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EDUCATION INDEPENDENCE ORGANIZATION

# MINERS' MAGAZINE



Published Weekly  
WESTERN FEDERATION OF MINERS

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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 Communications not in conformity with this notice will not be published.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.

**SUBSCRIBE** for the Miners' Magazine, subscription \$1.00 per year.

**STAY AWAY FROM PORCUPINE, ONTARIO!**

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

**THE STRIKE AGAINST THE SCRANTON MINE IS STILL ON AT THE TINTIC MINING DISTRICT.**

**SUBSCRIBE** for the Miners' Magazine for the year 1913. The small sum of \$1.00 will insure you receiving 52 copies of the official organ of the Western Federation of Miners'.

*Stay away from Britannia mines, Howe Sound, B. C. The strike is still on.*

**SEVENTY TWO PER CENT** of the people of America do not own a home, and yet, we boast of a glorious country, where every citizen is a king.

**THE CIVILIZATION** of which we boast, furnishes sumptuous apartments for lap-dogs and banquets for monkeys, while children are sentenced to the mills and factories, to grind out profits for plutocracy. Let us pray.

**THE LEGISLATURE** of Arizona failed to pass any appropriation for representation at the expositions to be held in San Francisco and San Diego.

The enemies of labor know the reason. "nuf ced."

**A N INVESTIGATION** into the funds collected by the I. W. W. to carry on the strike at Lawrence, Massachusetts, shows a shortage of \$10,800. Who got the swag? The professionals who handled the mazuma. Let us wait patiently and see if the I. W. W. will put the thieves in jail.

**WOOD** of the Woolen trust in his trial, has been shown to have paid Atteaux \$2,600 as strike expenses and the defense is now trying to place all the blame on Pittman the pal of Wood who committed suicide when he realized that the infamy of Wood and himself had been uncovered.

Pittman cannot speak and it is perfectly legitimate and consistent with the ethics of capitalism, to place the responsibility of crime on the dead.

## WANTED.

Copies of The Miners' Magazine are wanted of the following dates of issue: Dec. 9, 1909; Dec. 23, 1909; Dec. 30, 1909; Jan. 6, 1910; Feb. 3, 1910; Feb. 10, 1910; March 10, 1910; March 17, 1910; March 24, 1910; March 23, 1911; March 30, 1911; Apr. 20, 1911; Aug. 17, 1911; Aug. 24, 1911.

Any parties having copies of The Magazine of the above dates will do the Western Federation of Miners a favor by forwarding same to Ernest Mills, 605 Railroad Building, Denver, Colorado.

**HAS ANYONE HEARD** of the notorious Patrick Scullin who was last heard of in British Columbia, working his graft to establish friendly relations between Brother Labor and Brother Capital?

His services are now wanted in the settlement of differences between the United States and Japan.

**IT IS REPORTED** in the press dispatches that the prosecution has dropped the remaining indictments against Clarence Darrow. It is about time that the persecutors crawled into their holes. Organized labor coming to the front and taking up the fight of Darrow, gave chills to the parasitic hyenas of Los Angeles.

**STUDENTS** at famed institutions of learning are making reputations as strike-breakers.

When educational institutions are converted into strike-breaking agencies to suppress labor and crush unionism, it is about time that the workingman realized that there is a class struggle.

**THE STRIKING MINERS** at Wharton, New Jersey, have scored a victory. They have secured an eight-hour day and no discrimination. All strikers are to be returned to their former positions. They are to be paid twice a month and the company is to recognize the check-off system, providing such system is not contrary to the laws of the state. The scale of wages is to be considered later on.

**GOVERNOR HATFIELD** of West Virginia has lost some of his bravado since the United States Senate has passed the resolution demanding a sweeping investigation of conditions in America's Russianized Siberia. When Senator Kerns introduced his resolution, Hatfield branded the Indiana Senator as a "peanut politician" and it is now in order for the official braggart of the coal corporations, to brand the Senate of the United States as a combination of peanut politicians. Will he do it? Nit.

**SENATOR KERN** of Indiana has incurred the animosity of a master class, because he dared to introduce a resolution in the United States Senate providing for a federal investigation of conditions in the strike zone of West Virginia.

The strikers of West Virginia, backed by the labor movement of America and the Socialist party, have demanded an investigation and if the strikers have been anarchists, murderers and outlaws, then why are the paid hirelings of the capitalist press howling against such an investigation?

If the strikers have committed the crimes charged against them by the subsidized organs of corporate tyrants, than why are the salaried henchmen who lie for lucre, protesting against such an investigation? Why?

THE CAT is out of the bag, at least for those who have been too blind to see an apparent truth. Even charity that covereth a multitude of sins—sweet charity—is a graft. "Investigation" in Chicago has developed the fact that at least 53 per cent of the charity offerings never get to "the worthy poor," but are diverted through many winding, expensive and devious channels to the pockets of those who handle them. Only 47 per cent reach the poor. The millions and millions of dollars that the wealthy parasites each year pay out to purchase popularity and public favor from a victimized public is used mainly to line the fat purses of assiduous grafters who are in the "charity business" for what they can get out of it. Business is business; so is charity. In some instances it has graduated so wholly into business that it is incorporated and dividends are declared by its enterprising promoters. But why should we kick about this? The mere stealing of charity money is not half so bad as the simple and elemental insult and outrage involved in the whole system by which social parasites hope to buy fame and adulation for themselves and rivet the bonds on the wrists of their victims and slaves. Capitalistic charity is the most damning thing this side of hades and we hope the charity grafters are able soon to swipe the whole swag.—Inter-Mountain Worker.

THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR has compiled a report of property owned by labor organizations in the United States.

The report of the A. F. of L., relative to property owned by the local unions of the Western Federation of Miners is as follows:

Butte, Mont., hall, \$25,000; Lead, S. D., hall, \$75,000; Central City, Colo., hall, \$2,000; Grante, Mont., hall, \$1,120; Terry Peak, hall, \$17,900; Phoenix, B. C., hall, \$20,000; Burke, Idaho, hall, \$2,900; Gem, Idaho, hall, \$1,500; Deadwood, hall, \$7,300; Great Falls, Mont., hall, \$13,300; Greenwood, B. C., hall, \$1,680; Silverton, Colo., hall and hospital, \$75,000; Rossland, B. C., hall, \$10,000; Bourne, Ore., hall, \$3,000; Randsburg, Cal., hall, \$3,000; Virginia City, Mont., hall, \$1,500; Mojave, Cal., hall, \$3,000; Central City, hall, \$2,500; Ward, Colo., \$18,000; Telluride, Colo., hospital, \$20,000; Bingham Canyon, Utah, property, \$10,000; Sandon, B. C., hall and hospital, \$20,450; Ymir, B. C., hospital, 9,740; Grass Valley, Cal., hall, \$1,160; Douglas Island, Alaska, hall, \$4,960; North Moccasin, Mont., hall, \$1,200; McCabe, Ariz., hall, \$3,000; Tonopah, Nev., hospital, \$8,000; Snowball, Ariz., hall, \$1,500; Elk Lake, Ontario, Canada, hall, \$1,350; Park City, Utah, hall and hospital, \$8,000; Tintic City, Utah, hall \$16,700; Index, hall, \$1,000; Goldfield, Nev., hall and hospital, \$20,500; Ishpeming, Mich., hall, \$2,200; Nome, Alaska, hall, \$3,000; Manhattan, Nev., hospital, \$1,500; Bullion, Nev., hall, \$1,000; Vernon, Nev., hall, \$3,700; Rawhide, Nev., hospital, \$2,200; Pioche, Nev., hall, \$1,500; Cripple Creek, Colo., hall, \$20,000; Victor, Colo., hall, \$60,000.

IN REVIEWING the results of the Socialist vote in the city election of Chicago, and the fact that out of some 5,500 votes in the First Ward, the slum district controlled by "Bathhouse John" and "Hinky Dink," the Socialists secured only 201 votes, despite their vigorous propaganda in the ward, seems to prove the shrewd observation made by Marx in the Communist Manifesto, when he referred to the lowest class of society as the "dangerous class" to the realization of our ideals of social reorganization. The social scum, a passively rotting mass, thrown off by the lowest layers of old society, many occasionally be swept into the movement, but its conditions of life, however, prepare it far more for the part of a bribed tool of reactionary intrigue.

This should be sufficient proof that Socialism can not hope to make any real progress by appealing to the down-and-out element of society. The moral sensibilities of this class have become dulled and blunted, and their immediate economic necessities will compel them to perpetuate a system of which they are the poor, helpless victims, by their venal votes.

Our ultra-reactionary Socialists, who are so fond of loudly proclaiming the philosophy of misery idea as making for Socialism, ought to learn something from the repeated election results as seen in Chicago's First Ward, and other similar experiences in all our large cities. It requires intelligence to become a good Socialist, and conditions that make for extreme poverty and misery are not conducive to intelligent action.—Pittsburg Socialist.

The above editorial comment of the Pittsburg Socialist, on the meagre vote in the slum district of Chicago, is well worthy of serious consideration. The very fact that 201 votes were polled out of 5,500, against the industrial slavery of our economic system, speak volumes and tells but too forcibly that where abject poverty and the wretchedness of want prevail, that there is little hope for that unity of political action that has for its object the emancipation of labor. Where we find poverty garbed in rags and squalor enduring the agonies of a lingering death, there must we expect to find ignorance and servility, and there must we expect the victims of slow but sure starvation, to cringe like sycophants beneath the lash of a master's whip.

THE CONFESSION of Woods' pal, implicating the head of the woolen trust in a despicable attempt to discredit Lawrence strikers, tells no new story to workers, though it will startle a lot of people who have been ignorant of the desperate methods employed to break strikes.

It is doubtful if Wood will ever be placed behind the bars, as his immense resources and powerful backing makes it possible to appeal the case indefinitely.

The great victory, however, is in exposing trust's methods, and the

longer the case is fought, the longer it will be in the public eye—which means discussion and education.

Wood is already convicted before the jury of American fair-mindedness, and he presents a contemptible picture as the tale is unfolded by one who did the dirty work and was then "dumped" by Wood, who has descended so low that he would not only destroy life and property to break a strike waged by miserably paid slaves, but would desert the men who helped him.

Was Judas or Benedict Arnold more loathsome than this money-mad wretch, who masks as a "prominent citizen?"—Toledo Union Leader.

It is not necessary that Wood should be singled out for an ex-oration. The act of Wood in having dynamite planted to discredit men, women and children on strike against starvation wages and to poison public sentiment against them, is in accord with almost every act of the exploiter to smirch the character of labor, in order that the working class shall be looked upon as a criminal mob. Dynamite has been planted scores of times, in order that degenerates and moral perverts in broadcloth, might denounce hungry slaves in rags.

Wood was "caught with the goods," and the unfortunate part of the transaction for the magnate of the woolen trust, was that his accomplices through fear, *squealed* on their paymaster. Had the plot of Wood and his confederates succeeded, some of the strikers would now be wearing the garb of convicted felons, and though innocent, Wood and his hirelings would permit them to rot in prison, knowing that if the public believed in their guilt, the capitalists could yell "anarchists," and intimate, that labor as a body, was responsible for the crime.

It may cost Wood some money, ere he is through with the courts, but it is reasonable to predict that the multi-millionaire will suffer no other inconvenience.

MANY PEOPLE agree with us that the end for which organized labor strives is praiseworthy, but they shy at the weapons with which organized labor fights. They call us cave men with primitive instincts because we use the strike and boycott and because some misguided individual or set of individuals sometimes fights with bricks or cobble-stones. They forget that these are not the days of industrial peace but the days of industrial war. Community of interest between employer and employé makes a nice theme for an economic thesis, but it is as mythical as any tale of mythology. It is the instinct of man to have and to hold, and instinct has been added to by a carefully worked out system by which the many toil and spin and have not, while the few toil and spin not and have. The labor struggle is not an Alphonse and Gaston affair. No struggle worthy of the name ever is. We fight with such weapons as we find in our hands. The higher our grade of intelligence the more refined the weapons we use. It is not strange that labor, having nothing but its labor power, no other strength but its own brute physical strength, strikes out blindly. When men fight by instinct rather than by intelligence, it is not strange that instinct chooses the weapons and that they are primitive and brutal. As fast as labor learns other weapons, such as the use of the ballot, how to create and direct public sentiment, how to capture the machinery of courts and law-making bodies, it uses them and lays aside the bludgeon. They learn those things as intelligence grows and intelligence grows as leisure to study and observe grows. Notice that the most bitter, brutal and dogged industrial conflicts of the day are in the industrial centers where men and women work excessively long hours under abhorrent conditions—conditions which dwarf and kill the better instincts of mankind. One of the most revolutionary and yet peaceable struggles that ever occurred in this country was the nation-wide strike for an eight-hour day in the printing industry. The opposition of employers was no less keen than in other great struggles, but a different type of men was involved—a disciplined class of men, who fought with intelligence rather than with brute force. Men are creatures of environment, always. No class of labor will ever be satisfied with the crumbs that fall from the table of industry but there will be a difference in their methods according to their varying degree of intelligence. If society tolerates a set of conditions that makes brutes they may expect that the revolt against those conditions will be alike brutal. If people would lose some of their squeamishness over the throwing of a few bricks and pay more attention to the underlying causes of industrial strife, they would gain an entirely different conception of the labor movement.—Labor Journal, Everett.

