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THE MINERS MAGAZINE

INDEPENDENCE
EDUCATION ORGANIZATION

Published Weekly by the

WESTERN FEDERATION OF MINERS

Denver, Colo.
May 23,
1912

Volume XII.
Number 465



WEALTH
BELONGS TO THE
PRODUCER THEREOF

MINERS
MAGAZINE

THE COLORADO HOUSE

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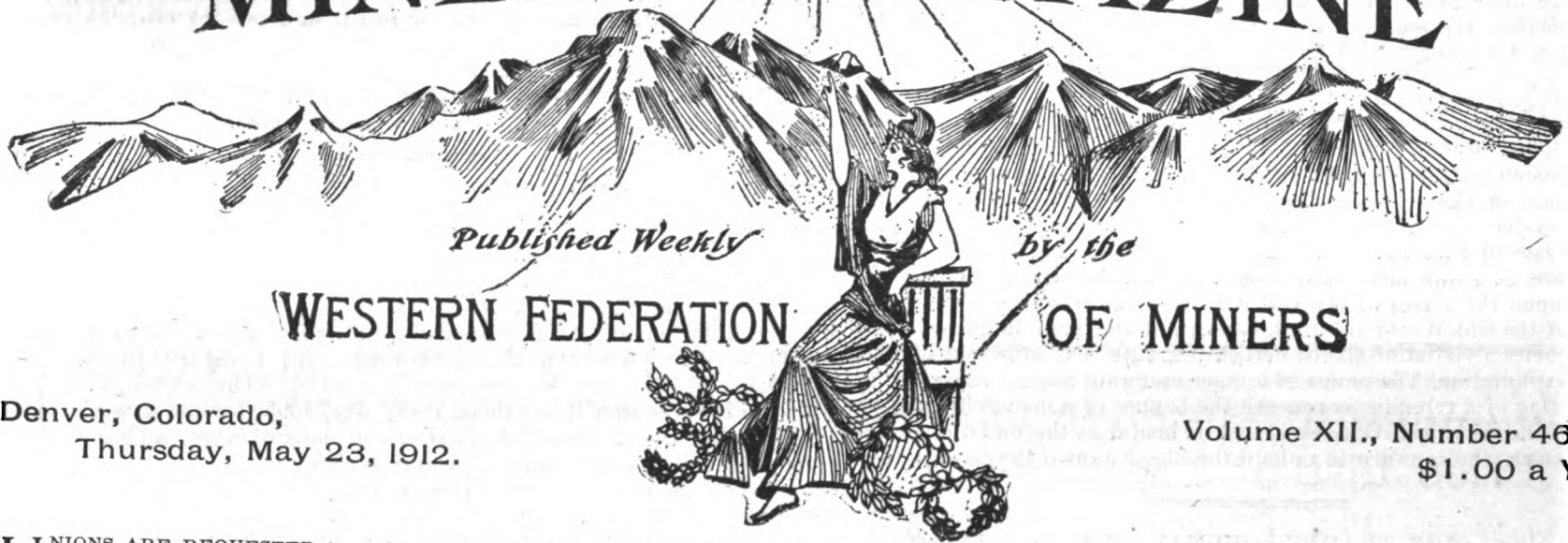
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EDUCATION INDEPENDENCE ORGANIZATION

MINERS MAGAZINE



Denver, Colorado,
Thursday, May 23, 1912.

Volume XII., Number 465
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UNIONS ARE REQUESTED to write some communication each month for publication. Write plainly, on one side of paper only; where ruled paper is used write only on every second line. Communications not in conformity with this notice will not be published. Subscribers not receiving their Magazine will please notify this office by postal card, stating the numbers not received. Write plainly, as these communications will be forwarded to the postal authorities.

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

John M. O'Neill, Editor

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

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

Signed

Department

NOTICE.

BALLOTS have been forwarded to all local unions by the secretary-treasurer and any local unions not receiving the same or having an insufficient number of ballots, can secure same by making application to headquarters.

ERNEST MILLS,
Secretary-Treasurer.

AGREEMENT has been reached by the United Mine Workers in the Anthracite regions and at this writing the miners are returning to work.

PRESIDENT MOYER left headquarters last week to visit local unions in Idaho, California, Nevada and Arizona. He expects to return to headquarters June 10th.

THE NATIONAL CONVENTION of the Socialist party which was held at Indianapolis has adjourned. Eugene V. Debs and former Mayor Seidel have been nominated as the candidates for President and vice president.

THE LEGISLATURE of Arizona has passed a law providing for the recall of judges. President Taft refused to sign the bill for the admission of Arizona to statehood until the recall provision was stricken from the constitution of Arizona, but now that Arizona is a

state the recall has been enacted into law and Taft, the plute, has been jolted by the *democracy* of the citizenship of Arizona.

KARL LEGIEN, who is a member of the German Reichstag and one of the most prominent labor officials of Germany, delivered an address in Denver last week. While in Denver he paid a visit to the headquarters of the Western Federation of Miners and secured general statistics relative to the organization.

KARL LEGIEN in his address at Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, predicted that a time was coming at no far distant day, when there would be a World Federation of Labor and that when such a worldwide movement was once established there would be peace among nations, for the workers of a union that covered the globe would refuse to engage in war at the command of capitalism.

TOM MANN of London, England, has been sent to jail to serve a sentence of six months because he appealed to soldiers not to shoot workers on strike.

"Blessed are the peacemakers, for they shall see God," had no influence on the court that condemned Mann to prison.

Scripture becomes a comedy when confronted with the profit system.

WHEN THE SOCIALISTS get in hot pursuit of either of the old parties they consolidate, and present a united front to us, showing they are brothers in keeping up the system. Really, now, there is no greater difference between the Republican and Democratic parties than there is between the odor of a pole cat and limberger cheese. When you smell either, you think it the most obnoxious odor you ever inhaled. Think of the aroma of Democrats and Republicans under consolidation.—the Critic.

THE GOVERNMENT announced that the money trust would be investigated and the money trust declared that an injunction would be asked from a federal court, restraining the government from making such an investigation.

"Big Business" seems to be more powerful than the government and "Big Business" seems to know that the courts, in the language of Baer, are "the bulwarks of American liberty."

Let us shout for the star-spangled banner with its stripes of red, white and blue, and let us give praise that we live beneath the sheltering dome of a great Republic, where "Big Business" laughs at the puny efforts of government.

THE PRESSMEN declared a strike in Chicago and for a few days the great daily journals of the second largest city of America were crippled. But pressmen with scab blood in their veins were found to usurp the places of the strikers, and these daily journals were enabled to give the usual news to their readers.

The pressmen's strike demonstrated that the labor movement as at present constituted cannot hope to measure steel with their industrial oppressor.

One craft of the Allied Printing Trades on strike while all the other crafts remain at work, is a spectacle that may well make tyrants laugh and angels weep.

THE STREET CAR MEN of Milwaukee who declared a strike recently discovered that the city officials who were elected on the non-partisan ticket were very *partisan* during the strike. They realized

that non-partisan officials favored the suppression of a strike by the force of police power, and some of the street car men carry evidences of the policeman's club.

During the Socialist administration with Seidel as mayor no policeman was permitted to awe and intimidate strikers.

The Garment Workers under the administration of Mayor Seidel won their strike, simply because a Socialist mayor refused to permit the police force to become an ally of exploiters.

Sometime the working class will recognize the fact that Socialism stands for labor.

THE COAL MINERS in some parts of the anthracite regions of Pennsylvania are becoming acquainted with the brutality of the State constabulary. The Russian Cossack is no more dehumanized than our American Cossacks, for both are the savage types that are bred from a system that reaps profit from the slavery of humanity. It is but a waste of time and even ludicrous, for labor in America to pass resolutions of denunciation and protest against the merciless cruelty inflicted upon the slaves of the Old World, while in America all the infamies of the Old World are duplicated, and the man in poverty and rags becomes a victim of all the hellish outrages that grow out of murderous exploitation. The pangs of hunger and want are felt as keenly under the flag of a republic as beneath the banner of a monarchy, and the bullet of the American Cossack is just as brutal as the bullet of a Russian Cossack who is sworn to uphold the blood-stained throne of a royal monster.

THE IRON CITY TRADES JOURNAL paints the following word picture of a scab:

"After God had finished the rattlesnake, the toad and the vampire He had some awful "substance" left with which He made a scab. A scab is a two-legged animal with a cork-screw soul, a water-sogged brain and a combination backbone made of jelly and glue. Where other people have their hearts he carries a tumor of rotten principles. When the scab comes down the street honest men turn their backs, the angels weep tears in Heaven and the devil shuts the gates of hell to keep him out. No man has a right to scab as long as there is a pool of water deep enough to drown his body in, or a rope long enough to hang his carcass with.

"Judas Iscariot was a gentleman compared with a scab, for, after betraying his Master, he had enough character to hang himself and a scab has not."

THE EMPLOYEES of the Murray smelter at Utah were forced through conditions to declare a strike and reorganizing under the Western Federation of Miners, presented to the management of the smelter the following through a committee of the Murray mill and smeltermen:

"That all employes of the A. S. & R. Company at their smelter at Murray be granted an increase in wages of 25 cents per day.

"Second: That all employes now on strike and not working be permitted to return to their old jobs should they wish to do so.

"Third: That there be no discrimination against union men."

A telegram reached headquarters of date of May 17th, which stated that the sheriff and deputies are arresting the strikers indiscriminately, charging them with inciting to riot. The strikers are being furnished with legal defense and feel confident that they will win the strike, regardless of the fact that the power of the state is being used to club them into submission.

ANARCHY is rebellion, not revolution. Rebellion is protest without construction. Revolution is constructive protest. Rebellion is anarchism in action. Socialism is revolution in action. Despite all that may be said or felt in admiration for the spirit of protest exhibited by the anarchists, anarchy is unsystematic, disorderly, violent and destructive, while Socialism is systematic, orderly, peaceful, evolutionary

and constructive. Socialists purpose to take the best of any preceding age or period and use it in the construction of the succeeding age or period. Socialists recognize the greatness, the value and the usefulness of productive methods under the present monopolistic or co-operative system. The thing, as they see it, wrong about the present system is the private ownership of those means of production. They would eliminate private ownership of public property—anything and everything, used by the public in common; they would eliminate the profit system—the production of the means of life for profit and not for use; the wage system—the taking from a worker all that the worker produces, save only the amount necessary to the barest and meanest existence. These changes are elementary and fundamental and will effect a complete revolution of the present system of society.—Emancipator-Detroit.

THE INTERNATIONAL battle of labor is on! All over the world there is the smoke of battle! The workers are getting a glimpse of the sun rise, and it looks good and beautiful and "wantable."

And with the want comes the determination, and with the determination comes the knowledge of HOW!

Capital has played a silent game, but it has gotten the goods. Now labor is getting a peep at the inside works, and it sees how the thing is worked. It discovers that the game is crooked! That's enough!

Labor sees that it is robbed every day, robbed while it works and while it sleeps. It sees that its sons and daughters are robbed before they are old enough to think of fighting back!

Then labor learns that there is a hope, a hope of straightening the game, stopping the crooked work, getting what it produces!

It discovers its loss first, then it is fired with the determination to stop the losses, and then it leans how to turn the trick.

Then labor weathers its face in the smile of the sure. The eternal smile, the eternal hope!

Such is the awakening of labor; the battle of labor. It's a hard battle, but it inspires the hope that is saving the world.

It is a glorious fight, a fight worth being in, a fight for humanity and home. **BROTHER WORKER, COMRADE WORKER, YOU CAN'T AFFORD TO BE OUT OF IT!**—Chicago Daily Socialist.

J. E. SNYDER, a Socialist speaker, in the course of an address, recently delivered the following which should appeal strongly to every member of the working class:

"A father had held his seven sons together during his lifetime. When he was about to pass to the great beyond he called them to him and said: 'My sons, I have here seven sticks, I want to try your strength.' He handed the bundle of sticks to each of the sons but with all their prided strength they could not break the sticks. The father then said, 'My sons, you are all stronger than I, but I will show you that it is easy to break this bundle of sticks.' He cut the whip cord that bound them together and broke them one by one and threw them at the feet of his seven sons, saying: 'And so shall you be broken by weaker men, even than I, if you do not stick together in one brotherly effort as you journey on through life.'

"Together labor is all powerful, divided it is a broken and bound slave to the wheels of industry.

"Bind yourselves together, you workers, in one mighty solidarity and all the strength of the masters of the world cannot prevail to break you."

