



LABOR
PRODUCES
ALL WEALTH



THE MINERS MAGAZINE

INDEPENDENCE
EDUCATION ORGANIZATION

Published Weekly by the

WESTERN FEDERATION OF MINERS

DENVER, COLO
September 16th.
1909.
Volume XI.
Number 325



WEALTH
BELONGS TO THE
PRODUCER THEREOF



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Show your loyalty to the cause by insisting upon the emblem of fair union labor being attached to the clothing you buy.

Costs you no more for a well made garment. It insures you against Chinese and diseased sweat shop product.

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If you are opposed to Sweat Shop, Tenement House, or Child Labor

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Don't Forget to See that this Label is on Every Box
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SEPT 1880
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This certifies that the Cigars contained in this box have been made by a First-Class Workman, a member of the CIGAR MAKERS' INTERNATIONAL UNION OF AMERICA, an organization devoted to the advancement of the MORAL, MATERIAL and INTELLECTUAL WELFARE OF THE CRAFT. Transfers on request to these Cigars to all smokers throughout the world. All trademarks upon this Label will be protected according to law.

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PLATON BROUNOFF'S HUMOROUS STORY
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This Label should be pasted on every Package containing

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As the only guarantee that the package contains beverages produced by Union Labor.

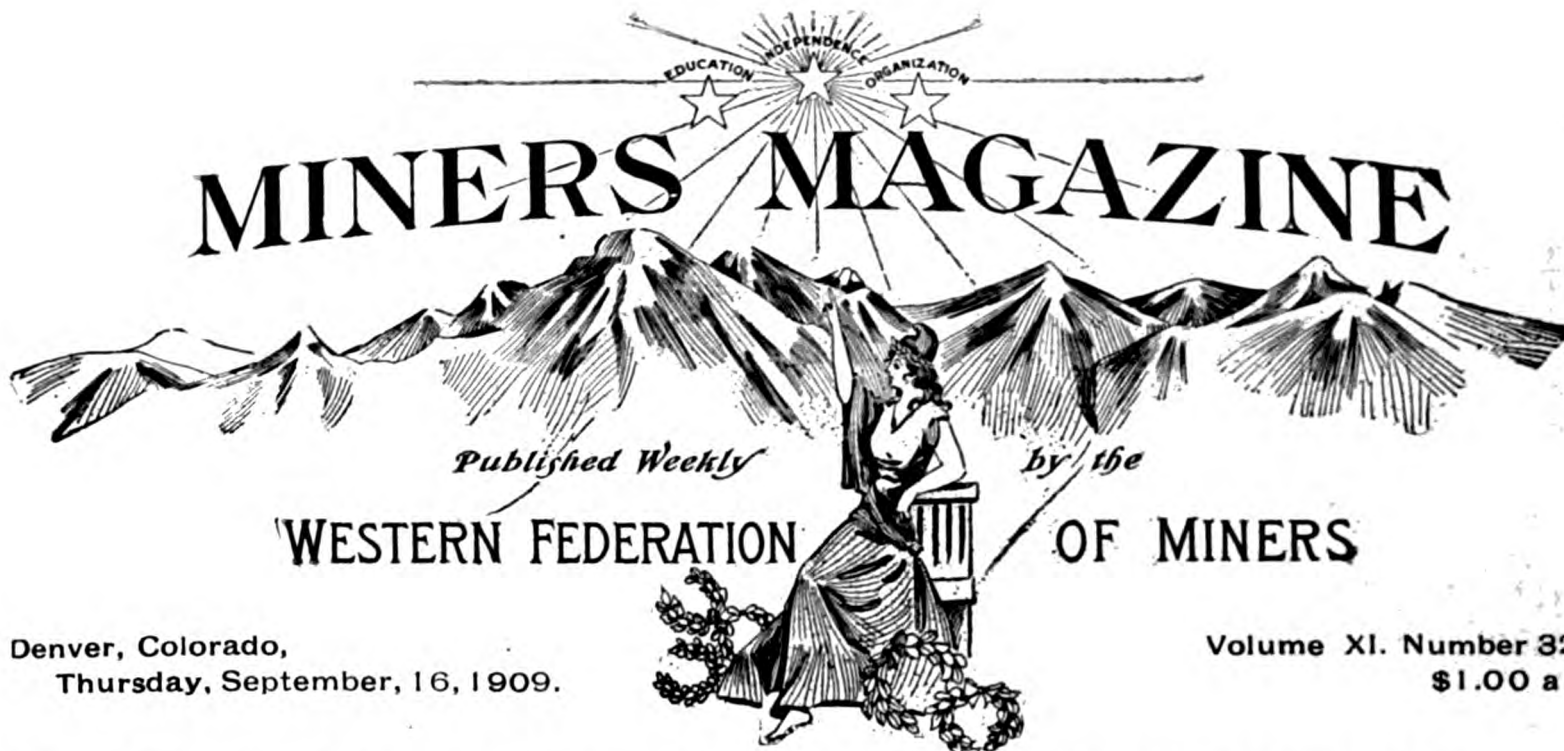
Price List of Supplies.

