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# THE MINERS MAGAZINE

INDEPENDENCE  
EDUCATION ORGANIZATION

Published Weekly by the  
**WESTERN FEDERATION  
OF MINERS**



DENVER, COLORADO, DECEMBER 19, 1912  
VOLUME XII. 24 NUMBER 495.

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EDUCATION INDEPENDENCE ORGANIZATION

# MINERS MAGAZINE



Published Weekly by the  
**WESTERN FEDERATION OF MINERS**

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 Communications not in conformity with this notice will not be published.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

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**John M. O'Neill, Editor**

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

## Card of the Homestake Mining Co.

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

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

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Signed

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Department

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THE STRIKE is still on at Alta, Utah.

STAY AWAY FROM BLAIR, NEVADA.

STAY AWAY FROM BINGHAM, Utah. No worker but a traitor will take the place of a striker!

THE JUDGES on the bench who grind out 70,000 divorces annually, howl against Socialism, on the ground that it would "destroy the home."

MORE THAN 250 Mexicans who were brought to Bingham as strike breakers have deserted during the past two weeks. The Mexican, though struggling with poverty has no desire to be used as a scab for the Utah Copper Company.

THE PAID-UP MEMBERSHIP of the United Mine Workers of America on November 30th, 1912, reached 377,394. This is a good showing, but there are a few hundred thousand coal miners yet outside the pale of the labor movement.

THE NEW YORK CALL refers to Haywood as a "reactionist." There are a number of men scattered in various parts of this country who will contend that the word "reactionist" does not cover

all the frailties of "Big Bill." We have heard some expressions about "Bill" that had a sulphuric flavor.

ACCORDING to a report in an exchange, the "Seamen's Mission" at Buffalo, New York, has been converted into a strike-breaking agency. It is strange how so-called Christianity is prostituted to serve Mammon.

ACCORDING TO STATISTICS furnished by Frederick L. Hoffman of the Prudential Insurance Company, there were 15,000 suicides in the United States during the year 1911. As we are not living under a Socialist regime, it is hardly probable that slanderers will charge the crimes of self-murder to Socialism.

AT ELGIN, ILLINOIS, a thousand carloads of potatoes were destroyed by being dumped into a gravel pit. The potatoes were destroyed in order that the price of potatoes might be maintained. The charity workers of Chicago make the claim that there are 18,000 families in that city dependent on charity, and yet, under our humane civilization, food must be destroyed in order that Shylock may have his "pound of flesh."

THE LIBERTINE WITH MONEY, in this day and age, who beholds a maiden in the livery of labor, struggling to earn her living and maintain her honor, looks upon her as his prey. Thousands and tens of thousands of girls in factories, mills and stores have discovered that the brutes of capitalism look upon *virtue*, garbed in cotton, as a *luxury*, that should not belong to the victims of poverty. And yet, we boast of our glorious civilization.

THE STATISTICIAN is presenting some figures that should make us feel proud of our boasted civilization. The claim is made that 10,000,000 of people in the United States are underfed; that there is an idle army of 3,000,000 of people that cost annually \$200,000,000, to support and that 1,000,000 of the working class die annually through disease and accidents. Peace on Earth, good will to men," has a hollow sound in this age of grab and greed.

C. W. Post of the fodder factory of Battle Creek, Michigan, who entered suit against the American Federation of Labor for damages to the extent of \$75,000 on account of matters growing out of the Buck's Stove Range controversy, has been judicially "knocked out." The Federal Court dismissed the suit for damages and the Court of Appeals has affirmed the dismissal of the lower court. Post, in his wrath against organized labor, may appeal his suit to the United States Supreme Court, but it is probable that by the time he receives a favorable judgment he will be old enough to "shuffle off the mortal coil" and take up his residence in that tropical clime "whence no traveler returns."

THERE WAS a "Charity Ball" given in Milwaukee recently. The orgies were held in the Auditorium and the parasites and plutocrats assembled to dance the "Bunny Hug," the "Turkey Trot," the "Grizzly Bear" and the "Wiggly Worm" in order that funds might

be raised for the benefit of the "Infants' Home and Hospital." The gowns and gems worn at the ball represented an expenditure of more than \$500,000, and yet the proceeds of the ball reached but \$3,000.

But according to the press reports, the upper strata of society had a glorious time. Champagne flowed like water and when the sparkling nectar had taken its effect *sports* and *ladies* indulged in a carnival of dissolute revelry.

"Charity covers a multitude of sins."

THE CHICAGO BRANCH of the I. W. W. (the bummery) are calling on their members to fill the jails of Little Falls, New York. It will be noticed the call does not include aid to the starving strikers.

It's the old game. After the jails are filled then we'll be called upon for funds to get the gang out. And this system is styled "revolution."

To thinking man it looks like a plain case of "itching palm."

The unthinking man, however, is blind to the system practiced by those who cry long and loud for "One Big Union," as an excuse for "getting the mazuma."

And it will also be noticed that none of the officers who signed that call are in Little Falls filling the jails. You don't see those chaps take any chances in New York City, any more than they did at San Diego, Portland or Spokane.

When trouble starts, Bill Haywood, who talks of defying both God and man, gave an illustration of what will happen. In Rochester the "working class white hope," when in trouble did the most natural thing in the world for his ilk—ran into a laundry. But they are long on advice, and—collections.—Toledo Union Leader.

THE AMERICAN MINING CONGRESS had its annual meeting at Spokane, Washington.

The representatives of millions gathered in the growing city of the northwest to interchange ideas relative to one of the great industries of Western America.

But according to the press reports, there were other matters than mining that engrossed the attention of those economic masters who frequently refer to the membership of the Western Federation of Miners as "dynamiters," "anarchists" and "murderers."

At the close of the labors of the Mining Congress, our industrial potentates made arrangements for a little *recreation*.

Their ponderous intellects had been taxed severely in devising ways and means by which profits could be extracted from the ores at the least expense, and for *relaxation* something must be *pulled off*

to relieve the pressure that bore so heavily on weighty minds. A manager was found who knew what the mining magnates wanted, and he treated them to *exhibitions* in *vaudeville* that would have brought a blush of shame to the mug of the most hardened habitue of the "bad lands." But our "upper ten" brethren enjoyed the stunts and as the female celebrities vied with each other in exposing their charms, the applause grew more tumultuous, but then the wealthy aristocrats of society "can do no wrong," for *money*, like *charity*, covers a multitude of sins.

THE HIGHEST TARIFF RATES should be laid upon luxuries and the lowest or none at all on the necessities of life. This should be the basis of our revision of the tariff to which we are solemnly committed. The rates should be arranged so as to produce the maximum of revenue, which I think takes from the ultimate consumers the minimum of money. There is a maximum revenue-producing tariff rate on each particular item which can and should be ascertained. The moment the rate on any article goes above the maximum revenue producing rate the revenue begins to fall off and the rate is increased the more. The revenue dwindles until it disappears entirely and that rate becomes prohibitive. Such is the case with blankets nine feet long, worth not over forty cents a pound, and the articles of prime necessity on which the compound specific and ad valorem tariff rates, when reduced to ad valorem, amount to a tariff tax of between 165 and 182 1-2 per cent.—Champ Clark.

The above are the words of Champ Clark, the gentleman who was the political rival of Wilson for the nomination at the Baltimore convention.

Mr. Clark entertains this opinion that our ills will be relegated by placing a tariff on *luxuries* and removing the tariff from *necessities*. In other words, the wealthy who can afford *luxuries* are to be assessed in the form of a tariff and the poor whose lean purses scarcely permit an indulgence in the necessities of life will not be called upon to pay revenue to the government in the shape of a tariff, providing the poor are satisfied to do without *luxuries*.

The poor, as a general rule, are the workers whose labor produces the wealth of the country and yet, this class is not expected to enjoy any of the *luxuries*.

The workers, the laboring people, must be satisfied with *necessaries* and should men and women with callous hands, long for luxuries, they must strangle to death that yearning for the choice things of life that convert this old earth into a temporary heaven for indolent parasites and plutocratic loafers.

From present indications the statesmen of the Democratic party will hand the people a "gold brick."

## In Need of Repair

CHRISTMAS IS ALMOST here and the pulpits will be filled with the ministers of the gospel who will reverently proclaim: "Peace on earth, good will to men," and yet there is no *peace* in this industrial struggle that brutalizes man.

There will be a feast for some and a famine for millions of men, women and children who are the victims of poverty. In our boasted Young Columbia, 80 per cent. of the people pay rent to landlords. In "the land of the free and the home of the brave," nearly 7,000,000 of women are slaves in the mills, factories, stores and sweatshops.

Beneath the fluttering folds of our starry banner, 2,000,000 boys and girls are being slowly murdered by imprisonment in the bastiles

of Profit. Under the blue dome of an American sky, nearly a million of girls and women have become "Mary Magdalenes" on whose brows have been written the scarlet letters of shame.

Our penitentiaries are crowded, our asylums are filled to overflowing and our poor-houses lack accommodations for that increasing army of paupers, who are homeless and penniless. Murders, burglaries, divorces, suicides, robberies, failures, strikes, lockouts, blacklists, boycotts, war and rumors of war fill our daily journals, and yet, on the anniversary of the birth of the Man whom we are told died on Calvary to redeem man from sin, we wear a sanctified expression, while we repeat: "Peace on earth, good will to men."

Our Christian civilization is sadly in need of repair.

## The Right to Organize

LABOR CONCEDES the right of capital to organize. Capital, however, refuses to accord labor the same privilege. Labor believes that organization is essential and a necessary factor that makes for human progress. Capital agrees with labor in the main, but denies that labor has any right to combine, and would prevent it from participating in the fruits of organized effort. This right it denies to labor and labor alone. Of course, there is a reason. It desires to hog all the fruit of labor's toil and invokes the aid of the legal machinery to appropriate the lion's share. The boss believes in organized capital and competitive labor. He maintains that organization is bad for the men, but good for the boss, a vicious trait in the workmen, yet a virtuous attribute of the employer; he believes that he is justified in using the boycott and coercion, and denies the right of the employe to use the picket and the strike. He howls about the criminality and destructiveness of labor organizations and charges them with the commission of every crime in the calendar. Blind as a bat to the rights of his employes, he battens and fattens on exploitation of child labor, convict labor, woman labor. Is it any wonder he seeks to uproot the labor movement? Organized labor's mission is to eradicate every social evil, contrasting with which organized labor seeks to perpetuate a system of greed and grab. The slogan of the labor movement is "organization," upon whose wings man has been transported from barbarism to civilization, from darkness to light, from ignorance to enlightenment.—Easton Journal.

The statement in the Easton Journal that "labor concedes the right of capital to organize" is not based on logical grounds.

If labor *concedes* the *right* of capital to organize, then it must be presumed that labor holds in its custody that *right* which it concedes to capital. Labor can give no *right* which it has not *got*.

The Journal should know that capital organized without asking labor to concede this *right*, for capital knows that labor has but few rights which capital is bound to respect.

Capital organizes in spite of labor, and labor must organize in spite of capital. The interests of employer and employe not being identical but diametrically opposed to each other, the question of rights is not considered by the intelligent men of either class.

Labor is organized to command the best conditions under capitalism, while capital is organized to resist any and all demands of organized labor.

In every strike where labor is defeated, capital has shown no mercy and gave no quarter.

Labor not being as class-conscience as a master class, sometimes, when scoring a victory, fails to take advantage of concessions won, but capital never overlooks any advantage gained in a conflict with labor.

Capital cannot be blamed for refusing to concede the right of labor to organize; for capital knows that labor organized means that

labor is in a position to command concessions from capital; which labor unorganized cannot even ask for without labor being discharged.

Labor can secure no *rights* from capital save those *rights* which

labor is strong enough to wrest from capital, and it is but a waste of time upon the part of labor journals to elaborate on the *rights* of exploiter and exploited.

## His Conclusions Are Ancient

CARDINAL O'CONNELL recently sent a letter to be read in all the parishes over which he exercises supervision, and the platitudes laid down by the Cardinal in his letter are of that hoary and ancient character that will appeal but little to the intelligence of men who have looked beneath the surface of the labor problem.

The following extracts are taken from the Cardinal's letter, to show that one of the highest and most exalted potentates of the Catholic church in America has no remedy that will plant hope in the joyless hearts of the impoverished and oppressed.

The Cardinal says:

"Capital has a right to a just share of the profits, but only to a just share.

"Employers should treat those who work under them with humanity and justice.

"They should be solicitous for the healthful conditions of the places where workmen daily toil.

"They should use all reasonable means to promote the material and moral well-being of their employes.

"They should be kindly, humane and just in all their relations with them.