The above illustration of the strength of labor when united, cannot be questioned. The sons of this old man standing apart as individuals would be practically helpless, but standing together, bound by the ties of brotherhood, would be powerful in resisting any invasion of their rights.

Labor cemented by the ties of class interest, cannot be conquered or defeated, but labor scattered and divided, becomes an easy prey to the vultures that now occupy the throne of authority.

"Labor Omnia Vincit" can only be realized when labor as an army stands under one flag, using its economic and political power to crush the system that has enslaved humanity.

The Attitude of the Editor

IN THIS ISSUE of the Miners' Magazine will be found a lengthy communication from Poreupine Miners' Union signed by James D. Cluney and the secretary-treasurer assures us that the communication "was overwhelmingly endorsed" at the last regular meeting.

In the opinion of the editor, the words "overwhelmingly endorsed" was used for the effect that such words might have on the membership of the Western Federation of Miners who are not familiar with the tactics utilized by advocates of *direct action* who can see no merit in officials of a labor organization, unless such officials are standing on the mountain tops yelling for *free speech*, clamoring to be incarcerated in a bastille regulated by capitalism and courting death in the noose of the hangman.

The words "overwhelmingly endorsed" do not convey any specific idea as to the number of members who attended the regular meeting, and the communication that was so "overwhelmingly endorsed" may have received but the majority of the constitutional quorum that was necessary in order to hold a *regular meeting*.

The fact that the *regular meeting* placed the request of President Moyer on file and practically refused to furnish the names and ad-

resses of the membership of Poreupine Miners' Union, in order that the official organ might be placed in their hands that they might become acquainted with *real facts*, will leave a suspicion in the minds of honest men that Cluney and disciples of his type, were reluctant in making it possible for the members to become conversant with every phase of the controversy that was launched by the press committee of Poreupine Miners' Union.

The men who are responsible for this controversy endeavor to assume the role of *brave men*, men who are willing to fight, bleed and die for the cause of humanity, but thinking and observing men know that *brave men* never advertise their courage.

Men equipped with nerve and a spinal column need no advertising and have no yearning for the limelight.

The editor will say again that he did not court this controversy, because he realized that controversies of the character that have come from the press committee of Poreupine Miners' Union can result in no benefit to the organization.

The editor did not shrink from it on personal grounds, for in his

conduct as editor of the official organ he has no apology to make to any member of the organization.

At a few conventions he has been assailed by that *element* that has been *repudiated* by the Western Federation of Miners, but the records of the conventions will show that the editor, to use the language of our friend Cluney, was "overwhelmingly endorsed" by the delegates.

But Cluney says: "The editor has been forced from his policy of excluding all articles of a controversial nature."

Secretary Cluney is either ignorant of what he is talking about or else he is a *diplomat* as defined in his communication.

Cluney says that he read the definition of a *diplomat* a short time ago and he discovered a *diplomat* to be "A person who talks all around the truth without ever telling it."

We are at a loss to know where Cluney found such a *definition*, but if he interviewed Webster, a recognized standard authority, he would have found that a *diplomat* is "A person skilled in managing negotiations."

Webster does not even intimate that a *diplomat* side-steps the *truth* or talks all around it. *Truth* does not enter into the definition of *Webster*, but then, Webster in all probability was a *reactionary* and his *knowledge* of the meaning of words is at a discount with advanced thinkers whose intellects are stimulated and polished by "progressive oil."

From the tone of the correspondence that has emanated from the press committee of Porcupine Miners' Union and which has been "overwhelmingly endorsed" at a regular meeting, it is evident that the *progressives* in local No. 145 are panting for re-affiliation with the I. W. W., a so-called organization that has been renounced by the supreme power of the Western Federation of Miners.

The Western Federation of Miners was, to a great extent, responsible for the birth of the I. W. W., but when such an organization, through its representatives at a convention, ignored the constitution and laws of the organization that were adopted by the membership and flagrantly trampled every principle of democracy under foot, it be-

came imperative for the Western Federation of Miners to sever its connection with an organization whose conduct could add no luster to the history of the labor movement of this continent.

The material interests of the working class will not be advanced by blood-curdling circulars sent out appealing for funds to maintain the supremacy of a horde of professional slanderers, whose fanaticism has led them to believe that they have a license to hiss their venom and spew their filth at every man in the labor movement who refuses to recognize them as the profound expounders of real unionism.

Hunger, strikes and sabotage are not weapons of intelligent men in the labor movement. Insulting or spitting on the American flag is no more proof of intelligence than an assault by a bull on a red rag, and furthermore, these red-eyed, frothing fanatics who insult flags and then afterwards kiss the flag in obedience to the command of a Citizens' Alliance, are lacking that red blood that leaps through the veins of real men.

We desire that the press committee of Porcupine Miners' Union shall labor under no misapprehension as to where the editor stands on the Industrial Workers of the World.

We are unalterably opposed to their tactics and methods and are in complete harmony with the action taken by the Western Federation of Miners, when its membership by referendum vote, refused to recognize the I. W. W. as a bona fide labor organization.

Industrial unionism will not come through soup houses, spectacular free speech fights, sabotage or insults to the flag of nations, but will come through the logic and argument that appeal to the intelligence of the working class.

Men will not be organized or educated by means of violence, for means of violence are but the weapons of ignorance, blind to the *cause* that subjugates humanity and sightless to the remedy that will break the fetters of wage-slavery.

The editor has complied with the request of Secretary Cluney and has sent 400 copies of the official organ to be distributed among the membership of Porcupine Miners' Union, and we trust that the secretary will see to it that the walking delegate and other members shall attend to the distribution.

Second Instalment From the Press Committee of Porcupine Miners' Union

South Porcupine, Ontario, Canada, April 29, 1912.

Mr. John M. O'Neill,
Editor of the Miners' Magazine,
Denver, Colorado.

Dear Sir and Brother:—The enclosed communication was overwhelmingly endorsed at our last regular meeting, and I am authorized to forward same to you for publication in the Miners' Magazine.

Yours fraternally,

JAMES D. CLUNEY,
Secretary-Treasurer No. 145, W. F. M.

South Porcupine, Ontario, Canada, April 28, 1912.

To the Officers and Members of All Local Unions of the Western Federation of Miners.

Brothers:—On March 10, 1912, the press committee of Porcupine Miners' Union issued an open letter to all locals of the W. F. M. This was forwarded to the editor of our Magazine with a request for its publication. It was only after several communications had been exchanged that our demand was complied with. The purpose of our communication was to draw the attention of the membership to the fact that the miners, as at present organized, are utterly incapable of entering into and maintaining any protracted struggle with the capitalistic owners of the mines. The strikes and lockouts in the Coeur de Alene, Cripple Creek, Bisbee, Goldfield, Cobalt, Minnesota and South Dakota afford ample proof of this statement. It is quite natural that with our form of organization open to criticism, that a great part of that criticism will fall upon the shoulders of the leaders who are largely responsible, and since President Moyer and Editor O'Neill have taken this criticism as a direct personal affront and not in their capacity as officials of the organization, we feel relieved of all responsibility for any sting of bitterness which may be left. President Moyer in his reply to Porcupine Miners' Union on March 21st quotes Article VI, Section II of the constitution, the latter part of which reads: "It shall at all times advocate the principles of industrial unionism." If the above section were adhered to, this would have rendered any such action as has been taken, unnecessary. On the contrary we find in the Magazine many articles against industrial unionism by Robert Hunter, one of the bitterest opponents of industrial action. And industrial unionism without some form of industrial action is an incongruity rather difficult to contemplate. The purpose of such articles have not been stated, so we feel safe in assuming that it is one of those wonderful reflexes indicating the changed economic understanding of those responsible for their appearance.

The president takes issue with the opinion voiced in our communication regarding the length of time that labor officers prove useful to the organization. Yet, he has incessantly fought the introduction of democratic methods of electing those officers which, in our opinion, would considerably lengthen their period of usefulness. We refer to

the efforts of Cobalt and other W. F. M. locals in securing the election of the executive officers by general vote of the membership and in securing the adoption of the initiative, referendum and recall. True, for some time the referendum has been used for the purpose of securing endorsement of the line of action. Initiative by the executive board, until the recent embodiment of these principles in the constitution, any line of industrial action initiated by the rank and file was opposed by the executive board and pigeon-holed at conventions.

President Moyer would have it appear that the condemnations of the circulars issued on the Black Hills situation meant the press committee and those who endorse their article, are opposed to paying assessments for the maintenance of the brothers who are carrying on the fight in the Black Hills. As a matter of fact, many of them in addition to having their cards fully stamped, can show one or more special donation stamps affixed thereto, certainly not a bad record for men who balk on assessments to feed their brothers in a lockout.

The president says that the assessments were levied until the situation made it possible to discontinue them for February, but he did not state whether it was the situation in the Black Hills or the situation existing throughout the entire federation that made it possible and also highly advisable. A perusal of the second and third quarterly reports up to the time of the discontinuance of the assessments, would indicate that a very large percentage of the members were not paying their assessments, showing, notwithstanding, whatever unanimity may have existed at the convention that the same unanimity of opinion regarding the advisability of continuing the struggle does not exist among the entire membership. A glance at the per capita tax receipts for the same period reveals a condition that might have created a situation which would render it possible to discontinue the assessments permanently.

President Moyer intimates that the article is not an expression of Porcupine Miners' Union, but rather that of a "small coterie" who are desirous of rejoining the Industrial Workers of the World. It is a difficult matter indeed to convince anyone whose conception of industrial unionism leads to one of the most reactionary trade union federations in the world, that we were actuated not so much by a desire to reaffiliate with the I. W. W. as by a desire to awaken the membership to the danger from the lethargy which affiliation with a trade union federation is bound to bring upon it.

The president attempts to score Porcupine Miners' Union for its unfair and underhand tactics, but he apparently does not see his own unfair and underhand tactics in attempting to brand Porcupine Miners' Union as belonging to a small coterie . . . continually branding their officers as grafters, traitors and reactionists . . . their purpose being to cause dissension in the ranks. A review of our article will show that we haven't made any such allegations other than considering the present administration reactionary. Because he does not grasp the significance of a progressive movement in an organization is not by any means a grafter or a traitor, as President Moyer would have it.

The final stage of "heroes" is reached when the president after reading into the article charges which were never made, and which

existed only in his own mind, places a chip on his shoulder and demands that he be tried as the constitution provides. Let us further state, that in the coming referendum elections the members will be given their first real opportunity of trying the policy of the federation, if it is vindicated, then we, like the editor, will reverently bow to the ultimatum delivered by the commanding forces of the federation.

In conclusion we have a few words in reply to the courteous treatment our article has received from the trenchant pen of Editor O'Neill.

The editor assures us that he has not courted this controversy, neither does Sammy Gompers in his A. F. of L. policy! Neither does any official whose length of leisure in office has convinced him that his experience has rendered him the most competent to direct the affairs of the masses, either in the state or in a labor organization. Neither do the capitalists court any controversies on his vested right to exploit the workers. The editor has been forced from his policy of excluding from the Magazine all articles of a controversial nature, a policy which, however well meant in the beginning, invariably culminates in the organ becoming the mouthpiece of the officials rather than of the organization. There has been apparently so little interest taken in the Magazine that the editor appealed to the locals to elect a press committee to furnish articles calculated to promote greater interest in it. However, the appeal created a turn in affairs, which the editor did not anticipate, so now "the fight is on" and until further notice the Magazine is to be used for campaign purposes. If this is so Brother O'Neill, Porcupine Miners' Union courteously advises the editor to publish that eulogy of the present administration that he claims to have received from a friendly source. The editor also states that the labor movement must be guided by intelligence, by men "equipped with brains." He evidently believes that all the brains and intelligence of the W. F. of M. is concentrated in Room 605, Railroad building, Denver, Colorado. It is also evident that he believes that this concentration has left the rest of the W. F. of M. completely bereft of the power of intelligently directing the great life and death struggle between capital and labor. The editor further says "The officials must be diplomats." A short time ago we read the definition of a diplomat, which is as follows: Diplomat: A person who talks all around the truth without ever telling it. If that is so, Porcupine Miners' Union pleads guilty of not being composed of "diplomats."