Charters \$10.00 each	Withdrawal Cards \$0.01 each
Rituals 1.00 each	Membership Cards05 each
Warrant Book's 1.00 each	Cancelling Stamp65 each
Federation Emblems50 each	Seals 3.00 each
Constitution and By-Laws, per copy05 each	Delinquent Notices 1/4c each
Notification Blanks 1c each	Application Blanks 1/4c each

Due stamps at ratio of per capita tax, four for \$1.00.
Officer's Bond Blanks and Quarterly Reports Blanks Furnished free.

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

MINERS MAGAZINE



Denver, Colorado,
Thursday, September, 16, 1909.

Volume XI. Number 325
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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.

FINED AND DECLARED UNFAIR.

Rhyolite, Nev., Sept. 5, 1909.

Editor Miners' Magazine:

At our regular meeting, August 28, 1909, C. C. McLaughlin was declared unfair and fined \$25 for refusing to put himself in good standing with this union, when leaving our jurisdiction and I was instructed to have him advertised in the Miners' Magazine.

Yours fraternally,
(Seal)

JOS. E. GARRETT,
Secretary, Bonanza No. 235.

STRIKE NOTICES.

Strikes are on in the following places. All miners and others are requested to stay away until a settlement is reached.

VETERAN MINE, Near
Ely, Nevada.

Douglas Island, Alaska.

LABOR LEADERS will soon be forced to step lively if they are to hold their jobs. Capital has no craft autonomy or jurisdiction limits. Labor must learn this lesson. When craft autonomy is abolished and industrial unionism accepted, labor will not be opposing itself while fighting the enemy.—Toilers' Defense.

FINED AND DECLARED UNFAIR.

Nevada City, Cal., Sept. 2, 1909.

Editor Miners Magazine: At a regular meeting of Nevada City Miners' Union No. 93, held on September 1, 1909, the name of Jasper Landsburg was ordered advertised in the Miners' Magazine and a fine of \$25 be placed against him for showing himself unfair to organized labor in refusing to pay his dues. Fraternally,

(Seal.)

F. NICHOLLS, Secretary No. 93.

FINED AND DECLARED UNFAIR.

Silver City, Idaho, September 6, 1909.

Miners Magazine:

At a regular meeting of Silver City Miners' Union No. 66, the following names were ordered advertised in the Miners' Magazine as unfair to organized labor and fined the amount placed opposite these names:

S. P. Morrow, \$25.00	Tom Spencer, 25.00
Emmett Morrow 10.00	T. D. Fry, 10.00
E. L. Molin, 25.00	S. G. Miller, 10.00

The same to be paid in to the treasury of Silver City No. 66 before they are declared fair.

By order of Silver City Miners' Union No. 66, W. F. M.

(Seal)

M. D. McLEOD, Secretary.

THE MAN whose life depends upon the tool which he must use in order to live must own the tool.

LABOR CELEBRATED one day in the year—Labor Day. The other 364 belong to the master class. Let us hail the "dignity of labor"!

H. HARRIMAN, who has frequently been mentioned as the railroad wizard of the world, passed into the Great Beyond last week. His wealth is estimated at from \$50,000,000 to \$150,000,000.

WE HAVE FREQUENTLY HEARD the orator exclaim: "Breathes there a man with soul so dead, Who never to himself hath said, 'This is my own, my native land!'"

But when the sovereign citizen notes the signs: "Keep off the grass," the poetry is all knocked out of the above stanza, which is such an inspiring appeal to patriotism.

THE INDUSTRIAL REVIEW, published at Pueblo, Colorado, issued a handsome Labor Day edition, and when the fact is taken into consideration that Pueblo is a Pittsburg where the industrial monarch laughs at law and liberty, the men of the Review are deserving of the highest praise for launching a Labor Day edition that proves that unionism still lives in the "Pittsburg of the West."