"We are well aware that some of these principles find no place in a political and commercial economy which has become wholly pagan. We are convinced, however, that the social problem of the relations between employers and workers can never be settled on any other than a Christian basis."

There is not a laboring man or woman identified with the Catholic church who can discern in the above insipid and commonplace conclusions of the Cardinal on the relations that should exist between employer and employe, any cure or remedy for the industrial ills that afflict toiling humanity. The Cardinal declares: "Capital has a right to a just share of the profits, but only to a just share."

The Cardinal's conception of right has been obscured by the same philosophy that has legalized the profit system.

The fact that the taking of profit has been *legalized* does not make it *right*.

There is a vast difference between moral rights and legal rights.

Institutions that have been *criminal* have been *legalized* and supported by all the powers of government.

It is but a half century ago when it was legally right for men to own slaves—to traffic in human flesh—and even some of the most profound and eloquent expounders of religion maintained that slavery was a divine institution and morally right. But regardless of this attitude on the part of the owners of slaves, backed by robed disciples of Christianity, an army with rifles and cannon shot divinity and *moral rectitude* out of chattel slavery and clothed the African race in America in the garb of citizenship.

But the Cardinal says that capital has a *right* to a just share of *profits*, but he fails to demonstrate by logic or proof the *right* of *capital* to a just share of profits.

*Labor* produces *capital*, and if that is true then *capital* should belong to *labor*.

Labor, in conjunction with the natural resources of the earth, produces all wealth and to the *producer* should belong the *wealth* created.

The profit system was hatched in infamy, but the crime is no less infamous on account of its perpetuation through centuries of time.

Profit is the incentive that makes brutes of men, that keeps standing armies on land and steel-elad monsters on the seas, and makes a corpse of Christianity by ignoring that scriptural mandate: "Thou Shalt Not Kill!"

The *greed* for *profit* assassinates the teachings of Christianity, and until the great mass of the people who are the victims of capitalism become united and use their economic and political power to slay the hellish system condoned and tolerated by the Cardinal, there will be but little sunlight in the homes of that class whose *labor* produces the *wealth* of the world.

## Calumniated, Even in Death

THE POTTSVILLE JOURNAL, published at Pottsville, Pa., under the heading, "The Quitter," spews the following slime on the memory of J. A. Wayland:

"Again the story has been written, again the carper has turned craven, again a man, who is not strong enough and brave enough to stand up and face the world, and take his chance for success along with other men, has resorted to the poltroon's final course and taken his life.

"J. A. Wayland was the founder and owner of the *Appeal to Reason*, a Socialist weekly that denounced all forms of government, the social order that has been established as a result of hundreds of years of study and experimenting, that attempt to befoul all public men; that endeavored to engender class hatred by dropping subtle poison into any mind that appeared to be receptive. Wayland said the world was all wrong. He proclaimed himself as a crusader, fighting for oppressed humanity. Well, he aspersed, he lied, he dipped his hands into scandal of the vilest sort and tried to smear it upon men, the lashes of whose shoestrings he was unfit to touch. He could not succeed in his own fight with the world, hence he was bitter against every man who had succeeded. He knew what a miserable creature he was and he hated himself. This hatred became more and more intense as he delved deeper into calumny and lied more and vilified more. Sunday he went to his room and fired a bullet into his head. Before doing so he wrote the following note:

"The struggle under the competitive system is not worth the effort. Let it pass."

"It may be unbecoming to speak ill of the dead. We have always been taught so and we have always believed so. We wish to give Wayland the greatest measure of charity possible, but his very words, the last words he ever wrote, brand him as a craven. Hundreds and hundreds of men are succeeding under the competitive system. They are not afraid of the competition. They stand up and fight and if they are worsted in the fight, they go down like men with their flags flying and their guns loaded to the muzzle that they may fire a last shot before they sink beneath the waves.

"Did Wayland go down that way? No, he turned in the face of fire; he was not strong enough to carry on the struggle; he told other people how to fight and what to do, but he was not strong enough to keep his own courage at high tide.

"As we said in the beginning, it is, after all, the same thing over again. You will usually find that the man who rails against everybody who succeeds and against everything, is a failure himself and that failure is a canker that is eating the heart out of him. In the end he usually turns craven."

The above editorial calumny of J. A. Wayland is what might

be expected from the pen of a crawling creature who slobbers in adulation of an industrial system that has cursed a world with misery and wretchedness.

J. A. Wayland is dead, and cannot resent the imputations cast upon him by a truckling sycophant, who prostitutes manhood to serve Mammon.

The Pottsville editor will be expecting to hear "his master's voice" exclaiming, "Well done, thou good and faithful slave."

Editors, without honor and bereft of shame, do not hesitate to defame the dead, if such defamation only brings approval from economic despots that are bred from the surplus legally stolen from ill-paid toil.

The libel on journalism in Pottsville declares that Wayland was the founder of the *Appeal to Reason*, "that denounced all forms of government." Such a statement could only have its birth in the undeveloped brain of an ignoramus or in the mortgaged skypiece of a professional and veteran *liar*.

Wayland was against a *government* that backed and supported a "social order" that enslaved the laboring millions of the earth.

Wayland was against a government that furnished police, thugs, state militia and federal troops to uphold the anarchy of capitalism.

Wayland was against a government whose courts became the agencies whereby wrong is legalized and justice strangled to death.

Wayland was against a government whose "social order" even made editors forget their sense of shame to pay tribute to the industrial tyrants who hold in their custody the means of life.

Wayland was *for a government* under whose "social order" masters and slaves would be converted into men, where even editors could speak the truth without fear or favor.

Wayland was *for a government* where human liberty was not shackled to economic slavery.

Wayland was *for a government* where children would not be in the mills, factories and sweatshop and where women would not be forced through poverty, to sell their honor for bread.

Wayland was *for a government* where man, woman and child should be free, where the many would not be slaves of the few, and where the Brotherhood of Man and the Sisterhood of Woman would be a living reality and not a miserable delusion.

But, according to the sage of journalism of Pottsville, Wayland was a *failure*.

Wayland, the *failure*, founded the *Appeal to Reason*, and through its columns spoke to a million of readers, and yet, a mongrel at Pottsville, whose ability has never been heard of outside the burg in which he lives, shrieks "*failure*" at a man whose trenchant pen awakened labor from its lethargy and aroused the wrath and indignation of

every hireling and henchman who lose their shame and honor in the presence of a master class.

Wayland was the pioneer builder of the Socialist party and upon the broad foundation which Wayland laid, a million of the brawn and bone of the country are rearing the superstructure under whose dome *Justice* shall have a home.

Wayland, the *failure*, lived for fifty-eight years and gave a quarter of a century of his life to the cause of the oppressed. The frowning brow of corporate power never caused him to falter in his loyalty to truth and justice, and when at last his voice is stilled and his pen has dropped from his lifeless hand, a scurvy sheet follows him into

the graveyard to call him a "liar," a "failure" and a "coward."

Wayland is dead, but his memory lives.

The cause for which he labored is his monument, and in the dawn of that civilization when man shall be no longer the disinherited victim of economic wrongs, the name of Wayland shall emblazon the pages of labor's history as one of the victims whose life went out, crushed by the heartless conspirators whose deathless enmity he courted in his battle for industrial liberty.

When Wayland is honored and revered by generations that are yet to come, the defamer of the dead, who now edits a *slimy rag* at Pottsville, will be forgotten, even as a *failure* in a nameless grave.

## The Battle Must Be Fought

IN A LATE ISSUE of the St. Louis Star, under the head, "Officers of the Smelter Condemned," appeared the following:

"Resolutions condemning the officers of the Federal Lead Smelters for discriminating against and in some instances discharging employes at Collinsville and Alton because they affiliated with Smeltermen's Union No. 210, Western Federation of Miners, have been adopted by the Central Trades and Labor Union and the Building Trades Council of Alton, Ill., and will be taken up for consideration by other labor organizations of that city.

"The resolutions recite that Manager Rudolph Porter of the Federal plant, told a representative of the Western Federation of Miners that he would not permit any man employed in the smelter at Alton to unite with his fellow-workers in any labor organization and under no circumstances would he permit the unionizing of the plant.

The smelter workers have been more than fair, it is stated, and have made no requests or demands upon the company for any change in the scale of wages, hours or working conditions, but protest against discrimination as being practiced between union and non-union men and demand that they have the privilege of earning as much as the non-union workers.

"The resolutions in part follow:

"Resolved, That we, the Central Trades and Labor Assembly of Alton, Ill., representing the labor movement of Alton, protest against the autocratic and tyrannical methods adopted by the management of the Federal smelter, and denounce their policy in keeping with the history of other tyrants of the dark ages and not the progressive spirit that should prevail in the twentieth century. Therefore, be it further

"Resolved, That we protest against the sentiments expressed and the stand taken by Manager Rudolph Porter and consider his attitude un-American when in this time and age he says he will discharge any employe who unites with a labor union. We believe any such action

to be a discredit to this fair state, where labor is proud of her many achievements for the betterment of humanity. Be it further

"Resolved, That we indorse the manly stand of the men who have had the courage to stand for the right to organize in the face of such unjust discrimination; we, therefore, tender our support to Smeltermen's Union No. 210, W. F. M., and pledge them all the assistance within our power, and ask all other organizations to rally to the support of this union that is meeting so much opposition from the smelter trust. Be it further

"Resolved, That we demand that there be no further discrimination at the smelter and that members of the union not be singled out as targets; that union men be treated as fairly as non-union men. Be it further

"Resolved, That this resolution be given the widest publicity by being printed in the papers; that copies be sent to Smeltermen's Union No. 210, W. F. M., to W. F. M. headquarters; to Mr. Rudolph Porter, and one kept as a record by this body."

Resolutions of the above character are the natural results that come from the brutality and despotism of industrial czars. It is but natural for men who are permeated with a spirit that loathes tyranny, to voice their protest in resolutions that condemn the oppressive methods of economic masters. But resolutions will avail but little if the men who frame and adopt resolutions fail to carry on the necessary work that must ultimately unite the forces of labor to resist the mandates of corporations, whose representatives declare that labor shall not be permitted to become members of a labor organization without suffering the penalty of discharge.

The time is here when the man whose poverty dooms him to toil for another, must join hands with his fellowmen, for, standing alone as an individual, he can wrest nothing from the iron hand of the class of privilege that holds in its keeping "the right to work."

Labor throughout the world must become an army, to give battle to the merciless autoeracy of organized greed.

## Don't Blame "Billy" Sunday

BILLY SUNDAY, who is in the business of saving souls at so much per, has a thirty-day job in the Wyoming valley in Pennsylvania. He is to be paid \$10,000. There certainly must be a lot of fools up that way that will give that much coin to a fakir of Sunday's brand. This man Sunday knows about as much about Heaven and hell and of saving souls as a tom-cat knows about the man in the moon.—Toiler's Defense.

Let not the Toiler's Defense place the blame on the baseball evangelist. Sunday knows that his graft will flourish just as long as laboring men are satisfied to endure the agonies of a hell on earth for a promise of a mansion on the golden shores of eternity.

Sunday will be paid lucrative fees just as long as the mental faculties of the working class hunger for that hoary superstition that obscures the vision of labor and makes slaves blind to the outrages and infamies perpetrated by a class of privilege.

Sunday is paid by economic masters whose dividends are drawn from the sweat and misery of the susceptible "boobs" who hug the delusion to their breast, that heaven can only be reached through the straight and narrow path of adversity. These "boobs," who can be mesmerized by such hypocrites as Sunday, should realize that Morgan, Rockefeller, Frick, Carnegie and every other bloated exploiter whose coffers are filled with funds that come from the legalized confiscation of the values created by labor, are not suffering from sleepless nights, contemplating the penalties they must endure in another world as a result of their piles of opulence.

The old joke about it being as difficult for a rich man to enter the kingdom of heaven as a camel to pass through the eye of a needle, is as ludicrous as the mouse in the picture giving heart palpitation to the elephant.

The well-groomed gentlemen who occupy pulpits, and who proclaim: "Blessed are the poor, for they shall see God," are using all their efforts and energies to reach a position in life where they will not be haunted by the fear of want.

But the working man, blind to his economic interests, grabs at the phantom: "Come, all ye that are weary and heavy laden, and I will give you rest."

The preachers and the multi-millionaires, as a general rule, are never tired, "weary" or heavy laden, but it is the fellow with corns and bunions on his fists who is *tired* and anticipates reaching heaven via the poverty route.

"Billy" Sunday knows as much about Heaven and Hell as any other gospel expounder. For let it be said right here, that it is not possible for any one man to know more about an *invisible world* than another.