We agree with the editor that education and organization are the forces that will bring capital to its knees. One of the best means of educating the workers is with literature, and the only literature that we have seen issued by the W. F. of M. is of the trade craft union character. If

the object of education is to teach the workers their economic power, then the federation must sacrifice its present literature on the altar of past illusions, and substitute literature in keeping with the principles it professes to advocate. Porcupine Miners' Union realizes that their "loud mouths" and "infant brains" may not make enough noise to seriously affect the officials that now occupy the "power throne," but as long as it remains a part of an organization in which there lingers the least semblance of democracy, it will reserve the right to criticize the actions of its officials regardless of with what motives our actions may be impugned. As the editor of the Magazine has been magnanimous to recede from an established policy of conducting the Magazine, Porcupine Miners' Union are equally magnanimous by allowing him to answer this article in any language he desires to use.

One more word to President Moyer regarding the telegram to Secretary Cluney requesting him to send the names of all our members so that he might send each a copy of the Magazine containing our article and his reply, as the telegram did not reach our secretary until next day after our regular meeting, action could not be taken on same until next meeting, so Secretary Cluney immediately notified President Moyer by mail. The telegram was read at our next meeting and by a regular motion was ordered to be placed on file, on the grounds that we considered President Moyer's request almost out of the question, as the mines are so scattered here, taking in six postoffices in a radius of six miles and seven-eighths of the membership receive their mail in care of the mine they may be employed at, and as there is always a gang going and coming, it would be almost an impossibility for to get the addresses of all those members. Then again, thirty-five per cent of our members cannot read English and for those that can, if we knew the mine that every member was at, it would be a question whether the manager of that mine would trouble himself to pack Miners' Magazines from the post-office. It seems to us that Brother Moyer being such a diplomat as Brother O'Neill claims him to be that he would send us five or six hundred copies which our walking delegate and numerous other members would gladly distribute to every member that can read English and it is to be hoped that the editor saw fit to publish a few hundred extra copies, and if so we will appreciate at least four hundred copies of same any time, and we pledge ourselves that they will be distributed.

FRANK MAHONEY,
M. CONWAY,
JAMES D. CLUNEY,
Committee.

President Moyer's Answer to the Press Committee of Porcupine Miners' Union

To the Membership of the Western Federation of Miners:

In this issue of the Magazine you will again have the pleasure of reading an article signed by the press committee of the Porcupine Miners' Union which, according to the committee, was overwhelmingly endorsed at a regular meeting. This article, we infer, is intended as an answer to a reply written by me to a similar article published in the April 11th issue of our official organ. How well the committee in their last effort have succeeded in answering my former communication I shall leave to our readers, and were it not for the glaring misstatements in this, the last effort of the committee, I would have let it pass unnoticed.

Men who are selected to represent the organized workers, if they be true to their obligation, expect to be misrepresented, slandered, abused and persecuted by labor's common enemy, therefore become accustomed to the same and feel that there is something wrong if it is not forthcoming on schedule time, but when the identical tactics are resorted to by those within the labor movement, and especially the membership of the particular organization that one represents, it becomes a different question and hardly to be expected that the individual would sit quietly down and fail to not only resent but challenge those responsible, especially so, when one has only to turn to the records to secure the evidence which proves beyond a question of doubt that such statements are absolutely without foundation and that those making them have either done so through ignorance or expect them to go unchallenged and accomplish their purpose in poisoning the minds of the members against the individual attacked.

The press committee in its latest effort would have the readers believe that they meant no personal affront, as they put it, toward the individual which they so roundly condemned in their former article, and apparently believe that such individuals should absolutely sink their identity because they have been selected to work for a labor organization instead of some other employer and that they can lambast the office as strenuously as they like as long as they do not mention names. Of course, the individual is not held responsible for the conducting of the affairs of the office as is shown by the articles of the press committee, so why should not the committee feel relieved of all responsibility for any sting of bitterness, and why should an individual consider for one moment that the criticism was directed toward him? Of course the press committee does not intend to charge the individuals who hold office in the Western Federation of Miners with being responsible for the terrible condition—from their viewpoint—in which the Western Federation of Miners found itself, when in their former article they

say, appealing to the membership, "You and I put them there and you have the power and the weapon to rouse mit them." Then again, when the committee passes judgment as to the time which a man may be true to his class as a representative, they, of course, had no certain individuals in mind, or did not intend to infer that any certain person was a coward, and for that reason disqualified from representing the workers, when they speak of wanting "new blood at the helm of our organization, not of the reactionary color but of the genuine revolutionary hue, men not afraid of prison bars, men not afraid of the gallows, if necessary, willing to meet force with force," and last, but I take it not least by any means in the opinion of the committee, "men who are possessed of the nerve to not levy assessments," which is provided for by our constitution to furnish the necessities of life for men, women and children who were fighting the battle for the right of the miners to organize, and, of course, they only intended to challenge the title of the office when they stated that their patience was at an end and that they could not stand the work of these titles any longer without criticism or a challenge of some kind.

True, after the committee, in their convincing way, supported by facts, endeavored to make it appear that they were simply talking to the officers and not the individuals, having arrived at the conclusion that they had been unable to make Moyer understand just exactly what they were getting at, abandoned the attempt and finally came out in the open and make direct charges which, as I have stated, are absolutely unfounded and known to be false by all members of the Western Federation of Miners who have kept in touch with our organization, as well as the organized labor movement of this country.

Before taking up the specific charges, let us briefly refer to other parts of the article. First, the committee states the purpose of their former communication was to draw the attention of the membership to the fact that the miners, as at present organized, are utterly incapable of entering into and maintaining any protracted struggle with the capitalistic owners of the mines, citing several different conflicts in which the Western Federation of Miners has been engaged as proof of their statement. I have that article before me, have read it over carefully, and I challenge the committee, and shall be satisfied with the verdict of our membership, as to whether the committee in one single instance in their article mentioned the incapability of the federation to enter into and maintain a protracted, or any other, struggle with capital. But if this was the purpose of the committee, I again challenge them to show where they made one single suggestion, offered one word of advice as to the outlining of a policy which would better fortify the Western Federation of Miners in the future, but that instead of so doing, their article.

from beginning to end, was devoted to an effort to lay a certain responsibility on the shoulders of a few men who have been acting for them in an official capacity. If the press committee had pointed out the weakness in the Western Federation of Miners, if they were sincere in believing that it was defective in its policy, then had proceeded to convey to the membership their ideas as to a change in our policy in order to be better prepared to meet the capitalists, whom they refer to, on the industrial field, their work would have been fully appreciated by every member of the Western Federation of Miners who had the interest of our organization at heart, but when on the eve of an election for the representatives of our organization they first warn the membership that the Western Federation of Miners is on the rocks of destruction—which statement was absolutely refuted in my reply—then endeavor to throw the entire responsibility on the present executive board and officers and urge the membership to get rid of them at the first opportunity—which will be the June election—no one will believe their statement that they had in mind what is claimed in their last article, but on the other hand, every member of the Western Federation of Miners who is familiar with the campaign which is being carried on by a coterie in our organization calling itself the industrial campaign committee, will recognize the source from which it emanates and the purpose for which it is intended.

Continuing the committee says, "It is quite natural that with our form of organization open to criticism that a great part of that criticism will fall upon the shoulders of the leaders who are largely responsible." Again the press committee starts something that they fail to finish. Why don't they point out to the membership in what way our form of organization is open to criticism? The press committee apparently believes in industrial form of organization. The Western Federation of Miners in its preamble says, "We hold, finally, that an industrial union and the concerted political action of all wage-workers is the only method of obtaining this end, which is the emancipation of the workers," and the Western Federation of Miners is recognized to-day, as it has been for years past, as an industrial organization, claiming jurisdiction over all men in the metal mining industry, and has never, for one moment, conceded any part of that jurisdiction. Then why should these advocates of industrial unions criticize our form of organization?

The press committee proceeds to call my attention to Article VI, Section II of the constitution, which I quoted in my answer, but fail to say that I only quoted the constitution to show the purpose for which the Magazine was to be used; that I said nothing in defense of the Miners' Magazine, as I considered it unnecessary, feeling that the editor was well able to take care of that part of the committee's effort. Yet, in passing, I shall now say that the Miners' Magazine, beginning with the first issue that was edited by ex-President Boyce, and including the issue in which this article will appear, has first, last and all the time, consistently advocated the principles of concerted political action of all wage-workers and the principles of industrial unionism. What Robert Hunter believes in, or any other contributor to the Miners' Magazine, is immaterial, the Magazine itself is the best evidence, and why does not the committee point out a single issue wherein it appears that the editor or the officials of the Western Federation of Miners have spoken against the principles above mentioned.

Further on the committee, as I have above stated, makes one specific charge. We wonder if the membership present at the meeting, whatever the number might have been, and who, as stated in the letter accompanying the article, overwhelmingly endorsed the same, gave the following any thought, and if so, whether they are prepared to prove their assertions. The article says, in referring to myself, "Yet he has incessantly fought the introduction of democratic methods of electing those officers, which in our opinion, would considerably lengthen their period of usefulness," and refer to the efforts of Cobalt and other Western Federation of Miners' locals in securing the election of the executive officers by a general vote of the membership. Why did not the committee state to the membership of the Western Federation of Miners, as long as they are desirous of using the official organ to enlighten them, what the efforts of Cobalt and other locals were which were incessantly fought by me? When were they made, in what manner and what position did I assume in connection with them? I spoke of records which were available to refute such statements and might, if space would permit, go back over the past many years and show beyond a question that the committee drafting this article were either ignorant of my position in the labor movement or that they are absolute strangers to the truth, but for the purpose of calling the attention of the membership to the viciousness of such statements it is only necessary for me to refer to my report to the nineteenth annual convention. In dealing with this matter, on page 40 of the convention proceedings, will be found the following: "I recommend that a special committee be selected by this convention and that all resolutions, amendments and other matters dealing with this subject be placed in their hands and that they be instructed to draft amendments to our constitution providing for the initiative and referendum in the nomination and election of officers, and if the same meets with the approval of the majority of the delegates, that it be submitted to the entire membership to be voted on, as provided in Section I, Article 10 of our constitution. I believe that the time has come to definitely settle this question, and I trust that the convention will exercise their initiative power and place this matter squarely before the membership for their consideration. While considering the above question you should also turn your attention to the matter of the recall of your representatives. If the recall applied to the servants of all the people is practical, then there is no reason why it should not apply to a labor organization or other society."

On page 231 of the proceedings will be found the report of the committee on president's report, recommending that the committee suggested by the president for the purpose of devising constitutional clauses governing the subject matter selected. The report of the committee was adopted and the committee elected and on page 321 is found

the report of the special committee and the amendment to the constitution constructed by them providing for the election of officers and a vote of the members, and on page 348 is found the roll call on motion to concur in report of the special committee, Moyer being recorded as voting in favor of its adoption.

Let us again quote from the article of the committee of the Porcupine Miners' Union, "Yet he (referring to Moyer) has incessantly avoided the introduction of democratic methods of electing those officers." Is there anything further necessary to be said? We think not, as we have said, we are not asking the readers to take our word for it, but the records are the best evidence, and the records will show as to whether they have been correctly quoted.

Continuing the committee says, "True, for some time the referendum has been used for the purpose of securing indorsation of the line of action initiated by the executive board." The committee would again infer that the referendum in the adoption of the organic law and the policy of the federation was only recently adopted. I quote from the constitution and by-laws of the Western Federation of Miners adopted at Butte City, Montana, May 19, 1893, Article XI, Section 1, "The initiative and referendum shall govern all legislation. Whenever 10 per cent of the members in good standing shall by petition offer an amendment to the constitution and by-laws, it shall be considered in the annual convention and by that body be submitted to the members of the federation who shall vote upon the same within sixty days. All amendments to the constitution and by-laws already enacted by delegates in convention assembled shall be referred back to the local unions for their approval or rejection," and twenty years later we find on page 20 of the constitution, practically the identical provision for legislation, and we venture to make the assertion that during that period of time there has been no material changes so that from the very inception of our organization the membership has controlled its policy and neither the executive board or conventions has had power to legislate. And while to-day the executive board or ten local unions may initiate, yet that same power is vested in the membership, and they alone, that was provided for by the founders of the Western Federation of Miners, in 1893, it seems almost beyond belief that the committee or any number of members of the Western Federation of Miners or any one else, would assume the responsibility for the following: "Any line of industrial action initiated by the rank and file was opposed by the executive board and pigeon-holed at conventions." If we considered it at all necessary to refute this statement we would only have to go back over the history of the Western Federation of Miners and refer to the reports of the officers and executive boards to show their attitude toward an industrial form of organization to show that the early officers took part in the formation of the Western labor union and that the present president was one of its active workers and organizers; we would only have to call attention to my annual reports to our conventions and membership during the past ten years, but I shall only quote from a few, beginning with the sixteenth, when in discussing the policy of organized labor I said that the tenth annual convention had declared for a policy of independent political action with a vigorous policy of education along the lines of political economy, but that I would add to this, and industrial unionism. Then again in 1909, I said that "If in union there is strength, then the working class must be brought to realize that only through the most complete unity of action can they expect to organize an industrial army that will prove invincible. They must be educated to understand that united action to be successful, means the joining together in its fullest sense every man and woman whose condition in life compels them, under the present system, to sell their labor to another. When so united and realizing that regardless of what their position may be as wage-workers they belong to that class, and recognizing that an injury to one is the concern of all, then, and then only, will organized labor be in a position to enforce its just demands. Labor industrially organized, ready to fall in line when the order is given, will serve notice on the employer that the day of his refusal to treat with his employes because they reserve the right to affiliate with organized labor is past."