WME. TRAUTMANN, formerly general secretary of the I. W. W., who has made the public charge that the Lawrence defense fund was juggled before he took control of affairs, announced to a friend in the East, a few days before he exploded his bomb, that he didn't expect to remain a member of the I. W. W. very long. Now comes one Justice Ebert, a doughty champion of the St. John-Heslewood element, and declares that Trautmann is a falsifier and discredited official of the Wonder Workers, and also that he will not remain a member very long. So it begins to look as though Trautmann will resign and then be kicked out to boot, as was the practice in the good old S. L. P. days. Whenever and wherever a "fakir" dared to question the infallibility of Dan De Leon that worthy used to jump up in his sanctum sanctorium, clutch at his whiskers, make a wild kick at some imaginary object, and then announce in the next issue of his "Peeble" that So-and-so had been expelled for committing high treason against the working class, he being the w. c. nearly all those who aided in launching the I. W. W. seven years ago are now out—and trying to forget it. Charley Sherman, the first I. W. W. president, seceded with a few faithful followers who soon scattered to the earth's four corners; Moyer, Mahoney and Cannon withdrew with the Western Federation

of Miners and later joined the A. F. of L.; Dan De Leon gathered his faithful few ex-S. T. L. A. followers about him and departed, setting up an opposition I. W. W. labeled "Detroit fraction," which he vehemently insists, is the only genuine article; Rev. Hagerty, who planned the thing with a zodiacal chart, a miter, a hammer and a set of resolutions, has disappeared over the hills somewhere and is lost to sight and hearing; Gene Debs quit in disgust when the Won't Works began to sing "Hallelujah, I's a bum!" and spend the rest of their time shrieking at trade unions, and John W. Slayton and a number of others, were likewise affected. Now Trautmann's grip is packed and he is on his way. The Citizen has it upon the best of authority that a convention of local unions affiliated with the I. W. W. in the East, chiefly miners, will also be held in the near future for the purpose of considering the advisability of seceding from the St. John-Haywood outfit. General dissatisfaction with the imperialistic policies of the leading officials is given as the reason for this contemplated bolt. On the other hand, Eastern papers quote Organizer Frank Daniels, of the I. W. W., as saying that a convention of miners is to be held in Pottsville, Pa., in the near future to begin a campaign to wage war upon the United Mine Workers throughout the three anthracite coal districts. The fight will not last long and the finish can be predicted without great difficulty.—Cleveland Citizen.

**MORE MEN** have been disfranchised in this country by legislation since the civil war than have been enfranchised in Europe during the same period. Throughout the Solid South conditions as to voting are far worse than in Belgium. There fully three-fourths of the adult male population are disfranchised by property, poll-tax and residence qualifications. In almost every state there have been insidious encroachments upon universal suffrage during the last decade. Everywhere naturalization is being made more difficult in order to disfranchise the foreign-born worker, and this assault upon his right to vote grows more vigorous just in proportion as he exercises intelligence in

the use of the ballot. In view of these facts it is a little early to rejoice over the security of this country against uprisings to secure the ballot.—Coming Nation.

The above editorial comment in the Coming Nation on disfranchisement, demonstrates that the element in society whose economic power makes this government subservient to the interests of privilege, realize but too well the potency of that bloodless weapon, known as the ballot.

The class that rules has invaded the domain of suffrage and placed such restrictions on the right to cast a ballot, that millions of adults in the country have no voice in the government under which they live.

A certain element in the ranks of the *proletaire* who dub themselves *revolutionists* have repeatedly declared on the platform and in the press, that the ballot is a worthless weapon in the struggle for industrial liberty.

If that declaration is true, then it seems strange and singular that capitalism engages the most expensive talent to restrict by legislation the voting power of the working class.

Let us presume for a moment that the workers of America forwarded a petition to Washington asking that labor throughout the United States be disfranchised, will any one attempt to deny but that all the forces against labor would give such a petition their unqualified approval?

The fact that labor has achieved so little, comparatively, by the use of the ballot, is not an argument against the ballot, but the little accomplished, is proof that labor has not yet learned to cast an intelligent ballot.

Labor has been voting against labor's interests, for the simple reason, that labor has been blinded to its class interests through the verbal opiates administered to the working class by the ablest and most cunning defenders of our brutal system of exploitation.

The sun of intelligence is however rising, and its rays are dispelling the gloom of ignorance that has shrouded the brain of the slave. The slave is learning to use the ballot in every nation of the world, and the ballot, the peaceable weapon of humanity backed by solidarity on the industrial field, will win the heritage of economic freedom.

## Another Shady I. W. W. Deal Uncovered

A SHORTAGE of \$10,800 has been discovered by an investigator appointed by a Boston court to inquire into the manner in which \$68,000 subscribed for the benefit of striking Lawrence Textile Workers, last year, had been expended. The court selected Winfield S. Slocum, an expert accountant, to go over the books, and in the report filed with the court, Slocum states that no satisfactory explanation has been made for the disappearance of \$10,800.

The continued discovery that the I. W. W. is afflicted with "sticky fingers" is creating a panic among those who have been boosting the game for many years. Even the Ettor and Giovannitti trial fund is now charged with being juggled. W. E. Trautmann makes this statement in a recent issue of the New York Call. He says money contributed to rescue Ettor was wrongfully applied, Trautmann evidently sees the finish of the game, and at a recent meeting of the Pittsburg I. W. W. he charged all manner of crookedness and "machine rule," and announced he would no longer be connected with the outfit. He favors starting a new movement.

Trautmann was one of the original self-styled "revolutionists" who held a meeting in 1904 to discuss the formation of a new labor movement. This resulted in a secret gathering of 40 men in Chicago, the following January, when the I. W. W. was launched, although the birth was formally announced at a called convention the following June.

Since then Trautmann has been general secretary of an institution that was supposed to supplant the A. F. of L. But the continued exposures have driven another of the original crowd into the timber brush.—Toledo Union Leader.

The above statement in the Toledo Union Leader is only one of the many stories of dishonesty that have come to the surface relative to the manner in which funds are handled by the irresponsible Workless Wanderers. Spokane had its stories of fraud and dishonesty, and San Diego furnished another chapter in the history of the "frenzied financiers" of the I. W. W.

In every place where the I. W. W. could precipitate a strike or launch a *free speech* fight the funds were handled in such a manner, that the *professionals* enjoyed the luxuries of *easy street*.

The *one big union*, according to plans formulated by Trautmann, is to be succeeded by another *big union*, and when dissension, disruption and dishonesty shall shatter the *big union* that is to be nursed by Trautmann, there will spring from the fragments another *big union*, and big unions will be launched, just as long as the gullible will swallow the bait.

It is about time that working men put on their thinking caps to protect themselves from crooks and swindlers, who mask their perfidy, by yelling *one big union, direct action, sabotage* and "hit the ballot box with an axe."

## Pandering to Privilege

THE HERALD-REPUBLICAN of Salt Lake in an editorial a short time ago under the caption: "A Fearless Governor," had the following to say:

The maintenance of law and order is one of the prime duties of the chief executive of a commonwealth. When that is impossible through the civil authority and the peace officers are unable to cope with the situation, it is the obvious obligation of the governor to use the power conferred upon him and call the military arm into service. That has been done by Governor Hatfield in the coal mining districts of West Virginia, and he is reaping a choice crop of condemnation as a result.

A state of civil war has existed in West Virginia for months. Agitators, professional enemies of orderly government, seized upon a prolonged strike of miners as their opportunity to commit the excesses of which they are fond. The governor acted promptly and fearlessly, and should be commended for it.

Liberty is our greatest American heritage and it is our duty to prevent its being degenerated into license."

The above editorial comment on the conditions in West Virginia and the conduct of the governor, is what might have been expected from a daily journal whose vision is focused on dollars.

The Herald-Republican knows its masters voice and realizes that loyalty to capitalism means dividends.

The Herald-Republican knows that speaking the truth through the

editorial columns of a newspaper in a conflict between master and slave, would mean financial losses, and the Herald-Republican has long since learned that mental prostitution commands a higher price than fidelity to truth and loyalty to honor.

The Herald-Republican knows that Governor Hatfield of West Virginia trampled legal rights and constitutional liberty under foot, and prostituted the office of chief magistrate to serve the interests of the mine-owners and to deliver a solar-plexus blow to the strikers, who rebelled against industrial slavery in a domain where the dictum of a corporation assassinated human rights under that boasted document known as the constitution.

"Law and order," is but the pretext used by officials in high places to establish a reign of *anarchy* under *forms of law* to suppress every effort on the part of the toiler to improve his material condition. With the governor of West Virginia, the labor movement struggling to advance the interests of the working class, is looked upon as criminal, and such effort on the part of labor, must be crushed by the armed power of military might. The man who speaks for the material prosperity of the working class, is branded as an agitator, and when a woman in her eightieth year raises her voice against economic slavery she must be silenced by incarceration in a military bastille.

When a governor of a state panders to *privilege* at the expense of human liberty, such journals as the Herald-Republican hail such an official as a *fearless governor* and such laudation is due to the fact, that *profit* is more priceless than human freedom.

## Public Enemies

THERE ARE VARIOUS KINDS of traitors. There is the traitor who betrays his country in time of war. There is the traitor who betrays his country in time of peace. There are traitors who betray their country not by opposing its rightful desires, but by fostering and encouraging madness. They do worse than give aid and comfort to its enemies. They aid it to become its own enemy. In this latter class belong the men who try to involve their country in a foolish and criminal war, and pre-eminent among them in present-day America stands William Randolph Hearst.

If there is ever a war between this country and Japan, the blame for that war will rest in part upon the shoulders of Hearst. It would be too flattering to Hearst to assume that by his unaided influence he could bring on a war, or stop one. But there is no room to doubt that he is doing whatsoever lies in his power to create bitter feeling against the Japanese, the natural issue of which is an inflamed state of popular opinion which, carried to excess, will some time demand war.

What a dreadful and shocking crime against the human race such a war would be only those who have seen wars or even studied the effects of wars, can realize. No benefit that could possibly accrue to either nation, or to the yet unborn descendants of either nation, could

possibly pay for the tithes of the needless waste of property and lives, for the degradation of national morals which inevitably follows a great war, for the crushing blow which would be dealt to the spread of Christian civilization throughout the Orient. No question would be finally settled, no good accomplished. It would be a bargain in which both bargainers would buy only blood and tears.

This is the horrible crime toward which Hearst and his accomplices are leading us. Every incitement to national prejudice, every plea to rest our claims upon guns and battleships, bayonets and soldiers, is a plea for such a carnival of waste and bloodshed as a great modern war must be.

No sane man, however narrow in his national sympathies, would vote for war if he could have looked into the trenches at Port Arthur, or the besieging camps at Adrianople, or the plague-stricken lines of the Tchatalja. No nation, acutely realizing what war means, would ever tolerate it. It is a game where both sides lose, especially the common men, who shoulder the muskets and suffer the tortures.

We can settle without bloodshed, if we keep sane, whatever differences we have with Japan. Any man who tries to unbalance our sanity and plunge us into war is an enemy of us all.—San Francisco Bulletin.

## A "Law and Order" Mix-Up

A PRECEDENT which we sincerely hope will be widely followed is that set by the citizens of Wharton, N. J., who during a strike of local miners, arose in their civic wrath and chased out of their midst a gang of some 300 gunmen, toughs and thugs, imported as deputies for the preservation of the local peace.

Though the good citizens routed the ruffianly invaders with guns and dynamite cartridges in the manner usually ascribed to "anarchists," no criticism of their conduct appears in the press. On the contrary, it is admitted that what they did was done in the interest of local peace and quietness, and they have secured that condition by driving out the swarm of imported scoundrelism poured upon them by the mine owners.

Had the strikers alone been responsible for this repulse, the howl of "anarchy" would have arisen to the high heavens, and a second assault with perhaps three times the number of thugs would have been instantly made. The citizens would have been represented as in mortal terror of the strikers, and as eagerly welcoming the host of deliverers, and their attitude would have been featured as a sample of American "public opinion" sternly determined on the suppression of strike lawlessness.

It would perhaps be too much to claim that the citizens of Wharton are in favor of the strikers, and that local "public opinion" has decided that their cause is just. In all probability most of them have little use for the strikers, but it is certain that they have less use for the outside savages so insolently let loose upon them by the local mine owners. Probably it is a case with them of choosing the least of two evils. What they did, however, shows better than words their opinion as to the comparative "lawlessness" of either side.

It is natural enough that the smaller cities should be the first to set this example. In a large city the presence of a band of these hoodlums on the scene of a strike passes mostly unnoticed, but in a smaller city, where they practically take charge of the place, their presence becomes intolerable.

Deprived of the services of these sealawags, the local mine owners now admit that if they cannot get "action," they will have to shut down, which is tantamount to admitting that they cannot win if peace

and order is preserved, but the strikers can; that in order to succeed they must be permitted to murder the strikers and terrorize the inhabitants with impunity, and that this procedure is what they consider as "getting action."

Naturally, a peaceful community like Wharton resents such an invasion of scoundrelism, and it is to be hoped its example will be followed by other localities. The professional strikebreaker is coming to be recognized as a much more intolerable plague to the community than the striker, recruited, as he must necessarily be, from the most criminal element of the population, and the revolt against his presence in Wharton is a most encouraging and healthy social symptom, even if sympathy for the strikers has little or nothing to do with it.—New York Call.

The above editorial in the New York Call relative to the uprising on the part of the citizens of Wharton, New Jersey, in conjunction with the strikers to give battle to thugs and degenerates, who had been imported to create a reign of lawlessness, is worthy of comment and likewise worthy of consideration on the part of the working class.

Had the thugs and moral perverts confined their assaults upon the strikers, it is probable, that those not directly involved in the strike, would have taken no action favorable to those who were resisting the opposition of an unreasonable and arrogant mining corporation. But the outlaws and professional sluggers imported by the mine owners threw discretion to the winds and pursued a course of conduct that enraged the people of Wharton, and as a result of a lack of discretion and diplomacy on the part of the strikebreaking mob, the people arose in rebellion and took the law into their own hands to rid the community of a horde of moral reptiles, in whose presence, not even innocent childhood was safe from insult or outrage.

The mine-owners in a fight to hold labor in slavery and subjection had not even any respect or consideration for those that were not directly involved in the strike, but brought into a community the lowest types of debauched humanity, to insult and outrage the moral sense of the people, in their relentless efforts to drive their slaves back to the mines.

The people of Wharton, New Jersey, have been taught the lesson, that capitalism in its mad race for dividends, has neither heart nor soul, but that *profit is God*.

## States' Rights and Wrongs

THE WEST VIRGINIA OPERATORS, and allied interests, fearing Federal investigation, have raised the much-abused bogey of "abrogation of States' rights."

The policy of retaining the power of governing as close to the governed as possible is not bad of itself. But states, like individuals, must recognize that the liberty of the smaller community is limited; must be curbed when abuse of such liberty interferes with the political well-being of the greater community of which each of them is a part. The "predatory interests" are taking all advantage of this doctrine that is firmly believed in by many well-meaning, honest citizens; are using for their own advantage prejudices against interference by a central government in questions of state control.