Christianity is not founded upon *knowledge*, but upon *belief*, and Sunday has just as much right to demand remuneration for delivering his *belief* as any other sanctified expounder of religion, who pretends to know something about God and the various suites of apartments that are handsomely furnished for the *poor* when they bid farewell to their wretchedness and slavery on earth.

Pass the sausage!

## The Aristocratic Anarchist

THERE WAS A CONFERENCE of governors at Richmond, Virginia, a short time ago and a number of the chief magistrates of the various states gathered together to interchange ideas on government.

There were many speeches made, and harmony was but little disturbed until Governor Blease of South Carolina addressed the assembly.

Blease is a typical Southern, whose language smells of sulphur and brimstone, and while the political boss of the state of Carolina was endeavoring to entertain his auditors with an address, he suddenly became furious in his remembrance of crimes committed by the black man.

Blease practically declared that he would offer no protection to the black man who made an assault upon a white woman, and when

he was told that he had sworn to uphold the law and the constitution, he turned upon his censor and exclaimed: "To h—ll with the constitution."

By a queer coincidence, it was the governor of Colorado, John F. Shafroth, who branded the sentiments expressed by Blease as *anarchy*, but to men with memories that reach back to 1904, it would seem far more appropriate for the governor of some other state to have reprimanded the governor of South Carolina. Under the administration of Governor Peabody of Colorado, when a Mine Operators' Association and a Citizens Alliance used the state militia to deport striking miners from their homes and outrage the sanctity of firesides, a military official did not hesitate, in the carnival of riot and lawlessness precipitated by the *boosters* for "law and order," to shriek with the fury of a fiend: "To h—ll with the constitution."

Another military hireling, eager to serve capitalism in Colorado, showed no reluctance in outraging the constitution when he declared: "To h—ll with habeas corpus; we'll give them post-mortems!"

The disrespect shown by the governor of South Carolina for the constitution is but "history repeating itself," for the sentiments expressed by Blease already disgrace the record of a Colorado governor, who knew no law or constitution that conflicted with the brutal mandates of a Mine Owners' Association.

We, however, should not feel exorcised when officials sworn to uphold the constitution become profane in their utterances to our or-

ganic law, for the simple reason that the constitution is violated every day by the *acts* of combinations of capital that have as much respect for law or justice as a masculine bovine has for a red rag.

It is presumed that our constitution is built on the sentiments enunciated by our "Declaration of Independence," but who is there who will maintain that the constitution was shown any respect by exploiters during the labor troubles of Colorado, Idaho and Nevada?

Who will contend that there was reverence shown for the constitution when Governor Comer of Alabama used the state militia to suppress the claims of the strikers and destroyed their temporary homes intents, in order that masters might exult over the abject servitude of pauperized victims, who, through military lawlessness, were driven back to the mines?

But Blease has gone a little further than the majority of governors in his contempt for the constitution.

Blease not only stands for lynch law for the negroes, but has said that if ever Socialism should take a foothold in the state he would resort to "Judge Lynch" for its extermination.

Blease is a Democrat but does not believe in Democracy.

Let it be said right now that whenever the people of South Carolina espouse the cause of Socialism, they will not be exterminated by the blatant mouthings of a wind bag, whose fever will be cooled by the stern and supreme will of *men*, whose voice at the ballot box may *exterminate* those *anarchists* who yell: "To h—ll with the constitution."

## The General Strike

### 1. THE FASCINATION OF AN IDEA.

By Robert Hunter.

(Courtesy of The National Socialist.)

"TAKE CARE," cried Mirabeau, "do not irritate this people, that produces everything, and that, to make itself formidable, has only to become motionless."

The threat of the general strike was what this leader of the French Revolution held before the privileged classes. He was the first modern prophet of the general strike, and no one since has stated so simply or so powerfully this alluring idea. At various periods throughout all of last century the idea captivated the minds of numberless leaders of the working class.

Today the general strike is the chief war measure advocated by the trade unions of the Latin countries. It has its philosophy and there is a library of books on the general strike. It has been discussed in the congresses, national and international, of the trade unions and of the Socialist party.

The organized workers of all lands have studied the question, debated it at length, and resolved for or against this method of action. It has so appealed to the imagination that short stories and novels have been written, forecasting the helplessness of the world in the hour when the working class should stand motionless.

The anarchists have everywhere acclaimed the general strike as the greatest example of the propaganda of the deed.

The older Socialist and trade union leaders of Europe have looked upon the general strike agitation with alarm, and the discussion of it has aroused intense interest as well as extreme bitterness.

The greatest orator of the general strike, Aristides Briand, used it as a ladder to rise from the ranks of unknown lawyers to the highest position in the French government, that of prime minister.

Another leader of a general strike, John Burns, rose from the ranks of the hungry and unemployed to the cabinet of the greatest industrial nation.

Men have advocated the use of this weapon for every conceivable purpose. William D. Haywood would have had it used to force the courts to release the McNamara brothers, Ettore and others.

Keir Hardie would have it used to prevent war.

Others would have this mighty weapon employed to protect any one injured by capitalist oppression.

Still others see in it an alternative and substitute for political action and advocate its use as the *only* "political" weapon of the workers to force legislation and political reforms. They would have it displace all Socialist party and parliamentary activity.

The anarchists, who are its most ardent advocates, believe that it is the greatest stimulus to class hatred, that it will make the masters more ferocious and the workers more revolutionary. They would use it as often as possible. The more blood spilt in class wars, the more irreconcilable will become class antagonism.

Every theorist of the general strike claims that it is the supreme weapon of labor. It is the final stand, where the entire body of workers shall come forth from mines, fields and factories to demonstrate their power.

It will stop the world. Lights will go out. Fires will die down. Food will disappear. Trains will stand on the siding. Mails, telephones and telegraphs will fail to function. Newspapers will not appear; and all our marvelous and intricate industrial life, with its wondrous mechanism and tremendous power, will rest silent and useless.

This people that produces everything has only to become motionless to make itself formidable; this is the essence of the battle cry of the French Syndicate (trade unionists).

Surely there is no idea in the world more arresting. The very thought of it almost makes the heart stop in its action.

Is it possible that this thought, so simple to grasp, points the way to the righting of all the wrongs of labor and to the final emancipation of the working class? Is it *the* short cut, *the* royal road, leading clear and direct to the end we seek? Or is it but another snare and delusion that may lead the working class astray?

Surely there is no other question that so much merits inquiry as this one.

What is the origin of the idea of the general strike?

Is the general strike realizable? If it is, how and when?

Is the general strike a weapon so mighty that it shall be used but once, and that to finish the present epoch of society?

Is it a weapon to be used for small ends and big ends indiscriminately?

Is it a means of action that makes political and economic organizations unnecessary?

Let us hear those for and against the general strike.

We want all the light possible. And this I shall attempt to give in the articles to come.

## A New Industrial Czar

HAIL our new industrial despot!

Steps were taken this week that in the near future will make D. C. Jackling of Bingham and Garfield infamy the greatest employer of labor in the inter-mountain region and will fasten upon us another industrial combination of staggering magnitude.

On Tuesday of this week the Utah Power & Light Company filed an amendment to its articles of incorporation, increasing its capital stock to \$40,000,000. A merger has been effected taking in practically all the power plants, lighting systems and electric lines in the three states of Utah, Colorado and Idaho. Thirty million dollars is to be expended in the near future to extend the field of operation of this stupendous system. It will employ a host of men that dwarfs into insignificance the thousands who now march at the command of Jackling, and will tighten about the million people who inhabit three vast

states a monopoly of such power that it can dictate terms, prices and conditions to the inhabitants.

To labor, there is but one course to pursue in the face of this stupendous menace—*organization, organization, organization!* To the million people who are about to be caught in the tightening toils of this great octopus, there is but one course—*public ownership, public ownership, public ownership!* These are the only lines on which we can successfully fight Jackling and his cohorts, and the present is the time to prepare for the mightiest struggle that ever engaged the attention of the working class.

As the greatest single employer of labor in Utah, Jackling has already established the reputation of being the most arrogant, unyielding, tyrannical, cruel and unscrupulous boss that the working class of Utah has ever encountered. From the very first he has absolutely

refused to recognize union labor except when compelled to. There is no more determined enemy and bitter hater of unionism and Socialism in America. He will accept nothing short of unconditional surrender and abject slavery from the working class. He pays the lowest wages paid in the west and connives in the most iniquitous forms of slave driving extant, including the infamous padrone system and the kidnapping of strike-breakers. With such a man enthroned as the dominant industrial figure in the inter-mountain region, labor faces a stormy and troublesome future and it is significant of the true nature of capitalism that such types of men—merciless, domineering and unscrupulous—eventually find their way to the front as its fittest representatives.

*The Bingham strike must be won.* Just on the eve of assuming dictatorship over an industrial empire territorially larger than some of the world powers, if D. C. Jackling is able to begin his new career as the victor over the largest organization in the state—the Western Federation of Miners—what chance has unionism and the working class anywhere in the inter-mountain region against this great power? *The existence of every union in the state depends on victory*

*in Bingham.* If we lose this fight the man who refuses to recognize or deal with unions will become the dominant employer of three states under circumstances that surely mean the utter destruction of organized labor. The Bingham fight is the particular fight of every union in the state and steps should be taken by every union to insure victory for labor. *Let us extract the fangs from the snake before it is too late!*

But while we are all striving together to save the industrial organizations of labor, let us not forget that the political organization of labor is just as important. *Let us not forget that as soon as fifty-one per cent. of the people are ready to vote themselves the public owners of the entire power, light and railway system that Jackling and his assistants have grabbed, they can do so and end once and for all time the tyranny of Jackling and his kind.* For while Jackling's great merger is a menace to the liberty and sovereignty of the people at present, it is but a great step in the right direction. For it organizes industry along systematic lines, making possible enormous production at a low cost, and prepares for that great day when an intelligent public will take over and own and operate the entire system for the good of all.—Inter-Mountain Worker, Salt Lake.

## The Flag Is Still Unfurled

THE FOLLOWING is taken from the Black Hills Daily Register of November 30th, and shows that the men of the Black Hills are yet in the battle to fight the lockout of the Homestake Mining Company.

The following speaks for itself:

"It was Thanksgiving eve, November 24, 1909. The snow was falling fast; it was bitterly cold, the commencement of one of the long, hard winters that the Black Hills are noted for; the miner and his family had made preparation on the morrow for a day of pleasure, for it was to be Thanksgiving day—a day of praise and thanksgiving for the blessings of the past year. But in the evening, on the arrival of the miner from his labor, he brought the news that changed everything to gloom and despair; instead of a day of pleasure it was to be a day of sorrow, dreary and dismal, and many, many of them to follow.

"The news that the miner brought home to his family on that winter's night was that he, with all other members of organized labor, was locked out by the Homestake Mining Company.

"No one but the very poor—and there were many of us—has any conception of the hardships that the miner and his family had before them on the winter's day; no one but the husband and father, who has seen his wife and children cold and hungry, and himself powerless to help them, has any idea of the hardships that the union man and his family has bore in this district in the past three years, which include three long and hard winters.

"Some members of our union, with large families that were forced after a time to apply for reinstatement and employment at the Homestake Mining Company's offices, were told that there was no work for them and never would be on account of these men not renouncing their union within the prescribed time set by the company. Families have been broken up and have become wanderers on the face of the

earth; the little home that some of them, through privation and sacrifices managed to own, they cannot sell. Second hand stores have become full to overflowing and will buy no more at any price; in fact, there was as much misery and utter despondency among us as could well be on earth.

"They say it is darkest just before dawn. It has proved so in this case. C. E. McHugh, general manager of the Deadwood Homestake Mining Company, has this day, the third anniversary of our lockout by the Homestake Mining Company, resumed work on his property and announces that he will employ none but union men, and has already put some of our brothers to work, and expects within a short time that every union man in the district will be working for his company. Therefore, be it

"Resolved, By the Lead City Miners' Union, that we extend to C. E. McHugh our heartiest support in his endeavor to develop his property into a dividend-paying mine. Many of us have worked for the Homestake Company for over twenty years and from actual knowledge and experience gained of the Homestake Mining Company's workings, believe that with the proper financial backing and management the Deadwood Homestake Mining Company will equal the production of the Homestake Mining Company, and be it

"Resolved, Further, That in commemoration of the fact that there is one mining company in the district that is employing union men and only union men, that we feel that we are progressing in our fight for the right to organize, and that our struggle for the past three years has not been altogether in vain; and in celebration of the event that we hoist our flag to the top of the mast-head, and that we hold a social session tomorrow evening.

"By order of the Lead City Miners' Union.