In 1910, in discussing the policy of the Western Federation of Miners, I quoted the preamble and said that if the membership of our organization were sincere in adopting it that their duty was plain, that the issues were defined in no uncertain way and that if we were ever firm and determined in defense of industrial unionism and concerted political action we had nothing to fear from coming in contact with the organized workers entertaining different ideas. And if the press committee will take the trouble to look over my last annual report they will find on page 37 that I urged that the Western Federation of Miners may continue "more aggressively, more determinedly, if that be possible, not only among the men of the mining industry, but among the wage-workers of the entire country, to advocate the industrial form of organization on the economic field and the united political action of the workers as a class." With these references I desire to challenge the press committee of the Porcupine Miners' Union to cite one single instance where I have failed either as a member or an official of organized labor to advocate the principles of industrial unionism. If the committee undertakes to confuse the principles of industrial unionism with I. W. W.ism, I stand prepared to defend my position on that question, backed by the commanding forces of the federation, speaking through the referendum, to which the press committee expresses a willingness to reverently bow.

The truth as to the statement of the press committee that matters which were to come before the conventions of the Western Federation of Miners had been pigeon-holed, can best be answered by hundreds of members of our organization who have been members of those conventions.

In regard to the membership of the Porcupine Miners' Union paying their assessments, I believe they are equally as good, but no better

than the average membership of the Western Federation of Miners and the best evidence as to this is the fact that No. 145 is at this time delinquent on their assessments to the federation.

As to the situation which made it possible to discontinue the federation assessments, the Poreupine Miners' Union could have secured that information at any time had they so desired. For their enlightenment at this time will say that the discontinuing of these assessments was made possible by many of our locked-out members securing employment elsewhere. As to the per cent of the membership which was paying their assessments, will say that the books of the Federation at this time will show that the average of the membership so paying for the Black Hills lock-out compares with that of any other assessments that have been levied by the federation.

President Moyer desires to repeat that the former article emanating from the press committee of the Poreupine Miners' Union is not an expression of the membership, but rather that of a small coterie, and as the best evidence of this it is only necessary to refer to Secretary Cluney's reasons for his failure or his inability to furnish President Moyer with the names and addresses of the membership of the Poreupine Miners' Union when he says that it is impossible because of the scattered condition of their jurisdiction and the fact that the men receive their mail at nine different postoffices. President Moyer has possibly as full a knowledge as to the average attendance at meetings of local unions in a district of this kind as has Secretary Cluney or the committee, and he maintains that unless a special meeting was called or a referendum vote of the membership taken that the efforts of the press committee is not an expression of the membership. He further offers in substantiation of his assertions that the coterie mentioned have in mind the Industrial Workers of the World rather than the Western Federation of Miners that in nominating officers and executive board members to be placed on the official ballot and voted on at the June election, instead of making their own selection, they swallowed the slate selected by the so-called industrial campaign committee which established a machine in Butte, Montana, and undertook to establish a subordinate machine in every union of the Western Federation of Miners that they could reach; that every candidate so nominated was an active advocate of the Industrial Workers of the World and are carrying out a policy outlined several years ago, which is to control the Western Federation of Miners by securing control of its officers with the sole object in view of turning it over to the control of the Industrial Workers of the World; that while howling "machine" in the Western Federation of Miners, they have been resorting to the most corrupt machine tactics that have ever yet been heard of in a labor organization, and that the coterie of Poreupine Miners' Union is a cog in this machine. President Moyer desires to have it distinctly understood here and now that he is not charging the membership of the Poreupine Miners' Union as a whole, as the press committee would undertake to convey the impression that he was, but that after the most careful consideration and

carefully weighing the assertions he has made, he believes that the sentiment expressed in the efforts of the press committee is not the expression of the membership as a whole, neither would it, if put before them intelligently, receive their endorsement as members of the Western Federation of Miners.

As to President Moyer's conception of industrial unionism or the labor question, he has never been so vain as to boast of it, but rather inclined to leave it for fair-minded men who have a grasp of these important problems to pass judgment on. President Moyer would not for one moment think of questioning the knowledge or intelligence of the press committee or those who endorse their position, yet in face of the many referendums that have been taken, especially the one as to the attitude of the Western Federation of Miners towards the I. W. W. and the later one as to the policy of the federation in affiliating with the American Federation of Labor, and the recent one in amending our constitution, the committee calls the attention of the membership to the fact that in the June election of officers the federation will be given the first real opportunity of trying the policy of the federation, he feels that he might be justified in questioning their sincerity.

In conclusion we wish to say that as a local union of the Western Federation of Miners the Poreupine local has always occupied the same position as far as the officers of the Western Federation of Miners are concerned as any other local. Its membership and officers have received the same courteous treatment as have the others. The treatment accorded the individuals who have represented No. 145 in conventions and when visiting headquarters has been the same accorded other representatives and the president of the federation, at least, has no hesitancy in saying that he will feel that he is responsible for any "sting of bitterness" which may be left.

In conclusion, we desire to say that we have in the past, both as a member of our local union and as an official of the Western Federation of Miners, been satisfied at all times to entrust in the hands of the membership the affairs and the policy of our organization. When the majority have spoken, we have in fact "reverently bowed" to their ultimatum, and we shall continue to do so as long as we are a member of the Western Federation of Miners. The Poreupine Miners' Union have gone on record as expressing their willingness to abide by the wishes of our membership expressed at the June election. We are perfectly satisfied to leave our record and the policy which we have adhered to in the hands of the membership, and after they have spoken, whatever their verdict may be, or in whatever capacity it may leave us, we will be found with our shoulder to the wheel, determinedly striving to make that policy effective. Will the press committee and the Poreupine Miners' Union promise as much? As ever

Yours for the Western Federation of Miners.

CHARLES H. MOYER.

President Western Federation of Miners.

Resolutions From Greenwood Miners' Union

Greenwood, B. C., May 6th, 1912.

The Editor Miners' Magazine:

On Friday, April 26, 1912, a resolution was passed at a regular meeting of this local in reference to the recent correspondence between Poreupine Miners' Union and President Moyer. This resolution endorsed Moyer and the present executive board, and censured Local No. 145 for using the columns of our official organ for campaign purposes. On April 27, 1912, at another meeting, the latter part of the resolution was not accepted. In explanation, I must state that this local has two regular meetings each week; one at the Mother Lode mine, which is some way out of Greenwood, and one in town, the meeting nights are Friday and Saturday. The members attending the subsequent meeting in town, whilst thoroughly and unanimously endorsing the actions and attitude of President Charles Moyer and the executive board, were very solidly of the opinion that any local of the Western Federation of Miners has an absolute right to use the columns of the Magazine for any purpose whatever pertaining to the good and welfare of the organized worker. If a local is not satisfied with the general efficiency of the executive (without having anything specific to charge) where is a bet-

ter medium than these columns for disseminating their grouch. And if said local imagines that their letter at such a time will exercise a desirable influence (from their viewpoint) in the selection of the executive, they are entitled to the opportunity of placing their views before the membership at large at any time, at least that is the opinion of the majority of the members of this Greenwood local who have taken the trouble and interest to vote twice at four different sessions. But Greenwood Miners' Union No. 22, W. F. M., in regular session assembled are

Resolved: That this local is unanimously of the opinion that President Moyer and the other members of the executive board of the W. F. M., are by their past record fully entitled to the endorsement of the membership of the W. F. M., and be it further

Resolved: That Greenwood Miners' Union No. 22, W. F. M., as one local, is not at all impressed with the communication emanating from the press committee of Poreupine Miners' Union, considering it to lack of definiteness.

(Seal)

B. DE WIELE.

Secretary Greenwood Local.

The Eight-Hour Law of Arizona—S. B. 79

In the state Senate, April 4, 1912, Mr. Worsley introduced the following bill, which was referred to the committee on labor and ordered printed:

An act to declare employment in all underground mines, underground workings, open cut workings, open pit workings, in or about, and in connection with the operation of smelters, reduction works, stamp mills, concentrating mills, chlorinating processes, cyanide processes, cement works, rolling mills, rod mills and at coke ovens and blast furnaces, to be injurious to health and dangerous to life and limb; to regulate and limit the hours of employment in said occupations; to declare the violation of the provisions of this act a misdemeanor, and to provide a penalty therefor; and to repeal all acts and parts of acts in conflict with this act.

Be it enacted by the Legislature of the state of Arizona:

Section 1. Employment in all underground mines, underground workings, open cut workings, open pit workings, in or about, and in

connection with, the operation of smelters, reduction works, stamp mills, concentrating mills, chlorination processes, cyanide processes, cement works, rolling mills, rod mills and at coke ovens and blast furnaces, is hereby declared to be injurious to health and dangerous to life and limb.

Sec. 2. That the period of employment for all persons who are employed, occupied or engaged, in work or labor, of any kind or nature, in underground mines, underground workings, open cut workings or open pit workings, in search for, or in the extraction of, minerals, whether base or precious, or who are engaged in such underground mines, underground workings, open cut workings or open pit workings, for other purposes, or who are employed, engaged or occupied, in other underground workings of any kind or nature, open cut workings or open pit workings, for the purpose of tunneling, making excavations, or to accomplish any other purpose or design, or who are employed, engaged or work, in or about, and in connection with, the operation of

smelters, reduction works, stamp mills, concentrating mills, chlorination processes, cyanide processes, cement works, rolling mills, rod mills, and at coke ovens and blast furnaces, shall not exceed eight (8) hours within any twenty-four (24) hours, and the said eight (8) hours shall include the time employed, occupied or consumed, in descending to and ascending from the point or place of work in any underground mine or underground workings, or the time employed, occupied or consumed in leaving the surface of any tunnel, open cut or open pit workings, for the point or place of work therein, and in returning thereto from said point, or place of work, and that it is the purpose and intent of this act that the period of time between leaving the surface of underground mines, underground workings, open cut workings, open pit workings and tunnels, for the point or place of work and in returning thereto from said point or place of work, shall not exceed eight (8) hours within any twenty-four (24) hours; provided, that in the case of emergency, where life or property is in imminent danger, the period may be prolonged during the continuance of such emergency.

Sec. 3. That any person or persons, body corporate, general manager, superintendent or employer, who shall violate any provision of this act, and any person, who, as foreman, manager, superintendent, director or officer of a corporation, or as the employer or superior officer of any person, shall command, persuade or allow any person to violate any provision of this act, shall be guilty of a misdemeanor, and upon conviction shall be punished by a fine of not less than two hundred and fifty dollars (\$250) nor more than five hundred dollars (\$500) or by imprisonment not less than three (3) months nor more than six (6) months or by both fine and imprisonment. It shall be the duty of the jury in each trial for a violation of the provisions of this act in case of jury trial, to decide whether the punishment shall be by fine or imprisonment, or both by fine and imprisonment, and each day's violation of any provision of this act shall be a separate offense.

Sec. 4. All acts and parts of acts in conflict with this act are hereby repealed.

The People Must Be Supreme

EX-FEDERAL JUDGE ARCHBALD, now a member of the Federal Commerce Court, is being investigated with great secrecy by a CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEE. It is charged that his honor bought coal lands for \$3,000 from the Erie railroad and then attempted to unload to a coal company for \$35,000. It seems the judge's little "side line" has been discovered. This is an awful sin in these days when we mix justice with the almighty dollar, and the public press is acting as though Archbald committed a big blunder, which in truth, he did—he "got caught."

—Toledo Union Leader.