When representatives of the workers petition their legislatures for reforms of the laws that will give them some protection from the greed of the employers, such as shorter hours for women and minors; abolition of child labor, or raising of the minimum age; laws for safeguards in mines or factories, minimum wage laws and compensation for injury laws, the lobby representing the employers will never be found disputing the justice or benefits of such laws. Ever you will find them

calling the attention of the legislators to their competitive relations with other states; crying that the passage of such laws will drive the industry that the law in question may affect out of the particular state where proposed.

In nearly every instance the claim will be made that if there was any assurance of such laws being generally adopted there would be no objections to their passage. And so, we have the spectacle of each of the great commonwealths of the land refusing to pass laws each recognizes as beneficial to its citizenship until all the others have passed such laws. An impassable barrier; profitable only to the few.

But, whenever it is proposed to bring about these reforms, conceded beneficial if general, by Federal legislation, we immediately find these same representatives of the exploiting interests calling on high heaven to witness the ruin that would follow to the institutions of the country if the rights of local self-government were in any measure abrogated.

The insincerity of these self-seeking "protectors of our time-honored institutions" is only too evident.

The "institutions" they are so anxious to protect is the profits

from the unrequited toil of the workers; the privilege of leaving their machinery unguarded, their mines unsafe; the power to reap the profits from the work of the veriest babes, to force the price of labor down below the point of subsistence; the right to disclaim any responsibility for the human wrecks, generally victims of the lack of needed safeguards, or of unsanitary conditions in shops or mines.

The case now before the United States Senate, the conditions that obtain in West Virginia, not only those that did obtain during the strike on Paint Creek and on Cabin Creek, threaten the health and well-being of every worker in the country.

Not only that men from every part of the country were brought in and held against their will, and even women from other states imported

and forced to live lives of shame, in an attempt to hold the men: not only because citizens of foreign lands had to be rescued by the representatives of their country from virtual slavery, to the shame of self-respecting citizens of this land, everywhere, but because the claim will be made by employers in competing states that the conditions forced upon these unfortunate, unprotected workers are the conditions necessary to themselves if they must compete in the same market.

If conditions are such that an investigation would not verify our charges, why is there so much opposition raised to the investigation?

The entire country is pointing to West Virginia. Only representatives of those who are exploiting that state would prevent the fullest investigation.—United Mine Workers' Journal.

## The Letter of Trautmann to Haywood

WILLIAM E. TRAUTMANN has written a lengthy letter to William D. Haywood, and the same was published in the Daily People of New York of the issue of May 24th. The letter of Trautmann contains some statements relative to the I. W. W. that should be known to the membership of the bona-fide labor movement of this continent.

Trautmann has been on the inside of the I. W. W. and it is reasonable to presume that he knows what he is talking about. His charges are made in the open, and *silence* on the part of those who are guilty of perfidy will not be accepted by the thousands of men and women whose contributions made life easy for the professional sharks of the *bummery*.

From the many exposures that have been made alleging dishonesty in the handling of funds for strikes and *free speech fiascos*, it is evident that the time is near at hand, when the I. W. W. must purge itself of the shameless grafters and fakirs who have yelled "one big union," while putting into their pockets the money generously contributed by members of organized labor and the socialist party.

The letter of Trautmann is lengthy, but we deem that it is worthy of publication in the Miners' Magazine, in order that members of the labor movement and the socialist party may no longer be the victims of criminal parasites who fatten on funds filched from good men and women, who have been deluded by the bombast and noise of an aggregation, to whom honor is a stranger.

The letter of Trautmann to Haywood is as follows:

To William D. Haywood:—

The Supreme Court of Massachusetts has nolle-prossed the indictments, for conspiracy on eighteen (18) counts, against you and others. The Supreme Court of Massachusetts, through the master chancery appointed, has given out a finding on the Lawrence strike funds. Both these cases hung like a cloud over the heads of the few who know, and knew all the inside facts. The cloud is removed. Further silence would be construed as a crime against the proletarian movement.

You know I promised disclosures as early as in July last year. That time I wanted to risk my own liberty and go to jail. But others had to be considered. Silence became a supreme duty. No more so to-day. Silence would be a felony, on my part, and, I say it emphatically, on your part also.

The Industrial Workers of the World has lost the confidence of the wage earners, no longer can it be trusted as being sincere with the proletariat. You know it, and you struggled hard to make the organization redeem itself. It seems to be impossible.

Attacks on all those who disagree; insults and vilification against all who believe in working class political action through working class parties; the sneer at and jeer of ideals and ethics as strong motive forces in the struggle for working class emancipation; by an element which Karl Marx and so also Engels branded as the "scavengers" on the battle field of labor, form to-day the whole DESTRUCTIVE propaganda of the Industrial Workers of the World.

You are aware of these facts. You complained about. You promised and tried hard to use your influence for remedial enactments. Has anything been accomplished? No, decidedly no! Now, some will aver, you are an unconscious instrument in the hands of an inner circle, which unscrupulously is preparing for more Harry Orchard and McManigal frame-ups against those who are hated and therefore to be doomed by the oppressors of labor and their tools. There was a time when the workers, pitched in battle with their adversaries, enthusiastically cheered the great principles that gave birth to the Industrial Workers of the World. But can anyone wonder that they are now turning away in disgust and amazement? Don't they see that all the declarations that within the I. W. W. the workers are being trained for self-government of their jobs and their life-affairs are sheer mockeries and frauds!

Consideration for others forcing silence on my part, no longer exists. In the Massachusetts Supreme Court your name, and so also mine, are connected together in an evident desire on the part of our enemies to implicate the Industrial Workers of the World in financial wrongdoing. But on the Lawrence strike fund you and I, and others, can claim a clean bill. And why so? In Lawrence, in Lowell, and I presume so also now in Paterson, the workers, through their own committees and institutions, administered all affairs. They courted not nor countenanced outside interference. They supervised the funds, ordered and examined all expenditures. The actions the speeches, the educational work done by the servants of the workers, and you were one of them, was subject to control by the workers and their committees. There were no volunteers, no scavenger-organizers with their pestilent air. They appeared only after the smoke of battle had cleared away, like in

the Paris Commune, in the slaughter of the revolution in the Moscow uprising, the premature revolution of the Baltic provinces.

But this democratic management of affairs which marked the Lawrence and the Lowell strikes, as historic landmarks in the labor movement, was destroyed immediately after the termination of these conflicts. You are aware of the autocratic orders by which, in defiance of the expressed will of the rank and file in Lawrence, the supervising committee over the financial transaction was dissolved. "It's bad business," was your only comment. And this high-handed act engineered by the all-powerful General Secretary-Treasurer of the Industrial Workers of the World is responsible that now it is charged, in the findings of the *Massachusetts Supreme Court*, that thousands of dollars have been misused. Who can contradict that statement? All loud clamors by Ebert and others to the contrary notwithstanding, it is true that books have been tampered with. The textile-worker employed in the office who called first attention to this fraud, could not be swayed to remain an abettor of the felonious acts. Her penalty is now abuse, and vilification, by the "gang" in power, but the ravings of the scavengers only prove that they will resort to the most despicable means, if need be to assassination, to silence the voice of those who still believe that the "revolutionary industrial union movement" should no longer be allowed to be the stamping ground for adventurers and reactionists, in disguise, running amuck as rabid revolutionists.

The labor movement of America has passed, in the last seven years, through three important developments. In all of these the employing class tried to pit against the working class its resources, its wits, its political and economic agencies. The workers had nothing but their economic and meager financial solidarity to combat the evil designs of their oppressors with. Working class ethics and principles, visions that the men on the firing line were but expressions of a great economic unrest, was one of the strong powerful forces that finally carried the day for the proletariat. You as one were acquitted of the charge of a foul crime.

The Orchards and McParlands had sworn you would not leave Idaho alive. Both had worked on the inside, one in the Molly Maguires, the other with the Western Federation of Miners.

McManigal and his partner James McNamara, were working on the inside, aided and abetted by an inner circle, as brought out in the Indianapolis trial. The American Federation of Labor had its hired gangmen everywhere to slaughter and to maim all who stood in their way.

But the working class turned in disgust from the gang of assassins, and they spurned the idea that the progress and success of the movement depended on the sly conspiracies of inner circles.

The proletariat vindicated itself as the great supreme force in determining the affairs and their own destinies by again rushing to the rescue of Ettor, Giovannitti and Caruso when they found that it was the employing class that had conspired in a clumsily executed attempt to lay the blame for terroristic acts on the toiling struggling masses.

The toiling and struggle mass presented to the world the object lessons of sound, honest and, above all, clean unpolluted reasoning. They have decreed; they have spoken; they, the workers. No more Orchards! No more McManigals! No more McNamaras! No more Johannsons or Tveitmoes! No more Greens, or Joys, or Donnellys, as in the Ettor-Giovannitti trial! Inner circle have to go. Tools of them have to be exposed so that the American labor movement be vindicated against the charge that some few self-selected try to overthrow the capitalist system behind the backs of the oppressors, and think they can get off with the glories as great heroes and redeemers of the race.

You as one ought to have profited from the experience in your own career.

We are again heading towards another crisis in the labor movement. You know it! You commented again, "bad business."

But saying is not undoing. You are in possession of a letter of December, 1912. This letter conveys the information from the General Secretary of the I. W. W. that complaint should not be made that a certain person is serving in detective agencies; that he was doing so with the approval of the general officers of the Industrial Workers of the World. You promised, when getting that letter from the writer of this, to immediately proceed to stop such "bad business." Was it done? No, decidedly no!

Who knows how many are in this bad business at the instigation of the general officers of the Industrial Workers of the World? Who knows whenever the volunteers are dispatched to places where the proletarians are engaged in battle who are there with obscure intents? who knows what they are liable to pull off so that the capitalists have the welcome excuse to put away and annihilate all whom they hate as

constructive industrial Socialists? Can anyone trust his fate to such conglomerations, of volunteer- destructionists, of whom no one knows what they represent, what they are on the scene of battle for? What should the men and women think who are fighting in front of the firing line, when they must be afraid all the time that the volunteers are merely "agents provocateurs" bent upon inciting trouble for others. You know of it enough of it at least. And some day, if this practice is continued the world will with amazement awaken to the fact that Azeff incidents in the revolutionary movement of Russia, and the Mellivier "agent provocateur" stunts within the "Confederation du Travail" of France which caused the slaughter of nine workers in Ville de Neuve, will find their shocking counterpart in the movement now headed towards such calamities under the all-omnipotent direction of the one man at the head of the Industrial Workers of the World.

If you refuse to raise your voice in protest against this "bad business" as you yourself branded it, you will be held responsible in equal share with all the others, for the dire consequences that the student of contemporary occurrences can easily foresee.

There is system in this bad business. There is deliberate design in giving one kind of measure to prominent leaders, and a different treatment to the common herd.

Prominent leaders when arrested are given all the legal assistance. Press and public are used to champion their cause. There can be no objection, but it disproves the theory that the "breaking-into jail" to undo objectionable interference in the rights of workers is, after all, the evaporation of diseased brains. Yes, if all would break in, if all would be willing to share in the sacrifice;—perhaps the arguments that the taxpayers would have to go bankrupt would hold water. But preferable to that would be the prison-ruled life under State Socialism, to be sure.

But what of the workers not so prominent? In Rhodesdale, O., imprisoned mine workers, members of the I. W. W., have appealed in vain to the fountain heads of the I. W. W. for support of their cases. Much-abused lawyers, members of the Socialist party, had to be appealed to to take up the cases of these men, one of whom was to be sent for years into the grave behind prison bars on trumped-up charges.

In Akron, O., a score of workers, all foreign born with two exceptions, were thrust into the dungeons, on the promise that their cases would be taken care of, and that the jails would be filled to break the conspiracy of the rubber kings to railroad workers into the penitentiary. But the jails were not filled. The lawyers engaged to appeal the cases of the imprisoned workers were dismissed, on the pretext that the Industrial Workers of the World does not believe in hiring lawyers. The great general Jack Whyte of Chicago was to be the defier of the authorities in the court room. But of the total of 42 arrested there are still seven members of the South Slavish Federation (Socialists) confined to the workhouse, three Serbian members of the Socialist Labor Party and a number of others whose names the writer of this could not get. Was this deliberately done? I should say, say it emphatically, yes!

Does that look as if the injury to one is the injury to all? What a farce!

"Break into the jails! The more heads are cracked, the more lives are lost in the skirmish, so much more publicity, so much more money for the strike will come in!" This is what one of the chief volunteers of the I. W. W. declared in presence of witnesses, all strikers, all members of the contribution committee of the Akron strike.

W. D. Haywood, do you think that anyone has a right to play "Va Banque" with the lives and well-being of workingmen?

There in Akron, in the climax to all malfeasance, we hear General Organizer Speed tell the strikers, on February 15th, to respond to the call of County Sheriff Ferguson to enlist as special deputies. Fifty and even more follow the advice. In the great melee in the second week of March these I. W. W. deputies cracked more heads of the foreigners than on picket duty than the regular police who from the start had displayed more sympathy with the strikers as they were given credit to.

That is "political action" on revolutionary lines, as revolutionary as the filling of jails with unfortunates without legal defense. But what's the use?

Then there are the "volunteers" with their sneers for all those who voluntarily dig up for the support of strikers. Such easy marks,—they all are. The selling for the strike fund, as a pretext, thousands of booklets and songbooks to the credulous, harvesting from February 12th to February 22nd any amounts of money, for the revolution! Sympathetic people pay them 25 cents, even dollars, and it pays to follow the call for volunteers. One of them, who has never worked for three years, Swasey, got off to England; what others harvested will ever be unknown. But that is industrial unionism,—of course the fountain heads of the Industrial Workers of the World dispatched these volunteers there and they had a right to work the suckers.

There was no such thing as control of affairs by the strikers. There is no such intent to develop the qualities, the possibilities of the workers in the factories and in the mills, as it was tried in Lowell in Lawrence in McKees Rocks and other places, and frustrated whenever the inner circle so decreed. Akron furnishes the most awkward illustration of what the I. W. W. of the "scavenger" conception really is. They were given halls by the Socialist party; by the Socialist Labor Party first. The volunteers made places of pestilence and filth out of them. They slept, they "mooched," they occupied these halls, uncontrolled and unrestricted in their foul talk and perverted language; they stole clothing from the strikers, they raved and rambled, under the name of industrial unionism when supplications were made they should respect the rights of others. Driven out of the halls where they made their sleeping quarters, they clogged the sewer pipes, turned on the water, flooded the floors, broke the furniture, and hung up the red flag over their scavenger district of vandalism with an inscription "Sabotage the landlords if they refuse you halls and rooms."