"BARNEY McCAFFERY, Acting President.  
"T. J. RYAN, Secretary."



### NOTICE.

FOUND—Membership card belonging to Hilmer Larson. Apply to Harry Kemp, secretary Alta Miners' Union No. 159, Alta, Utah.

### CANNEL COAL.

Cannel coal was mined to the extent of 170,010 tons in 1911, according to the United States Geological Survey, Kentucky producing 90,275 tons and Pennsylvania about 40,000 tons.

### A PSALM TO THE MEMORY OF J. A. WAYLAND.

"How are the mighty fallen!" A great mind has been laid low. Comrade Wayland was an agitator. He was an educator. The people were in darkness. The workers were in the shadow of despair.

A light had arisen. It shone from afar, above the clouds.

The educator brought the light down to the people. He illumined the pathway of the workers.

He taught the truth that the world is for the workers; that the earth and the fullness thereof is for those who toil.

He showed them that their heritage had been taken from them, and that they had been despoiled of the works of their hands.

Then were the gods of Mammon wroth. The emissaries of capitalism were enraged.

Bloodhounds were given the scent. Spies and detectives were put upon the trail.

The educator was aged and weary with service. His strength had been spent for the people.

He gave life and hope to the workers. His own life he could not save.—Ada M. Stimson, the author of "Psalm of Labor."

### COAL MINERS NUMBER NEARLY THREE-QUARTERS OF A MILLION.

The total number of men employed in the coal mines of the United States in 1911, according to the United States Geological Survey, was 722,335, of whom 172,585 were employed in the anthracite mines of Pennsylvania and 549,750 in the bituminous and lignite mines. The anthracite miners averaged more working time than the bituminous miners, working 246 days, against 211 days for the bituminous miners.

The average production for each man employed was 524 tons in the anthracite mines—an exceptionally large tonnage—and 738 tons in the bituminous mines. The average daily production for each man employed was 2.13 short tons in the anthracite and 3.50 tons in the bituminous mines.

In most of the bituminous mines of the United States the eight-hour working day prevails. In 1911, out of a total of 549,750 employes in the bituminous coal mines, 330,045 worked in mines that were operated eight hours a day; 57,351 worked in mines that were operated nine hours a day, and 137,576 worked in mines operated ten hours a day.

### MAP OF PETRIFIED FOREST.

The interesting region of the Arizona petrified forest was surveyed by the United States Geological Survey in 1910, and the resulting map has just been issued. The field work was done by Topographic Engineers Pearson Chapman and J. G. Staack, under the direction of R. B. Marshall, chief geographer. The area covered by this survey is known as the Petrified Forest quadrangle, and the map will be of especial interest and value to visitors to this remarkable region. It includes the principal portions of the Petrified Forest National Monument, a reservation created by executive order to protect these natural wonders against commercial vandalism, which was making serious inroads into the petrified specimens. The map shows the location and topography of six separate forests, including the famous petrified natural bridge. The fossil trees of these forests are hundreds of thousands if not millions of years old, the wood of the trees having been submerged beneath a heavy covering of soil and then silicified and turned to stone. This stone is exceedingly hard; in fact, it is an agate, of many colors—red, yellow, purple, blue and intermediate shades—and is susceptible of a very high polish. The Petrified Forest is just south of the line of the Santa Fe railway, in Navajo and Apache counties, Ariz., and is reached by wagon road from the town of Adamana. The map is sold by the Director of the Geological Survey at the nominal price of 5 cents a copy.



RESOLUTIONS FROM RANDSBURG, CALIFORNIA.

Randsburg, Cal., November 23, 1912.

To the Officers and Members of Randsburg Miners' Union No. 44, W. F. of M.  
Dear Sirs and Brothers:

We, your committee on letter from I. W. W. of Los Angeles, California, in regard to immigration of workers from Mexico, recommend that the following resolutions be adopted and a copy be sent to the secretary of California State Federation of Labor, and to the Miners' Magazine for publication.

Whereas, owing to the hazardous nature of employment in mines, the danger from accident is largely increased to miners by the number of men employed who are unable to speak and understand the English language, therefore be it

Resolved: That Randsburg Miners' Union No. 44, W. F. of M., will endeavor to have enacted a law restricting the employment of all persons unable to speak and understand the English language, in and around the mines in California.

W. H. SWIFT,  
R. ROSCHL,  
E. M. ARANDALL,  
Committee.

(Seal)

RESOLUTIONS OF MINERS UNION NO. 121 OF TONOPAH.

Whereas, it has come to the notice of Miners Union No. 121 that there has been organized in Tonopah a company of Boy Scouts; and

Whereas, the Boy Scouts is an organization that will tend to destroy the feeling of Brotherhood and Humanity in the minds of its youthful members and tends to foster an unreasoning disregard for human life; and

Whereas, the organization of Boy Scouts is promoted and encouraged by that class of people who continuously and consistently work against the interest of organized labor; and

Whereas, Miners' Union No. 121 stands for the preservation of the morals and the wholesome development of the youth of society and the education of its members along humanitarian peaceful and brotherly lines; therefore be it

Resolved: That Miners' Union No. 121 earnestly request the parents and guardians of the boys of Tonopah to refrain from allowing their children to be degraded by an education that has for its ultimate aim the ruthless slaughter of fellow human beings; and be it further

Resolved: That a copy of this resolution be printed in the Miners' Magazine and in the local papers of Tonopah.

THOS. M. FAGAN,  
MIKE SHEA,  
G. N. BANN,  
JOHN TROY,  
WM. BROWN,  
Committee.

HOW WOULD YOU LIKE IT YOURSELF?

By John M. Work.

How would you like it yourself to have a bunch of patronizing people, intent upon performing an act of charity, condescend to bring you a basket of things for Christmas?

Just consider it a moment.

Honest now, would you like it?

You would feel degraded and insulted, wouldn't you?

Of course.

That's the way every self-respecting person feels under such circumstances.

But, you say, there are people who are in need, and they must be helped. Unfortunately, yes.

But it is entirely unnecessary for society to permit anyone to be in that terrible condition.

Socialism proposes to guarantee every man and woman an opportunity to earn a living, and to receive their full earnings. Then degrading charity will cease.

Investigate Socialism.

Meantime, charity is a necessary evil.

Go ahead and take the Christmas basket to the destitute.

But, do not plume yourself and imagine that you are doing a meritorious Christian act when you do so.

On the contrary, you will be insulting the memory of Jesus Christ unless you do it with the knowledge that the recipients are victims of social crime, and with the intention of doing all in your power to abolish the present criminal social system which wreaks such hideous injustice upon its victims.

Unless you do it with this knowledge and with this intention, you will have totally failed to catch the spirit of Jesus.

Yes, take the basket.

But take it with a rebellious heart—rebellious against the industrial system which produces such human wreckage—and determined to replace it with a higher and better one.

And do not impose your embarrassing presence upon the recipients.

Do not impose your staring eyes upon them.

Do not impose your condescending manners upon them.

Do not mortify them and gloat over their pitiful pleasure by staying to see them enjoy the contents.

If you have a self-satisfied feeling that you are doing a noble act and a hankering to give them an opportunity to pour out their gratitude to you—be ashamed of yourself.

They are entitled to receive justice instead of charity.

You are only giving them a tiny charity crumb, whereas they are entitled to have full-loafed justice.

No! No!

Take the basket gently.

Take it softly.

Leave it without being seen, if possible.

For it is degrading.

THE FOURTH ANNUAL CONVENTION.

Intercollegiate Socialist Society, Room 1210, 105 West Fortieth St., New York.

What promises to be the largest and most enthusiastic gathering of college students interested in Socialism ever assembled in the United States will be the Fourth Annual Convention of the Intercollegiate Socialist Society to be held in New York City, December 27th and 28th.

The Convention will be opened by President J. G. Phelps Stokes of the Society Friday afternoon at 2:30 p. m. at the studio of Miss Helen Phelps Stokes, 90 Grove Street, New York City. At this session reports will be given from the more than fifty undergraduate and a half dozen graduate chapters of the Society in the colleges of the East and West. Fraternal delegates from unorganized colleges will also report the progress in their institutions. Friday evening the New York Chapter will give a reception to the

visiting delegates and friends at the Finch School, 61 East 77th Street, New York City. There will be addresses by various of the members of the Executive Committee, including President Stokes, Mrs. Florence Kelley, Miss Jessica G. Finch, Miss Jessie Wallace Hughan, Miss Helen Phelps Stokes, Miss Jessie Ashley, Ellis O. Jones, William English Walling, Bouck White and Harry W. Laidler, presiding. Miss Helen Keller has also been asked to speak.

All the problems which the various chapters have to face, methods of organizing, increasing membership, securing lecturers, publishing pamphlets and magazines, co-operating with the Socialist party, studying courses on Socialism, etc.—will be discussed by the delegates at the morning session, Saturday morning, December 28th at Miss Stokes' Studio.

Following this will come the Question Box Session Saturday afternoon, when the delegates will be given an opportunity to ask questions on Socialism, its theory and tactics of well known exponents of the Socialist movement. Last year this session was most animated and thought compelling.

The grand finale will be the dinner Saturday night, subject "The New Political Alignment." Prof. Thomas C. Hall, of Union Theological Seminary, Dr. John C. Kennedy, the candidate for Governor on the Socialist ticket in Illinois in 1912, and manager of the Chicago World, Prof. Ellen Hayes, of Wellesley, and other prominent Socialists and exponents of the Progressive movement will speak. This dinner will be held at 6:30 p. m. at Kalil's Restaurant.

At the dinner of the I. S. S. last year over 500 were present, graduates and undergraduates of 80 colleges, and 150 were turned away. For any who remain in the city there will be an informal session, Sunday afternoon at Miss Stokes' studio to talk over chapter problems and the subject of Socialism generally.

The Society anticipates about 60 undergraduate chapters by the time of the Convention, last year the number was thirty-eight. During the past week organizations have been effected in George Washington University, Southern California University Law School, University of Illinois, State College, Pennsylvania and Utah and Kansas Agricultural College.

Harry W. Laidler, organizer of the Society, is making his first trip to Western colleges this December, and speaks as follows: November 30th, Philadelphia, December 2, State College, Pa., December 3rd, Pittsburg, Pa., December 4th Washington-Jefferson College, December 5th, Marietta College, December 6th, Ohio State, December 7th Ohio Wesleyan; December 9th, Ohio Northern; December 11th, University of Indiana; December 12th, De Pauw; December 13th Purdue; December 14th University of Illinois; December 15th and 16th, Chicago; December 17th, University of Michigan, December 18th, Cleveland.

A LETTER FROM EMMA F. LANGDON

Flat River, Mo., Dec. 10, 1912.

Ernest Mills, Secy.-Treas., W. F. M., Denver, Colo.

Dear Sir and Brother:

I am enclosing ten dollars as a donation from me to the Bingham Canyon strike fund. You are also hereby authorized to deduct \$25 from my December salary when due Jan. 1st if the strike still continues at that time, and it is necessary to continue assessments upon the membership to raise the necessary funds—the membership in Bingham are living on short rations and I can and will gladly do the same to help them win their rights.

I have been in that district several times and know the miserable conditions and starvation wages that prevailed and if men were ever justified in rebellion, certain it is the men in Utah were. Their cause is certainly a just one and organized labor should realize the importance of winning a victory—especially the membership of the W. F. M.

I have put the cause of the Bingham strikers before all the organizations, I have visited recently and did all possible in every way wherever I was located to prevent strikebreakers from being recruited to go there.

The work of organization is progressing as well as could be expected in Illinois where I have been located part of the time since the convention. We have three smeltermen's locals now in the state, located in Collinsville, Alton and Sandoval—the two former being lead workers and the latter zinc workers. Alton and Collinsville are Guggenheim smelters and organizations work has been greatly retarded by the management of both lead smelters discharging all the charter members—we are following a different policy now and have our new members stay away from the meeting so they cannot be made targets for a smelter trust. The locals are gradually building up and we hope soon to have a sufficient number to be able to hold open meetings without fear of discrimination.

I organized a local in Sandoval, Ill., Dec. 3, with forty charter members and the prospects are good for a healthy local there.

I have been visiting the locals of the Lead Belt of southeast Missouri since the 5th, visited Herculaneum Thursday Dec. 5th, Bonne Terre, Friday, Desloge Saturday, spent Sunday in Leadwood, attended Flat River union Monday, will go to Elvins tonight and return to St. Louis in the morning and resume my work of organization in Illinois. The condition of the organizations in the Lead Belt is not as flourishing as during the summer but when all circumstances that surround the men are taken into consideration they are doing as well as could be expected. The membership feel they should have a raise of wages and are justified in that position—some certain representatives have been criticized because the officials have not made demands here and entered into a contest to enforce the demands if necessary, with the companies, but on account of the conflict in Utah being enforced upon the organization, it was impossible to rush the work here—as a result, the impatient ones have some criticisms to offer and in Flat River I have been given the blame for the executive board not acting in this matter, which is certainly absurd to say the least, as I have not even been on the ground since the convention. A man that makes such statements is either a fool or a knave, or both, and either consciously or unconsciously the tool of the mine owners.

