy made by the press committee in stating that they are "illiterate wage slaves, not professional men or isolated scholars, but just ordinary wage-plugs," that I believe they have the ordinary intelligence, in fact, as far as their education goes, that it will compare with any other member of the Western Federation of Miners, be he acting in an official capacity or otherwise. There is not a man, to my knowledge, serving the Western Federation of Miners in an official capacity, including the editor, but who is a wage worker, not only at this time, but from the day they were old enough to enter the labor market, therefore they can hardly be called professional men, unless to serve a labor organization and become an object upon which certain men in the labor movement may spew their venom, in addition to being a target for the employing interests and their sleuths, places one in that class.

As to my record as a wage slave, I believe it will compare favorably, from the point of years of service and profit returned to the mas-

TO ORGANIZED LABOR AND THEIR FRIENDS.

ters, with any signer of the article or member of the Porcupine Miners' Union, especially during one year while serving your organization as a member of the executive board, because of which I was placed on the blacklist by the employers in the Black Hills, I escorted a hod up and down a ladder and performed such other light labor as is required of a working man in the erection of stone and brick structures, but of course, according to the committee, a couple of years' service as a paid officer of a labor organization at a much less salary than the average miner receives, leaves a man's mind a blank, although he may still wear the callouses on his shoulder and hands. I have no doubt but what if the committee were confined in a bull-pen for a number of months, or hiked out of their own homes, taken to a foreign state and for very nearly two years placed in solitary confinement and threatened with the gallows, and were to regain their liberty and be selected by their fellow-workers to serve them in the labor movement, that in the course of a year or so they would forget all about those things, and the fact that they had ever been persecuted or were ever wage workers and absolutely lose their usefulness in labor's cause. In conclusion, I will say that this may be the candid opinion of the committee and some members of the Porcupine Miners' Union, but it is not the sentiment of the majority of our membership or the organized labor movement as a whole.

Another matter which I would like to call to your attention is the telegram which I forwarded to you April 6 in which I requested that you mail me the names and addresses of all members of the Porcupine local, giving my reason for the request. To this date I have had no acknowledgement from you. It was an inexpensive request and had there been any question of expense and you had let me know by wire I would have unhesitatingly notified you that I would stand the same. Why you should object to having the Miners' Magazine reach the membership of the Porcupine local I am unable to understand, but will expect an explanation from you at your convenience.

Sincerely trusting that the interest will continue to spread among the men of the mines of the Porcupine mining district until every one is enrolled under the banner of your organization, I beg to remain,

Yours for the Western Federation of Miners,

CHARLES H. MOYER,
President Western Federation of Miners.

The following is the copy of a telegram sent by President Moyer to Secretary Cluny, requesting the names and addresses of the members of the Porcupine Miners' Union, in order that every member of the local union would be given the opportunity of reading the correspondence between headquarters and Porcupine Miners' Union, and that each member, through reading the correspondence, could draw his own conclusions:

"April 6, 1912.

"To James D. Cluny,

"South Porcupine, Ontario.

"Mail me names and addresses of all members of Porcupine local, as I desire to mail each member copy of Magazine containing your article and my answer. Wire answer when I may expect same.

"CHARLES H. MOYER."



ECONOMIC DETERMINISM.

Do you know that what we consider good or bad is generally determined by what pays us best? For instance: If I should write an editorial advocating higher salaries for teachers, teachers in general would consider the purpose of that editorial good, while the taxpayer would consider it bad. When I wrote against a certain nuisance that reduced the value of my neighbor's real estate my neighbor considered my writing good; but since the nuisance has been abolished my neighbor is not interested in my writing. Today my writings are approved of by those who realize that wage slavery is the nuisance that affects their interests.

This is economic determinism. We consider that best which pays us best. When you find out that Socialism will benefit you more than Capitalism, then you will become a Socialist. That is why the editor is one, and not because he is a better man than his neighbor.—Shermerville Socialist.

RESOLUTIONS BY MIAMI MINERS' UNION.

To His Excellency, the Hon. G. W. P. Hunt, Governor of the State of Arizona, Phoenix, Arizona:

Dear Sir—The following resolution was adopted by Miami Miners' Union at a session of its regular meeting, same to be given general publicity in the press of the state and a copy ordered to be forwarded to yourself:

"Whereas, The governor in his message to the first Legislature of the state of Arizona, recommends the amending of Article XIX, of the constitution; and,

"Whereas, Such recommendation provides for the appointment of mines inspector, nullifying thereby the intent expressed by the will of the people; and,

"Whereas, Such nullification is sought for political expediency, and not economic worth, be it

"Resolved, That Miami Miners' Union of the Western Federation of Miners, vigorously protest against any alteration of the constitution in general and of Article XIX, in particular, which amends may have the tendency to deprive the people of the power to control public officials; be it further

"Resolved, That this resolution be given the widest publicity within the means of Miami Miners' Union."

(Seal)

LEGISLATIVE COMMITTEE.

All of you no doubt still recollect that memorable twenty weeks' strike of last summer of 6,000 ladies' garment workers of Cleveland, Ohio, against the Cloak and Suit Manufacturers' Association of that city, headed by Morris Black, manufacturer of the "Wooltex" brands of cloaks and skirts. This strike has never been declared off. Most of the workers have returned to the factories temporarily, or have gone into other lines of work. But their bitter grievances have never been arbitrated by this powerful manufacturers' "union," which dictates unjust terms of work and conditions of labor to six thousand workers, and maintains a blacklist to punish members of the union.

To prevent a recurrence of a strike in Cleveland, we are urging merchants in all cities of Ohio and neighboring States to buy cloaks and suits from firms which recognize the organization of their employes and arbitrate with the union.

We are having great success in enlisting trades unions, women's clubs, suffrage societies and friendly organizations, etc., to send trade to merchants who give their orders to firms which arbitrate.

It will help us materially if your organization will send a committee to wait upon the merchants of your city to get their promise to patronize the firms named on the fair list below and to get their signatures to the enclosed petition, which should then be remailed to us.

Trusting that we may count upon your prompt co-operation, and thanking you in advance for any assistance you may render, we are, Fraternally yours,

JOHN A. DYCHE,

General Secretary-Treasurer International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

Some of the "Fair" Manufacturers or Merchants.

Toledo—Alexander Black & Co., Kohn, Friedlander & Martin.

Cincinnati—Bishop, Stern & Stein, Fabrian Manufacturing Co., Ladies'

Tailoring Company, Epstein Brothers.

New York City—All manufacturers.

A LETTER FROM AUSTRALIA.

The following communication is sent out at the request of the International Socialist Bureau:

The Socialist Federation of Australia.