Haywood, you know of this. You arrived in Akron the same day when that happened, but, of course, it was only "bad business." Karl Marx once wrote to Dr. Kugelmann: "The most despicable is the miserable slave who brags of his chains." Over the devastated fields of battle of a confiding proletariat resounds as the note-word of the scavengers, so that they can brand their trade of prey: "Hallelujah, I am a bum, give me a handout to revive me again." Verily Karl Marx was right: "The most despicable is the miserable slave who brags of his chains."

Of course, you will say that a convention of the I. W. W. might remedy things. Convention? Even Samuel Gompers in the Rochester convention of the A. F. of L. knew that there is no such a thing.

A machine rules with absolute power. The disproportionate representation at the American Federation of Labor convention is blamed as the main source of evil doings. But the highest number of votes that a group of delegates could ever control in such convention was at New Orleans in 1903 when the six delegates of the United Mine Workers controlled one-third of the voting power of the convention. And that was criticized and remedial legislation was demanded, and enacted.

But at the last convention of the I. W. W. two delegates, one of them a paid officer, admitted as delegate contrary to constitutional provisions, had about two-thirds of the voting power of the whole convention, and the other 28 or 29 delegates controlled the balance of one-third; all contrary to the constitutional enactments of 1907. Delegates opposed to the ring rules were unseated, and a delegate not elected by his local simply transferred to another local within two weeks time and was seated as delegate, because he was a shouter for the ring.

Such a convention nominates the candidates for office. That means that in the last convention two individuals had it in their power to dictate who would go on the ballot or no. Progressive legislation was spurned, and the election of officers by referendum was to be established if the ring would have had its way. The rank and file, though, spoiled the effort.

A convention of the I. W. W. is the last place where a change of things could be expected. Only when the rank and file will get wise to the facts, will they, possibly by a referendum vote, eliminate all these features, and break the monstrous machine of officialdom that is plunging its fangs into the organization.

\* \* \*

*These lines are penned to you, to all workers, so that all may learn where you stand in this crisis. And it is a crisis.*

*Everywhere the lines of conflict are being drawn closer together. Opportunist Socialists are growing hot and furious in their contest against the invasion of industrial Socialists. And while in heated arguments one would think that there is added every day confusion more confounded, all these discussions and incriminations even tend to show that the baby of the revolutionary working class movement is struggling to relieve itself of its swaddling clothes. It is learning to stand on its feet, not feet of clay or hollow brass. The socialist movement, which embraces all fields of working class expression, begins to clarify itself, in spite of all dire forebodings, and her proletariat is beginning to come to its own. The industrial revolutionary movement will be the strongest bulwark of the general labor movement, it must so be, and in spite of the debauchery of the movement by individuals the Industrial Workers of the World must be retained as the expression of working class solidarity on the industrial field. But this will in no way preclude that in other order organizations the revolutionary thought will not be made the moving motive of all action and progress. But we are bound to go through these diseases to get into shape and form the creations needed for the emancipation of the toilers.*

You, Haywood, are placed to-day in a position in the labor movement where no longer you can remain indifferent to the burning, paramount issues confronting the working class. You can make, you can unmake, although only for a short period will the unmaking effect the course of the labor movement. No one individual will construct, or destroy. But no longer can those who constructed the industrial union manifesto in 1905 look indifferently on how its tenets are being discarded, piecemeal; how its objects, as originally planned to bring about complete industrial and political solidarity of the working class, are distorted and destroyed.

That Magna Charta no longer is the guiding star in the activities, in the work, in the (non-existing) educational propaganda of the Industrial Workers of the World. More than passing notice has to be taken of the occurrences herein narrated, and only by quick and decisive action by the great mass of toilers interested in the advance of the revolutionary industrial union movement can a road be cleared for further progress, for real constructive work, for sound and solid education, for thorough preparation of the toilers for the impending historic task that they will have to perform, the operation of industries under a newly reconstructed social system.

If the Industrial Workers of the World have diverted from their original program it should so be known, so be advertised, so be denounced. And in laying the facts before you, in all their details, I know that thousands of toilers will ask with me, with others:

Haywood, will you help to stop the "bad business"?

WM. E. TRAUTMANN.



## Correspondence

### CARD LOST.

Secretaries of local unions will please be on the lookout for card issued to Isaac Boman by Butte Miners' Union No. 1, transferred to Mullan No. 9, August, 1912. Card has been lost or stolen.  
 B. G. YOCUM,  
 Secretary No. 9, Mullan Idaho.  
 (Seal)

### LOST HIS CARD.

Brother Ed Smith, who was transferred from Lane Miners' Union to Mason Miners' Union No. 262, W. F. M., lost his card. All secretaries please take notice. Card paid up until July 1, 1913.  
 BEN GOGGIN,  
 Organizer W. F. M.

### BUTTE NO. 1 NAILS A LIE.

Butte, Montana, May 28, 1913.

Officers and Members Butte Miners' Union No. 1, W. F. of M., in Regular Meeting Assembled:

Whereas, We have been informed from authentic sources throughout the country that a so-called labor organization known as the I. W. W. has been advertising from its various agencies a lack of miners in Butte and purporting to find work here for all applicants through the local branch of its agency; and,

Whereas, Such misleading information is highly injurious to the workingmen of Butte and also to the victims of said agencies and is calculated only to suit the nefarious designs of scab labor leaders who are willing at all times to subvert the interests of the workers to petty personal ambition; therefore, be it

Resolved, That we, Butte Miners' Union, emphatically condemn said action of the I. W. W. in circulating such erroneous reports; that we resort to all means in our power to inform the American working people that there is no dearth of miners in Butte at present, and for all future information inquire of Butte Miners' Union No. 1 of the Western Federation of Miners.

(Signed)

DAN MURRAY,  
 WM. HENNESSY,  
 FRANK O'CONNOR,

Committee.

### TREMENDOUS SWELLING OF IMMIGRATION LIST.

A Continuous Stream of Foreigners Pouring In; Southern Italians in Lead.

Washington, May 23.—The total number of immigrant aliens landed at ports of the United States for the month of March aggregated 96,958.

It begins to look as if Southern Italy would be depopulated. For many months the Southern Italians, with one exception, have headed the list of immigration in point of numbers, and during March 23,267 were admitted. The following is a portion of the list and the number landing: Polish, 17,314; Hebrews, 7,201; Germans, 6,503; Russians, 4,501; Scandinavians, 4,254; English, 4,095; Northern Italians, 3,454, the balance of the immigrants being scattered between the various races of the earth.

The total immigration from July, 1912, to March, 1913, aggregates 747,998. Classified according to avocations, the March immigration list includes: Farm laborers, 29,797; laborers, 17,345; servants, 10,156; no occupation, including women and children, 21,006; carpenters, 1,372; tailors, 1,823; clerks and accountants, 1,100, the balance being scattered between various lines of skilled labor and the professions.

The states receiving the larger portion of this immigration are as follows: New York, 26,782; Pennsylvania, 12,815; Illinois, 9,521; Massachusetts, 7,795; New Jersey, 5,370; Michigan, 5,368; Ohio, 4,700; Connecticut, 2,873; California, 2,730; the balance being scattered throughout every state in the Union.

Departures from this country during March of emigrant aliens reached 15,044. The largest number debarred came under the head of likely to become a public charge, 529 being thus refused admittance.

### THE CONFLICT OF THE AGES.

M. M. Mangasarian.

In my mind's eye, I see a wonderful building, something like the Coliseum of ancient Rome. The galleries are black with people; tier upon tier rise like waves the multitude of spectators who have come to see a great contest. A great contest, indeed! A contest in which all the world and all the centuries are interested. It is the contest—the fight to death—between Truth and Error.

The door opens, and a slight, small, shy and insignificant looking thing steps into the arena. It is Truth. The vast audience bursts into hilarious and derisive laughter. Is this Truth? This shuddering thing in tattered clothes, and almost naked? And the house shakes again with mocking and hisses.

The door opens again, and Error enters—clad in cloth of gold, imposing in appearance, tall of stature, glittering with gems, sleek and huge and ponderous, causing the building to tremble with the thud of its steps. The audience is for a moment dazzled into silence, then it breaks into applause, long and deafening. "Welcome!" shout ten thousand throats.

The two contestants face each other. Error, in full armor—backed by the sympathies of the audience, greeted by the clamorous cheering of the spectators; and Truth, scorned, scoffed at, and hated. "The issue is a foregone conclusion," murmurs the vast audience. "Error will trample Truth under its big feet."

The battle begins. The two clinch, separate and clinch again. Truth holds its own. The spectators are alarmed. Anxiety appears in their faces. Their voices grow faint. Is it possible? Look! See! There! Error recedes! It fears the gaze of Truth. It shuns its beautiful eyes! Hear it shriek and scream as it feels Truth's squeeze upon its wrists. Error is trying to break away from Truth's grip. It is making for the door. It is gone!

The spectators are mute. Every tongue is smitten with the palsy. The people bite their lips until they bleed. They cannot explain what they have seen. "Who would have believed it?" "Is it possible?" they exclaim. But they cannot doubt what their eyes have seen. That puny and insignificant looking thing called Truth has put ancient and entrenched Error, backed by the throne, the altar, the army, the press, the people, and the gods—to rout.

The pursuit of truth; is not that worth living for? To seek the truth, to love the truth, to live the truth? Can any religion offer more?

### GOOD BURGLARS AND BAD ONES.

By R. A. Dague.

The Tacoma (Wash.) Daily News recently said:

"When Mrs. Fred Morris of Los Angeles, Cal., started to rush for a doctor Thursday night, alarmed because her baby had the 'croup,' she encountered a masked man at the door and he told her 'to hold up her hands. 'My baby is dying, and I am going for a 'doctor,' she exclaimed, disregarding his command. Putting his revolver in his pocket, the burglar said: 'Let me help you,' and she 'led him into the room where the baby was lying.

"The burglar asked for vinegar, sugar and water and concocted 'a mixture which he forced down the infant's throat. Then he rubbed 'olive oil on the child's chest and worked for an hour before he told 'the mother it was out of danger.

"You must have a baby yourself,' remarked Mrs. Morris.

"I have five,' replied the man. 'That's why I am here tonight.'

"You saved my baby's life,' said Mrs. Morris. 'Had I had a 'doctor he would have charged me \$5. You shall have it instead.'

"She handed him a bill. The man placed the bill in the baby's 'hand. Then, bowing courteously, and still masked as he had been 'throughout his visit, the burglar bade Mrs. Morris good night.

"Mrs. Morris refused to give the police a description of the burglar and begged them not to search for him."

Now, I venture to make the inquiry if that burglar is as bad a man as the big financiers of Wall Street, who by cornering food stuffs, transfer from the pockets of the people millions of dollars into their own pockets? Every intelligent reader understands that the watering of corporation and trust stocks is a legal trick through which the shrewd capitalists get millions of value for the trifling cost of printing the bonds and stocks.

Thomas W. Lawson, the Boston capitalist, says that they have flooded the country with forty billions of counterfeit stocks and bonds. I know a man rated to be in possession of twenty-five or thirty millions who never, I think, returned to the world one dollar of value for that colossal fortune. He got his vast wealth speculating on Wall Street by "cornering" food stuffs. He would buy up all the wheat, corn, lard or other farm produce, and force up the price, then sell and pocket a million or more of profits. It is stated that nearly every one of the well-known multi-millionaires "made" their immense fortunes without returning to anybody an equivalent therefor. That is not stealing in the eyes of the law, but what is it from a moral viewpoint?

Working people create all wealth, but are tricked out of 83 per cent of it, as shown by the statistics. The census reports of the United States of 1900 show that the average product of the workers was \$2,451 per year, or \$7.90 a day, but the average wage was \$437, or \$1.40 per day. They therefore got but 17 per cent of their earnings. The stock-watering-get-something-for-nothing philanthropists get 83 per cent of the created wealth.

Mr. Lawson frankly confesses that he has acquired millions of property by this unfair system because he saw other "Christian captains of industry" in the game, but for the safety of the country he says that something must soon be done to stop such dishonest practices or the country will go to wreck and ruin. His proposed a remedy is for Uncle Sam to refuse to transmit the advertisements of the "captains of big business" through the mails. Now, if the situation were not so alarming, Lawson's proposition would excite the hilarity of everybody who has given the matter any serious investigation.

Judge Dittenhoefer, in the March number of Everybody's Magazine, says:

"I am not sure that Mr. Lawson's remedy, the exclusion of Wall Street gambling transactions from the mails, would be a complete 'remedy. The Wall Street arch conspirators would be able to use 'their private wires and lure the confiding public to their ruination."

Socialism alone proposes the true remedy for this crime of robbing the industrial classes out of 83 per cent of their earnings by the cunning financial sharks. The Socialist says: "Let the nation own the trusts and operate them in the interests of all the people." Uncle Sam can conduct a railroad or an oil mill or coal mine, or any other public utility as easily as he can dig the Panama canal, irrigate an Idaho desert or manage the postal business.

It is the present system of industrialism that produces the little robbers as well as the big ones. I will venture to say that the little burglars, like the one mentioned at the beginning of this article, are less dangerous to the community and many of them are more "desirable citizens" than the big robbers who pocket thousands of millions of dollars which they take from the working people without paying a dollar therefor.  
 Creston, Iowa.

### EX-GOVERNOR SHAW AND THE JAPANESE WAR.

By R. A. Dague.

Leslie M. Shaw, former Secretary of the Treasury and governor of Iowa, is greatly alarmed over the idea that Japan will soon invade America and attach to that country all the territory west of the Rocky Mountains. The ex-governor is scared over the Japanese matter without any good reason. He ought to post up a bit before going into print as a prophet and telling the public that there is danger that Japan some fine morning will be found pounding away at Seattle and the Golden Gate, destroying the American navy and overrunning this country.