Hoping the Bingham strikers win an overwhelming victory in their contest against the Utah Copper for the right to live, the right to organize and human rights, I am

Sincerely,

EMMA F. LANGDON.

Organizer.

% La Salle Hotel, St. Louis.

MANGANESE AN IMPORTANT METAL.

Bulletin of United States Geological Survey Describes Deposits in This Country.

The United States Geological Survey has published, as Bulletin 427, a report on the manganese deposits of the United States, by E. C. Harder. The bulletin contains accounts of the geology and chemistry of the ores, the methods of mining, the uses of the metal, and the nature and extent of the industries to which it gives origin.

Manganese is obtained commercially from manganese ores, manganiferous iron and silver ores, and manganiferous residuum from zinc roasting. Manganese ores are found in many parts of the United States, but at only a few places do they occur in sufficient quantity to be of high commercial value. They have been mined in the New England, Appalachian and Piedmont re-

gions in the eastern United States, in northern Arkansas and to a small extent in central-western California. Manganiferous iron and silver ores are also widely distributed. The iron ores have been mined for their manganese content in the New England, Appalachian and Piedmont regions in the eastern United States, in northern Arkansas and in a few localities in the Lake Superior district, and the silver ores in several western silver districts, principally Leadville.

Manganese mining has never been a very important industry in the United States, owing to the small extent and the discontinuous and scattered nature of most of the deposits. Nearly all the ore mined must be either washed or sorted, or both. Single pockets are of small extent and are soon exhausted, discouraging the erection of expensive concentrating plants.

#### Ores Mostly Imported.

Most of the manganese ore consumed in this country is imported from Brazil, India and Cuba, smaller amounts being obtained from Russia, Germany, Great Britain, Belgium, Japan, the East Indies, and other countries. It is used largely in the manufacture of iron-manganese alloys, and these, together with the imported alloys, are consumed in steel manufacture. A considerable quantity of high-grade foreign ore is used in the manufacture of dry cells for electric batteries. Most of the domestic manganese ore, with perhaps a small portion of the imported ore, is used in the manufacture of brick and pottery as a coloring material or for other chemical purposes. Only a small portion of the domestic ore is used in steel manufacture. Manganiferous ores of iron and silver are used both in the manufacture of iron-manganese alloys and as a flux in smelting copper, lead and silver ores.

#### Uses of Ancient Origin.

The use of manganese in the arts is of great antiquity, having been known at least as long ago as the time of the ancient Egyptians. One of its first uses was in glass making. Egyptian and Roman glasswares have been shown by analyses to contain over 2 per cent of manganese oxide. Pliny mentions the use by the Romans of manganese oxide, under the name "magnes," for decolorizing glass. He considered it a variety of loadstone or magnetic iron ore.

In the manufacture of steel manganese finds its greatest use. Manganese steel is used for dredger pins and other parts of dredging machinery; for dipper teeth of steam shovels; for parts of crushing and grinding machinery, such as shoes and crusher plates in ore mills; for ore chutes and screens; for elevator links, especially where the wear and tear is heavy; for agricultural implements, as plow shares and plow points, cultivator fingers, and even shovels, spades, rakes, hoes and forks; for wheels, tires and axles on railway cars, street cars and mining wagons; for cogwheels; for couplers between railway cars; for railroad and steel-car rails on curves; for burglar-proof safes, and for many other purposes. One of its most important uses at the present time, on account of its nonmagnetic property and hardness, is for cover plates and coil shields in large electromagnets, such as are used for clutches in lifting pig and scrap iron at foundries.

A copy of the report may be obtained free on application to the Director of the Geological Survey, Washington, D. C.

### THE GREAT WAR.

By Robert Hunter.

Suppose you were engaged in a great war. Suppose you had an immense army, and suppose you wanted to make that army capable of sustained, loyal service.

You would have to see, would you not, that your army was well fed, warmly clothed, and comfortably sheltered so that it would gain in moral and physical strength as the war progressed?

Hunger would breed discontent. An inefficient commissary department would weaken your men. Some would even desert and go over to the enemy. No battle and no strike can be won when the men are disheartened and hungry. They soon grow quarrelsome and divided among themselves.

No great general ever neglected his men. He sees to it that they are in fighting humor and in fighting trim. The greatest generals have looked more to the commissary department for success than to the enthusiasm of the men.

Many a great fight has been won by allowing an army to sleep most of the day before the battle.

An army in tatters, sleeping on the ground, hungry and tired, worn by forced marching, has rarely stood the test when the hour of battle came.

And yet there are those engaged in our economic battles of today who believe that when the workers are reduced to the last state of degradation and poverty they will revolt.

Now and then we hear some one expressing satisfaction when observing some successful attempt on the part of the capitalists to crush the workers.

And yet who does not know that degraded, impoverished, drunken workers are of necessity scabs and blacklegs, aiding the enemy everywhere—politically and industrially.

The Clericals of Belgium mass two armies to fight the Socialists.

One army is made up of tatterdemalion, the riffraff of slum, barroom and brothel, the other is made up of aristocrats vitally interested in oppressing all workers.

The Socialist army, on the other hand, all over Europe is made up of strong, intelligent, vigorous men, the brightest, most intelligent, best off, of the working class.

Their unions have funds, their mutual associations and co-operatives have funds, their political organizations have funds. In a word, their commissary department is kept in working order.

Collectively these workers own property amounting to untold millions—houses, clubrooms, printing presses, bakeries.

When they struggle for the feeding of schoolchildren, the increase of pensions, aid for co-operatives, they have also in mind the building up of a commissary department to care for the needy in time of battle.

When they force legislation favorable to trade unions they have in mind the battle.

Every act as individuals, or as organizations, every immediate demand, every proposed reform, is fought for to weaken the position of capital and to strengthen the power of labor.

He who shouts "Revolution!" but does not know he is in the midst of revolution is a visionary.

He who believes that weakening the force of labor now, industrially or politically, is to help some vague revolution of the future is befriending the enemy.

He would like to see the forces of labor reduced to a disorganized horde of wandering vagrants, in order to make of them revolutionists, is blind to the life about him—he is a counselor of despair and a prophet of disaster.

One sometimes wonders if the class struggle we talk so much about is really understood.

The workers who fight it NOW usually fail to comprehend it. Too many of the others only read of it in books to treasure it as a priceless, celestial dogma.

But it IS here, now, all about us, every minute, every day.

It is the great war. It has now its armies and they are this minute on the field of battle.

They fought the other day at McKees Rocks; they fight today in New York city; they are now being crushed at Ludlow, Mass.; the fight is everywhere—in the courts, in the legislatures, in the mines, in the street.

### WHAT IS HAPPENING AT GIRARD.

By A. M. Simons.

The battle-line of the class struggle is a long one. It is as long as the Equator or any of the meridians. But always at any given moment there is some point along that battle-line where the assaults of the enemy are most fierce and where a desperate effort is being made to drive back the working class forces and capture some important outpost that has been gained only by hard fighting.

At the moment when this is written that critical outpost seems to be located in Girard, Kansas. Here, at this moment are gathered greater capitalist forces in more open hostility than have ever been assembled at one place and time in this country.

There is an easy explanation of this massing of the forces of greed. With the election just passed this locality became the center of forces most dangerous to capitalism. The comparisons I am about to make are in no sense intended to reflect upon other localities, because I know that each section presents its own difficulties. But only by such comparisons can the condition here be visualized.

In this congressional district there are over 3,500 members of the Socialist party. That is a larger membership than is to be found in Greater New York, Chicago or in any two other cities combined. This organization reaches out into almost every school district. It embraces nearly every postoffice and every mining camp, in the counties of Crawford and Cherokee, which are nearest to Girard. This membership has been growing rapidly since election.

During the campaign this territory was covered as I believe no similar extent of territory has ever been covered by Socialist campaigners. Every voter who would receive the Appeal was placed upon the subscription list of that paper for more than a year before election. Practically every voter was visited over and over again by distributors of other literature.

For weeks prior to election the district was covered with Socialist speakers, while for months before moving picture outfits and regular organizers were traveling into every nook and corner. During the last week of the campaign every important place had meetings every night, and the halls were crowded. Everywhere the work of propaganda was followed up by organization. In D. C. Flint, the district secretary, the Socialists found one of the most efficient organizers I have ever met, and throughout the campaign he served without a cent of salary, and seldom worked less than sixteen hours.

The result of the election was a fitting reward for such work. Two members of the legislature, one member of the State Senate, almost every official in Crawford county and probably a hundred township officers were victorious from the Socialist ticket.

This result brought a nation-wide fight to a focus on Girard. All the rage of the federal court ring, the Leavenworth penitentiary ring, and all the other forces that have good reason to hate Socialism and the Socialist papers that go out from Girard, now sounded a general rally for the attack.

It is hard to understand that such a nation-wide conspiracy can exist in this country. But the evidence is conclusive that the fight upon the Appeal to Reason is directed from Washington, and that the great capitalists and their political tools have come to believe that if they can succeed in damming at its source the flood of Socialist literature that flows out from Girard that they will have struck Socialism a vital blow.

Today this little Kansas town swarms with spies. Some of these are so clumsy and so well known that they are the butt of the village wits. Some of them are so ostentatiously stupid that there is reason to believe they are but blinds for other shrewder ones. Recently a Socialist of several years standing, Comrade A. W. Lovejoy, who had had a business disagreement with Comrade J. A. Wayland, and was therefore thought to be susceptible to approach, was commissioned as one of these detectives. After penetrating as far as possible into the plans of the enemies of the Socialists he brought all his information back to the victims of this persecution.

He says under oath that a certain Joseph Pomponey, a Catholic priest of Pittsburg, is the leading local figure in this conspiracy, and that this priest boasts of having been the inciting force behind the U. S. district attorney in procuring the indictments against the Appeal editors and publishers. Comrade Lovejoy swears that Pomponey claimed to be working under the direct orders of higher church officials, and showed that he was in close connection with the government officials who are persecuting the Appeal.

When election brought such an overwhelming Socialist victory, all these allied anti-Socialist forces seemed to be roused to a perfect frenzy. New indictments for an offense for which they had already been tried before a hostile judge (on contempt charges) and acquitted were brought against Comrades Debs, Warren and Shepard, and locally Pomponey at once launched a vicious anti-Socialist crusade. That this crusade is by no means a purely Catholic affair is seen by the strange bed-fellows it has brought together. For the first time in the history of religious sects in this country a Catholic clergyman, this same Pomponey, has joined a Protestant ministerial alliance, that of Pittsburg, Kansas! He did this only after every Protestant minister in Pittsburg had agreed to join him in his anti-Socialist crusade, and to preach an anti-Socialist sermon in the near future. So we have the striking picture of religious solidarity to defend the corrupt sex-degenerates of the Leavenworth penitentiary, and the owners of murderous coal mines, and a foul federal judiciary.

But religious differences and political antagonisms are not all that have been united in this gathering of the vultures of capitalism. There is a little Democrat paper in Girard whose editor is not only a very prominent Methodist, but is also a very exalted member of the Masonic order. Since election he has been visiting Father Pomponey each week to receive copy for a special series of anti-Socialist articles and he announces that henceforth his paper will be devoted to the one task of crushing Socialism, a declaration that is certainly not without its humor, but which is significant as showing that when capitalist plunder is endangered Catholicism, Protestantism and Free Masonry have no difficulty in reconciling their disagreements.

So from every point of the compass, geographical, political, judicial and religious the assault is now centering upon the comrades at Girard. There is a determination to stop the outpouring of Socialist literature from here, and to crush those whom it is thought are responsible for that outpouring. This is a crisis that should be a call to action from every Socialist.

### CHURCHY OR SOCIALISM, WHICH?

By R. A. Dague.

A Missouri paper of recent date said:

"A tramp, wandering through the West, was taken ill and lay 'down by the roadside. One sunny October morning he was found 'unconscious in a tiny Missouri town in Macon county. The village 'was so small it did not even have a telegraph station, but so large it 'was filled with the heavenly kindness of brotherly love. The citizens of the town found the man, washed him, clothed him, read the 'service over him and gave him Christian burial. He was found in 'rags, breathing his last. He is now, we trust, in the bosom of the 'great Universal Father, clothed in garments of brightness. It may 'be some wife and child are waiting for him beyond the great

"stretches of plain and mountain. If they see this they will know that at the last their loved one fell into the sepulcher with due reverence and solemnity. His body has received the careful consideration of a Christian gentleman in a Christian land."