Sydney, January 31, 1912.

The Secretary, International Socialist Bureau, Brussels:

Dear Comrades—I am instructed to forward the following resolutions carried by our national executive and endorsed by S. F. A. branches:

(1)—That the Socialist Federation of Australasia protest to the American Socialist party against the action of Walter Thomas Mills in organizing for and speaking under the auspices of the Australian Labor Party (an anti-Socialist organization).

(2)—That the Socialist Federation of Australasia protest to the French Socialist Party and Jean Jaures against Jaures accepting any invitation to speak in Australia for the so-called Labor Party.

(3)—That the Socialist Federation of Australia protest to the world's Socialist parties, through the International Socialist Bureau, against any member of the Socialist movement coming to Australia to speak for the so-called Labor Party.

In its politics the Labor Party is not fundamentally different from the British Liberal Party, and is ever essentially a party of capitalist interests, making the perpetuation of radical hatreds a vital part of its program, advocating forced militarism and jailing working-class boys who refuse to be conscripts, protesting its loyalty to throne and empire, and also protesting its desire to legislate to protect the exploiting interests of the employer as well as the interests of the employes. The Labor Party has made laws to jail trade unionists who go on strike, and even at this minute the New South Wales Labor Party holds four unionists in jail for striking; and it hurries armed police to every center where a strike takes place.

A full statement of the Labor Party position and record will be duly forwarded.

I am instructed to ask the International Socialist Lyceum Bureau to cause the foregoing resolutions to be printed in the world's Socialist papers. With all good wishes, Yours for revolt,

B. HOLLAND.

GOLD PLACERS OF THE SIERRA NEVADA.

United States Geological Survey Professional Paper by Waldemar Lindgren.

In 1849 an army of gold seekers—the Forty Niners—invaded the Sierra Nevada of California. They worked first along the present streams but gradually traced the metal to the old Tertiary river beds on the summits of the ridges and to the quartz veins, the primary source of all the gold in the Sierra. Millions of dollars were produced annually up to the '70s of the last century, but since that time, owing to the prohibition of hydraulic mining and the gradual exhaustion of the richer channels suitable for drift mining, the industry has slowly diminished, until now less than \$1,000,000 is produced annually.

More than \$300,000,000 has been produced from these placers, and an account of the natural distribution and origin of this gold was recently published by the United States Geological Survey in Professional Paper 73, by Waldemar Lindgren. The first edition of this monographic report on the subject was almost immediately exhausted, but the volume has been reprinted and is now again available for free distribution.

Referring to the present placer gold reserve of the Sierra, Mr. Lindgren says: "Gold is still contained in the Tertiary channels; miles of them are still unworked, but the problems are how to extract it without damage to other property from the debris and how to reduce the cost of drift mining so as to permit the exploitation of the less remunerative deep gravels." In this connection Mr. Lindgren has traced the old channels and has prepared and included in this report accurate maps showing in detail the Tertiary drainage lines.

Placer Mining at Present.

The decrease in hydraulic mining is partly offset by a new industry—dredging, which has been developed along the bottom lands flanking the range, and from this source during 1908 gold valued at nearly \$7,500,000 was recovered.

The gold found in the larger old river channels is about the size of flax-seed, most of the nuggets having been found either within or near quartz veins. In general the channels yield from \$70 to \$500 to the linear foot, which may be compared with \$100 a foot at Nome, Alaska, \$380 in the White Channel in Klondike, and \$440 to \$1,293 in the Berry drift mines in Victoria, Australia.

The total output of gold in California is estimated at \$1,200,000,000 to \$1,500,000,000, about one-fifth of which has been derived from quartz veins, \$300,000,000 from the Tertiary gravels, and the remainder from the Quaternary deposits.

A copy of Mr. Lindgren's report—Professional Paper 73—may be had free of charge upon application to the director, United States Geological Survey, Washington, D. C. The report is fully illustrated with photographs, diagrams and topographic and geologic maps, and is believed to be the most complete and thorough description of a great placer-gold province ever published.

A LETTER TO THE GOVERNOR OF ARIZONA.

Your Excellency—In protesting against, and criticising your actions, this organization of miners believe that a deliberate attempt is being made to destroy the potency of the constitution, which reserves to the people the powers of government; we aim also to point out wherein the rights of the people of the state of Arizona are jeopardized by certain recommendations made by yourself. This we deem our duty as citizens.

Always in line with the working class and its needs, we are ever alert to the manipulations of the INTERESTS (read big business) to thwart the people, by controlling the people's officials. In your message, your Excellency, we recognized human impulses seeking alignment with human needs. We are materialistic enough to grasp and value concrete phenomena, though abstract philosophy concerns us not, hence, when you point to the constitution as "the very embodiment of popular government," we arrive at the conclusion that you are for us and with us for its consummation. We understand you as being of ourselves, without a pedigree founded upon primogeniture or upon wealth accumulated by an ancestry purveyors of human flesh or despoilers of the aborigines' domain, innocent of gallant deeds and murders in wars of conquest, free of ecclesiastic perpetuation of darkness and ignorance. We understand you to be one of that long line of unrecorded souls that lived, toiled and endeavored to lift the human race to that beatific condition, "the brotherhood of man."

In submitting this communication to your Excellency, we argue the advisability of reposing in the governor the appointive power. To the people, shorn of the power to elect, the recall becomes useless as a weapon of defense. We argue that an evil, vain or ambitious occupant of the gubernatorial chair, endowed with the appointive power, can surround himself with men of his own caliber and liking, to execute his orders and defy the law and the people.

The recall will avail nothing—it will only operate against the appointee—the governor is immune—he has the appointive power, and is clearly within his rights by virtue of the law; he is responsible for his own conduct only, and he is free of the actions of his appointees.

We further argue, your Excellency, that during the existence of the state many individuals with as many different characteristics will occupy the gubernatorial chair. Are we to suppose, then, that all these characters will dovetail in harmonious action for the people's welfare? Having in view dubious actions of officials in the past, but could suppose, that a good man would not want the appointive power, and a bad one should not have it.

We argue further that popular government, or government by the people, can only be maintained and democratically executed when the people choose and dismiss their public officers. Special stress is placed against the appointment of mines inspector, who, unless he be under the control of the people, can be made the bulwark over which the toilers in the mines will be forced to prevail, before they can obtain redress or conditions beneficial to them.

Finally, we argue, your Excellency, that any office deemed important enough by the people to disburse their hard-earned dollars in the maintenance thereof is important enough for them to control.

(Seal)

LEGISLATIVE COMMITTEE,
Miami Miners' Union No. 70.