It is seldom that the evidence to convict a federal judge becomes apparent. All the ingenuity of the class that rules is utilized to cover up the frailties of the men who occupy seats in our courts. The exploiting class, through every agency that reaches the people, endeavor to impress upon the public mind that our judges are immaculate beings and worthy of the highest reverence. But the people, regardless of all the influences that are continually at work to maintain reverence for the judiciary, are breaking away from tradition, and the voice of the people can be heard in rebellion

against courts whose decisions furnish strong circumstantial evidence that our temples of justice are being prostituted to fortify "predatory wealth."

Archbald seemed to be a little more reckless than some other jurists whose dictums smack of Judas money, and being "caught with the goods," public sentiment demanding investigation was too strong to be ignored by that element that strives to smother judicial infamy.

The decisions of courts of late years favorable to trusts and corporations and against the people, have established the firm conviction that the judge is not infallible, and that courts commit treason to justice.

It is but recently that people spoke openly relative to the flagrant decision of courts, but decisions and rulings of courts became so notoriously unjust that people no longer spoke in whispers but boldly demanded that the recall shall become a weapon of the people so that corrupt chattels who smirch their judicial honor can be relegated to the junk pile, bearing the stigma of their debauchery.

The people must be the supreme power in this country, even though Baer, the coal baron, has hailed the courts as "the bulwarks of American liberty."

Was Mark Hanna Right?

PERHAPS THE SHREWDEST politician of his day was Mark Hanna. It was Hanna who lined up the interests and raised the enormous campaign fund that put McKinley into the Presidential chair in 1896. Hanna was the real boss of the Republican party and he knew political conditions as well as any man in the country.

Shortly before his death Mark Hanna made a very significant statement. He said: "The political issue of 1912 is not going to be the money question; it is not going to be the tariff question. The issue of 1912 is going to be Socialism."

At that time most of his friends thought that Hanna was joking, and even the Socialists hardly believed that the real issue would be made clear to the mass of the people so soon. But the indications are that Hanna was right. It was true that the Socialist candidate will have little chance of election this year. But it is also true that no question is more generally discussed to-day than Socialism.

The capitalists themselves have made Socialism the issue. By their ownership and control of our natural resources, by their organization and extension of the trusts, by their tremendous financial resources they have become the masters of the nation—and they are drunk with power.

At a recent business congress George M. Reynolds, president of the Continental-Commercial bank, the largest financial institution in Chicago, declared, "I believe that the money power now lies in the hands of a dozen men. I plead guilty to being one of them."

The oil trust, the beef trust, the coal trust, the steel trust, the money trust, and all the other trusts are using their tremendous power to squeeze the American people as never before. A report recently submitted to the United States Senate by Commissioner of Labor Charles P. Neill, for example, exposes the terrible conditions prevailing in the mills of the steel trust.

"The experts of the government found that 50,000, or 29 per cent of the 173,000 employes of blast furnaces and steel works and rolling mills customarily worked seven days a week, and 20 per cent of them worked eighty-four hours or more a week, which means, in effect, a twelve-hour working day every day in the week, including Sunday.

The evil of the seven-day work, says the report, was particularly accentuated by the fact developed in the investigation, that the seven-day working week was not confined to the blast furnace department where there is a metallurgical necessity for continuous operation, and in which department 88 per cent of the employes worked seven days a week; but it was also found that in other departments where no metallurgical necessity can be claimed, productive work was carried on on Sunday just as on other days of the week.

The hardship of a twelve-hour day and a seven day-week is still

further increased by the fact that every week or two weeks, as the case may be, when the employes on the day shift are transferred to the night shift, and vice versa, employes remain on duty without relief either eighteen or twenty-four consecutive hours, according to the practice adopted for the change of shift. The most common plan to effect this change of shift is to work one shift of employes on the day of change through the entire twenty-four hours, the succeeding shift working the regular twelve hours when it comes on duty. In some instances the change is effected by having one shift remain on duty eighteen hours and the succeeding shift work eighteen hours."

Here we have conclusive proof that the majority of the employes of the steel trust are driven like slaves—and for what? For barely enough to keep their own body and soul together, fifteen to eighteen cents per hour, while, as was shown by United States government investigators, the net earnings of the steel trust in nine years were over a billion dollars. We know that similar conditions prevail in the packing houses of the beef trust and in other large industrial establishments. These are the men, these are the conditions that have made Socialism the issue. The capitalists are exploiting the workers unmercifully; while they are piling up enormous fortunes and rioting in luxury, they fight every effort of the workers to increase wages in proportion to the increased cost of living. They are represented in politics by such men as Lorimer, and they do not hesitate to bribe and corrupt city councils, state legislatures, congressmen and courts. They are riding rough shod over the rights and the liberties of the American people—and at last the people are beginning to understand.

Yes, they are beginning to understand—the exploited and despised workers are beginning to understand. And as soon as the workers understand, and see through the sham issues of the Republican and Democratic parties, the issue becomes Socialism. When the workers understand, they unite politically as well as economically and line up solidly against their exploiters. In Milwaukee, in Schenectady, in St. Louis, in Los Angeles, in Butte, in Berkeley, in New Castle, in Flint, in Minneapolis and in many other American cities the issue to-day is Socialism. Over one thousand Socialists are now holding office as administrators and legislators in the United States. In city after city the Republican and Democratic parties have been forced to abandon their sham battles and to unite against Socialists. The capitalists and their professional politicians are rapidly being forced to put only one ticket in the field against the party of the workers, the Socialist party.

And now the mask is off in Chicago. The supposedly bitter enemies, The Tribune and Inter Ocean, The Record-Herald and the Examiner, The News and the American are locked arm in arm fighting organized labor. Their fake quarrels are forgotten. They and "Big

Business" are standing as a unit against the workers. The police force and all the powers of the city government are at their disposal. The capitalists are giving the workers of Chicago a lesson in practical politics.

The newspaper strike has shown that here as elsewhere the real issue is the workers against the capitalists, the producers against the non-producers. The strike has revealed conditions in their true light. Henceforth Socialism will be the issue here in Chicago.

The use of the police power in breaking strikes has shown that the workers must unite politically as well as economically. They must put their own party—the Socialist party—in control of the government unless they want the police power and other powers of government used against them in time of strike and all the rest of the time. Under the pretext of maintaining order the capitalists use their power to deny

to the strikers their legal rights. Hence it is clear that as long as the capitalists control the government of the country, as long as they control the great industries of the country, the workers cannot secure justice.

Mark Hanna was right. The issue of 1912 is Socialism. The capitalists themselves have made Socialism the issue. The election returns next November will show that at last the workers are beginning to understand; they are beginning to understand the causes of low wages and long hours of labor; they are beginning to understand the causes of the high cost of living; they are beginning to understand the causes of political corruption and the use of the police power against the workers. The capitalists have made them understand that there is but one vital issue in American politics to-day. That issue is Socialism against capitalism.—New York Call.

Another Judicial Precedent

JUDGE CORNELIUS H. HANFORD of the Federal Court of Seattle, Washington, has established a precedent which has furnished the press considerable material for editorial comment. Leonard Oleson, who was admitted to citizenship in the year 1910, has been disfranchised on the grounds that he is a Socialist.

Judge Hanford held that Oleson committed a fraud when he swore to uphold the principles of the constitution of the United States.

The ground taken by Judge Hanford is not logical for when Oleson was admitted to citizenship, his oath to uphold the principles of the constitution did not deprive him of the right to raise his voice in peaceful assemblage to change the constitution of the United States.

But Oleson is a man who speaks for the working class, and because he speaks for a class that is held in economic slavery to produce dividends for a class that tender banquets to federal judges, he is looked

upon as a dangerous character and must be stripped of the right to cast a ballot.

When outlaws in the Cripple Creek district wearing the uniform of a state militia yelled: "To h—l with the constitution," as they drove strikers from their homes at the point of the bayonet, no jurist was heard to demand that they should be disfranchised.

Law and the constitution were trampled under foot by military anarchy, and none of the lawless were disturbed in their citizenship, but Oleson, who proposes to change the constitution so that labor can enjoy "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness" is deprived of that peaceable and bloodless weapon through which the oppressed may redress wrong at the ballot box.

Judge Hanford has been recognized for years as a loyal friend of vested rights, but when Judge Hanford wrested citizenship from Leonard Oleson, he unconsciously gave an impetus to a movement that will at no distant day, remove from the bench every degenerate who has dishonored the temple of justice.

No Longer in the Lime-Light

BURNS, the famed detective, but a few short months ago was hailed as the man who was destined to shatter the forces of organized labor in this country.

Burns, for a time, was in the lime-light and daily journals controlled by a master class, were lavish in their tributes to the wonderful genius and ability of the sleuth who through jugglery and "third degree" methods had been able to wring a confession from the lips of the McNamaras.

Some forty or fifty more men were indicted, and Parry, Post and Otis howled with glee as they contemplated the awful havoc that must befall the labor movement of this country.

But the fanatics of employers and manufacturers' associations have been disappointed in their anticipations, for organized labor, that is so repulsive to the mad dogs of exploiting aggregations, has not faltered in its mission nor halted in its struggle to hold aloft the flag of unionism.

The declaration that Burns would bring the "higher ups" before

the courts of this country, did not cause the labor movement to show a yellow streak nor did the men who were designated as "higher ups" ask any quarter from the mighty detective whose noodle became swollen with vanity.

The journals that only a short time ago pandered to the prowess of Burns, are no longer filling space catering to his appetite for cheap notoriety.

Burns flashed for a moment and then his light went out.

The work of Burns and his paid lieutenants has only made the labor movement more vigorous, and the membership are standing closer together to meet the assaults of organized greed.

The man of toil, whose head is not empty, realizes that he must take his place in the army of labor to fight the battle against industrial oppression. He knows that standing alone he can do nothing as an individual, and only through the organization of the class to which he belongs can he aid in ushering in a civilization that will concede justice to humanity.

An Ally of Capitalism

IT IS A NOTICEABLE FACT that of late years it has become a habit with a number of powerful dignitaries of the Catholic church to deliver public addresses that are complimentary to a ruling class and in opposition to that political movement that proclaims emancipation for labor.

Archbishop Ireland of St. Paul, in a recent address, made a vicious attack upon Socialism, and it is strange that a man who is supposed to be permeated with the spirit of Christianity can brazenly make statements relative to matters of vital importance that cannot be supported by facts or arguments.

Archbishop Ireland declared: "All men are, indeed, born equal. Equal so far as the laws of the land may reach, equal in rights derived from government."

No more untruthful statement ever fell from the lips of a public speaker. Labor has no rights which the law respects when those rights are in conflict with the material interests of a class of privilege, and no one is better acquainted with such a fact than the archbishop who has fattened on the inequality of the law. It is only a few years ago when the archbishop secured a decision from the Supreme Court of the United States that gave him the power to evict the tenants on land in Minnesota that had been occupied by them for the life of a generation, but their rights as squatters were not recognized by law when a clerical potentate of the proportions of the archbishop, coveted the title to such lands.

Squatters using this land had no standing in court when a prince of the Catholic church wanted a decision under the law which abrogated the rights of squatters.

Will the archbishop contend that the rights of labor were recognized by law when the miners of the Cripple Creek district were bullied and deported, while official authority, mortgaged by capitalism, yelled: "To h—l with the constitution!"

Will the archbishop hold that the textile workers of Lawrence, Massachusetts, were equal before the law with the mill barons who used the official power of city, county and state to suppress the strikers?

The archbishop again declares that Socialism "denies the right to private property."

Such a statement is an infamous falsehood, and the clerical prevaricator in making such a statement is bereft of every vestige of respect for truth.

Socialism only denies the right of private ownership in property that is socially used to produce the means of life.

Through property socially used but privately owned, the comparatively few, have become industrial despots and the many have become slaves.

No one under Socialism will covet the archbishop's home in which he lives, nor will it be necessary for anyone willing to work to yearn for any of the property which the archbishop privately uses.

But under capitalism 75 per cent of the people are without homes, which they privately use, and for which they must pay rent to a landlord.

Under Socialism, no rent will ease the itching palm of a Shylock. Under capitalism, labor receiving but one-fifth of the value which labor creates, makes it impossible for labor to own the home which

labor privately uses, but under Socialism, labor receiving the full social value of the product created by labor, the working class can own some of the private property that is necessary to sustain human existence.

The archbishop contends that Socialism teaches *class hatred*.

Class hatred is here and this *class hatred* has been bred from the capitalist system.

The Socialist in struggling to abolish *classes* will remove the *class hatred* that manifests itself in every conflict between employer and employè.