THE DELEGATES to the Seventeenth Annual Convention of the Western Federation of Miners instructed the officers to select an official solicitor for the Miners' Magazine. The officers, after due deliberation, have selected Mrs. Emma F. Langdon, who is well and favorably known to the membership of the organization. Mrs. Langdon will immediately visit the Black Hills mining district and we trust that the membership of the Federation will extend to her every assistance in building up the circulation of the official organ.

THE LABOR DAY EDITION of the Labor World of Spokane, Washington, reflects great credit on the ability of Hon. D. C. Coates and his associates. Not only is the Labor Day edition of the Labor World a gem from a mechanical standpoint, but the editorial matter displays a praiseworthy amount of study and research. Organized labor of Spokane is to be congratulated on having men of such ability at the helm of a journal that is bravely fighting for the rights of man.

THE FINNS of Hancock, Mich., have almost completed arrangements for the issuing of a daily newspaper. The daily will advocate the principles of Socialism and it is expected that this new daily publication will start out with a circulation of 10,000. The Finns of Hancock, Mich., by the efforts they are making, are demonstrating that they are made of that material that seems to be submissive or inactive, while despots in the world of industry are forging the fetters to bind the limbs of labor.

IT IS REPORTED on the most reliable authority that Harry Orchard, the confessed murderer of ex-Governor Steunenberg, and countless other crimes, and one of the most despicable species of humanity that ever saw the light of day, has been baptized by a minister of the Gospel, and has sworn true allegiance to the church. If these actions will give him a passport into the regions above, His Satanic Majesty will have a hard time convincing some of his inmates that they are not entitled to transfer cards.—Shingle Weaver.

THE CLASS of privilege own the mines, mills, factories, railroads and all profitable industries, and since the industrial pirates own the earth and its machinery of production and distribution, it becomes necessary for the captains of industry to likewise own the executive, judicial and legislative departments of government. Owning the machinery of production and distribution, the capitalist can readily see that he must own the machinery of government, and yet millions of our thoughtless citizens who boast of their sovereign rights, become eloquent when they speak of "My country."

IT IS CERTAINLY tiresome to note some editors of labor journals declaring that employers should concede this and that, when it is apparent to even a numbskull that an employer will only concede this or that which labor through its united strength is able to wrest from an employer. The exploiter knows no sentiment in business. Profit is more priceless to him than justice, and labor must learn that justice can only be won from the exploiting class, when the exploited class will rise in its might and overthrow the class that has fattened on long hours and starvation wages for the wealth producers.

JOHN K. TURNER, in writing of Mexico, says: "Mexico is a country without political freedom, without a free press, without a free ballot, without a jury system, without political parties, without any of our cherished guarantees of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. It is a land where there has been no contest for the office of president for more than a generation, where the executive rules all things by means of a standing army, where political offices are sold for a fixed price, where the public school system in vast country districts is abolished because a governor needs the money. I found Mexico to be a land where the people are poor because they have no rights, where peonage is the rule for the great mass and where actual chattel slavery obtains for hundreds of thousands."

FRANK J. HAYES, the secretary-treasurer of the United Mine Workers of Illinois, at the request of his many friends among the coal miners, has announced himself as a candidate for the office of vice president of the United Mine Workers of America. Brother Hayes will be remembered by the delegates of the Seventeenth Annual Convention of the Western Federation of Miners, who had the pleasure of listening to him deliver an address upon the great problem of the age. Hayes is but a young man in years, but he is gifted with a mind that would do credit to a man whose hairs have been whitened by the snows of age. Hayes is a coming man in the labor movement of America and though young in years, his ability has challenged the admiration of his fellowmen, whose hearts are yearning for that new day when slavery shall be no more.

THE "CALLOUSED PALM," written by Frederick Forest Berry, of St. Louis, is an indictment against capitalism which every laboring man and woman should read and digest. Berry has dipped his pen in vitriol and painted a word picture of the murderous system of industrial slavery that sinks into the brain and arouses the dormant mentality of the victim of exploitation. The "Calloused Palm" can be secured for 10 cents per copy or \$5.00 per hundred by writing to Frederick Forrest Berry, Box 592, St. Louis, Mo.