NEVADA MINING DISTRICTS.

United States Geological Survey Issues Report on the Highly Mineralized Jarbidge, Contact and Elk Mountain Districts, Nevada.

As the result of a geologic field examination made in 1910 by F. C. Schrader in Elko county, Nevada, the United States Geological Survey has just published a report on the Jarbidge, Contact and Elk Mountain mining districts. The area comprising these districts is about thirty-five miles long and twenty-six miles wide and covers about 1,400 square miles. It lies in the northeastern part of the region known as the Nevada Plateau, at a general elevation of about 6,000 feet, and contains parts of two grand features of this western country—the Great Basin on the south and the Snake River valley on the north—and the intervening divide crosses its southern corners.

The Devil's Region.

The rugged character of the Jarbidge district is indicated by its name which, Mr. Schrader tells us, is derived from the Indian name "Ja-ha-bich," meaning the devil. "Traditionally," he says, "it is applied to this district from Indian association of diabolic power with the cataclysmic volcanism suggested by the rugged mountains, high peaks, deep cañons and hot springs of the region, and probably also from local eruptions of lavas, which the Indians may have witnessed in the adjoining Snake River valley within the last century, the eruptions being regarded as manifestations of the evil spirit and the lavas perhaps being correlated in origin with similar ones exposed in the Jarbidge mountains."

Gold Discovered by Sheep Herder.

The first gold ore discovered in the Jarbidge district is reported to have been found in 1904 by a sheep tender, but the discovery that led to the founding of the present camp and district was made in 1909, and almost weekly up to the present time the discoveries have continued. The developments are daily proving more encouraging and substantial, and the district as a whole is more than fulfilling the promise of its surface showings. Analyses of the ores are given in detail, and it is of particular interest at the present time that in some of these analyses large percentages of potash have been determined.

The ores of the Contact district are almost wholly copper ores, but they contain also small amounts of silver and gold, and in some portions of the district lead, manganese and zinc ores are found. The early prospectors searched for gold, but Mr. Schrader describes a number of copper properties that have been opened since 1887, many of them having been operated on a rather large scale. With good railroad facilities, which are promised in the near future, a new impetus will be given to getting out the ore.

Mineral deposits were known in the Elk Mountain district as early as 1890, since which time work has been carried on there each year, though the district as a whole is still in the prospect stage. The chief metal of this district is copper, and gold and silver are associated with it.

Descriptive Photographs and Maps.

The report describes in detail the geology, mineralogy and mining operations of the region and is accompanied by photographic illustrations showing the topographic features and rock formations, by vein and claim maps indicating the general distribution of the deposits, and by geologic and topographic maps of the areas described.

This report, which is published as Bulletin 497—"A Reconnaissance of the Jarbidge Districts, Elko County, Nevada"—can be obtained on application to the director of the United States Geological Survey, Washington, D. C.

NEWS FROM WASHINGTON, D. C.

(By National Socialist Press.)

Washington, April.—A strong fight for the admission of two Russian political refugees into this country is now being waged before the Department of Commerce and Labor. Simon O. Pollock, counsel for the Political Refugees' Defense League, and W. J. Ghent, representing Congressman Berger, have appeared before the department and submitted proof that the refugees

are Social-Democrats and not anarchists, as is charged by the federal inspectors of Tacoma, Washington, where these aliens are now being detained.

The refugees, Pitel Kagan and Vasily Lachatchoff, have both escaped from Siberia, where they had been sentenced to exile for life. Both are young men and had been doomed by the Russian Czar for having participated in the movement for political freedom. According to their testimony they have been assisted by friendly officials who gave them passports and made possible their escape to Japan. In the latter country a Russian sympathizer but an utter stranger to them loaned each refugee \$50 so that they could pay their passage to this country.

Despite the fact that Kagan is a pharmacist and Lachatchoff is a scientific agriculturist and an editor, the Tacoma immigration authorities refused to allow them to enter on the ground that they would "become public charges." These inspectors displayed the grossest prejudice, and according to the record of the hearing given to the refugees, these officials tried to make them out as anarchists and undesirable aliens.

The inspectors made one ground for exclusion the fact that Kagan refused to take an oath, but offered to affirm instead. Kagan explained to the bigoted authorities that he was a disciple of Darwin.

"To what party did you belong in Russia?" asked an inspector.

"I am a student of Karl Marx, a Social-Democrat."

The inspector then tried to force Kagan to declare that the Social-Democratic party was a nihilistic party. He failed.

"Where is the passport you used?" persisted the inspector.

"I destroyed the passport and the name I refuse to tell," answered Kagan, who knew that disclosure of his friend's name before these inspectors would cause trouble for the owner of the passport.

"If you practiced deceit upon the officers of your own country, how do you expect us to believe you?" asked this official of the "land of the free and the brave."

"I wanted to save myself and I got the passport to save my life."

After using every trick known to that inhuman art of "third degree" to get Kagan to say that he was an anarchist, the inspector turned to the interpreter and asked him as to his "opinion in regard to this man." This functionary replied:

"Well, I have had very much experience in this country. I am here thirty-five years and I was connected with the government for a couple of years, and will say that we are better off without such people in this country. My belief is that he is everything that is no good, and will not make a good citizen of the United States."

Upon this expert testimony in the case of Kagan and a similar farcical hearing in the case of the other refugee, the inspectors decided that they were undesirable aliens, anarchists, etc. Inspector Fulton, however, somewhat demurred and suggested that the case be put up to the secretary of the department. Anyway, the case of these exiles and Socialists are before the department because there are still some people left who cling to the tradition that America has and always should be an asylum of refuge to the political "criminals" of all countries. And the Pacific coast case is now being fought to preserve this traditional right.

Bailey Deplores Senate's "Weakness."

How the pressing demand of an awakened people has weakened the United States Senate, the foremost defender of the capitalist class, was the predominating note of a tearful speech delivered by Senator Bailey, the hardened reactionary. The Texas senator aided by Senator Heyburn of Idaho, had been making a vigorous fight against the enactment of the "Phessy-jaw" bill which prohibits by taxation the use of a poisonous chemical in the making of matches.

"I have been spending my life trying to defeat measures of this kind," cried Bailey, "but I have never defeated any of them yet, and that is one of the reasons I am glad to retire from the Senate. I am sick almost to death of having men stand here and vote one way, and then tell me in the cloak room that I was really right on the principle, but the practical good was so-and-so, and it overruled the principle. I utterly reject that philosophy."

Earlier in his speech, Bailey declared that not one of those who advocated the passage of this bill had made any argument as to its constitutionality. "I have received several telegrams during the last few days in favor of this bill," said Bailey, "but I have not a single one with any argument in it except that it was inhuman to permit men and women to engage in the work of making matches with this substance. I am not an expert on that question."