The archbishop again declares: "Socialism is the defiance of law and social order; it is the menace of war, even unto the spilling of blood. Socialism unprincipled in theory, wild and violent in method, is to-day the peril of all lands."

The Socialists of Europe prevented war between Norway and Sweden and between Germany and France.

In the war between Italy and Turkey, the Socialists raised their voice in protest, but the pope of Rome and his clerical cabinet never did anything except to pray that the *Turk* would be defeated and victory crown the efforts of the Italian army.

The archbishop has been inoculated with the capitalist system and few there are now who can recognize in him a true disciple of Christianity.



INFORMATION WANTED.

Information is wanted of the whereabouts of Richard Thomas Nugent (Dick), born at Wilmington, Illinois, July, 17, 1870, and moved to Iowa in 1876. His description is as follows: Brown eyes, black hair, height about five feet ten inches, weight about 165 pounds, not married and when last heard from was in North Dakota.

Anyone knowing his present address will confer a great favor by writing to his anxious sister, Mary Nugent Jenkins, Elk City, Oklahoma.

THE U. S. LAND DRAWINGS AND THE RAILROAD GRAFTS ATTACHED.

By I. Tarkoff, Montrose, Colo.

Few people realize that "Uncle Sam's" land drawing policies are pure R. R. grafts. Those who have attended the land lotteries can easily inform you what it means to railroads.

Here is the way it works: When there are any lands to be given away as homesteads, worth about \$500 each (provided one can stick to it for five years) the news is spread broadcast all over the U. S. About 100 come for each farm to be given away; at an average expense of \$20 for railroad fare alone and \$30 for other expenses. Thus it can be seen that the railroad companies receive \$2,000 for every \$500 farm that Uncle Sam gives away; while other expenses cost the land-seeker \$3,000 for each farm Uncle Sam gives away. In other words, it costs the land-seekers \$5,000 for every \$500 farm.

For a government to play its own citizens to such a graft is unpardonable.

THE PARTY PRESS IS COMING

By I. Tarkoff, Montrose, Colo.

Those who read the Open Forum in the Chicago Daily Socialist can easily see that the privately owned Socialist Press is doomed; and the party press is coming to replace it.

The state of Ohio, in state convention, has unanimously adopted a plan for a state owned press and printing plant. This reminds me of the R. R. problem in the United States. All the people of the U. S. want is a chance to express themselves on the subject. I venture the guess that if the people of the U. S. ever get a chance to express their opinion on the R. R. problem there will be another unanimous vote that the people should own the railroads.

The owners of the private Socialist press do not realize how obnoxious their practices are. When I send an article to most of the Socialist publications, their editors return the manuscript attached to a private letter advising me that as far as they are concerned, they agree with it, etc. Only they cannot publish it because etc. etc. (Because they really aim to establish the same censorship which prevails in capitalistic publications. If an article is right for the editor, why should it not be right for the rest of the people? All the comrades need now is a chance to express their opinion on the privately owned press and they will make it unanimous for party ownership every time. This is not because the owners of private papers have not done as good as possible for them to do under the conditions, but because private ownership of what ought to be public, carries with it the penalty of timidity, abused authority, and fear of loss on private property; which tends to tune down the owner's ideas as to the policies to be pursued.

Socialist publications above all others, must ever be ready to strike out for what is right, regardless of the consequences. A press which must choke off ideas, admittedly right, just, and timely, for fear it might offend

some party boss or official, or lose a few subscribers, is no longer fit to represent the Socialist movement.

In spite of the fact that all privately owned Socialist publications except the Miners' Magazine, refuse manuscripts pleading for a "party press" and "real majority rule," it's coming, and coming faster because of such refusal.

The Socialist movement will be impotent so long as it is made the "decoy duck" for sub-getting plans; and party leaders are made thru privately owned publications which have the power to side-track all who do not agree with them or their policies. It has come to such a pass now that to be heard at all in the S. P. movement, one must either own, or be owned, by some privately owned paper or magazine. Therefore, all hail the coming "Party Press;" and our "Organizer" is doing a good share toward bringing it about. The "Organizer" idea was represented in the Ohio state S. P. convention and won out.

Comrades of the D. G. S. P., let us take courage and redouble our efforts to push "direct government" all possible. I only wish I were able to give my time for two or four months, to go over the state; and as soon as I am able, I shall surely do it. I am sure the Comrades of Colorado will adopt "Direct Government."

"OUR" COUNTRIES.

Revolutionary Socialists have discarded a flag along whose folds are blazoned in letters of gold the records of so many butcheries. Flags are merely symbols. They have no value except for what they represent. What, then, is the Fatherland? What, indeed, are all the present nations?

The nations, all nations, whatever may be the etiquette of their system of government, are composed of two sets of men, one far the smaller in numbers, the other comprising the vast majority of the population.

The first class is seated around a well-set table, where nothing is wanting. At the head of the table in the place of honor, are the high financiers. Some of them are Jews—yes, the others are Catholics; some more are protestants, and others, free-thinkers. They may be in disagreement with each other over questions of religion of philosophy, or even over rates of interest; but as against the great mass of the people they are banded like thieves at a fair.

To the right and left of them are the Ministers of State, the high functionaries of the civil, religious or military administrations, not to omit the general treasurers, with their 30, 40 or 60 thousand francs salaries per year; a little further around, the full Council of the Order of Lawyers, the glorious spokesmen of the Universal Conscience; next the gentlemen of the court, and their precious auxiliaries, the solicitors, notaries and bailiffs.

The big stockholders in mines, factories, railroads and steamship companies, the merchants, the possessors of castles and large estates, are all at this table; all those who own fourpence are here also at the foot of the table; they are the small fry who have, nevertheless, all the prejudices, all the reactionary instincts of the big capitalist.

You, also, gentlemen of the jury, I must place among the number of privileged persons gathered around this table. It is not an evil fate, I assure you. In return for work—when you do work—which is of an intellectual character, often pleasant, which always allows plenty of leisure, which flatters your pride and vanity, you get in return a bounteous life, rendered endurable by all the comforts, all the luxury which the progress of science has placed at the disposal of favorites of fortune.

Far from that table I see a herd of beasts of burden condemned to labor, which is repugnant, unclean, dangerous, brutalizing, with neither rest nor respite, and, above all, without security for the morrow; petty merchants, tied down to their counters on holidays and Sundays, pressed more and more to the walls by the combination of large stores; small landholders, dulled and stupefied by workdays 16 and 18 hours long, whose toil only goes to enrich the big brokers, millers, wine commission merchants and sugar refineries. Further still from the table around which the happy ones of the world are gathered, is the great mass of the proletariat, whose sole fortune is but their arms or their brains, workingmen and women of the factories, liable to long periods of unemployment, petty officials and functionaries, forced to cringe low and conceal their opinions; domesticities of both sexes, food for exploitation, food for cannon, food for pleasure.

These are your countries!

A country of the present time is nothing but this monstrous social inequality, this monstrous exploitation of man by man.—Gustave Herve.

SOME OBJECTIONS TO SOCIALISM ANSWERED.

By R. A. Dague.

Some people who have not carefully studied Socialism say it presents a fine theory but say it cannot be established until all selfishness is eliminated out of human beings and they all become not only good but very wise. Those using that argument are "standpatters" and do not believe in evolution or progression. They think civilization has reached its zenith and a representative government is the most perfect that can be established on earth.

Now, Socialists are not trying to eliminate all selfishness from people, but propose a system of industrialism which will prevent the very few sharp, tricky and extremely selfish from exploiting other people, especially women, children, the aged, and those who are not able to protect themselves from the powerful and crafty.

If you owned a bunch of swine and a few big, strong hogs ate up all the swill and crowded away from the trough all the little pigs, would you say there is no way by which that unfairness can be prevented until all the hogs are converted, or educated, and made into unselfish and wise hogs?

China has recently established a republic and enfranchised women. Did

the able statesmen there wait until all the four hundred million of inhabitants were republicans and in favor of universal suffrage? Did Abraham Lincoln wait until three millions of negroes demanded freedom before he emancipated them? Socialists do not propose to change human nature, nor do they suggest any visionary or impracticable things. Their chief proposition is to so adjust affairs that a few human hogs shall not be allowed to eat all the swill.

This can be quite easily accomplished by establishing a co-operative commonwealth, in which all utilities of a public nature shall be owned publicly, instead of by private capitalists, and in which every citizen shall have equal opportunity with every other one and every worker in every useful occupation shall receive the full value of his labor,—a system under which stock-watering, monopoly, and hoggish selfishness, and the getting of something for nothing by the big swine will be prevented. It is not at all necessary that a hundred millions of Americans shall become pious and good, and pure unselfish angels, before we establish a decent system of industrialism and a democratic government in these United States.

The opponents of Socialism are lamentably inconsistent and illogical. At one time they say Socialism is not possible until all the people become so good that they will have no desire to exploit their fellowmen. At another time they say: "Socialism is wrong because, if established, it will take from people their incentive or (selfish) desire to amass private wealth, which would destroy all civilization, for," say they, "selfishness is the motive-power or force essential to all human endeavor, although only a few of the 'fittest' succeed, while the millions are thereby forced into poverty, squalor, and slavery."

Now, these pessimistic standpatters look backward for all wisdom. They are timid souls, who must have authority and precedents for every thought they think and for everything they do. If they had lived in 1776, they would have opposed George Washington and the Revolution. If they had lived before 1860, they would have contended that slavery was a divine institution. Every good institution in this civilization is co-operative or socialistic. To operator carry on any enterprise collectively or co-operatively is to do it socialistically. There are but two methods or systems of industrialism and government. One is known as "individualism," and includes monarchy, theocracy, plutocracy—the right of the few to govern and exploit the many. The other is "collectivism," which includes co-operation, democracy and socialism, or government of the people by the people themselves.

The prehistoric savage with his stone hatchet practiced pure individualism. His hand was against all others. He lived for self. When he joined a neighboring savage to unitedly fight against ferocious beasts or savage enemies, he took his first step toward democracy and socialism. The most perfected civilization is the highest expression of collectivism or socialism. Socialists are evolutionists. They are not trying to make perfect angels out of people, but they are trying to educate enough of them in the principles of co-operation that they will vote to take the trusts and other utilities of a public nature out of the hands of greedy monopolists, and put them into the ownership and control of the public. They further advocate the establishment of an industrial and political democracy in which the majority shall rule. There will be courts and jails and penalties for violators of law, and teachers, and leaders, and men in authority, in the socialist government, but that government will be a democracy in which the people, acting by majorities through direct legislation, or the initiative, referendum, and recall will be their own masters—their own employers—their own bosses.

Let us be done with the untrue, the often refuted, and shallow objection that Socialism proposed some visionary, unattainable condition of society. They say civilization has arrived at the threshold of a new cycle or era; that less individualism and more collectivism is necessary; that trusts should not be crushed but owned and operated by and for all the people collectively. Their rallying cry is: "Let the nation own the trusts."

Creston, Iowa.

NEWS FROM WASHINGTON, D. C.

(By National Socialist Press.)

Washington, May 23, 1912.—If appearances count for anything, the actions of the members of the House committee on immigration during the last hearing on the Root anti-refugee amendment indicate that this infamous measure will receive a majority of their votes.

Despite the pleas and arguments of men and women from all walks of life the committee appears to be favorably disposed towards the reactionary amendment to the general immigration bill. One fact that militates against the cause of political asylum is that the committee is made up mainly of men coming from rural districts who are unacquainted with the great political movements of the various countries. These rural congressmen are naturally conservative and the word "revolution" sounds to them like murder and treason.

The chairman, John L. Burnett, is the representative of a small Alabama community that has probably never harbored a political refugee in its entire existence. To Burnett and the rest of the committee a refugee is a "fugitive from justice." But there is one man on the committee who knows better—he comes from a section where there are to-day probably more refugees from despotic countries than any other section in the country. This member of the committee is Representative Goldfogle of the Ninth New York district, which is the heart of the East Side.

When Meyer London, the Socialist attorney who appeared as the representative of thirty thousand members of the Workmen's Circle, began to address the committee, Goldfogle turned nervously in his chair and mumbled to Burnett that "the hour is getting late." Burnett who has shown a partizanship toward the Root amendment, immediately shut off London and announced that the hearing on the amendment "is now closed." To offset criticism Burnett permitted London, Jacob Panken, of the New York United Hebrew Trades, and Simon O. Pollick, of the Refugees' League, to "file their views with the committee."