IN A LATE ISSUE of the Salt Lake Herald-Republican, the Pauper Clerk of Salt Lake submitted a report to the City Council. In the report it can be gleaned that anyone who is so unfortunate as to become a victim of smallpox must be able to pay the sum of \$2.00 per day for treatment at the isolation hospital, and in case the victim is financially embarrassed, must sign a note promising to pay at the rate of \$2.00 per day. It is presumed that if the small-pox patient is so impoverished that he or she is unable to pay the sum of \$2.00 per day or a note signed by such impoverished person is considered worthless, then it is probable that the penniless victim will be permitted to die without any assistance rendered by the City Council of the Mormon kingdom. Such a policy will not be tolerated by the people of Salt Lake. It is to the interest of all the people that every man or woman afflicted with a contagious disease shall be taken care of in such a manner as will not only insure the recovery of the patient, but that such steps shall be taken by public officials as will stamp out such a pestilence as soon as possible. The city fathers of Salt Lake may draft a thousand ordinances relative to compelling people inoculated with contagious diseases reimbursing the city, but regardless of everything, society must be protected against the spread of all contagious diseases, and the people will demand that public health and safety shall guide the acts and conduct of the supposed "servants of the people."

JOHN SANDGREN, one of the representatives of the strikers of Sweden, has sent out the following circular from New York:

The Swedish strike, now in its fifth week, continues with unabated energy. Yesterday C. E. Tholin and John Sandgren, the Swedish delegates who were sent here by the strikers to collect funds, received the following cable dispatch:

"Stockholm, Sweden, August 31, 1909.

"In their struggle for their right to organize the Swedish working class has now conducted its general strike for four weeks.

"Hitherto the government has remained passive, but now it and society outside of the workers have openly turned against the strikers. Reckless lies are being circulated against the working class.

"In spite of this, in spite of threatening hunger, in spite of all that the ruling class may do we are determined to stick it out. The situation remains unchanged, and unbroken ranks of workingmen confront the employers.

"The class spirit is strong, and the strikers are determined on 'no surrender' up to the last ditch.

"We are cheered and sustained by what the workingmen of all European countries are doing to aid us. They are devoted to our cause and support it magnificently.

"Looking towards America we are counting on the sympathy of our class brothers there. We dare to count on their powerful economic assistance which is now necessary for us in our struggle.

"LANDSSEKRETARIATET.

"HERMAN LINDQVIST.

"ERNST SOEDERBERG."

England Facing a Crisis.

THE DENVER EXPRESS, in its issue of September 6th, had the following, which shows the terrible condition of the working people of England:

"Keir Hardie, England's great leader of labor in the House of Commons, says there are 2,250,000 men in England who want to work and cannot get a job. On them depend 3,750,000 more women and children. Thus in this land of dukes and riches, at least 6,000,000 persons are dependents. There are 34,000,000 people in England. This makes nearly twenty per cent. of the population idle—unwillingly so.

"What would this country think if 16,000,000 people were crying for work or something to eat? Yet that is what England is going through.

"In the great city of London there are sections where men and even women, hundreds of them, sleep in the streets. The parks at night are full of them. They run past you pulling at your clothing, for a penny or two to buy a sandwich.

"If you are riding, they will open the doors of your cab and ask for enough to get something to eat.

"While Mr. Hardie was talking to the crowds, 8,000 poor women paraded through the fashion center of London. This remarkable 'line of hunger' would excite pity here, but caused little concern among the rich English men. These hunger marchers are pitiful people. Frank Smith, in the London Common Council, told his fellows how 150,000 people in London were actually suffering from hunger or were slowly starving to death. It costs the government more than \$150,000,000 a year because of poverty.

"More than 250,000 are listed as 'paupers' in London by the authorities.

"Manchester, next to London, is the great manufacturing city of England. So many workers were idle there that they started a long march to London. Many of them had no shoes, and their clothing was threadbare. Some dropped out from the exhaustion from hunger and others wept as they marched.

"Only four men found work in a week. The rest went to swell London's idle army.

"English engineering trades unions, composed of only the highest class of labor, report one-eighth of their membership in need of work. More than 15,000 skilled ship-builders are idle also.

"Unlike the American laborer, his British fellow cannot ask for his rights. He hasn't any to speak of, and when he loses his job he has a hard time making himself heard.

"People who are not satisfied say that there will be something like an English civil war in a few years unless these things are changed."