Bailey uttered that last sentence with a sneer on his pudgy face. If ever a capitalist legislator exhibited his natural contempt for the rights of humanity Bailey exhibited it when he said, "I am not an expert on that question." But credit must be given to Bailey and Heyburn for their frankness and candor. Both stood fast by the constitution and against humanity, while men like Lodge and Gallinger played politics and championed a labor measure which in their reactionary hearts they despised.

Several times Lodge attempted to explain the situation by gentle hints. But Bailey evidently did not care whether the old parties would be soon begging for votes from workingmen. Especially he could not see things as Lodge and Gallinger because this is his last term.

Asks Congressmen to Reform.

On the same day when Socialists, Eugene V. Debs and the Appeal to Reason were denounced on the floor of the House for having initiated the agitation for the referendum and recall, a speech was made in favor of a bill to prohibit members of Congress from taking money from capitalists and corporations. The speech against Socialists and Democracy was made by Representative Gardner of Massachusetts, and the speech in favor of an anti-graft law was made by Representative Randell of Texas.

It was rather a curious coincidence that an hour or so after Gardner had waxed eloquent over the infallibility of judges and legislators that Randell should take the floor in behalf of his bill "to prevent graft by" prohibiting the giving or receiving of gifts, employment or compensation from certain corporations by senators, representatives, delegates or resident commissioners in the Congress of the United States and the judges and justices of the United States courts, and prescribing penalties therefor."

For eight years a bill of the kind proposed by Randell has been before Congress and it still remains a bill. It does not take much speculating or reasoning to figure out the reason. As Randell puts it, "An investigation would show that the majority of the members of this House and of the Congress are engaged in employments today which the passage of that bill would stop."

And Randell is not a Socialist—just a plain Democrat.

THE TRADE UNIONS AND THE SOCIALIST PARTY—IX. THE LOS ANGELES PLAN.

By Robert Hunter.

It is hardly necessary to point out that one of the greatest dramas ever enacted in the labor movement took place in Los Angeles at the last election. It was a magnificent battle, with labor united against all the forces of capital. The imprisonment of the McNamaras added to the excitement, and Socialists and trade union men throughout the world waited with baited breath the outcome of the electoral struggle.

Workingman, no matter what their religious, political or economic belief,

stood, with hardly a dissenting voice, behind the fight of the Socialist party of Los Angeles. And when the news of the McNamaras' confession was fished over the wires, it was literally heart-breaking. A magazine writer in Los Angeles tells of being in a street car when he heard the news, and he says that the men wept. All over the country that day men of labor wept.

It seems strange that after all the unfortunate bitterness, dissension, crimination and recrimination that has existed for so many years between Socialists and trade unionists, all the past was forgotten in the hour of that great battle. Yet that is exactly what has happened in every part of the world when labor formed its lines of battle. In minor skirmishes, in the sultry days about the camp fires, we may quarrel over differences of methods, of progress, of ends, but when the fight is on, the class struggle brings workingmen shoulder to shoulder. Almost in a moment the differences of the past are swept aside. We don't ask them: Are you a Socialist? Are you a unionist? Do you believe in economic determinism? We ask: Are you for us or against us? Do you fight with us, or scab?

And it makes little difference whether it is a great strike or a great political battle—the workers know their own. Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone were Socialists, but the American Federation of Labor stood with them. The McNamaras were Democrats, yet the Socialists stood with them. The working class is a bigger thing than any dogmas, and when it is drawn into battle, men rise above their differences and become class-conscious. They know where they belong, and they fight for their own.

We may speculate as we please concerning the relations which should exist between the trade unions and the Socialist party, but all our rules will be of little value in guiding the action of labor. We may discuss direct action versus political action, but the actual movement will pay little attention to our wise philosophies. When labor has once enlisted in battle it will use the strike and the ballot; it will develop every force at its command to win the day for the armies of labor.

That is what the workers of Los Angeles are doing. Their strikes and boycotts have been broken by the courts and the police. Pickets have been imprisoned. The leaders have been enjoined to defeat the direct action of the unions. The bosses use political action. The workers knew they could play that game, too, and they retorted with the same weapon. They formed the Union Labor Political Club to solidify their political power.

This political club had, of course, the choice of two things; one was to form a rival party to the Socialist party, which meant to divide the political forces of labor. The other was to endorse the Socialist party, to join it in mass, and to use it as their weapon in their political battles.

The Union Labor Political Club might have acted on the political field as the Socialist Labor party acted on the industrial field. It might have formed a non-Socialist Labor party to fight the Socialist party, as the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance was formed to fight the non-Socialist trade unions. Had that been done, we should have heard nothing of Los Angeles, and the fight there would have ended when the various factions had cut each other's throats. But when the Union Labor Political Club endorsed the Socialist party, it took the stand of labor throughout the world. The Socialist party was adopted as the political expression of the labor movement, and in one campaign the working class vote rose from a few hundred to an amazing 52,000. In this one election the Socialist party polled nearly as many votes in Los Angeles alone as it had polled in the entire state of California at the previous election.

"The Citizen," the labor union paper of Los Angeles, has recently published the views of the best known labor leaders in Los Angeles concerning the value of political action. Some of these statements are worth the consideration of labor throughout the country:

L. W. BUTLER, secretary of the Central Labor Council: "During the year organized labor has made phenomenal gains. When the forces that have fought against us are taken into consideration, we have probably been the most militant city and have accomplished more than any other in America. In fact, the closing year has been our banner year. We have now arrived at that point in our industrial journey where we should stand pat, and remain true to the cause which has for its purpose the uplift of humanity. I thoroughly believe that organized labor in Los Angeles has taken the right step in affiliating with and supporting the Socialist party. It should take such action all over the United States. Locally we have increased in numerical strength from 6,188 to nearly 17,000. We have made Los Angeles one of the best union label cities on the Pacific coast. At the last election we assisted in piling up 52,000 votes for the head of the working class ticket. The coming year should add greater laurels to the crown of labor."

President MISNER, of the Central Labor Council: "The new year opens bright for labor. Judging from the past, greater gains are to be looked for. We must devote all our energy to building up our industrial organizations. Politically we must remain and vote as we did at the last election—as a unit for the Socialist ticket. That party offers the only hope for the future that effects the workingman. I belong to the working class and know something of the struggle."

S. ISENHAUER, of the Blacksmiths: "We must concentrate our efforts more thoroughly than ever. Victory sure and lasting is in sight. Continue by all means the political activity of the Union Labor Club, which, of course, has endorsed the Socialist party."