The Christian people (?) of that town did right in giving that dead body a decent burial, but of what benefit was it to the dead man to dress up his body and read over his corpse something out of a book? Those same Christian people (?) probably had slammed the door in his face when he was alive and had asked them for a bite to eat or for a place to lie down and rest, and the town officials had told him to "move on" out of town or they would put him in the chain gang and make him break rock; or if they had not in this manner treated this poor fellow, they had many other unfortunates. I do not doubt that those Christian people (?) of that Missouri town oppose Socialism and uphold the present system of capitalism, which insists that individuals shall have the right to privately own all industries of a public nature, even if all the lands, and machinery, and railroads—everything—be acquired by them for their own selfish uses while millions of honest working people are made propertyless and die in fence corners, in rags, as did the tramp alluded to above, and that all this wealth may be secured through interest, rents, profits, speculation and stock watering, without returning to the creators of that wealth a dollar of compensation. Capitalism ignores all ideas of reciprocity or of giving equal value for what you get. It stands for competition, or how to beat the other fellow. It says: "Everyone for himself. Let the fittest survive, and the unfit go to the wall." Who are the "fittest" under capitalism? They are the shrewdest, the most crafty, the most intensely selfish—the smart financier who can accumulate a fortune without work, who by his wits can get something for nothing.

Who, then, are the unfit? The timid, the sensitive, the kind-hearted, the stupid toiler, and he who is too honest to steal, even if the statute laws permit the theft. But it is the system and not individuals that is at fault.

Reader, do you feel like you could here and now indulge in a little exultation that you live under such a glorious system of industrialism and Christianity—a system that demands the uncurbed freedom of scheming individuals to monopolize all the things that human beings must have to live, including the right to take the earnings of millions of working people by tricks called "business" without returning a farthing of an equivalent for the colossal wealth thus acquired? Are you quite happy that you live under a system that legally authorizes the scheming, idle speculating parasites to force millions into the pauper class, and then when a pauper workingman starts out on a search for employment, arrests him and puts him in a chain gang and thrusts him into prison and feeds him on bread and water and makes him sleep on the hard floor of a jail infested by vermin, and after treating him worse than heathen nations treat their dogs, turns him loose and escorts him to the town limits where an officer tells him to "move on?" All this not because the man has committed any crime or done any wrong, but because he is poorly dressed, has no money and "no visible means of support."

"Oh!" exclaims Churchianity and Capitalism, "but if the tramp dies from starvation, mistreatment or exposure, and is found in the alleys or fence corners in rags, we will wash his filthy carcass, give him clean burying clothes, read over him a real nice church service, sing "Nearer, My God, to Thee," and plant his pauper body in the potter's field." That is kind, I admit; but when the poor tramp was alive you denounced him as an "unfit, lazy malcontent," and when he went to your back door and solicited a bite to eat, you banged the door shut in his face and set the dog on him, and if he did not immediately get out of town your officers thrust him into prison and put a ball and chain about his limbs.

I have a high regard for true Christianity, that taught and practiced by Jesus and the early church, but I do not hesitate to say that the commercialized and Mammonized church of the present age is very much less truly Christian than Socialism—a movement so abhorred and feared by kings, warlords, stock-watering Christians and time-serving theologians.

The church boasts loudly about the grand things it did in the past, but elderly people with good memories remember it defended negro slavery sixty years ago and denounced abolitionists as vehemently as it now does Socialists; and impartial students of history know that it has often been on the wrong side of many great and good movements. It has rarely failed to line up in defense of tyrants, the rich and the oppressor, in all great struggles in which the people constituted one party and the powerful aristocrats the other party.

The church talks beautifully about peace and brotherhood, but has drenched the earth with blood in great wars it has waged. It conducts real nice burial services and sings beautiful and solemn hymns at the funeral of the paupers, but strenuously opposes Socialism, that proposes to abolish poverty and the conditions that produce tramps, to stop wars and establish universal peace and a universal brotherhood and inaugurate and maintain that condition of society announced to the shepherds by the angels when they sang "Peace on earth, good will to men." Capitalism says, "Let everyone look out for himself! Hustle! Get all you can and keep what you get; compete; fight; grab, for to the victor, the fittest, belongs the spoils; Down with co-operation; up with competition."

Socialism says: We stand for an industrial system founded on reciprocity—or justice. A system in which every worker shall be guaranteed the full value of his labor. Our mottoes are: "Everyone shall be rewarded according to his deeds; an injury to one is the concern of all; down with war and graft and the skinning methods; up with co-operation and justice!"

After many years of careful observation and much study I have decided that Socialism, while not intended as a religious movement, does in fact, come nearer being a genuine, practical, working Christian institution than the Mammonized church of today, either Catholic, Jewish or Protestant.

I agree with that noble and greatly beloved woman, the late Francis E. Willard, who said: "Socialism is practical Christianity. It is God's way out of the wilderness."

Creston, Iowa.

#### NEWS FROM WASHINGTON, D. C.

(Special Correspondence.)

Washington, Dec. 19.—Representative Victor L. Berger of Wisconsin, the only Socialist in Congress, returned to Washington for the final session not at all downcast by his defeat by a small majority which the fusion of the two old parties in his district was able to roll up against him at the polls in November, and showing by his manner that he regards the coming two years after March 4 simply as an interval—and the last one—in which the working class will have no representation in Congress.

As soon as he reached his office Berger began work on the mass of correspondence which had collected during his absence from Washington. He has a number of important bills to introduce and he will also make a few Socialist speeches on the floor of the House during the winter to shake up the old reactionaries of both of the capitalist parties.

"I expect to keep hard at work up to the last minute of my term serving the interests of the working class in Congress," said Berger in an interview.

Berger will take advantage of his final days in Washington to distribute a great volume of Socialist literature throughout the country under his congressional frank.

One of Berger's first acts on reaching the capital was to give out an interview explaining his defeat and summing up the political situation in

the country. In this statement Berger predicted the dissolution of the Republican party, a split in the Democratic party in the near future, the rise of the Progressives, and a complete realignment of the capitalist political parties. The following is the statement:

Mr. Berger said: "As everybody knows, I was defeated by a combination of the Republicans and Democrats in Milwaukee county. Mr. Stafford, the gentleman who beat me, was elected on a so-called non-partisan Democratic fusion ticket, although while he was in the House, he was known as a 'stand-patter.' Politics makes strange bedfellows, and I readily understand that Socialists cannot claim any district until they have an absolute majority of all the votes there. A simple plurality will not do for us, because the two old parties are sure to forget their little differences and join hands as soon as they find that the working class wants to give expression to its interests on the political field.

"I am sorry for the sake of the working class and the country. The Socialist party has gained over a hundred per cent. in votes during the last four years, but it will not be represented in the next Congress. It would undoubtedly be for the benefit of the country and all classes if the idea that has taken such a strong hold upon the masses of every civilized people would have some representatives in Congress.

"The presence of 50 Socialists in Congress would even have a wonderful effect upon the old parties. It would compel them to accomplish legislation of which they do not even dream today.

"As for the general effect of the last election—the American people undoubtedly have repudiated the Republican party; but the people have almost just as emphatically declared their lack of confidence in the Democratic party.

"Mr. Wilson, the Democratic candidate, had the support of the Republican stalwarts and of the stand-patters in almost every state in the Union, because that element realized that Mr. Taft could not be re-elected. Mr. Wilson had the solid South, where in the main they only register the votes of adherents of the Democratic party. And with all these advantages, Mr. Wilson polled nearly a million votes less on November 5 when he was elected President of the United States than did Mr. Bryan on the Democratic ticket when he was defeated.

"In other words, the Republican party was smashed, but the Democratic party was practically repudiated.

"The Democratic party, of course, will have all the federal offices for four years and, therefore, is jubilant. But the Democratic party will also have all the responsibilities and troubles during the next four years that the Republican party had in the past. And the Democratic leaders have less insight in economic conditions even than have the Republican leaders.

"The Republicans were defeated because they were conservative; the Democrats will get theirs because they are reactionary. And the poor Democratic party cannot help being reactionary. It is controlled by a coalition of the South and Tammany.

"The South is about 30 years behind the North—is behind England, Germany and France—in its economic development. The South is just entering upon the riot of capitalist domination through which the North has passed during the last thirty years.

"The South is just waking up. Its capitalist investors will naturally claim protection for their 'infant industries.' Now how is the Democratic party to make good on its platform pledges in regard to the tariff? I shall say nothing about Tammany as a factor in national politics. Tammany's deeds will speak loud enough.

"The Democratic party will also have a hard position on account of the high cost of living. A dollar today buys about as much of the necessities of life as 60 cents did about 12 years ago. The Democratic party cannot change that. But for that very reason there will be a political revolution four years hence.

"Last, but not least, the Democrats promised to solve the trust question by smashing the trusts. This cannot be done of course. But how are the Democrats going to explain their failure. Moreover, an industrial crisis—with 'Democratic hard times' and soup kitchens—is due in a year or two. This time the panic will also strike the South which is beginning to manufacture. The sons and daughters of the men who fought at Gettysburg will clamor for bread and justice, and the solid South will break up.

"As for the Bull Moose party, I differ from the opinion that it will die because Roosevelt was not elected. Roosevelt is not the Progressive movement, which has a well defined economic basis in our country. A realignment of the old political parties is absolutely needed and has to come.

"There is really no difference between the Democratic and Republican parties as the parties stand now in Congress and in the various state legislatures. The support of Taft stand-patters helped elect Wilson. But there is deep cleavage within the Democratic party as well. Last fall the pie counter formed the bridge connecting the factions of the Democrats. But the days of pie-counter politics are passing. A political party must be the expression of economic interests if it is to survive. These interests now center about classes or groups within classes.

"There are now the great class questions that must be solved—the question of capital and labor foremost of all—then the questions of security in old age and sickness and so on. The Democratic party hardly knows the sound of these terms, let alone being able to solve such questions. The Progressives, taking up some of these things, will gain strength—they may carry a presidential election—but they are bound to fail because no other political organization than the Socialist party, the party of the working class, really can solve social problems.

"However, I will say that if it had not been for Mr. Roosevelt and his semi-Socialist platform, the Socialists would have undoubtedly polled two million votes this time. Our great party will poll at least two million votes next time if the factional and anarchistic spirit will be kept out.

"As for my own person, I will say that I have liked my work in the House of Representatives and shall enjoy it to the last moment working for my class and for the new world. In fact, I even personally regret the interruption."

#### WILL THERE BE TIME?

When man has harnessed lightning to his will,  
And spanned the ocean's breadth with bows of steel;  
When he has made the universe his mill,  
And set the winds to work to drive his wheel;  
When he has scaled the skies with ghastly mirth  
To rob the stars of their stupendous powers;  
When he has probed the bowels of the earth,  
And gathered up the breath of all the flowers;  
Will he then pause awhile to count the dead  
Whom poverty and steel have ground to dust?  
Will he then heed the children's cry for bread?  
Or hear the mother's wail for what is just?  
Will he then square himself with God and man?  
Will he repudiate the vice and crime  
That have endured since being first began?  
God! Can he do all this? Will there be a time?  
—Belle Fligelman.

## AN OPEN LETTET TO WOODROW WILSON, W. H. TAFT, THEODORE ROOSEVELT AND WM. J. BRYAN.

By R. A. Dague.

Gentlemen—You are the most conspicuous statesmen in America. Millions of people believe you to be very wise and you yourselves lay claim to much wisdom and accept the position as leaders and teachers of the people.

Within the past one or two decades great corporations and private monopolies have grown up in the United States called trusts, and there is a general feeling that there are grievous wrongs existing that could be righted. There is a widespread unrest among working people and intense hostility is growing up between employer and employé—between capital and labor.

Thomas W. Lawson, Republican, statesman, author and millionaire, almost, if not quite, as distinguished as either of you gentlemen, declares that this republic is on the verge of revolution, if not utter destruction, and he is giving expression to the belief of thousands of other students of our political and economical system. In Everybody's Magazine for November, 1912, he says:

"The wealth of the country forty years ago was twenty-five billion dollars. Today it is one hundred and thirty-one billion dollars.

"This hundred and thirty-one billion is not in the possession of the whole people, the ones who produced it and who now number one hundred million of people; but over three-fourths of it is possessed by ten thousand of the one hundred millions of people.