Dr. Charles W. Eliot, late president of Harvard, has recently returned home from Japan, where he made a study of the Japanese. He greatly admires them. Referring to the talk of some Americans that Japan contemplates waging a war on the United States, he says:

"The Japs are not a warlike people. The war with China and Russia were both defensive wars. They are not a numerous people. They number not more than one-ninth of the Chinese population, and less than half the population of the United States. They are a homing people. The Japanese are accused chiefly by occidental army and navy men of intending to dominate the Pacific and seize upon the insular possessions of other nations. There is no truth in these accusations. All Japanese statesmen and political philosophers know that they never could dominate the Pacific. No one nation in the world could control the Pacific ocean. Five or six powers combined, such, for example, as Great Britain, Germany, France, the United States, Japan, Russia and Italy might do it. All Japanese leaders recognize that it would be impossible for Japan to send a hundred thousand men with their baggage and munitions across the Pacific in safety, although the fleet should be conveyed by scores of battleships and armored cruisers. Japan is now heavily burdened with debts incurred in carrying on her wars with China and Russia, and could not borrow the money necessary to carry on a war with anybody. The commercial and industrial interests of Japan require peace with all other countries."

Dr. Eliot further says that while in Japan, statesmen, bankers, merchants, business men and others, all said that the United States is the best customer for their silks and other products, and that a war between that country and this would be wholly unreasonable, fantastic and foolish—the product of morbid, timorous imagination. Dr. Eliot says: "The right state of mind of Americans toward Japanese is one of hearty good will and admiration."

Dr. Eliot is unquestionably correct in the views as above expressed. There is not the shadow of a danger that Japan will wipe from the Pacific our navy, thunder Pacific coast cities into ruins and annex all that part of our country to Japan lying west of the Rocky Mountains, and a little later,

overrun all this blessed land of ours. I regret that a man who has been a cabinet officer and governor of a great state like Iowa, should become so badly frightened over seeing a war shadow when there is actually no shadow at all. I hope that Governor Shaw has not "with malice aforethought" joined the jingoes to get up a war scare to influence Congress to build more war ships, buy more and bigger guns, give out more fat contracts and boost up the army and navy. Uncle Sam is now expending thirty millions a year in constructing war ships, and it costs him six hundred millions each year to maintain the army and navy. That is a heavy burden on the people, especially our working people.

The California Japanese problem is not a big one except in the newspapers and among politicians, mainly east of the Rocky Mountains. The late action of the California Legislature does not materially change the legal status of Japs in that state. The "war with Japan" will be over pretty soon, and our distinguished ex-governor need no longer lay awake nights worrying over the fear that the little brown fellows from Japan might jab him with a bayonet before morning.

Governor Shaw has great fear that Japan will grab the Philippines from Uncle Sam. Dr. Eliot says the Japanese very much dislike hot climates, and he was told that Japan had no desire whatever to possess those islands. Now, I am not a Democrat, but if the present Democratic administration could get up some sort of a swap with Japan and unload the Philippines upon them for, say half what they have cost us, I would say, good Democratic boys. You made a bully dicker for your Uncle Samuel.

In conclusion, Mr. Editor, let me say that there is a widespread conspiracy to promote the war spirit. Dr. David Starr Jordan, president of Stanford University, who is thoroughly informed on the Japanese question, recently wrote me as follows:

"Stanford University, Cal., May 12, 1913.

"Mr. R. A. Dague:

"Dear Sir—I am thoroughly in sympathy with the protest which you have published against the extension of militarism. There is no question that a very great effort is being made the world over to fill the air with war talk. The recent exposures of the operations of the Krupp firms has been a great help in our peace work. Pleased to sign my name to your published protest. Very truly yours,

"DAVID STARR JORDAN."

### THE SITUATION AT EL PASO, TEXAS.

El Paso, Texas, May 26, 1913.

To the Editor Miners' Magazine:

Dear Sir and Brother—As many of the local unions of the Federation have already responded with substantial donations for the relief of the striking smeltermen, I take it that they are interested in the progress of the strike. I would have had something to say a little earlier, but I was too busy and couldn't get around to it.

For the last week, Brother Jones, a member of Bisbee Miners' Union, and I have been on the go practically night and day in an effort to get the scabbing "niggers" out of town. Needless to say, we were bitterly opposed by the company and its agents. Early in the week we got a bunch of about sixty down town with the understanding that we would ship them into the coal mines of New Mexico, we having previously made the arrangements with the employment agents. When they came down in the early evening to ship out in the morning, the company's agents got busy on the wires. The result was that the next morning we were told that they couldn't get out till the next day. We arranged to give them one meal, and the company's agents endeavored to get them back to the smelter. As they were "niggers" from the South, accustomed to the domination of the white man, they had no conception of their rights, and the slave driver the company had on the job knowing this, came down town armed with the butt end of a billiard cue, with which it was his custom to knock down a "nigger" who didn't do as he told him. Brother Jones discovered him driving about thirty of our "niggers" through the streets, much like he might drive cattle, all of them cowed by his hickory club. When Brother Jones "butted in," the "niggers" took new heart and refused to go, and knowing that we would make it warm for him if he pulled off any funny stunts, the company slave-driver beat it back to his masters for further orders, taking none of the poor devils with him, who, by the way, were fooled into coming up here by the promise of a fine job—\$3 a day and board, good rooms, etc. When they got here and found that they were only getting \$1.40 a day for twelve hours work under a task master armed with a club he did not hesitate to use, you can understand that they were dissatisfied. To those of them who asked about strikes, he said there was no trouble. I have taken an assignment of the claims of some of the slaves and will, if we can, make the company pay what they promised and forward the amount to the poor wretches. When the slave-driver got back up on the hill and informed his master that his clubbing had come to an end in the streets of El Paso, there was some more work on the wires, with the result that on the following morning we were told that they could not ship the "niggers" at all, as the order had been canceled. As we were about half out of money and the blacks were hungry, we were in a nice boat.

Brother Jones and myself got busy among them and showed them that any place was better than the smelter, and that if they didn't want to be arrested they had better take a freight out at the first opportunity, explaining to them how it was that we could not ship them out. But three of them went back on the job, the rest leaving town as best they could. As there was still quite a few "niggers" on the works, we had to try to get some way to take them out before we could approach them.

Friday, we had made the arrangements to send another bunch to a contractor in Colorado, and we went after them. Again, when the company saw we were going to get their remaining "niggers," they not being able to beat them on the streets of El Paso, started in to beat them if they tried to quit or leave the works. One "nigger" to whom we had talked, went back to get his coat and tell them he had quit. He was jumped on by the man with the hickory club, and his skull fractured. When I learned this I tried to get a warrant out for his arrest on the charge of assault with intent to murder, but he beat me to it, going to the company judge on the hill and having him try him on a charge of simple assault, he pleading guilty and being fined \$1 and the costs, thus preventing us from again trying him for the same offense. Brother Jones and myself worked practically all day Friday and all Saturday night with the "niggers," feeding those that came off of the hill 10-cent lunches, and Saturday morning we had the satisfaction of seeing them start for Colorado, but ten remaining at the smelter.

On Thursday and Friday all the "niggers" we would get the company had their man Friday swear out warrants against them on the charge of gambling, but some of our "niggers" couldn't be found, as Mexico is only a little ways over the line; others couldn't be identified as the one the officer was after. The result was that out of a handful of warrants they were able to serve but two, and as we wanted to question the company's agents a little, I employed an attorney to defend them. When they learned that we were going to defend a "nigger" they expressed great surprise and said I thought they would plead guilty. They got cold feet when they saw the were going to be called upon to prove their case, and swore to new complaints in the smelter's own court under the judge that is employed by them and who is dependent on them for his living. Doubtless the "nigger" can be sure he will be fairly dealt with by that band of Christian soldiers who are the servants of the smelter trust.

Outside of the men in jail and the ten on the works, the "niggers" that the Guggies paid the freight on are gone. We have with us here a Mr. Web-

ster, a former Colorado hero. He seems to think that it was to his matchless intellect that the settlement of the Cripple Creek troubles of several years ago was due, and I am told that he never tires of telling what a hero he was when he stood bravely with a cannon in either hand and defied the miner with a shovel to make him budge an inch from the spot where his master had set him. At the present time he is a tin soldier for the state of Texas. As fine a collection of guns as any man ever carried grace his manly form, and Texas may indeed feel proud of its brave and fearless ranger. But giving even the devil his dues, I do not know that up to the present Mr. Webster has done us any injury or gone out of his way to persecute us. His sympathies are with the master, from which source I am told he derives revenue at the rate of five plunks per day, but I do not accuse him of doing wrong on that account. The highly developed ethical concepts of duty and honor that soar beneath the mile-wide bonnet of this valiant defender of right and equity could not be smirched by bribery, coaxed by flattery or driven by fear. I know not why he left Colorado, but he is with us here, so justice will and must prevail.

The smelter is doing practically nothing and the tracks are still crowded with ore they can not unload, and unless they make a few substantial concessions I don't see how they can expect to do any better. The company has a bunch of men—fifteen or twenty—trying to hire men on the streets of the city, but our pickets camp on their trail like they loved them, with the result that if they speak to a Mexican our men speak to him also, so they are not getting very many men to go to work. Fraternally yours,

CHARLES H. TANNER.

### THE HEART OF THE CITY.

By Eleanor Wentworth.

It was black night.

The man and the woman stood on the edge of the city, hating it.

They were lovers and sought to go where they might keep their love always.

They saw the lights gleaming in the darkness and thought them demons hunting for prey. They heard the mills of the Oppressors grinding in the depths of the city and thought them relentless torturers, making night hideous with their gloating. They heard Vice stealing through the streets—Vice born of the weariness of human bodies and the numbness of human souls, and they cried.

"We cannot work here; there is only slavery. We cannot love here—there is only brutality. We cannot think here—there is such a turmoil. Let us leave the haunts of men. Let us be alone!"

So they fled swiftly and far to that Isle of Happiness which wealth can buy.

It is a truly wondrous isle—an emerald poised airily between the deep blue of a river and the deeper blue of the sky—a living, vibrating orchestra of tinkling rivulets, warbling songsters, and gentle, murmuring breezes; a wonderland of riotous color; the site of marvelous temples.

Here the lovers clasped hands and exclaimed ecstatically, "Ah, in this place Love will be with us always. The sunshine, the freedom will make him grow stronger each day. We will shut out all strangers, so that none may take him from us."

One thing they found in their fairyland that was more than wonderful; it was strange, even terrifying: From the center of the forest that covered the island there rose a monstrous structure, larger than any their imagination had ever conceived. It was built of a white marble that was dazzling to behold. Above the columns of its entrance, in Roman script, was the word PLENTY. But from the top of the rounded colonnade to the foot of the square base its whiteness was marred by spots of red. These spots were not merely on the surface; they were ground into the marble; they were a part of it, as the wool and warp of a fabric. The red was the life blood of Labor, which had reared that monument of PLENTY.

The island was never wholly free from shadow of this temple. When the sun rose in the morning the dark, sinister finger began its progress toward the northwest, growing longer as the hours advanced; and after the sun had passed the meridian, that finger journeyed slowly and silently toward the southeast. Later came the sunset, transforming the dome of the temple into a mass of red—red blood. And last of all, like a cloak hiding both the good and the evil, the beautiful and the fearful, like the shadow grown all-embracing came the fathomless twilight.

There was something weird about that shadow. The woman and the man always remained beyond its reach, traveling from beach to beach to avoid it. They were afraid of it. They could not understand it.

No one came to the isle. They were entirely alone and, while the sun shone, believed themselves happy. They warbled and laughed and chatted, mimicked the songs of the birds, discovered odd nooks, and revelled in the flowers. But always they remained warily out of the reach of the shadow.

Soon, however, there came a time when the songs of the birds echoed hollowly, when the perfume of the exotic flowers nauseated them and the winds whispered tales of loneliness. The handclasp lost its spontaneity. Each wandered alone, seeking new things that could no longer be found. The harmony of color and tone was spiritless. The weirdness of the shadow haunted them more and more.

And Love, fearing the shadow, went away.

#### II.

Again it was black night.

The man and the woman stood on the edge of the city, hesitating, yet longing to enter.

They were seeking their lost love.

Breathlessly they listened to the tumultuous beating of the heart of the city and understood that which they had failed to grasp before.

Rising noisily, inexorably as the cloud fog, they saw Brotherhood and Knowledge, and as they rose, Ignorance and Vice became impotent.

Above the mighty whirring of the wheels in the mills they heard a sound that swelled even as the wheels ground faster. "Solidarity, solidarity, solidarity," came the message—louder, sweeter, clearer. "Hear, hear, we hear." was the answer of the toilers. "Freedom, freedom," sang the wheels. "We come," answered the echo.

"Ah, yes; we come," cried the man and the woman. They walked into the city, joyously eager to share in the creation of happiness.

And Love walked in beside them.—From the Western Comrade.

### HANDS WANTED.

Wanted—Hands. In great number. All kinds; horny, strong, deft, nimble, skillful and tireless. Must be hands in all that word implies. Must ask no questions. Must be perfectly obedient. Must never join a union nor go on strike. Must be willing to conform to rules, without question as to pay, hours, accommodations or other material considerations. In return for the work, however, we promise to regale them with the spectacle of the most useless class of idle spendthrifts ever known to history. Isn't this worth working for? Don't you love your country enough to want to be prosperous? Apply at once. Hands with brains, ambitions, feelings or self-respect attached will not be considered. Address, without imposing any conditions, Anytrust, Anywhere, U. S. A.—Life.



## THE VIRTUE OF SILENCE.

Some time ago Father Mathew, an English Catholic priest, was excommunicated by the Pope. As this was the first excommunication by the Church of Rome of an Englishman in 200 years it was surely news. After leaving the Roman church Dr. Mathew became a bishop of the Old Catholic church.

The London Times printed the facts and an exact translation of the papal bull issued in the case, in which Mathew was referred to as a "pseudo-bishop." Mathew sued the newspaper for libel on the ground that to call a man a "pseudo-bishop" is libelous. The judge charged the jury that not only Mathew but the Archbishop of Canterbury is a "pseudo-bishop" in the Pope's eyes, and that unless the newspaper published the bull in malice it must be acquitted of libel. The jury, reluctantly, as it seems, found for the defendant, but "deprecatd the publication in England of the bulls of the Pope of Rome which affect the status of individuals."