VAL O'LEARY, of the Boilermakers: "During the coming year we must thoroughly get our forces together on the political field as outlined in the Socialist party. If organized labor wants recognition it must take the reins of the government and pass good laws for all the people, and not for the few. It is the only good thing to do."

FRANK SESMA, Bartenders: "We must double our membership, decrease hours and increase our wages during the year. The lines that were drawn during the campaign must be kept sharply defined from now on. We are now on the right political path. With good organization and thorough educational work we can get into the game this fall and win. The future looks bright for organized labor."

W. G. JOHNSON, Painters: "We need closer affiliation. We must strike with the fist and not with the ends of the fingers. I hope to see a more general industrial organization during the year. We must also keep up our political organization as we can win that way."

CHARLES SHIELDS, Bakers: "Take organized labor as our industrial organization and the Socialist party as our political expression, and we will become invincible. Of course the bakers are Socialists. Last week our local reaffirmed our allegiance to the party."

JUAN RAMIREZ, Organizer State Federation of Labor: "We must keep everlastingly at organizing work. We must also act together on the political field. Trouble heretofore has been that we have had no unity of action. We have been voting and pulling against each other. We must work and stay in the Socialist party. When we get the unskilled working in harmony in labor organizations our work will then become merely routine."

J. J. JONES, Assistant Federation: "Labor is going to forge ahead the coming year as never before. We are finally learning our political strength. We must now depend more on that than on any other force. In the past we became stagnant. Many of us could not see that we were making headway, but now our ranks are nearly overflowing with boosters. We must remain in the Socialist party by all means. It is the strongest force for good we have. Our industrial organizations should contain every unskilled workman in the town during the year."

A. H. SONNER, Barbers: "Organize and keep organizing. Everybody must keep his shoulder to the wheel. Political action is our only recourse. Organization labor will never win as it now stands. We must organize to get more of what we produce. Under the prevailing conditions, as fast as

we obtain an increase in our wages the prices of commodities are raised correspondingly, and we gain little in the end."

GEORGE STEIN, Typographical: "We must organize on the political as well as the industrial field. Much of our present good standing and much of the change in sentiment that is now manifest in Los Angeles is due to our remarkable solidarity. Probably in no city in America has such a condition obtained when the workers with one accord meet on such common ground. Henceforth Los Angeles labor will vote together. We have awakened to that fact. The coming year must witness renewed political activity."

The burden of all the above statements is the same. Labor must organize on the political as well as on the industrial field. It must use the trade unions for its industrial expression. It must use the Socialist party as its political expression. Labor must fight with both arms. It must use the political arm to destroy the power of the political boss. It must use the trade union arm to destroy the power of the industrial boss. This seems to be the lesson that actual experience has taught the workers of Los Angeles. Not one of the labor leaders above quoted suggests that the unions should close up shop because the only effective action is political action. Nor does any one of them suggest that the political weapon should be laid aside and the trade unions alone developed. There is no time in Los Angeles for any such futile, hair-splitting philosophies.

The movement in Los Angeles is full of glorious inspiration. The trade unions have risen above their craft spirit, and have stood forth to represent the entire working class of that city. The leaders all declare the necessity of organizing the unskilled. They are working toward the day when the trade union will be powerful enough to protect every man, woman and child who toils. This is a truly magnificent ideal, and it lies not far ahead; yet to this task the workers of Los Angeles add another, which includes the political organization of every man, woman and child.

When these two great ideals have been even partially worked out, it will mean that the workers of Los Angeles will dominate the industrial and political life of that splendid city. The lives of the workers in the shops will have all the protection that the trade unions can offer. The lives of the workers in their homes will have all the protection that an honest working class administration can give. This will mean sanitary improvements, better houses, labor legislation, impartial courts and all else than can benefit labor in the present regime.

When labor can achieve such tremendous things by unity and solidarity surely it is well to ask ourselves: Can that be really the friend of the working class who is forever creating division by putting political action against trade union action and industrial unionist against craft unionist? There are a million ways of dividing the working class. Cranks and fanatics can often do it as effectively as Pinkerton operators and corrupt leaders. But the hour is not far distant when the working class will refuse to tolerate any divisions, political or industrial, that mean crippling the power of labor.

SETTLEMENT OF RAILWAY LABOR DISPUTES IN THE UNITED STATES, CANADA AND GREAT BRITAIN.

Conciliation and arbitration in labor controversies forms the subject of Bulletin No. 98, soon to be issued by the Bureau of Labor, Department of Commerce and Labor. Recent experience in this and in a number of foreign countries under various plans is presented in a series of articles. Commissioner Charles P. Neill discusses "Mediation and arbitration of railway labor disputes in the United States, under the Erdman Act" in the first official report upon this subject; the operations of the Canadian industrial disputes investigation act and the British railway conciliation scheme of 1907 are summarized; the experience with conciliation and arbitration in Great Britain is given and the attitude of employing interests and of labor is discussed by A. Maurice Low and Arthur E. Holder; the work of the boards of conciliation, arbitration, and of sanitary control in the cloak industry in New York is reviewed by Chales H. Winslow; and the settlement of labor disputes by the industrial courts in France, Germany, and Switzerland is described by Helen L. Sumner.

Railway Strikes Avoided in United States.

The Federal law known as the Erdman Act, which provides for the mediation and arbitration of controversies affecting railways and their employees engaged in interstate train service, has now been on the statute books of the United States for more than thirteen years. During the first eight and one-half years following the enactment of the law in June, 1898, one attempt only was made to utilize its provisions. This attempt, which was made within a year after the passage of the law, proved entirely fruitless. During the past five years the provisions of the law have been invoked in nearly sixty different controversies. During that period its provisions have been invoked with increasing frequency, and from the middle of 1908 to the present time there has been only one period as long as three months during which the mediators have not been called upon to act in some pending controversy.

The controversies which have been brought before the mediators have ranged in importance all the way from a few instances of small roads involving less than 100 miles of line and fewer than 100 employees up to cases of exceptional magnitude embracing over sixty roads and involving more than 100,000 miles of line and over 40,000 employees in a single controversy. In one year, 1910, the assistance of the mediators under the act was called for in sixteen cases, these cases involving nearly 300,000 miles of railroad and directly involving nearly 80,000 railway men. The total mileage involved in the cases in which the provisions of the law have been invoked is over 500,000, and the total number of employees directly involved is over 160,000.

Scope of Erdman Act.