"Sixty billion dollars of the nation's wealth is represented in stocks and bonds. Over forty billions of the sixty billions of the stocks and bonds capital is counterfeit. This over forty billions represented when issued no accumulated labor; it represented nothing but a trick, and this forty billions fictitious capital is largely owned by ten thousand people who every year receive 2,000 million dollars' interest for it.

"Today, when prices are made up for the American people, there is added to the raw materials, labor, incidentals and profit charges, another charge, 3,000 millions of dollars.

"The owners of sixty billions of stocks and bonds take each year, through the cost of the people's living, 3,000 millions.

"The problem of high-cost living centers in this sixty billion dollars of capital stocks and bonds.

"The annual payment the people make to the ten thousand holders of this forty billions of counterfeit capital will in time eat up the wealth of the people, and they will then be slaves, because they will be able to exist only by the sufferance of the ten thousand owners of two-thirds of the nation's stocks and bonds."

Other statisticians of reliability, after a searching investigation, agree with Mr. Lawson's conclusions. When Thomas F. Ryan was before the special grand jury investigating the affairs of the Metropolitan Street Railway Company, he said that 95 per cent of the stock of all railroad corporations in the country never cost a dollar. It has been shown that, while the stock-watering financiers were amassing colossal wealth, which practically cost them nothing, the cost of living advanced 60 per cent during the past seventeen years, while the average increase in wages has been only 20 per cent.

The wealth of America has so rapidly drifted into the pockets of the rich parasites, and the workers have been so exploited that last year it was shown that the producers owned but 10 per cent of the total wealth; fifty millions of the American people are propertyless; ten thousand capitalists own more property than half the inhabitants of the country; 52 per cent of the people are born into poverty; two millions of children are worked like slaves in the mills and factories; ten millions of working people do not have enough to eat; sixty thousand girls, children of the working class, are annually forced into prostitution to live, and two millions of marriageable young men remain unmarried because they know they cannot, as wage-workers, receive enough to enable them to marry and assume the responsibility of supporting a wife and children.

These statistics are given to the country by distinguished and trustworthy Republican and Democratic statisticians. They should challenge the serious consideration of every man and woman in America. Truly may Thomas W. Lawson and others say that the nation is rapidly drifting to that time when it will become an aristocracy—a plutocracy ruled by a few enormously rich men, or be shattered to fragments by a bloody revolution.

Now, gentlemen! You who so graciously accept the position of teachers and leaders of a hundred millions of people! What do you propose to do in this emergency? The situation is a most serious one.

An ominous discontent is rapidly developing among working people of the entire nation. Organized labor and organized capital are at sword's points. The war between them has commenced. It will increase in intensity. You may issue your court injunctions, resort to your lockouts and blacklistings, make your arrests and use your big stick; you may have your police club the soap-box orator, break up the meetings of workmen, send some, even many, of them to prison. That will not stop the war. There is an irrepressible conflict between the "haves" and the "have nots"—between the honest working classes and their scheming exploiters, who make great fortunes by their wits, without returning any equivalent therefor. The battle is on in every country on earth in which civilization has advanced to the threshold of the new era now dawning and struggling to be ushered in.

I ask you, Woodrow Wilson, and you, William J. Bryan, do you intend to continue to trifle with the American people by telling them what you told them in the late campaign, to-wit, that the tariff is the cause of all our industrial troubles? You must know that, in the free-trade and low-tariff countries of Europe, the working people have the same cause of complaint of low wages and high prices of necessities as in America. You are not ignorant of the fact that a marvelous age of invention came to the world about sixty years ago, and that now one worker, by the aid of the machine, produces more wealth than fifty workers could create by hand tools sixty years ago, and that, while the production of wealth increased enormously, its distribution has been grossly unfair. The non-producer pockets more than two-thirds of it, while the worker receives but a little larger wage than was paid his father.

This is not the result of high or low tariff, gentlemen, a fact that you know, but is due to the fact that private individuals own the machines and all the means of production; that they keep down the wages of their employés, fix the prices of the necessities of life, water their capital stocks and pocket billions of money unearned by them.

In the late campaign the old tariff sophistry did you good service in winning votes, as it has done for a half century, but all well-informed people know that you can cure no great industrial ills of which the nation complains by tinkering with the tariff. Mr. Woodrow Wilson, in a few months you will become the chief executive of a nation of one hundred millions of people. You and Mr. Bryan and other Democrats promised, if put in power, to cure all the industrial maladies by lowering the tariff and smashing the trusts. You can tinker a little with the tariff at the risk of making a bad situation worse, but surely you will not attempt to do so impossible a thing as to attempt to destroy the trusts. Even bright school children know that trusts in themselves are not bad, but are the legitimate fruits of this wonderful age of discovery and invention of machinery, steam power and electricity. You can no more force the people to go back to the old-time competition than you can compel them to destroy railroads and substitute ox-carts, and to smash all the great factories and go back to single-hand tools.

Would you not better publicly repudiate the "trust-smashing" proposi-

tion before your inauguration? If you do not, your administration will dis-appoint the country and be a dismal failure.

Not so ridiculous and impossible is Mr. Taft's trust remedy—"regulation"—the enforcement of the Sherman law, and yet it is as impotent and un-availing as if you should attempt to stop the workings of the law of evolu-tion, or to enjoin, by your courts, the law of gravitation. The evil is not in the trust itself. It is a co-operative association of men who do things, but in their being owned by individuals and operated for private profit. Both Presidents Roosevelt and Taft tried "regulating the trusts," and yet, during their terms of office the trusts doubled in number and influence.

"What, then, can be done?" you ask. "How shall a great nation deal with a world-wide industrial institution, which ought to be a great blessing to the world, but which is a serious menace to the liberty and well-being of mankind while owned by greedy, unpatriotic individuals?" My answer is, adopt the proposition of Socialism, which is to keep step with advancing civil-ization. Socialism says: When a privately-owned trust or industry of a public nature develops into a gigantic and oppressive monopoly, crushing its competitors, fixing arbitrarily the prices of all products, regardless of the natural law of supply and demand, refuses to pay its employés living wages, and insolently defies the government under which it is permitted to exist, then that particular trust has outlived its usefulness as a privately-owned industry, has gone to seed, or matured, is now ripe for public ownership, and should not be "smashed," but should be appraised by a board of com-missioners, the watered stock squeezed out and its owners paid a fair price for the property, and it should be "taken over" by the nation, state, county or city, as the case might require, and thereafter be carried on at cost of operation for the benefit of all the people.

In conclusion, I would say to Colonel Roosevelt: You are an astute politician; you have your ear to the ground; you hear the tread of the mil-lions who are marching on to a higher civilization; you have your face turned to the right direction, but you will not succeed in solving the prob-lem of the trusts by "incorporating" them, nor by trying to "regulate" or "control" them, while you leave their ownership in private parties who are as bright as the men who propose to "regulate" them and who will always find ways for evading all laws of regulation. You must go to the root of the matter. You have borrowed for your Progressive party about a dozen So-cialist planks, but they are not the most important ones. Let the Socialists loan you one more plank. It is: "The trusts are well-organized, efficient, useful and necessary industrial institutions, and are a good thing for those who own them; therefore, let the nation own the trusts and operate them at cost of operation, that all the people may share in their benefits."

Creston, Iowa.



## WHAT'S THE REMEDY?

"A great crisis in the evolution of civilization is approaching which holds many pregnant possibilities for the leading nations of the world. . . . The coming of the crisis is unmistakably indicated by the labor unrest in all countries in spite of the much-heralded prosperity. There is prosperity, according to statistics, but it is unfairly distributed. The already rich are getting too big a share of it, and the working classes too little."

That sounds good, doesn't it? The real, human, intelligent, fair-dealing ring? It is the beginning of an interview with the prominent American, prominent only because wealthy, in London.

Looks as if we might escape some trouble and serious times if we had only a few men like that, doesn't it? But listen to what he says next:

"But don't infer from this that I am in favor of any doctrine for a lim-itation of the opportunities for acquiring wealth."

Doesn't sound quite so good now, does it? Doesn't sound the same at all, does it? This is the common ending of the attempt of a man of his class to show how keenly he suffers because of the universal injustice to the man who produces the wealth of the world.

He starts out bravely to tell of the causes of the terrible unrest and the "crisis in the evolution of civilization," but he is never able to get beyond that point, a point to which even the blindest and most class conscious plutocrat will go along with him. Nobody now tries to deny these killing conditions, or the distressing injustice. The whole world agrees upon that now.

It is when the remedy is proposed that there is a parting of the ways. All agree that conditions are wrong, all over the world; all agree that they cannot last, and all agree that they soon will be changed. But they want to change them by letting them stand just as they are.

This particular man has any millions of dollars. He got them as an inheritance from his father. He never tested his individual abilities in com-petition with other individuals except as far as they fell within his inher-itage. He was given a splendidly organized business in the hands of the most capable men. These men did the work for him as they had done for his father, and they did it well.

But this man himself did nothing, except offer an occasional sugges-tion. The real workers were poor and remain poor. He adds more millions because they kept the organization the father built, and put into operation, running smoothly, and profitably. Why should he want a change, injustice or no injustice to the man who labors?

Forgetting for a moment that there is no such condition as "a crisis in evolution," the feature of this interview that strikes one who has eyes to see, and ears to hear, is that this man and others of his class refuse to see that it is themselves who are forcing this terrible unrest and crisis, not in evolution, but in our social, political, industrial and economic structure as it stands.

The remedy will not come in the shape of anything the exploiting class will give to the exploited. The exploiters never give enough to do any good. They call it reform, but it's merely a small, temporary patch upon the eco-nomic body that doesn't stick.

The remedy for the injustice and the suffering will be exactly what the exploited ones are strong enough to take. It will never be offered to them. They must take it, and they'll get only what they are strong enough to take.

The remedy will never come from above, but below. The remedy will come from where the suffering exists, and where the injustice does its work. That is below, not above.

The unrest is just the exploited making up their minds to take it. When they get it figured out they will take what belongs to them, because they create it.

Not until they have decided what they want, and how to get it, will the exploited get real life, liberty and happiness:

When they do, they'll get all that belongs to them. But they will have

to take it, for it will never be offered.

The exploiters agree that injustice is being done, but they'll fight to the bitter end to maintain that injustice. It doesn't hurt them.—Amalgamated Journal.

### A CLERICAL CRITIC.

Almost as a breath from the tomb of the middle ages comes an interview credited to the Rev. Samuel Plantz, president of Lawrence college, through a special correspondent of the Milwaukee Journal, in which he condemns Socialism as in conflict with Christianity.

We have no quarrel with Dr. Plantz' statement that Socialism has a material and secular ideal. It is not a religion. It has no heaven and no hell. It is the next stage in our historical development, destined to succeed capitalism, as capitalism succeeded feudalism, and, as with its predecessors, its kingdom is of earth. As capitalism brought greater liberty to the serf and struck off the shackles of the chattel slave, without imperiling the soul of either, so Socialism will give to the worker a larger life without depriving him of his hope of heaven.

Capitalism has made the attainment of what many conceive to be the Christian ideal impossible. It was impossible under slavery, unless we are to accept the Plantz theory that the slave in serving his master was realizing on earth the ideal of Christian sacrifice and exemplifying the doctrine of self-denial.

Our conception of Christianity has been that whether Christ's ideal was individualistic or communistic, it was not His purpose to give sanction to the leisure or "better class" in exploiting the worker, under the theory that the harder the worker's lot on earth, the greater his reward in heaven. We always had an idea that Christ placed a great deal of emphasis on bringing the kingdom of God to earth and justice among men.

Whatever basis there may be for Dr. Plantz' conception of Christianity, his idea of Socialism, while it is not wholly wrong, shows confusion of thought and superficial study. He is credited with saying:

"Socialism and Christianity differ markedly in their philosophy of life. Christ taught that true spirit is world-denial, but Socialism says it is world-possessing. Christ held that human progress is to come through struggle and sacrifice, but Socialism says it is by relieving men of these and placing them in an environment of ease and comfort. Socialism has the Greek rather than the Christian conception, and does not appreciate the meaning and value of the tragic experiences of our existence.

"Christianity lays great stress on the individual soul. The community exists for it, and not it for the community. In Socialism the good of men is a collective soul and the state is the supreme end.

"Again Socialism has a material and secular, while Christianity has a spiritual ideal. Its Utopia is a felicitous state here, wealth and worldly goods equally divided. It is a kingdom of loaves and fishes. Christianity is the religion of the spiritual and transcendent, and finds the real meaning of existence in the eternal and unseen.

"Socialism likewise differs from Christianity in the conception of social improvement. Socialism says that progress comes from without, and Christ taught that the process is from within. The first says perfect the environment and you will perfect the man, and the last says perfect the man and you will perfect the environment.