Aside of Goldfogle's general reactionary attitude toward the movement of the people of Russia, the country of his ancestors, there is another reason that prompted him to suppress London's speech. London as the Socialist candidate for Congress, nearly defeated Goldfogle in the last campaign.

Probably the strongest speech made before the committee was that of John G. Obsol, a former member of the Russian duma and now a student at Harvard university. He told the committee of the police and spy system of Russia and declared that it would be easy for the Czar to manufacture evidence against every political refugee in this country, if the Root amendment passes the House.

Obsol gave his own experience as an instance of the Russian government's falsification of evidence. He said that while he was a member of the Russia duma the government accused him of being the sponsor of a petition from the St. Petersburg garrison to the duma. This was simply a pretext to arrest 55 members of the duma which was then followed by an order to dissolve the entire legislative body.

He pointed out that according to the language of the Root amendment it would be a conspiracy for a man to participate in a movement of 111 millions of Russians against 130,000 noblemen who constitute the Russian government.

Speeches against the Root amendment were also made by ex-Congressman Parsons, of the Society of Friends of Russian Freedom; Miss Lillian D. Wald, a New York settlement worker, and Rabbi Stephen S. Wise of New York, and two representatives of Chicago Jewish educational organizations.

Obsol in an interview after the hearing pointed out that the committee apparently favors restriction of immigration and that it is working against its

program when it favors an amendment which would prevent revolutionary movements to better conditions in countries from where now men and women are compelled to emigrate.

As is generally known Senator Root justified his amendment on the ground that the border states are to-day endangered by "conspiracies" of Mexican revolutionists. But L. Guterrez de Lara, the Mexican Socialist and revolutionist who is now in Washington, informs the National Socialist Press that his countrymen no longer need the United States for revolutionary conferences.

"We can meet in Mexico and in fact refugees of other countries will find our country much safer than the United States, declared de Lara. "Of course, Madero wants the Root amendment passed as it may be handy some time. He is getting legislation from Congress just as Diaz used to. But the Root amendment can not harm the Mexican revolution hardly at all."

From the foregoing it becomes more evident than ever that Root designed his infamous amendment against the Russian political refugees, two of whom he tried to deport when he was secretary of state, but failed.

The Root amendment while having favorable chances is far from being law. First it must be favorably reported. Then it must be considered and passed by the House. And finally it must receive the signature of the President. Therefore, there is still hope even though it is an uphill fight.

Let every reader of the Socialist and labor press express his or her views regarding this amendment to deport persons who seek protection under the American flag to the congressman who represents his or her district. Write him a letter and write now. Delay is deadly.

THE I. W. W. OR THE SOCIALIST PARTY.

By Piet Vlag.

On May 1st a number of hoodlums wearing I. W. W. buttons rushed the speakers' stand of the Socialist party of New York at the Union Square meeting and hauled down the American flag. Mounting the platform they shouted that they did not want any order and proceeded to put on an Italian speaker of their own.

Officially the I. W. W. disavows responsibility for this act. Some of them admitted it was probably the work of a group of "agents provocateurs," scoundrels hired to provoke a riot and discredit the entire demonstration.

For argument's sake we will agree that the I. W. W. was not officially responsible for this cowardly outrage. But how about the big group of I. W. W. paraders, including scores of Socialist party members, which happened to be stationed at the foot of the speakers' stand? Did they voice their disapproval? Did they lift a finger to stop these rowdies? Not much! The Socialist I. W. W.'s in their explanation went so far as to intimate that it served the Socialist party right. It was evident their sympathies were entirely with the I. W. W. The attitude of these party members is characteristic of a majority of the Socialist I. W. W. members. I believe the time has come when they will have to declare promptly either that they are essentially I. W. W.'s or that they are Socialists first, last and all the time. If they look upon the Socialist party merely as an excellent begging field for the I. W. W., without ever showing their solidarity to the party, they are in wrong and will have to get out.

A number of contemptible questions have been flung at Comrade Haywood, which he has rightfully resented, but one question which was put to him publicly he should have answered. He has failed to do so. It was this:

"If the Socialist party was good enough to aid and promote the Lawrence strike, why was it not good enough to receive the votes of the Lawrence strikers? And when and where did Comrade Haywood publicly urge the Lawrence strikers to join the Socialist party and vote the Socialist ticket?"

It is evident that Comrade Haywood and others consider the Socialist party as a party of protest only. A party whose chief object is to fight the battles of those workers who being politically and economically disfranchised have no available weapon but protest and violence.

That is where these comrades differ from the International Socialist movement which long ago abandoned the theory of progressive impoverishment. We are no longer waiting patiently for the people to reach a stage of poverty where they will revolt. History has proven that the people who reach that stage do most frequently, as in London, lie down on the banks of the Thames and die without a protest. And when they, the "ragged proletariat," do revolt, they are easily pacified. Just enough to eat will fix them.

The experience of McKees' Rock and other places should be a warning to the I. W. W. There they abandoned to organization, and the people who had fought their battles as soon as their bellies were filled. Contrary to the loud assertions of the I. W. W. leaders I do not know of a single instance where the people whose battles they fought asked for all or nothing.

Many uninformed are misled by the present activities of the I. W. W., and mistake them for the American symptom of the coming democracy in the labor world; of that spontaneous movement which in England, Germany, Belgium and Holland has simultaneously transformed the labor movement into a body where the leaders are not leaders any longer, but merely intelligent executives; who, if they are not intelligent and deliver the goods, get fired. This much needed democratization of the labor movement is more to be recognized in the recent action of the Pennsylvania miners, who refused the terms agreed upon by their committee, than in the activities of the I. W. W.

It is also wrong to believe that the I. W. W. is the only exponent of Industrial Unionism. Thousands of Socialists are busy today introducing Industrial Unionism in the A. F. L. And no intelligent observer will deny the splendid progress they have made in the last few years. Everywhere Socialism and Industrial Unionism are coming to the front within the A. F. L.

Some of the I. W. W. leaders claim that the "ragged proletariat" is the only revolutionary element in society. This is correct if we assume that only violence is revolutionary. In that case they have a patent on revolutionary methods and are welcome to it.

And why should not the "ragged proletariat" be violent? It is the one and only force that their ignorance suggests to them.

But the International Socialist party utilizes another force. The force of brains, agitation, education and far-seeing positive action. And this force comes, not from the ignorant, impoverished masses, but from the enlightened proletariat. This is the force which instills fear into the hearts of the intelligent upholders of capitalism. This is the force which permeates society. This is the force Professor Butler of Columbia University warned against in the New York Republican convention. This is the force feared and attacked by our enemies in the Catholic Church. The sabotage activities of the ignorant are used by these aristocrats to prejudice their large, ignorant following against the most revolutionary force in society—the organized force of the Socialist party, which they find active everywhere, and not alone among the "ragged proletariat."

Some of the red card-carrying discontented muckrakers, philosophical anarchists, paternalistic sentimental reformers and others will have to choose between that force and the force of syndicalism. A force based upon ignorance, with sabotage as its chief weapon. A force expecting to stop capitalism by making it impossible through destruction on the part of the workers. A force which does not provide for an intelligent, trained body of workers to resume activities in case they actually should succeed in stopping capitalism.

SPIRITUAL SIGNIFICANCE BY SOCIALISM.

By John Spargo.

From time to time there are outcries concerning the hostile attitude of progressive workers to Christianity, but there is indeed no such hostility. Socialist and other agitators hurl thunderbolts of superbly passionate invective against Churchianity, against what they feel to be an organized masquerade, but there is ever reverence and love for Jesus. They resent the perversion of his teaching by the churches and cherish in their hearts the pictures of the New Testament in which Christ's humanity is portrayed. They think of the homeless proletarian, less fortunate than the foxes and the birds, with no resting place for his weary head. They think of the Compassionate Christ, too big in his humanity to judge the woman at the well; tender in his love for the little children; withering in his scorn and contempt for an unfaithful and corrupt priesthood; sublime in his denunciation of an empty creedal caricature of religion; heroic and majestic in his anger at Mammon's desecration of the temple. This Christ, the Christ of the Gospels, they revere as a great comrade.

The contempt for organized Christianity, the withering scorn heaped upon it by impassioned Socialists, is by no means a new phenomenon. The glory of the prophetic literature of the Bible is the ever recurring rebuke to an unfaithful priesthood. No modern Socialist agitator has equalled Hosea in denunciation of priestly infidelity. Micah's assault upon priests that teach for money, Zephaniah's cry of woe to the priests that "have profaned the sanctuary" and Malachi's terrible impeachment of the priests, making them "contemptible and base before all the people" are echoed in these days by Socialists and other radical thinkers. Let those who are shocked by the bitter invective of the modern prophets of social revolt against Churchianity remember that, like the earlier prophets, Jesus himself spared not the priests and elders. "The publicans and harlots go into the kingdom of God before you!" he declared. How often do we read that the chief priests and elders took counsel how to destroy him! Nothing could be further from the truth than to regard criticism and denunciation of organized Christianity as an attack upon the teachings of Jesus. Prof. Shailer Mathews is well within the limits of conservatism when he declares that "there is many a church which, in point of general altruism and of loyalty to its professions of high purpose, could not endure a comparison with the work of some labor unions."

That passionate protest of the agitators against organized Christianity is significant chiefly because it articulates the dumb protest of the masses. The agitator is always the prophet of dumb masses. The common people heard Jesus gladly because he was their spokesman, their voice. The Christian church has been arraigned at the bar of the conscience and intelligence of the masses; weighed in the balances and found wanting. The average workingman feels in his dumb struggle what Theodore Parker felt when he declared that if Christ could return to earth he would have to fight Christianity. He feels that the church is generally a servitor of privilege and oppression, that it stands as a bulwark against justice. It was that cynical hater of democracy and liberty, the English prime minister, Lord Melbourne, leader of those assailed by Daniel O'Connell as "base, brutal and bloody whigs," who declared that the church was the world's last bulwark against Christianity and should therefore be left alone.

The dream of universal peace, faith in the coming of a time when wars should cease, came not from the priesthood but from the prophets. In all ages the organization of the forces of religion has tended to narrow the religious concept. And in all ages the prophets, either from within or without the church—but oftenest from without—have struggled to correct the tendency, denouncing the priests for their reactionary influence and their lack of faith, and holding up the wider ideal to the world. Not the priests, but the prophets, in ancient Israel held up the glorious ideal of a world redeemed from the curse of war and given to the reign of peace.

And in our time the greatest force for the consummation of that ideal common to all the great religions of the world is centered in a movement which is outside of synagogues, temples and churches. For blind indeed must one be to the tendencies of the time who does not realize that the international Socialist movement is the greatest force in the world to-day making for universal peace among the nations of the earth. Let there be some misunderstanding between two nations concerning some question of trade, some regulation of markets, jingoism at once becomes rampant in the pulpits. As soon as the governments declare war, in almost all the churches of Christendom, jingo patriotism takes the place of faith in human brotherhood and love of peace.

Peace congresses between nations mark a big step onward in the evolution of mankind to a higher ethical state. But the really effective peace congresses, out of which proceed invincible faith in the peace ideal, spring from and represent not governments but peoples. The great peace congress at the Hague, occupied in formulating a multitude of rules for the regulation of warfare, intended to be for international wars what the Marquis of Queensbury's rules are for pugilistic fights, was far less significant, and far less potent for peace than the international Socialist congress at Stuttgart. Said the representatives of the governments of the world with unblushing cynicism: "Though we meet as a peace congress, it is perfectly idle to think that war can be done away with. It is useless to talk of disarmament, or even of the limitation of armaments. All we can do is to provide a code of rules for the regulation of the great game of war." On the other hand, the representatives of the workers, in their international Socialist congress, not only declared unequivocally against all war, but also pledged themselves to the promotion of such a feeling of solidarity among the workers of the world as would make war an impossibility—except small armies of the ruling class should decide to fight their own battles. And this last is, of course, unthinkable. It is, indeed, the Socialist who is entitled to repeat Tennyson's prophetic lines:

Lord, I dipt into the future, far as human eye could see;
Saw the vision of the world, and all the wonder that would be;
'Till the war-drum throbbed no longer, and the battle flags were furled
In the Parliament of Man, the Federation of the World.



EXERCISING EVIL SPIRITS.

In addressing the New Jersey Bankers' association, Secretary of the Treasury McVeagh took occasion to approve the Democratic proposal to investigate the money trust, the existence of which he did not undertake to deny. He did insist, however, that the trust should be investigated in an intelligent way, which, of course, would preclude investigation by statesmen who conceive that the existing industrial and financial and social system is due to a conspiracy in restraint of trade. The secretary offered the predic-

tion that an investigation would disclose a concentration of financial power, but it would be found also that "this concentration had come about through a natural evolution."