These twelve stolid Britons thus clearly expressed a surviving British prejudice which the Socialistic revolt, the turmoil of radicalism, the growing dominance of "new ideas," so-called, cannot kill. They "deprecate" the publication of important news. To suppress and ignore facts and expressions of opinion seems to them the surest way out of trouble.

In the very spirit of these typically English jury-men, the British government, after dallying long with the militant suffragists, now propose to rid itself of them, not by punishing them when they commit crimes, as other criminals are punished, but by suppressing their publications and denying their right of free speech. A more futile plan could not have been adopted. —New York Times.

## SOCIALISTS REBEL AGAINST WAR.

The Socialists are causing almost as much anxiety in Europe as the Balkan allies. These unreasonable people are actually objecting to being slaughtered in a quarrel they do not profess to understand and which nobody seems able to explain. In Germany, where they represent by far the largest political party, they are showing a solid front against the huge increases of expenditures for war purposes, and are making it very clear that they have no taste for war undertaken just to prove the supremacy of one nation over another. A like movement has been started in France, not on so large a scale, but still aggressively active.

These are steps in advance far more important for the welfare of the world than all the peace societies and arbitration courts ever accomplished or ever will. War is a game in which kings play and the people pay. They pay first with their money and finance the movement; later with their blood and bodies, the latter serving as pegs to score points. As long as the people like this arrangement, why shouldn't there be vast military preparations going on all the time, and plenty of bloodshed now and then? Militarism is one of the last strongholds of privilege. It is a splendid money-making machine for great interests; it affords a multitude of fat jobs for the aristocracy and gives certain windy gentlemen an opportunity to blow off a lot of steam in the way of sham patriotism. Such gifts of fortune were never surrendered without a struggle, and nothing can be more flagrantly absurd than the idea that reform in the war spirit will begin on top. It's the people's fight. They have to be trained up and educated to a realization of the folly they have been the victims of since the raising of the first tribal chief. When a great body of men like the Socialists of the world rebel against war as a waste and a crime, then, at least, there is hope ahead.—S. F. Bulletin.

## IS THIS THE REASON?

The reported policy of the Wilson administration towards Mexico is impolicy. To make recognition dependent on Huerta's agreeing to refer all the claims of American citizens against Mexico to a mixed commission is worse than "dollar diplomacy;" it is dollar justice. The claims of Americans for damages done during the late murderous revolution in Mexico are good or bad, according to the facts in each case. If they are valid, they are valid against Huerta or his successor. They need no concession to render them fit subjects for negotiations. Those that our government is convinced are without merit should not be presented. The United States, if it persists in having all claims thrown in one great mass to a mixed commission, will be charging a price for its recognition that will measure its incapacity to adjust an international difference in accordance either with diplomatic usages of the spirit or equity.

The proposal is open also to the objection, that it contemplates the establishment of a wholly unnecessary tribunal of arbitration. Why not send our claims to the Hague for adjudication if we cannot settle them by negotiation? A few years ago we had a long-standing difference with Mexico over the "pious funds." The Diaz administration's interpretation of responsibilities was radically opposite to our view of the case. Both governments agreed to have recourse to the Hague tribunal, and the United States won the verdict. One would suppose that an eminent "pacifist" as Mr. Bryan is would be no laggard now in seeking reference to the Hague. Certainly our government would stand better in the eyes of its own people if it followed the precedent to which we have referred, than it does in making justice to American claimants a matter of the price Huerta is willing to pay for recognition. Amateur diplomacy is all the more deplorable when it is touched with Shylockism.—Boston Transcript.

## BALLOT AS LABOR'S WEAPON.

Not since the industrial war in Colorado, when the Mine Owners' Association of that state rode ruthlessly over every principle of English liberty from the Magna Charta down, has there been in this or any country such cruel internecine strife as that now existing in the state of West Virginia.

The situation has been more flagrant in many respects than in any industrial war ever before known.

The courts, following the precedent established in the Colorado cases, have maintained the right of the governor of the state to declare not martial law, but to suspend civil authority over certain territory and the writ of habeas corpus therein.

If any have doubted the benefit to result to labor from having its own class in power politically, they have only to read the story of this industrial fight in West Virginia.

Its significance is the greater in that it is more than a local dispute; it is a fight of the capitalist class against the working class of America.

Here there is common cause between the political and the economic or-

ganizations of the working class. Of course it is no more true in West Virginia than elsewhere but conditions have there become so acute as to force working class solidarity.

When the contest becomes so fierce, it becomes at once apparent to the workers that the superiority of the capitalist class is due to the fact that every weapon he uses is derived from the power of his class in politics.

It is because he can control the administration of the law that makes him so formidable an antagonist. It is through the exercise of this power that he prevents labor from organizing and hampers the acts of the organizations already in existence.

A stream flowing down the mountain side is evidence of a spring or other source higher up. So also the exercise of power on the part of the capitalist class is evidence of the source from whence that power proceeds.

The economic power of capitalism is inferior to that possessed by labor. Were all industrial battles a contest between the economic power of each class, the victory would always be on the side of labor. But augment the economic power of the capitalist class with its political power, and in every fierce and long drawn out contest labor is the loser.

Let labor everywhere learn the lesson so apparent in West Virginia and add to its economic weapon the political weapon now so effectively used by its enemy and there will no longer be any necessity for industrial wars.

Don't forget that capital will do almost anything in the world for labor—except get off its back—and that is the thing labor wants most.—California Social-Democrat.

## WHICH SHALL IT BE?

## The Workers Want a Democracy, Not a Military Despotism.

The recent agitation and abandonment of certain military posts in favor of others nearer military posts in favor centers proves with luminous clearness and the damnable deliberateness of the powers of government in setting the stage for the final struggle before the working class come into their own. The present scheme to affiliate the militia closer with the regular army, to hold them in reserve of officers and men, to strengthen the infamous Dick military law and to increase the present enrollment of the regular army is only a continuation of that set of plans which, if completed, will place the workers of this country entirely at the mercy of their exploiters.

A military oligarchy controlled by a few will, with the aid of such an organization, be able to nip in the bud any movement of the workers toward complete emancipation. The ruling powers, the beneficiaries of the present industrial system, know that only by force can the onward march of the workers be arrested, and this movement on their part is only the plume on the crest of the "man on horseback" coming over the hill.

The danger of an invasion by a foreign nation is recognized as a humbug by all thinking men, and the worst that might happen in that connection would be the explosion of some of our jingoist capitalist editors in the midst of an editorial on the "Yellow Peril" or the eulogizing of that blood-thirsty patriot, the redoubtable Richard P. Hobson. These editorials, however, serve a double purpose—first, the armor plate trust gets fat contracts for its product along with cannon, etc., second, many trusting members of the working class are led to believe that a big army and navy are absolutely necessary. If they succeed in beguiling the most of the workers into this belief their plan will go on until consummation, which will mean the end of working-class progress.

The struggle between the oppressed and the oppressors, the ruled and the rulers, the workers and the shirkers, the toilers and the drones, has been going on through all the ages, with the workers gaining little by little, a point here and a point there, sometimes seemingly stationary for centuries, but always with a general drift towards the light, towards that day told by the prophet of Israel when "they shall build houses and inhabit them, they shall plant vineyards and eat the fruit thereof; but they shall not build houses and another inhabit, they shall not plant vineyards and another eat."

It would be the sheerest folly on the part of the workers to ignore this move on the part of the masters and the stemming of the tide of working-class progress at this time would be an awful thing to contemplate. The united action of the workers now might block it, but once started, rivers of blood would be the only answer to our demands for redress from intolerable industrial conditions.—Edward A. Weick, in the United Mine Workers' Journal.

## LAWS AGAINST VICE MAKE CRIME.

"To have no laws against vice, you mean?" cried the Observer, "Shocking!" "I mean precisely that," said the Cynic, firmly, "laws against vice, against the malum prohibitum, are bad every way. They do not check vice, and they make crime. They make it both directly and indirectly. Directly, because they create arbitrary categories of crime out of acts and tendencies that are not in themselves criminal. Don't you remember the bitter speech of the English statesman that "when Parliament has nothing else to do it can always make a new crime?" Indirectly these laws create crime in dozens of ways—notably by fostering commerce in vice, sometimes contraband, sometimes open and legal, sometimes even official. The Raines law, for instance, was aimed at the supposititious vice of drinking beer on Sunday. It turned out to be the most effective promoter of prostitution and aid to the white slave industry ever devised in the city, and if it ever affected the vice it was supposed to check, no one has noticed it.

## Cause of Graft.

"Again, just as long as prostitution is a criminal offense, just so long will it be an open well of graft; and, what is a far unhappier thing for me to think of, just so long will our cities be debauched and degraded by taking revenue from these women, a dollar or so at a time, through fines in the police courts. It passes my comprehension how anyone can look at these human beings, outcast on the street, and see how poor and wretched and miserable they are, how forlornly cut off from any form of human pity or interest or love, how utterly devoid of incentive to be one whit different from what they are—and endure the thought that the great and rich Christian City of New York is willing to raid them and hound them and harry them before the police courts and debauch its conscience, if it has one, with \$5 or \$10 of their money."

## Put Ourselves in Their Place.

"Why, in the last days of McClellan's administration I saw with my own eyes plain-clothes men on Broadway grappling and cuffing and beating these poor outcasts, driving them this way and that, and hustling them into the police van. That was 'enforcing the law' for you—a law against vice, you understand. I wished that some of the preachers and sheltered Christians who were crying for the suppression of vice could have seen that. I do not blame them or get impatient with them, because they think they are doing God service; they unconsciously assume that everybody's life is controlled by the same circumstances and influences that control theirs. The gay little French Queen was honest as the day, when she said that if the people couldn't get bread they ought to eat cake. I wished our protected Christian people could have a taste—just one—of the economic conditions, the industrial and domestic pressure that put those girls where they are, and the social pressure that keeps them there. I do not know the mind of Jesus as well, probably, as the preachers do, but they would have to show me chapter and verse before I'd believe He would be for 'enforcing the law' against them and sending

policemen after them, or, for that matter, after anybody. Many policemen don't believe it either, any more than I do, so they sometimes 'wink hard with both eyes,' as Mayor Gaynor says, and try to keep themselves human. A few of the hardened ones make money by it perhaps, but whose fault is it? Simply ours, for the philosophical stupidity of permitting vice to be erected into crime!"—American Magazine.

#### ENCOURAGING SIGNS OF PROGRESS.

Intellectual progress among the masses is slow but sure, and while we Socialists are sometimes inclined to think that we are about the only torch-bearers of enlightenment in the community, it must not be forgotten that in other quarters signs of progress are not completely lacking.

Take, for instance, the Presbyterian church, even that portion of it popularly supposed to be the most benighted and unprogressive. The other day the Southern Assembly of that denomination in regular official meeting at Atlanta, Georgia, by a vote of no less than 133 to 44, decided to repeal the clause in the creed which announces the doctrine of "infant damnation." Not content with that, they substituted for it a positive statement to the effect that all infants are saved. This is distinctly encouraging, and leaving theological considerations aside, it evidently has a social import also.

There can be hardly a doubt that in making this creedal change, the assembly was impressed, though perhaps unconsciously, with the spectacle of infant damnation on this earth in the cotton mills in the vicinity. We consider their action an indirect though no less distinct slap in the face for the local exploiters of child labor in the Southern cotton mills. They felt, no doubt, that if the infants who die too young for capitalist consumption in the cotton mills were consigned to damnation there would be no profit whatever in disposing of them in that manner and no sense in such a disposition; that, in fact, the "infant damnation" clause reduces the Almighty to the moral level of a Southern cotton mill owner without even the incentive of gain as a partial justification. It is not indeed beyond the bounds of possibility that at some time in the distant future the Southern Presbyterian Assembly may even reach the conclusion that if God does not favor the damnation of infants in the next world, he does not approve of it in this one, as he desires his will to be done on earth as it is in heaven. We maintain that such an idea is distinctly conceivable even for a Southern Presbyterian Assembly, for it is not unlikely that within the next few years some of the clergymen attached to that section of the Presbyterian church will become more or less infected with ideas from the prevalent Socialism which is already making some impression on the churches, especially those farther north.

Then there is Mr. Bryan, a stalwart Presbyterian, who has just discovered that wars to some extent are fomented by business concerns which manufacture for profit guns, armor plate and battleships. In taking this advanced position, Mr. Bryan places himself abreast the German Socialist, Liebknecht, and the rank and file of the Socialist parties of the world generally, a feat which few people would have believed him intellectually capable of achieving. Yet so it is. And who will despair of progress after this?

May it not even be that if given time Mr. Bryan might reach the conclusion that this same desire for profit is also the thing that is responsible for the formation of the trusts? Who is so bold as to say that even this is impossible? It requires some stretching of the imagination, to be sure, but then, as Mr. Bryan himself remarked in the connection alluded to above, "I believe we have not yet reached the limits of intelligence in this country." He is most decidedly correct. We have not. But, then, we are getting there slowly, as the above two examples clearly indicate. We are advancing from the position of "infants crying in the night" to that of "infants groping for the light," which none will deny is distinctly progressive.

There is really no limit to the heights which the human mind may attain, and when we behold the Southern Presbyterian church and Mr. Bryan making such progress, the sight is well calculated to disperse pessimism and rehabilitate faith in the ultimate higher destiny of the human race. Progress may from time to time halt on palsied feet, but eventually she gets there just the same.—New York Call.

#### A SUGGESTED IMMIGRATION TEST.

Stanislaus Przybischewski, a Polish laborer, landed the other day from an emigrant steamship, and as is customary in dealing with his kind, was sent to Ellis Island in order that his fitness for citizenship and all-round desirability as a working animal should be passed upon.

As he stepped ashore on the proving grounds, a man in uniform halted him, and in a commanding tone demanded to know what kind of money he had with him and how much. Stanislaus, being used to obey men in uniform, dived into one of his interior compartments and hauled out a \$50 bill. The uniformed person took it, examined it, and announced that it wasn't good in this country, and that he would change it for Stanislaus. He did. He gave him in exchange a piece of Argentine money worth about 20 cents, and it was not until Stanislaus was heading back to the New York shore that he began to suspect that he might have been short-changed. He managed to report the matter to the immigration officials and was taken back to the island, but failed to identify the man in uniform that had duped him. Then he returned and entered the land of the free to grow up with the country.