"The conception of evil in the two systems is radically different. Socialism says evil resides in a wrong social organization; it is a product of a bad environment. Christianity says it resides in the will and is the product of a bad heart.

"Socialism and Christianity differ on the question of the highest ethical obligation. Socialism is utilitarian and egotistic. It makes happiness the end and purpose of life. Man's highest good is his own pleasure. Christ taught an entirely different ethics. He said the end of life is self-realization through service. He came not to be ministered unto, but to minister. He who would be greater must be the servant of all. His idea of brotherhood was not a state where all sit at a feast together, but where one man is willing to work and suffer and die, if necessary, for the other."

Socialism does not contend that all evil springs from men's environment, though it does hold that to interpret any stage of historical development we must first know its methods of wealth production and distribution—that economic determinism is an essential factor in the race's progress. It does not hold that each individual is governed by his economic environment, as men often act without regard to their economic interests. But it does hold that if we would get an explanation of a great and widespread evil, such as slavery or child labor, we must look to the methods of production rather than to the evil in men's hearts.

We have before us a report that has been issued by the New Zealand government on the effects of the increased cost of living, a report which was made by a governmental commission after an exhaustive inquiry. We are told that in consequence of the greater difficulty which the workers are meeting in maintaining themselves, owing to the high cost of food products, there are "fewer marriages, a lower birth rate, and smaller families."

The new Zealand report illustrates precisely the scientific spirit in which Socialism views the problem of life. If we are to believe the Rev. Dr. Plantz, the New Zealand commission's report is wholly un-Christian. The reason that there are fewer marriages, a lower birth rate and smaller families is to be found in the evil within men, in their wicked dispositions, rather than in their economic environment.

If the cost of living should decrease, if there should be a greater production and a more equitable distribution of wealth, and marriages in consequence should increase and the birth rate respond, it would have no significance other than that the people of New Zealand, or the United States, where like conditions exist in more aggravated form, have vanquished the evil within them through the exercise of their free will.

Many of our greatest scholars hold that we owe much of the better part of our civilization to Grecian sources. There is no discredit to Socialism to link it with Grecian idealism. There are phases of Greek conception of life and the Christian conception, as we find it in its medieval expression, which Dr. Plantz seems to deem the essence of Christianity, which cannot be reconciled. The idea that mortification of the flesh is a Christian virtue, we thought, had been outgrown. The monk who never took a bath, who never shaved or changed his raiment and found comfort in scourging his body, may have been a holy man in the minds of the medieval Christians, but today the Grecian conception that the man who has been created in the image of God should prove worthy of his maker by keeping clean is not exclusively a Socialistic heresy. Most of the members of Dr. Plantz' own church believe that cleanliness is next to godliness.

If Socialism is to be condemned because its philosophy teaches that the evils arising from our economic system must be remedied by economic measures and social changes rather than by the isolated acts of individuals; if it is to be condemned because it concerns itself with justice on earth and leaves to God the dispensing of justice in heaven; if it is to be condemned because it would degrade no man that another might be exalted; if it is to be condemned because it would end enforced poverty and the brood of evils arising from inequalities of opportunity; if it is to be condemned because it would bring the sunlight to those in the shadows; if it is to be condemned because it lends itself to the spirit of modern science, then it will have to bear the brunt of Dr. Plantz' displeasure and within the limited scope of his authority be accursed and damned.—Milwaukee Leader.

### THE GATHERING STORM.

The Old Doc, probably the worst equipped man that ever became President, goes in, with the whole machine in the hands of his party.

Six months later he will be sick of his job and a year later he will be as unpopular as Poor Old Taft.

This is no haphazard guess; it is a cinch. You can figure it out for yourself on a basis of mathematical certainty. Thus:

The party and its platitudinous President-elect are committed to tinkering with the tariff. That's all, and it is enough.

In the history of the United States no party and no President ever started in to fool with that petard without being neatly hoist by it.

The Old Doc, in the innocence of his heart, imagines that the tariff will be reduced.

Nothing could more plainly demonstrate his ignorance of every actual condition outside of the classroom.

The tariff will not be reduced for the reason that it is part of the graft of the great combinations that hold the government in their grip and can destroy anybody that attempts to molest them.

But while the tariff cannot be reduced it can unhorse any aspiring politician that attempts to tamper with it, and so Professor Wilson will find out.

And another thing. Even if he could do all to the tariff that he dreams he can do, that would help his situation not one whit for the reason that the tariff has nothing to do with the great force that is slowly pushing forward and is destined to split his party asunder.

Because it has nothing to do with wage slavery against which all the forces of progress are irresistibly aligning.

And it has nothing to do with the living condition of the exploited working class that daily mounts and mounts in the political horizon as the overshadowing and inevitable issue.

In the face of this tremendous issue old Doc Wilson thinks that men are going to stop long to fool over the question whether the duty on hard rubber shall be 15 cents or only 14.

Now add to this the fact that the backbone of the Democratic party is always the South and add to that the fact that the Southern Democrats are wholly reactionary and cave dwellers. Add to that the fact that the grafting interests have as hard a grip on the Democratic leaders as they ever had on the Republican leaders and you will see where the Professor gets off in a hurry.

Storm signals are flying for the Democrats. Falling barometer and all that. And when the typhoon breaks will the Socialists pick some things out of the wreckage?

Well, a few, my son. Starting off with a million votes this year, when the break-up comes along two years hence they will go out and pick Congress seats from the wayside trees.

Therefore, let us give thanks and be exceeding glad. The situation is cleared of Crazy Horse, a good and useful work has been done in chasing out the Dough Faces, and in the impending smash of the Democratic party thoughtful men will see more and more the insanity of fooling around with palliatives while the economic condition of the masses grows daily worse and the only issue worth a moment's thought rises more imperious and overshadowing.

Meantime, also, the educational work of the Socialist movement grows steadily stronger and its power to force real and not fictitious progress becomes more apparent.

Great day, the 5th of November, 1912. Make a mark on it.—Charles E. Russell, in Coming Nation.

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**MR. GOMPERS ON THE WAY.**

If the press dispatches are correct, Mr. Gompers made an amazing statement at the A. F. of L. convention in Rochester the other day. He is quoted as saying: "Only the recognition of the right of the toilers to the best and all that is produced can end the struggles of the toilers of our times."

A brave utterance for one who has been a life-long champion of the doctrine: "A fair day's work for a fair day's pay," and who has at all times strenuously opposed every move that savored of "class consciousness."

It is interesting to ponder over what Mr. Gompers wished to convey in this high-sounding phrase. We confess that we have thought long—and deep—over the matter, but have not succeeded in extracting any intelligible meaning. Socialists have always contended that the recognition of any "right" depended upon the vigor with which the "right" was demanded, and the consistent pressure put behind the demand by those making it. We have also held that to the workers belong all that they produce and that it is their duty as intelligent beings, to be content with nothing less. But in this we have never received Mr. Gompers' approval. Indeed, he has condemned us as "socially wrong, economically unsound and industrially impossible."

In view of this habitual hostility to our position, we are at a loss to understand just what Mr. Gompers DID wish to convey in his Rochester statement. We are reluctant to assume that the president of the American Federation of Labor was merely talking at random. Since he contends for the right of the "toiler to the best and all that is produced," and yet so opposes Socialism, we should like to know just how he proposes to get that right? By preaching the identity of the interests of the exploited and the exploiters? plotters?

We submit to him, in all seriousness, the following questions:

Can the recognition of the right of the toiler to "the best and all that is produced" be secured without industrial and political class action?

Can the toilers' right to "the best and all that is produced" be realized under the profit system? If not, how does he propose to abolish the system?

These are questions that neither Mr. Gompers nor any of his fellows—pure and simple trade unionists—can answer, without throwing over everything for which they have thus far stood. They all stand for "a fair day's work for a fair day's pay" and for the identity of the interests of the capitalists and workers, which necessarily precludes the recognition of the right of the toilers to "the best and all that is produced."

If, notwithstanding this, they are led to such revolutionary utterances as that attributed to Mr. Gompers, it is proof of the irresistible growth of Socialist sentiment in the land. If this sentiment is strong enough to sweep off their feet even our most bitter opponents, it indicates that our final triumph is approaching.

We are glad to note this tentative swinging over of our erstwhile adversaries and we welcome their efforts in behalf of our cause—which is at once their cause. We, at the same time, must confess to a feeling of sorrow and humiliation at the sight of men, so high in the councils of labor, floundering about in a quagmire of contradictions.—The Leader.

**REVOLUTION AND THE CANNERIES.**

A young woman has been investigating factory conditions in New York. She found terrible conditions. She found mere babies working twenty hours a day, canning the delicacies that go to the tables of those who can pay for them. There are drops of human blood in every can of those products.

Many people have investigated factory conditions in New York, but few have been able to command the publicity to force remedial action. Miss Mary Chamberlain, a young college woman, has succeeded in commanding publicity. She has pledged that seem to assure the passage of a bill to limit working hours of women and children.

Miss Chamberlain found babies of five years working fourteen and more hours a day in canneries. She found girls of ten and twelve working twenty hours a day. She found brutal treatment and insults. She found the degradation that always accompanies terrific exploitation.

This young woman went into the canneries and slaved with the others. She gained first-hand knowledge and she knew what she was talking about when she went after newspapers and lawmakers.

This young woman found women working in iron foundries. She found the limit of human exploitation for profits.

One entry from Miss Chamberlain's diary reads:

"August 30.—Little Jack, aged 12, was up from 3 o'clock in the morning. He was snipping beans from 4:30 until 10 p. m., with only one-half hour for dinner and a few minutes for supper. He said: 'My fingers are so tired. I went to bed last night and got up at 3.'"

One admires this young woman. One hopes that what she has found will compel New York's lawmakers to relieve those who toil.

But these lawmakers find themselves blocked in the middle of their path. They will stop at palliatives. They do not know how to go beyond that and if they did know how, their masters would not let them!

Complete relief cannot come until the workers are educated to a full understanding of their economic condition. Then common ownership and democratic management of the means of production and distribution will fully right the wrong. The canneries and factories of New York are privately owned. Laws protect the private owners in their case for profits.

When every worker is an owner, the situation will be changed—revolutionized.

And the next time you hear some one speak of the revolution, think of the midgets in the New York canneries, and ask if you, too, are not for the revolution?

All it means is justice!—Chicago Evening World.

**In Memoriam.**

Mullan, Idaho, Dec. 7, 1912.

To the Officers and Members of Mullan Miners' Union No. 9, W. F. M.:

We, your committee appointed to draft resolutions on the death of Brother Olson, submit the following:

Whereas, death has removed from our midst our worthy brother, John W. Olson; and

Whereas, in the death of Brother Olson the Union has lost one of its oldest and best members; therefore be it

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

A. E. RIGLEY,  
I. OMTHORNT,  
B. S. YOCUM,

Committee.

(Seal)

**IN MEMORIAM.**

Tonopah, Nevada, November 25, 1912.

To the Officers and Members of Tonopah Miners' Union No. 121, W. F. M.:

Whereas, Death has again invaded our ranks and removed from our ranks Brother J. B. McCauley;

Whereas, By the death of Brother McCauley, Tonopah Miners' Union has lost a loyal member and the labor movement an earnest champion; be it

Resolved, That we, the members of Tonopah Miners' Union extend to the bereaved family our deepest sympathy; and, be it further

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be spread upon the minutes of the meeting, a copy be sent to the Miner's Magazine for publication; also a copy be sent to our departed brother's parents, and our charter be draped in mourning for a period of thirty days.

(Signed)

MICHAEL SHEA,  
J. J. McMAHON,  
JOHN NOONEN,

**IN MEMORIAM.**

Butte, Montana, December 3, 1912.

The following resolutions were adopted at our regular meeting December 3, 1912:

Whereas, Death has invaded our ranks and taken from us two of our oldest and most esteemed members; and

Whereas, Through the death of Bros. William Eddy and Owen Dolan, this union has lost two of its most valuable members, whose earnestness and sincerity were ever for the Butte Miners' Union and the principles of true unionism; therefore, be it

Resolved, That our charter be draped for a period of thirty days, that a copy of these resolutions be sent to the bereaved relatives and a copy be also sent to the Miner's Magazine for publication.

(Signed)

DENNIS MURPHY, President.  
JOE PENHALL, Vice President.  
JAS. A. CASSIDY, Secretary and Treas.  
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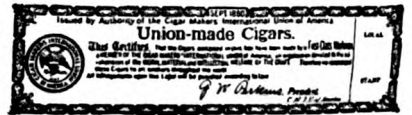
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