The provisions of the law apply only to those classes of employees actually engaged in train operation, so its practical scope is limited to controversies involving engineers, firemen, conductors and other trainmen, switchmen and telegraphers. During the past five years there has been no serious strike and no important controversy threatening a serious strike involving any of these classes of employees in which the provisions of this act have not been invoked by one or the other party to the controversy; and with one exception there has been no case in which mediation was invoked and accepted before the actual beginning of a strike in which an amicable adjustment has not been brought about.

The mediation proceedings are purely voluntary. The act merely provides that in case of disputes actually interrupting or seriously threatening to interrupt interstate traffic either party to the controversy may appeal to the presiding judge of the Commerce Court and the commissioner of labor to put themselves in communication with the other party and endeavor by mediation and conciliation to bring about an amicable adjustment of the matters at issue.

The mediators are without authority to intervene upon their own initiative in any controversy. Their intervention is conditioned, first, upon the receipt of a request for mediation under the provisions of the law from one of the parties to the controversy; and, second, upon the acceptance by the other party of the mediators' tender or friendly offices.

The law confers no powers of compulsion which may be used to induce either party to make a request for mediation. The employer is as free to resort to a lock-out and the employees to inaugurate a strike as if the Erdman Act had never been passed. Even in cases where the provisions of the act are invoked by one party, the other party is under no legal obligation either to accept the tender of friendly offices made by the mediators or to submit the matters at issue to the arbitration provided for in the law. In

this respect this federal law differs from the Canadian Industrial Disputes Investigation Act, which forbids either employers or employes in the industries to which that act applies to inaugurate either a lock-out or a strike until after the matters in dispute have been submitted to an investigation and a report has been published by an investigation board.

Mediation More Important Than Arbitration.

At the time the Erdman Act was passed practically all the discussion was focused on its arbitration features and little attention was given to its provisions for mediation. Experience has shown, however, that the latter are the more important and efficacious features of the law. Of the forty-four cases in which mediation under the act has been invoked, only eight have been carried on to arbitration. These figures do not show the whole disproportion, however, for in each of these eight cases the greater part of the matters in controversy were settled by mediation, and only a few of the points were carried to arbitration. In addition to these, four other cases were arbitrated under the provisions of the Erdman Act, these cases having been submitted to arbitration directly by agreement between the parties in controversy without first invoking the mediation proceedings of the act.

Under the provisions of the law applications for mediation may be made by either side. In the forty-eight cases of mediation and arbitration in which the act has been invoked, applications have in nineteen instances been made by the railroad companies involved, in thirteen cases by officers of organizations representing the employes involved, and in sixteen cases by representatives of both parties to the controversy. The applications made by the employes approach in number those made by the companies, but cover proportionately a much smaller mileage and involve a smaller number of employes. This is due to the fact that when a really serious strike is threatened it is naturally the company rather than the employes which invokes the friendly offices of the mediators.

Law in Experimental Stage.

In spite of the large number of serious controversies successfully handled, the law may be said to be in an experimental stage, and it is too early yet to predict that it will meet the exigencies of the future as it has those of the past five years.

Some of the defects have already become apparent, and in a number of aspects it can be strengthened and improved through amendment, but its success has been marked during the five years in which it has been in practical operation. Its provisions have been invoked in nearly every possible form of controversy that could arise out of the relation of employer and employe in the railroad train service. Serious disputes as to wages, hours, and ordinary working conditions have been frequent. In two instances controversies on southern roads involving the race issue have precipitated strikes of the most dangerous kind, and in several other instances disputes involved counter claims over jurisdiction on the part of different organizations—a class of controversy which is always delicate and difficult in an exceptional degree.

Canadian Industrial Disputes Act.

The Canadian Industrial Disputes Investigation Act compared with the Erdman Act is of broader application, covering not only steam railways but other public utilities, such as electric railways, power and lighting plants and similar industries, including also mines.

Boards of conciliation and investigation are appointed for each dispute. Each board consists of three members, one selected by the workers, another by the employers, and the third by these two members, or, when they fail to agree by the government. The duties of the boards are limited to conciliation and investigation, no powers of enforcing either findings or recommendations being granted by the law. The principal service of these boards is in bringing the parties to a controversy together for an amicable discussion and in guiding their negotiations to a voluntary settlement. The chief merit of the law lies not so much in its compulsory features as in its conciliatory provisions, though its original and interesting element is the temporary prohibition of strikes and lock-outs in order that conciliation may not fail because of lack of time for trial.

From March 22, 1907, when the Canadian act went into effect, to December 31, 1911, boards were appointed and acted in a total of 109 disputes, involving, directly and indirectly, 132,000 employes. In eighty-one of these disputes settlement was effected without a strike; in nine cases there were legal strikes—that is, begun after the report of a board; and in eleven cases there were illegal strikes—that is, begun before or pending investigation by a board.

Of these 109 boards thirty-eight were appointed in railway disputes, thirty-five in coal mine disputes, the remaining thirty-six being in various industries. In the thirty-eight railway disputes thirty-one cases were settled without strikes, two illegal strikes and three legal strikes occurred, and two cases were still pending at the end of 1911. The employes directly and indirectly affected in the thirty-eight railway cases numbered over 70,000.

British Railway Conciliation Agreement of 1907.

In Great Britain railway labor controversies have been adjusted since November, 1907, under a conciliation and arbitration agreement secured through the Board of Trade and signed by representatives of the railway companies and of the railway men's trade unions. This plan provided that any questions as to wages or hours should first be presented in the usual course through the officials of the railway department concerned. Two months were allowed for reply, after which the matter might be referred to a sectional conciliation board composed of equal numbers of representatives of the men and the company. Upon failure to reach a satisfactory settlement the question might then go to a central conciliation board and later to a single neutral arbitrator, to be appointed for the particular case. The decision of the conciliation board was, subject to certain provisions, to be binding on the parties and not to be opened within twelve months. The decision of an arbitrator was to be binding on the parties for a period fixed by him for the duration of his award.

British Railway Strike of 1911.

Extreme satisfaction with the working of this plan and the refusal of the railway companies to discuss with the men a basis of settlement of matters in dispute finally resulted in a strike in August, 1911, involving the employes of all British railways save one, numbering over 200,000 men. Upon the intervention of representatives of the Board of Trade and other government officials, and the promise of the immediate appointment of a royal commission to investigate the working of the conciliation agreement and to report what amendments were desirable, the men returned to work.

Complaints of Conciliation Scheme.

The causes of the dissatisfaction of the men as voiced in the hearings before the royal commission centered around two points: First, the refusal of the companies to recognize the men's unions and to treat them as equal parties in conciliation proceedings; and, second, the alleged violation by the companies of the spirit and intent of the agreement by delaying its workings unreasonably and by claiming the right to be sole interpreters of the awards.