We are of the decided opinion that this transaction goes to prove that Stanislaus is a desirable asset. The ease with which he gave up on demand is a most promising sign of his continuing to do so in the future without objecting too strenuously or making trouble. It was for that purpose that he came here, although he doesn't know it, but those who will come into industrial relations with him know better and have no particular use for him for any other purposes.

Stanislaus may go into a packing house, a sugar refinery, a steel mill, or become a section hand on a railroad, but he will only stay there on condition that he keeps on giving up. He will produce five or eight or ten dollars' value daily by his labor and will give up at least three-fifths of it, which of course will be so much better than giving up \$50 for 20 cents that it is not likely he will get wise to the game of giving up, unless perhaps the Socialists get hold of him soon after he has started yielding surplus value. Otherwise he may go on giving up for years, not only without being able to identify those who have robbed him, but perhaps without knowing that he is being robbed at all.

And if he does discover it and objects, it is altogether likely that he will meet up with other "men in uniform"—blue, with club attachments—who will do their level best to drive him back where the robbers can get at him again—as would for example certainly happen to him in Paterson, if he went to that place. There is many a Stanislaus undergoing that experience there now, as well as in other places, and though the Stanislauses may be able to identify the "men in uniform," it won't do them much good.

This particular Stanislaus happened to be broken in a little earlier than the others, and passed the initial test in a most gratifying manner. That he gives promise of making an excellent citizen from the standpoint of the gentlemen to whom God in his infinite wisdom has entrusted the property of the country, goes without saying. In fact, his experience might be made an official immigration test of desirability. Alacrity to obey the demands of men in uniform and a ready disposition to give up, could be made the object of an official experimental test on Ellis Island before the immigrants get to the mainland. We are admitting too many doubtful characters now, and as a selective test this process would certainly tend to weed out the undesirables. Those who display willingness to give up on demand are most likely

to continue the habit afterwards, while those who do not readily respond to the test could be sent back whence they came, without getting an opportunity to make mischief. We proffer the suggestion gratis to the immigration authorities, believing that under present conditions there is no better test of the desirability of an immigrant laborer than one which demonstrates the ease with which he can be robbed by "authority."—New York Call.

#### THE MILLS OF MAMMON.

The mighty mills of mammon—how monstrously cruel are they!

The mills of production, upon which the entire human race depends for its life and sustenance are become as raving wolves and are turned upon the toiling millions, and they are grinding their lives away instead of furnishing them with an opportunity to live. The mills that should be run with an eye single to one cause—to furnish a livelihood for the race—are, instead, forcing the producers themselves to starve because they produce too much.

Aye, they are crushing their limbs into their mighty wheels and are no longer concerned with making commodities, but are interested only in grinding human lives into gold—dirty gold.

The bread shops are no longer interested in making bread fit to be eaten, but are concerned only in making gold for their greedy coffers, and hence the adulterated bread.

The dairies are no longer concerned with putting up pure milk for the nourishment of innocent and defenseless babes, but are looking only to their god of mammon, hence they make milk of chalk and water and alum.

The clothing industries are not in the business to make dollars, and hence we can no longer get the lasting clothing like grandmother once made.

The shoe trust has no interest in furnishing shoes to the barefoot, but to make the most money, and hence we are almost unable to keep shoes upon our feet.

Not a brewery nor a distillery is running to make drinks for men to drink, but to make money, and hence the very existence of whisky, rum, gin, wine and beer and all the poisonous drinks that lure the appetite to the destruction of humanhood into a drunkard's grave.

Railroads are not built and maintained for transporting purposes, but to make dividends for the stockholders, and hence the thousands of lives that are crushed by these traps of death.

No mine is run for the purpose of getting ore nor to dig coal to warm the human race, but to make money for the promoters.

Not a storehouse or a mercantile establishment is run to furnish groceries or clothing to the people, but to cause the people to divide up their earnings with the merchant.

Paper mills do not run to make paper that lasts and preserves the knowledge of the race, but to make gold, and hence the cheap, rotten paper that will not last but a few years at most until it makes it an impossibility for us to preserve the knowledge of our day as our forefathers did, but will make our civilization sink and be forgotten as did ancient Rome. And even the churches, I fear, are no longer run for the purpose of expounding ethical and moral teachings, but to furnish a living for a preacher who is too lazy to work and to fool the workers while masters rob them.

Day by day the mighty mills of mammon are grinding away every element of moral life, of spiritual life and of physical life throughout our land. They are crushing the bones of our youth into their mighty wheels.

They are forcing the little child to make the living of the father and mother.

They have become as a mighty leperous plague when they should be a blessing to humanity.

They gradually work to death our youth where they fail to kill them suddenly in their mighty wheels.

They are poisoning our darling babes.

They are driving our girls into prostitution, shame and death.

On every hand death is lurking where there should be fountains of life.

There are forts and arsenals where there should be life-giving institutions.

The class who produces all are robbed of all to heap filthy lucre into the slimy palms of idle parasites.

The mills of production—the mills that should produce the means of life and for the purpose of sustaining life are become the cruel jaws of death—the mills of mammon. All this because of private ownership of the means of life.

How long, O how long?—The Eye-Opener.

#### WAR AS THE BIG GRAFT.

A German paper, the *Illustrirte Zeitung*, got out a war number. It sought the advertisements of persons and firms engaged in manufacturing armaments, clothing, military supplies. A high official of the war office wrote letters to manufacturers, indorsing the patriotic publication. Some rival paper probably got the news, an investigation was started, with the result that the whole glorious war game has been exposed as a business, or, as we would say, loosely, a graft.

Dr. David Starr Jordan exposed that feature of military glory long since. The Krupps and others have been caught working up war scares. Their press agents operated on papers in Berlin and Paris, probably in London, too. Aggressive, inflammatory articles were gotten into French papers, in order that a cry might be raised for Germany to arm. France was declared to contemplate doubling an order for a supply of machine guns, in order that Germany might duplicate the order. So, too, German news of armament was circulated in exaggeration so that France would put more money in armaments. It is not beyond suspicion that German manufacturers and French manufacturers worked hand in hand. Each boosted the game of the other to make demand for guns, etc. Each so patriotic, too.

One of the leading German armor firms is financed largely with French capital, has two Frenchmen on its board of directors and transacted its business in French. The German firms pay enormous dividends out of their patriotism. They sell without competition. Officials don't care for prices. The people pay. All the European nations are kept worked up by rumors of new explosives, new cannon, new battleships ordered by other nations. The Krupps in Germany have made enormous fortunes, and they have used the circulation of such rumors to great advantage. If the Peace Congress organization would publish for international polyglot circulation the full revelations made by Herr Liebknecht in the Reichstag as to the machinations of the war material firms, the cause of peace would be advanced enormously. It is remarkable that some of our peace papers like the *New York World* do not tell the whole story of the German exposure. Ed Bernstein's condensation of it in the *London Nation* reads like some of the stories that were told of Boss Tweed, in his days of power in New York.

If the people of the nations knew how they were being played upon in appeals to their patriotism in behalf of war appropriations, they would put an end to the whole infernal "trade in murder." They would see what was behind imperialism, glory, conquest—chiefly a scheme to sell cannon, rifles, explosives, battleships to governments at big profits. Suppose all the people knew such a story as that told by a disgruntled agent of an English armament firm to a jury in an English court.

He was correspondent for the armament firm in South America. During the strained relations between Chili and Argentina, he kept in touch with both governments, giving the news of each to the other. Each was told the other

was ordering battleships in England, and each, finally, in pure fear, bought battleships from the same firm.

In France, French and German capitalists interested in armor plate and munitions, obtained as a united syndicate a concession to work the iron ore at Quenza in Algeria, but the French papers laughed it out of existence. The syndicate was not dissolved. It went to work to dig iron ore in Morocco "for the equal benefit of French and German defences." Such things seem like comic opera, but they are sober reality. They are not new. The original Krupp, who has been ranked only after Bismarck and von Moltke among the makers of modern Germany, did business with Napoleon III. The British Armstrongs have a branch house in Italy, a member of the Triple Alliance. German firms have taken naval contracts in Russia. The German people have paid uncounted millions to the Krupps and others. The Krupps are the chief beneficiaries of German militarism. Reading between the lines of the German papers it is plain that the armament grafters over there are up to all the tricks of Standard Oil, and then some. They are powerful in politics, in the army and navy, at court, in finance, in the church. They are behind the fear frenzy as to England. They run a war-scare factory. And it is safe to assume that in England, France and Austria, Italy and Russia other armament firms do the same thing. Indeed, it is not beyond possibility that the armament firms have an international understanding. Publicity of these facts, the widest kind of publicity, will do more to stop war than all treaties or conferences. The Socialists all over the world will do their best in that line, but non-Socialist "pacifists" should help, and the first great movement they could start would be one which, taking for granted in each European nation a duty of defense requiring it to arm, would keep the business of war in each nation's own hands.

The London Nation says: "An international Labor party, looking out for things to nationalize, would do a great service to peace if it could persuade every civilized state to make an end of the private trade in war, and to manufacture its armorplate, its ships and its guns exclusively in its own yards and arsenals. If a simultaneous wave of common sense could enforce that decision in Great Britain, France and Germany, we should expect to enjoy a surprising immunity from scares, and to note a sharp decline in the organized clamor for competitive armament." And with change of name the story applies to the United States. War is only Big Business at its heartless worst, and war is one thing that would surely be better under public than under private ownership and operation, pending the time for its annihilation.—William Marion Reedy in St. Louis Mirror.

DEBS TALKS OF THINGS IN WEST VIRGINIA.

Eugene V. Debs, the great Socialist leader, talked on a variety of subjects at his room in the Kanawha when he was visited by a representative of the Kanawha Citizen the other evening.

"It is strange," he said, "that when the workers of this country constitute the majority, and the overwhelming majority, they are the only ones to be denied the things that so greatly concern their temporal advantage. Here is the Supreme Court of the United States with every member a corporation lawyer, representing the minority. How long would it take the majority of the country to get representation on the Supreme bench? They cannot do it. At least, they haven't been able to do it so far. The Congress of the United States is become discontented? We are charged with preaching discontent, and that torchbearer of civilization. It is the beginning of progress.

Intelligent Discontent.

"But the people are becoming discontented with this condition, and the time is coming when it will no longer exist. And why should they not become discontented? We are charged with preaching discontent, and that is what we do. But we do not preach discontent with the good and the wholesome. We seek to create enlightened discontent—discontent with the things that work ill to the whole people. Intelligent discontent is the torchbearer of civilization. It is the beginning of progress.

"Fundamentally, the labor movement is educational. It develops intelligent thought. The laborer's thoughts run on a higher plane. When education takes effect, the laborer becomes discontented with his lot. Think what intelligent discontent has done. Here is a man living in a cave. Suppose the cave-dweller had been content to dwell in a cave. Here are the American colonists. Suppose they had been content to live under the galling injustices of the English government—of King George as set forth in the Declaration of Independence? Here are millions of human beings in the chains of slavery.

Slavery.

"Suppose they had been content with slavery—and suppose the commercial and industrial interests of the northland had been content with the conditions that worked to their injury under a regime of slavery. And there are other instances without number. The history of this country, and the history of the world, is a continual history of strikes—of men who dared to strike for liberty. If the men who oppose strikes will reflect on the history of their own country, they will realize that it is only through a succession of strikes that this country exists. George Washington was a striker. Thomas Jefferson and Patrick Henry were strikers. Abraham Lincoln was a striker. Jesus Christ struck against the sins with which the old world was reeking in that day.

"The people of West Virginia should thank the coal miners of the state for striking. Take the strike spirit away, and you have robbed the American citizen of the American spirit. You can determine the status of a nation by the status of its working class—always, and everywhere. Consider China. There are no strikes there. The workers submit like 'dumb, driven cattle.' The nation rests on a foundation of slavery, and is debased to that level.

Not Individual Struggle.

"But this industrial struggle is not one of individuals. It is a fight for a principle. We do not seek to bring about personal ill feeling between the capitalist and the worker. I do not abuse the coal operators of West Virginia. The fight for their material interests under the conditions that exist. We seek to create discontent with the conditions under which capital and labor are set against each other. But we do not countenance blind revolt. Intelligence is progress. Stir ignorance into revolt, and you will start a tornado; and it will have the effect of a tornado—destruction; but there will be no progress there.

"The remedy for all the trouble is for the workers to vote together. Let them organize, unionize, and cooperate—and then stand together as one man at the ballot box. They constitute the majority. Why, then, should they not develop the power of the majority?

"If the workers had voted together through the years that have gone, there would be different conditions today. Look at our laws, and at the construction and the interpretation of the law. Look up the definition of law. There can be no law where there is no power to enforce it. Law is a rule of action prescribed by the supreme power.

Controlling the Power.

"But mark this: The man who controls the power—he is the master of the law. So far, in every age, the men who control the means of production have controlled the law-enforcing power; and in consequence the laws of every age have been made and interpreted in the interests of the ruling class. It is against a system in which the wealthy and minority class is always the ruling class, and in which the wealth-producing and minority class is ruled by the richer and smaller class, that we protest; not against

individuals, and in the true sense not against a class—but against system. "Here are three ages—savagery, barbarism, civilization. In the beginning we have the individual; then we have the family, and then the tribe. Tribes finally developed into nations. But in the tribe the man who had the greatest physical strength was the leader—the chief, under the law of physical prowess. To be a leader, a chief, or a king, the sole requirement was gigantic stature and strength; and the head of the tribal government could do as he would, without hindrance. But that age has passed; barbarism, too, has passed, and civilization is here. If you or I were to exert the strength of a giant to obtain our desires without regard for the wishes or the rights of our fellows, we should be in jail in five minutes.

Mental Robbery.

"But under civilization—and this is the point I would impress—under civilization, if I am a mental giant, I may not go about committing physical assault on my fellowmen and taking from them the things that are theirs, but I may subjugate them through my superior mentality; and thereupon I am hailed as a chief and as a benefactor to the race. From an ethical standpoint—as a question of morality—from a purely Christian viewpoint, what is the difference between this physical subjugation and this mental robbery? The physical giant no longer rules and takes tribute at will; and the time is coming when man will no longer be able to rob his brother through superior mentality.