No one of intelligence any longer expects the trusts to be "busted" and the economic conditions restored which obtained when industry was in process of organization. The day of small things has passed. We can not, to recall J. Pierpont Morgan's epigram, unscramble the eggs which have been scrambled. And so this outburst against the money trust is quite as fatuous and futile as the outburst which attended the Standard Oil trust and the steel trust and the various great trusts which have arisen with the consolidation of ownership and the centralization of control of the means of production and distribution.

A money trust, the concentration of banking power, is a logical and inevitable development. It would be as absurd to expect that industry could be organized as it is with the banking power decentralized and distributed among thousands of little banks and bankers as it would be to expect that a modern ocean liner could be driven by side wheels and a disconnected battery of teakettle boilers.

We recognize that the centralization of the banking power, or the so-called money trust, is a very serious thing to those who are not prepared to take the next step in industrial evolution and social progress. To the man of small affairs, who is ambitious to engage in larger enterprises, it means the closing of the door of opportunity. No enterprise of any consequence may be begun or completed without the consent of the money trust. Its consent is to be obtained only by giving it absolute control. It will permit no new undertaking that will interfere with its established enterprises. It is the conclusion, not the beginning, of destructive competition.

These natural manifestations bring no fear to the Socialist mind. When men's minds were clothed in ignorance and superstition, the appearance of a comet or an eclipse caused great distress. Many devices were adopted to hasten the exit of the unwelcome visitor from the heavens. It was deemed a sign of heaven's wrath—a portent of evil. To-day no one, save the editors of the colored supplements of some of our Sunday journals, is disturbed over a comet or an eclipse.

The astronomer, when he announces that on such a day there will be an eclipse of the sun or that in such a year a comet will appear is not deemed a prophet. The heavenly bodies move in orderly procession. No train schedule is as accurate. Their coming and going is not a matter of whim. It is determined by fixed and undeviating law.

The Socialist looks upon the coming of the trusts precisely as the astronomer looks upon the coming of the comet or an eclipse. It is a natural manifestation. But to the individualist, to the mind which sees only the moving hand of some evil spirit, the trust is an appalling thing, a devilish device, created by human monsters, which must be destroyed by an act of Congress and the meting out of the dire and dreadful penalties of the law, if mankind is to escape from overwhelming disaster.—Milwaukee Leader.

"ON TO WASHINGTON."

In 1886, some years before Coxe's army of the unemployed marched from Ohio to the national capital with the rallying cry "On to Washington!" James R. Buchanan, as related in "The Story of a Labor Agitator," concocted the idea of forming such an army. He was speaking at one of the largest labor demonstrations ever held in San Francisco. One hundred members of the Coast Seamen's Union in uniforms and with rifles attended as a guard of honor.

At that time the San Franciscans were agitated over the gross importation of Chinese scabs. There were over a million men idle. The Missouri Pacific railway, to cowardize its striking employes, was advertising for special deputies, "men who will shoot to kill!" Congress, in session, had turned a deaf ear to the appeals of labor organizations.

Buchanan in an "encore" had denounced Congress for this neglect of the people's interests and had called upon the workers to get together and elect men who would honestly serve the people. Right there he was interrupted by a man he knew—a carpenter:

"Your advice," he said, "as to voting for the right kind of men for Congress may be all right . . . when the time comes; but it will be a long time before that course, even if successful, can bring us the relief we so sadly need. The question is: What will we do now? I am one of the million who are hunting for work; begging for the opportunity to earn the food my wife and children must have if they are not to starve. I agree with you that Congress should do something for us in this awful emergency, but it is blind to our sufferings and deaf to our appeals. How will we arouse it? What will we do now—to-night—this very hour?"

All the time the carpenter was speaking Buchanan was thinking—thinking faster than he had ever thought in his life. He seemed to enter the man's mind and see there the picture of despair that confronted him; his heart broken wife, the empty larder, his hungry children.

Buchanan well "knew with that patience the giant of labor had borne its burdens that the idle rich might bask in the golden sunshine of more than plenty." The man before him became a million, his little family a million families, and the cry that issued from that vast host was, "Give us work; give us bread; help us or we perish!" As these thoughts flashed through his excited brain he knew what he should say to the man who was asking for advice. As the man ceased Buchanan took two steps toward the edge of the stage, extended his hand and began in a quiet tone:

"Stand up, comrade. I am going to answer your question to the best of my ability.

"You are a carpenter. Go out from here and build a banner of transparency. I will give the little money required to purchase the sticks, nails, and muslin. Find a painter who, like yourself, is asking: 'What shall we do now?' and have him paint upon the sides of your banner the words, 'On to Washington!' At sunrise to-morrow morning, with your painter comrade meet me on the sand lots and bring the banner with you. We will open a recruiting office on the lots, and when we have a score of marchers in line we will start down Market street, gathering the unemployed, the hungry, the wretched as we go. We'll cross the bay and in Oakland will confiscate a train, if that is thought desirable, or tramp along on foot, but with our faces ever turned toward the east. Then across the Sacramento valley, over the Sierra Nevadas, through the Great American desert, beyond the Great Continental divide, the great plain on the eastern slope, the fertile fields of the Mississippi and Ohio valleys, across the Alleghenies, nor cease our journeying until we camp on the Capitol grounds at Washington. We will gather the disinherited as we march and the millions of betrayed and plundered will cry with us 'On to Washington!' We will take the food we require for our actual needs leaving vouchers to be cashed at Washington when the people once more regain their government.

"When we have massed a great host of industrial crusaders about the Capitol and packed Pennsylvania avenue from Capitol to White House, we will demand our servant, Congress, that it give us at once the justice that has been so long delayed. If it heeds not our commands, if it still defies us, we will hurl the whole treacherous swarm into the Potomac."

As Buchanan ceased and sank into a chair, the vast audience broke into a cheer that shook the building from cellar to garret. Shouting men and women sprang to their feet and waved multi-colored handkerchiefs. But when the applause died out a reaction came and the carpenter arose and whined:

"But, my dear sir, what you propose might come to mean revolution."

And Buchanan, without rising from his chair, replied:

"So it might. I hadn't thought of that."—Labor Culture.

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LIST OF UNIONS

Table listing unions by state: ALASKA, ARIZONA, BRIT. COLUMBIA, CALIFORNIA, COLORADO, IDAHO, KANSAS, KENTUCKY, MICHIGAN, MINNESOTA. Columns include No., Name, Meet'g Night, President, Secretary, P.O., and Address.

LIST OF UNIONS

Table listing unions by state: MISSOURI, MONTANA, NEVADA, NEW JERSEY, NEW MEXICO, OKLAHOMA, ONTARIO, OREGON, SOUTH DAKOTA, UTAH, WASHINGTON, WISCONSIN. Columns include No., Name, Meet'g Night, President, Secretary, P.O., and Address.

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Coeur d'Alene District Union No. 14, W. F. M. ... A. E. Rigley, Mullan, Idaho
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WHAT HURTS.

By Paul Hanna.

It ain't that I've labored ten hours a day
For me bread 'an' me bed an' me girl;
It ain't 'cause I think I am fixed for to stay
In a mill, where the whirr and the whirl
Smother the cries of me three little kids,
That ain't never now'd their real dad—
It's thinkin' of how I've been played for a fool
That stings like the lash of a gad!

Hard work is good for a man built like me,
And it's good for a man built like you—
But it's havin' to work like a mule, do you see?
Like a mule that never gets through.
A-turnin' out profits an' interest an' rents
For people as don't hit a tap,
That stings! My soft-fingered ladies and gents;
Stings like the nine tails of a cat!

I've found out the world is chock-full of enough
To supply all the people at hand,
An' I've found out the boss it just throwin' a bluff
When he claims he made factories and land.
So, the people who work with their hands and their heads—
And, believe me, I'm one of that mob—
Will take what we make in the mills and the mines
And present every boss—with a job!

In Memoriam.

Whereas, death has removed from our midst Brother Steve Aliment, a sincere and loyal member of this union, be it

Resolved: That in the death of Brother Steve Aliment, this local has lost an honest and upright member.

Resolved: That a copy be sent to the Miners' Magazine for publication and that our charter be draped in mourning for a period of thirty days in loving remembrance of our departed brother.

Q. WORK,
D. A. VIGNOUR,
W. H. SEWELL,

Committee.

(SEAL)
Phoenix Miners' Union No. 8.

IN MEMORIAM.

Sutter Creek, California, May 16th, 1912.

At our last regular meeting the undersigned committee was appointed to draw up the following resolutions:

Whereas, death, for the first time, has invaded our ranks, and taken from us one of our charter members; be it

Resolved: That in the death of Bro. Chas. Stringer this union loses a faithful and loyal member, and his family a loving son and brother.

Resolved: That a copy of these resolutions be spread on the minutes of our regular meeting, a copy sent the Miners' Magazine for publication and our charter be draped in mourning for a period of thirty days.

M. J. O'CONNOR,
JAMES GIAMBRUNO,
J. H. MAYERS.

(Seal)

IN MEMORIAM.

Tonopah, Nevada, April 30, 1912

Whereas, The grim reaper death, has again visited our ranks and removed from our midst our beloved brother, Alex Johnson; and

Whereas, Tonopah Miners' Union No. 121, has lost a true and faithful member in the death of this brother; therefore be it

Resolved: That we, the members of Tonopah Miners' Union, extend to the relatives heartfelt sympathy; and be it further

Resolved: That a copy of this resolution be spread on the minutes, a copy be sent to the Miners' Magazine, and a copy sent to the relatives of the deceased brother, and that we drape our charter for a period of thirty days.

MIKE SHEA,
D. F. McCARTY,
M. M. McLEAN,

Committee.

IN MEMORIAM.

Tonopah, Nevada, April 24, 1912.

Whereas, Death has again visited our ranks and removed from our midst Brother John Roe; and

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

Resolved: That we drape our charter for the period of thirty days, and that a copy of these resolutions be sent to the Miners' Magazine for publication, and one to his beloved sister.

GUS HANSON,
FRANK P. DARRAGH,
JOHN NOVRAN,

Committee.

IN MEMORIAM.

Tonopah, Nevada, April 25, 1912.

Whereas, We deeply feel the sorrow occasioned by the loss of Brother Isaac McClusky, whose kindly disposition, generous nature, and noble character made his influence a help and benefit to all who knew him, and whose remembrance will be long cherished by us; therefore be it

Resolved, That Tonopah Miners' Union No. 121 of the Western Federation of Miners, extend to his sorrowing family and relatives our sincere sympathy for their bereavement; and be it further

Resolved: That a copy of these resolutions be forwarded to his family and sister, and a copy be sent to the Miners' Magazine for publication, and that they be spread upon the minutes of this union.

M. J. SCANLAN,
THOS. McMANUS,
F. P. DARRAGH,

Committee.

IN MEMORIAM.

Tonopah, Nevada, May 7, 1912.

Mrs. John H. Jones, Los Gatos, California.

Whereas, Death has again invaded our ranks and taken from our midst John H. Jones who, in the performance of his duty was killed in the Mizpah mine at Tonopah, Nevada.

Whereas, In the death of Brother John Jones, Tonopah Miners' Union has lost a true and faithful member and his wife and family a supporting and loving husband and father; therefore be it

Resolved: That we extend to his sorrowing widow and family our heartfelt sympathy in this their hour of bereavement; and be it further

Resolved: That we drape our charter for a period of thirty days, that a copy of these resolutions be spread on the minutes of this local, a copy sent to the deceased's wife and family, and a copy sent to the Miners' Magazine for publication.

J. P. McKINLEY,
R. H. DALZELL,
FRANK P. DARRAGH,

Committee.

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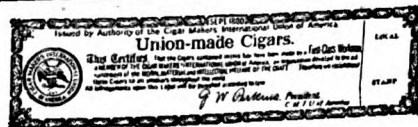


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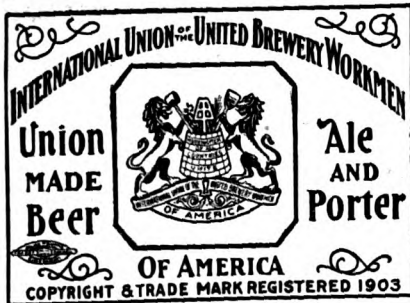
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of the

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