Under the first head the specific complaint was that until a case came before an arbitrator the companies would not allow the men to be represented by anyone not in their own employ, so that while the company's side of any negotiation was carried on by thoroughly trained men of affairs, the employes' side was necessarily conducted by working men, with only such leisure as remained after their day's work for preparing themselves to present their case. Moreover, as these men were opposing their own employers,

they were inevitably hampered by a fear of injuring their present or future position if they plead their cause too well.

Under the second point it was shown that the average time required for settlement was from fifteen to eighteen months, the grievance meanwhile continuing in full force. Proceedings were costly (eleven cases cost the men nearly \$150,000), and when an award was given if there was any difference of opinion as to its meaning it might take as long to get an interpretation as to get the original award. Moreover, in some cases the companies proceeded to change conditions, so as to deprive the men of the benefits the award gave them.

The companies agreed that proceedings were slow and costly, but disclaimed responsibility for either condition; claimed that any recognition of the union would be absolutely disastrous; and complained bitterly of the breach of faith involved in the men's striking while the agreement of 1907 had still three years to run.

New British Conciliation Plan.

The report of the royal commission recommended important amendments to the agreement of 1907, designed to secure promptness of settlement, uniformity of procedure, and finality of decision. The railway employes declined to accept the modified scheme suggested by the commission, but through the efforts of the Board of Trade conferences were later held at which certain alterations and additions were proposed which secured the acceptance of the scheme by the men. This amended scheme will furnish the basis for the settlement of all controversies relating to hours, wages, and conditions of employment to November 6, 1914.

The new plan as agreed upon provides for sectional conciliation boards only, eliminating the central boards as unnecessary and as only delaying final settlement. "Conditions of service" have been added to wages and hours of labor as questions which may be settled by the boards. Matters of "management and discipline" are specifically excluded.

The initial steps for securing a settlement of a question, i. e., the effort to settle it by direct appeal to the companies, are altered only by provisions for preventing delay and for fixing the number who must join in the complaint.

If a settlement is not thus reached the case goes at once to the conciliation board. A single neutral chairman or umpire, to be selected from a Board of Trade list, presides over all the conciliation boards of a single railway system. He acts as a conciliator between the two sides, but if they can not agree, he becomes, in effect, an arbitrator and gives a decision, which is binding upon both parties. At every stage careful provision is made against delay. This plan at once does away with the expense and delay of the former arbitration proceedings and settles the vexed question of interpretation.

Union recognition is not granted to the extent asked for, but the men are now at liberty to choose anyone they please as secretary of their side of a conciliation board. This gives them the right of trade union representation in all but the first stages of a disagreement.

Any railway company wishing to reduce wages or otherwise alter conditions unfavorably for the men must go through much the same course as the men when seeking improved conditions; i. e., they must first notify the men who would be affected, and then bring the matter before the conciliation boards, their verdict—or the chairman's if they can not reach a decision—being decisive. The two parties have thus been placed much more nearly upon an even footing.



RESURRECTION.

History teems with the idea of resurrection. According to the old conception, the life of a people ran in cycles, returning ever and anon to its former status like a planet in its orbit, to emerge again and run anew the same goalless circle. In stock phrase, "history repeats itself." In the folk lore of the German peasantry is a charming legend of resurrection hope. The old Kaiser Friedrich (Rotbart, Barbarossa), they have it, did not die. This sturdy old champion of Germanism sleeps in a subterranean castle whence he shall emerge one glad day to the deliverance of the fatherland. And so we might go on.

But sociology dismisses the cyclic theory of history. Society does not run in an unchanging circle. And prosaic intelligence laughs out of countenance old Kaiser Rotbart and his under-earthly castle. Yet we need not lose sight of the underlying truth in both conceptions. "Our little systems have their day; they have their day and cease to be," and when they have ceased society does not resurrect them; but it is at least suggestive to substitute for the old circle, a spiral and to conceive of society as running the rounds and rising higher with each circuit toward the perfect day. And those in whom imagination is not dead can read the realization of the German's dream of a resurrected patriotism, in the swelling flood of Socialism that puts a new (yet old) sovereign—the people—on the throne of affairs. For we know that in the primitive life of our Teutonic fathers the voice of the people ruled, and now that the circuit of feudalism, autocracy, capitalism has been run, the race is ready to start a new and higher circuit, reaching out again from democracy and "rejoicing as a strong man to run a race."

And we in America have our history of resurrection. Seventeen hundred and seventy-six called to the world "that all men are created equal" and "that government derives its just powers from the consent of the governed."

That revolutionary idealism died its death and was buried in the constitutional convention which riveted the shackles on the slave and did nothing to secure universal suffrage. But democracy did not die and under Andrew Jackson the masses gained sovereignty, and under Garrison and Philips the movement for emancipation took hold, culminating in Lincoln—the great democrat and liberator who raised democracy to undying eminence in his stern determination that "government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth."

But with the war over, capitalism appeared on the throne and democracy slept in the mausoleum of war memories and jingo pseudo-patriotism—the stock in trade of the Republican party of the next generation. Now, the resurrection is once more upon us. The Republican party, hopelessly discredited, is strutting on its fall. Democracy incarnate in the Socialist movement, emerges from the obscurity of the era of Big Capitalism and Imperialism and advances to a more sweeping conquest than earlier generations ever dreamed.

Ours is an era, then, of resurrection and reincarnation. Old principles dear to revolutionary idealists of past ages are being revived and carried on to realization by hard-thinking pragmatists.

Take the proposition already mentioned—"that all men are created equal." It was a splendid ideal, but vague and uncertain. In no sense was it truly representative of America in the Revolutionary period, for thousands of Americans in slavery gave the lie to the assertion. And at no

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Table with columns: No., Name, Meet'g Night, President, Secretary, P.O. Box, Address. Lists unions from ALASKA to MINNESOTA.

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Table with columns: No., Name, Meet'g Night, President, Secretary, P.O. Box, Address. Lists unions from MISSOURI to WISCONSIN.

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time has it represented the thought of America, for Americans, in spite of their idealistic tendencies, have believed in a class regime with attendant inequality.

To-day, however, the "glittering generality that all men are created equal" is receiving new and substantial content, which may indeed remove some of the glitter, but certainly adds force. We are learning that the bulk of the slum class is "as good stock as the best of us." We are learning that untold potentialities lie latent almost universally through society. We are learning that genius is the normal thing, and needs but an outlet and opportunity. In a word "equality" is beginning to assume tangibility from in our thoughts. The principle and the ideal are rising into new life, and demanding new and full expression in our social system, so that absolute equality of opportunity for all may actualize the potentialities inherent in every son of man.