"Under the Roman law the patrician literally owned the body of his slave, and could do with him whatever he pleased. He might kill him if he so desired. Then came the feudal system, and the feudal law—under which the lord could no longer kill his slave, but could still rob him. He could not own or kill, but he still owned the means of life—the soil, the implements of labor, all the means of production; and that amounts to the same thing.

"Today, we no longer have the master and the slave, or the lord and his serf. In their stead we have the capitalist and the wage-worker. We no longer have the feudal law. But we have laws that legalize the exploitation of the weak by the strong. In the feudal ages the serf had no voice in the affairs of state. The lords made the laws, and they owned a judiciary that interpreted the law. Today the worker has the ballot, and by its intelligent use he may obtain a voice in the councils of government. But meanwhile the capitalist does in his way what the feudal lord did in his. He sits in the Legislatures and controls their discretion—and his representatives construe the law to his profit."—Kanawha Citizen.

ACCIDENTS IN COAL MINES.

The coal-mine accidents occurring in the United States during the year 1912 have been compiled by the United States Bureau of Mines under the direction of Frederick W. Horton. The publication which is now ready for distribution gives a resume of the accidents from 1896 to 1912, inclusive, with monthly statistics for the year 1912.

Mr. Horton in reviewing the year says: "During the calendar year 1912 there were 2,360 men killed in and about the coal mines of the United States. Based on an output of 550,000,000 short tons of coal produced by 750,000 men, the death rate per 1,000 employed was 3.15 and the number of men killed for every 1,000,000 tons of coal mined was 4.29. The number of men killed was the least since 1906, the death rate per 1,000 employed was the smallest since 1899, the death rate per 1,000,000 tons of coal mined was the lowest and the number of tons of coal produced in proportion to the number of men killed was the greatest on record. These facts offer indisputable evidence that conditions tending toward safety in coal mining are actually improving and that coal is now being mined with less danger to the miner than ever before. The general improvement in 1912, as compared with 1911, is shown by the following facts:

"In 1912 the number of men killed in the coal mines of the United States was 359 less than in 1911—2,360, as compared with 2,719—a decrease of 13.2 per cent, and this in spite of the fact that there were more men employed in the mines and more coal mined than in any previous year.

"The death rate per 1,000 men employed in 1912 was 3.15, as against 3.73 in the previous year, a decrease of 15.5 per cent.

"During 1912 for every 1,000,000 tons of coal mined 4.29 men were killed, as compared with 5.48 men in 1911, a decrease of 21.7 per cent.

"There was 233,000 tons of coal mined for each man killed in 1912, as compared with 183,000 tons in 1911, an increase of 50,000 tons, or 27.3 per cent.

"Although the improvement in 1912 was greater than in any previous year for which accurate statistics are available, partly due, perhaps, to exceptionally mild weather during the last few months of the year, decreasing the likelihood of disastrous coal-dust explosions, there has been an annual improvement for a number of years, as indicated by the accompanying table:

Number of Men Killed in and About the Coal Mines of the United States in the Calendar Years 1907 to 1912, Inclusive, With Death Rates.

Table with columns: Years, Total, Per 1,000 Employed, Per 1,000,000 Short Tons Mined, Production Per Death Short Tons. Rows for years 1907 to 1912.

"It will be noted from the foregoing table that the death rate per 1,000,000 tons of coal mined has decreased annually, that the production per death has increased each year since 1907, and that the death rate per 1,000 men employed has steadily decreased during the last four years.

"This general improvement has been brought about by a combination of causes, the principal one of which has been more efficient and effective mine inspection on the part of the state mining departments and state mine inspectors throughout the country, supplemented by greater care on the part of both the operators and the miners. The investigative and educational work of the Bureau of Mines has kept both the operator and the miner alive to the various dangers connected with coal mining and has shown what precautions should be taken to avoid these dangers. The bureau is therefore gratified with the improvement shown, particularly as the greatest improvement relates to dangers concerning which the bureau has been conducting special investigations, as is shown later. The bureau, however, can not too strongly express its appreciation of the co-operation of the state mining officials and the operators in the work of making coal mining safer.

"Although there has been an annual improvement in mine-safety conditions since 1907, and a particularly notable one in 1912, a still greater decrease in the death rate can be effected. Whether or not such an improvement will be made in 1913 depends largely on the care exercised by the operators, superintendents, foremen and all others in authority, and by the miners as well, to prevent the rise of dangerous conditions and to avoid unnecessary risks when such conditions have arisen."

Copies of this report, Technical Paper 48, may be obtained by addressing the Director, Bureau of Mines, Washington, D. C.

## WHO ARE THE WORKING CLASS?

## The Answer to the Question Should Make You Investigate Social Conditions.

Who are the working class? Many members of the working class, who dress after the fashion of their masters and ape their manners, would repel with lively indignation and scorn the suggestion that they belong to "the backbone of the country," the working class. They think that between these "hewers of wood and drawers of water" and the "upper ten" there exists a class whose fortunes and interests are neither.

The idea is fallacious. Manners may make the man, or nine tailors working in harmony and with might and main, may accomplish the feat, but neither manners nor the tailors give a man his class status. Nor can the nature of the person's daily occupation draw the line of class distinction, though the fact of any occupation at all being followed goes far in the direction of placing the subject in the ranks of the despised and rejected.

Many imagine that the working class are those who perform what they are pleased to refer to as manual labor, as distinct from those they are even more pleased to call mental workers. But if this is so, where is the line to be drawn?

Who, think you, has to exercise the greater mental activity—the book-keeping clerk, serving out tickets, or the signal man, passing the passenger safely on to his destination?—the office dignitary who works out the amount of the joiner's wages, or the joiner involved in the intricacies of staircasing and hand-railing?

As a matter of fact a little consideration will show us that it is impossible to draw the line anywhere, for the simple reason that there is no such thing as a distinction between manual labor and mental. The brain is the center of all activities. Every muscle in the body, therefore, derives its power of movement from the brain. It follows, then, that every muscular activity must be mental as well.

On the other hand, there is no possible means at present known by which any mental activity can find outlet to the world save through the exercise of manual or muscular effort in some form or other. A thought cannot be written without the muscular effort of wielding the pen, cannot even be spoken without the muscular exertion of moving the lips. So all mental labor that does not perish fruitless in the head wherein it is generated, must be manual as well as mental.

What is it, then, that divides the community into classes? What is that there is common between all those who constitute each class, yet is not common to the different classes? The answer to this question, when we find it, may throw some light on the first.

If we take a survey of those about us, our fellow members of society, we find them a motley crew. Some are old, some are young; some fair to view, some we shouldn't care to be mistaken for; some are big and strong, some small and weak; some are good, like ourselves, some are awful perishers. But none of these things can form the basis of a class division.

Shall we say that all the strong, or the good, form a class by themselves? Then class cannot go by families. There can be no working class families, or other class families. For there are long and short, strong and weak, plain and comely, in every family; and though, (of course), all crime is with the working class, not all the working class are criminals.

In the same way occupation does not supply the test, for the same families frequently supply the workers for both the office, the workshop and the factory; the salaried black-coat and the waged cloth-cap.

What, then, can it be, that divides and unites the people into classes? There are two things and two things only we can discover that remain fairly constant in certain circles, seldom dividing individual families, although separating families into two great groups and keeping them apart. These are, the possession or non-possession of wealth, and the necessity or otherwise of working for money or selling one's energy.

A moment's thought will reveal the fact that these things are intimately connected. People possessing considerable wealth are not compelled to sell their strength and energy in order to live, while those who do not share in the ownership of wealth have no means of living except by means of the sale of their labor power.

So there we have it. The working class are the propertyless, those, with their dependents, who must sell the strength of their mind and body, for sustenance. What matter whether it is expended in mine or office? What matter whether it is paid for with salary or wages? All these trivialities vanish in the essentials that it provides. The propertyless have to work, to obey, to suffer unemployment, insecurity and poverty. The propertied live idle and luxurious lives—and dominate.

The working class, then, are those who have to sell their energy to live.—A. E. J. in The Socialist Standard.

## In Memoriam.

Mullan, Idaho, May 22, 1913.

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

Whereas, Death has again invaded our ranks and removed from our midst Brother William S. Watkins. Mullan Miners' Union has lost a faithful member; be it

Resolved, That we extend to his relatives and friends our heartfelt sympathy and that our charter be draped for thirty days; and, be it further

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be spread on the minutes of this meeting and a copy be sent to the Miners' Magazine for publication.

GUS INGO,

DENNIS HARRINGTON,

B. G. YOCUM,

Committee.

### IN MEMORIAM.

#### Resolutions of Condolence on the Death of Jerry E. Sullivan.

Butte, Montana, May 19, 1913.

Whereas, It has pleased the Heavenly Father to remove from our midst our friend and former member, Jerry E. Sullivan, who passed away May 12, 1913; and,

Whereas, By his many sterling qualities and kindly acts he was beloved by all who knew or associated with him; therefore, be it

Resolved, That in the death of Jerry E. Sullivan, who was a former member and an officer of this union, we sincerely deplore his loss and extend our sincere sympathy to his family in their hour of sorrow; and, be it further

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be forwarded to the bereaved family, a copy sent to the press, a copy sent to the Miners' Magazine for publication and a copy spread on the minutes of this meeting.

DAN MCCARTHY,

JOHN PURCELL,

WM. MAXWELL,

Committee.



## POETICAL



### THE DEVIL'S SOLILOQUY.

One day as the devil sat musing alone  
In the midst of his cozy warm fire,  
And trying to figure the difference in guilt  
'Tween a thief and an all-around liar,  
His memory turned to the scenes of his youth  
And his eyes filled with hot boiling tears,  
So he took down his ledger and turned to a page  
Dated back about six thousand years.

"I suppose," he said, as he glanced thru the book  
"I am doing the best that I can,  
For my business denotes a continual increase  
Ever since the creation of man.  
I've cribbed a good harvest for six thousand years  
And should be content with the yield,  
And give my opponent permission to have  
The gleanings I leave in the field.

"I gathered a very diversified crop  
Of merchants and lawyers galore;  
I've bound politicians in bundles until  
Every one of my fingers are sore.  
I've fiddlers, gamblers and insurance men,  
I've murderers, forgers and liars,  
And I've filled up the furnace with green pugilists,  
Till they actually put out the fires."

"I've railroad conductors and doctors to spare;  
Horse traders and preachers to spend,  
Republicans, Democrats, hoboes and yeggs,  
And two or three newspapermen.  
But there is one class I am hoping to say,  
Can never gain entrance here—  
Their souls are so dirty I am sure that they would  
Demoralize hell in a year."

"I refer to that thing, neither human nor beast,  
The carrion crow of the world,  
Who is never happy unless he can feast  
On the wreck of an innocent girl.  
A million of years in my warmest of rooms  
His slander would never atone,  
So I give them a match and advise them to start  
A little hot hell of their own."

With his fingers he lit an asbestos cigar  
And placing his book on the shelf,  
He muttered, "I may be a bad man,  
But I have some respect for myself."

### A REGRET.

"Who's Allen."

Accursed be thy name, O vinous drink,  
Whether drained from drunkard's cup or silvered flask,  
From thee my body, mind and soul doth shrink  
As from the ancient and the fabled asp.

Too often in my younger days I quaffed,  
Forgetfulness in poison seeming sweet,  
And when reproached by friends I oftentimes laughed  
To hear them speak of "gutters" and the "street."

In tones and looks that should have been a guide  
To one of careless ways and lack of will—  
An outcast now, I must forever bide—  
Forever drink, if I would conscience kill.

Too long at Bacchus' shrine I, ling'ring, knelt;  
Too long the "Still, Small Voice" I hushed to sleep.  
The tortures of the damned I since have felt,  
When from my parched throat I strove to keep

The poison that defiled both brain and soul,  
Till now a derelict I drift—I sink.  
My misspent life is ebbing fast. The goal  
Is nigh. I fear to see beyond the brink.

My soul from mortal self shall soon be freed  
And I shall stand before His throne of grace.  
I wonder if in this hour of direst need  
He'll let me greet and "meet Him face to face"?

Alas! for years He called me, yet unheard.  
My trembling soul at last must take its flight.  
O if from Him I had a single word  
Before my plunge into eternal night.

Directory of Local Unions and Officers—Western Federation of Miners.

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LIST OF UNIONS

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Table listing unions in the left column, including Alaska, Arizona, Brit. Columbia, California, Colorado, Idaho, Kansas, Kentucky, Michigan, and Washington. Columns include No., Name, Meet'g Night, President, Secretary, P.O. Box, and Address.

Table listing unions in the right column, including Minnesota, Missouri, Montana, Nevada, New Jersey, New Mexico, Oklahoma, Ontario, Oregon, South Dakota, Texas, Utah, and Wisconsin. Columns include No., Name, Meet'g Night, President, Secretary, P.O. Box, and Address.

STATE AND DISTRICT UNIONS.

Utah State Union No. 1, W. F. M., Park City, Utah. District Association No. 6, W. F. M., Sandon, British Columbia. Coeur d'Alene District Union No. 14, W. F. M. Iron District Union No. 15, W. F. M.

AUXILIARIES.

Desloge Ladies' Auxiliary, Desloge, Mo. Independence Ladies' Aux. No. 3, Central City, S. D. Elvins Ladies' Auxiliary No. 9, Elvins, Mo. Eureka Ladies' Auxiliary No. 4, Eureka, Utah. Hancock Ladies' Aux. No. 5, Hancock, Mich. Lead City Ladies' Auxiliary No. 6, Lead, S. D. Flat River Ladies' Auxiliary No. 7, Flat River, Mo. Negaunee Ladies' Auxiliary No. 8, Negaunee, Mich. Stumpton L. A. No. 14, Leadville, Colo.

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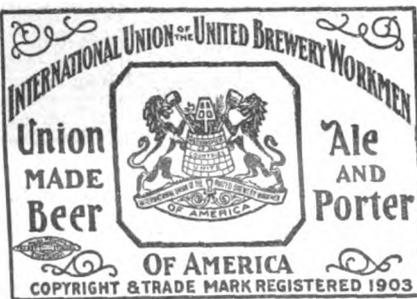
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