Take the doctrine of the declaration that government derive their just powers from the consent of the governed. The Revolution statesmen (or shall we call them politicians) did not believe it. The new state constitutions showed small regard for the consent of the governed. Property qualifications marred the scheme of government. Gradually these were swept away and manhood suffrage was gained, but that, as we are coming to see, is only the form of Democracy, and we have missed the spirit of it. The riot of imperialism after the war with Spain, showed how much regard our rulers had for "the consent of the governed."

But democracy is growing into larger meaning in these days. We are ready to revise the doctrine so as to read "governments derive their powers from the initiative of the governed and subject to referendum and recall." Moreover, we hold that this should be true not only in political affairs, but in industrial as well, and the spread of Socialism shows the approaching triumph of the resurrected principle which our "big guns" have so unsparingly riddled. Democracy has risen from its tomb and is coming to its own.

The principle of resurrection is eternal. "Truth crushed to earth will rise again," and will rise larger and brighter and fairer. It is true that "all the progress of the world has been from scaffold to scaffold, and from stake to stake," and it is equally true that "the blood of the martyred is the seed" of the new life. But in our vision the death looks small as compared with the glory that shall be.—Florida Beacon.

A DISTURBANCE IN THE FAMILY.

From various press notices which we have casually glanced over at intervals during the past few years we gathered the distinct impression that Grand Chief Warren S. Stone of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers was on the whole a safe, sane and conservative labor leader of the type which the Civic Federation delights to honor, and if we are not mistaken, we remember that Mr. Stone on several occasions at the love feasts of that body, of which he is a member, discoursed sweetly upon the harmony that exists or should exist between capital and labor.

Consequently, it is with considerable interest that we note General Manager Hedley of the Interborough publicly alluding to the grand chief as "a damned liar, a cur, a skunk," and a coward who turned tail and ran in 1905 after he had been licked to a frazzle.

It is a pleasant thing, no doubt, to observe the brethren of the Civic Federation dwelling together in peace and harmony, but at times it seems friction and misunderstandings will creep in and disturb the amicable relations of the most harmonious families.

It seems that in this instance, despite his professions of harmony between capital and labor, and his dismissal of the class struggle as a mischievous delusion of Socialists, the grand chief is contemplating the inauguration of a strike among the employes of the company of which Brother Hedley is manager. Hence the billingsgate proceeding from the latter gentleman.

Brother Hedley, in addition to his excoriation of the grand chief, declares that the latter cannot call a strike among the employes in question, or rather that if he does call it, none will respond. The employes are too well satisfied with their positions and are extremely grateful to Mr. Hedley for the interest he takes in their welfare, the relief, accident and insurance features which have been inaugurated by the company for their benefit, and the generally excellent conditions of labor which render a union of any kind absolutely superfluous. Besides these features, Mr. Hedley declares he has also instituted for their benefit a system of espionage so perfect that the agitator, no matter how cunning and expert he may be, is instantly detected and thereafter gets short shrift. Secure in the love and affection of the employes, Mr. Hedley therefore defies the malignant efforts of the grand chief to engineer a strike or unionize the Interborough employes. If all this is so, the "language" Brother Hedley indulges in seems uncalled for. Probably, however, it is a habit he has contracted in connection perhaps with his employes.

We cannot venture to predict the outcome of this little unpleasantness. Possibly Mr. Hedley may foil the grand chief, and then, again, he may discover that the gratitude of his employes is not proof against the seductive wiles of the "damned liar, cur and skunk" who is seeking to seduce them from their allegiance. The result is still problematical.

But we are firmly convinced that it is an excellent thing for Mr. Stone and other labor leaders of his particular type to get a line on what their capitalist fellows of the Civic Federation think of them. Had Mr. Stone been a Socialist, Mr. Hedley could hardly have expressed his detestation of him in a more incisive and forceful manner. And no doubt Mr. Hedley merely echoes the opinion of his employer, Mr. August Belmont, in this particular matter, though probably the latter would feel that common politeness prohibited him from expressing himself in such terms at any of the meetings of the Civic Federation. We have not the slightest doubt, however, but that the opinion expressed by Mr. Hedley regarding Mr. Stone is the general opinion of every active capitalist exploiter in the Civic Federation, not only as regards Mr. Stone, but Messrs. Gompers, Lynch, Duncan, O'Connell and other labor leaders, all belonging to the same body, and all of whom profess views similar to those of Mr. Stone. It is not good policy, however, to openly express such opinions in that body. Contempt, it is said, will pierce even the shell of a tortoise, and the veriest worm has been known to turn on occasion. Therefore they leave it to their general managers, employes of the Hedley type, to voice their real sentiments, a procedure which permits them to appear neutral on the subject.

Mr. Stone, we gather from the accounts, seems hardly to be aware of the existence of such a person as Hedley, and is inclined to regard him as an utterly negligible factor in the situation, though curiously enough, Mr. Hedley declares he knows all about Mr. Stone. However, as the latter certainly knows Mr. August Belmont, he may eventually come to understand that the gentleman who has referred to him as a "damned liar, cur and skunk" takes his orders from that distinguished friend of labor. Indeed, the entire episode is admirably calculated to promote the political and economic education of Mr. Stone in many respects—that is, if he is at all teachable, and is not really afflicted with the inherent characteristics ascribed to him by Mr. Hedley.—New York Call.

In Memoriam.

Oatman, Arizona, April 1, 1912.

Whereas, The Grim Destroyer has again visited our ranks and removed from our midst Brother Alois Schuster; and,

Whereas, In the death of Brother Schuster this local has sustained a loss which is keenly felt by the entire membership, as his upright and manly treatment of his fellow-men endeared him to all; therefore be it

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be published in the Miners' Magazine, a copy be spread on the minutes of this local and a copy be sent to the relatives of the deceased brother.

ULRICH GRILL,
F. J. BELL,
C. S. PROESTEL,

(Seal)

Committee.

IN MEMORIAM.

Luckyboy, Nevada, April 4, 1912.

Whereas, The Grim Reaper, Death, has invaded the home of Brother Thomas Biggar and removed his dear and beloved wife; therefore, be it

Resolved, That we, the members of the Luckyboy Miners' Union No. 248, Western Federation of Miners, extend to our bereaved brother and relatives our sincere sympathy in their sorrow; and, be it further

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be sent to our brother, a copy be sent to the Miners' Magazine for publication, and that they be spread upon the minutes of this meeting.

JAMES T. SULLIVAN,
PAUL B. MISSIMER,
T. J. PARKER,

(Seal)

Committee.

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