The above is a horrible picture, and men and women who take pride in boasting of our glorious civilization should meditate upon the awful conditions which confront millions of people in England. It is but a few years ago, comparatively, when a few mining magnates called upon the government of England and through their power and influence were able to have a proclamation of war issued that sent the flower of England's army into the land of the brave Boer. At an awful cost of money and sacrifice of human life, the followers of Oom Paul were defeated and a few mining kings took possession of the conquered territory and populated it with the "coolies" of the Orient, while England's bone and brawn who escaped death on the battlefield were permitted to return to their homes to court death via the starvation route.

But while England's unemployed army is greater than in America, in proportion to the population, yet the suffering and hardships endured by the jobless in the great cities of this country would beggar the pen of the writer or the brush of the painter for a description. In one of the paragraphs in the Express, the following language is found: "Unlike the American laborer, his British fellow cannot ask for his rights. He hasn't any so to speak of, and when he loses his job he has a hard time making himself heard."

The same language is particularly appropriate to the man whose hands are tied in idleness in America. When the jobless slave be-

leath the starry banner becomes so desperate through hunger and want to assert his rights, or what he believes to be his rights, he is confronted with the power of a police force, by the deputized hirelings of a sheriff's office, by the glittering rifles of state militia and federal troops and by the injunction of a court, which clearly reveals to the disinterested class that constitutional rights and liberties under the reign of capitalism are but the phantoms of infant minds.

The nations of the earth are being confronted with the unemployed problem and the rumblings of the earthquake can be heard in every part of the globe.

"Spreading the Salve."

JAMES DUNCAN, the vice president of the American Federation of Labor, in giving instructions as to the manner in which Labor Day should be celebrated, sent out the following:

"Where parades are in evidence, march with heads erect, proud of your calling and your cause, and bear yourselves throughout with the noble dignity becoming to union freemen. Let your addresses in the halls and hustings be respectful of the laws and institutions of our country, for by so doing you will symbolize the true union man, who, while he may desire changes of acts which he believes are oppressive, knows he is a citizen of a republic and will go about the necessary change in a deliberate manner becoming to true citizenship.

"Let your remarks ring forth the glad tidings that, enjoying our freedom as men and citizens, we aspire to be helpful in doing the best for the advancement of the cause of labor and of our great republic. Use no apologetic tone, for you are right in your purpose; apologies are out of order, except for wrong-doing. Add cheerfulness to the sentences composing the Labor Day address; it is not a funeral procession that is being addressed. Be hopeful in the general tone of your remarks, which will best befit the occasion, for we have enough of the sorrowful to contend with during the other 364 days of the year. Unless hope, cheerfulness, liberty and progress can be spoken, echoed and re-echoed upon Labor Day, these words will have lost their meaning to the workers of our land."

The above circular from the pen of the vice president of the American Federation of Labor may cause a feeble thrill of enthusiastic fervor to vibrate through the hearts of men and women who have but a faint conception of the inhumanity of the irrepressible conflict between master and slave, but to the individual who has a broad and comprehensive grasp of the class struggle, the words of Duncan will but arouse feelings of disgust and contempt.

Who is the man in the ranks of toil under the present industrial system that can feel proud of his "calling," as he realizes that another owns his job and that he can only follow his calling through the permission and consent of a boss.

Mr. Duncan, with the clarion notes of a gladiator, attempts to inspire the marching regiments of labor on Labor Day, to give utterance to the "glad tidings of enjoying our freedom," and yet the well-paid and well-groomed Mr. Duncan seems to have lost sight of the fact that for 364 days in the year the victim of the mine, the mill and the factory is fettered in the chains and shackles of wage slavery.

Mr. Duncan seemed to be anxious to impress upon the marching battalions in the Labor Day parade that "it is not a funeral procession," but he might have added that it was neither a wedding march. The joyful Mr. Duncan expressed a yearning that the men and women in line on Labor Day would be "cheerful," but why their faces should be wreathed with the laughing dimples of joy, the great "labor leader" sayeth not.

He Is Thinking.

THE NEWS ADVOCATE, published at Stockton, California, and which publication has the official endorsement of the Building Trades Council and Central Labor Council of Stockton, the State Federation of Labor and the Western Federation of Miners in California, commenting in a recent issue on "Gompers in Europe," had the following to say editorially:

"Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor, is still in Europe and while in Paris this week attended the National Congress of Labor being held there and delivered an address to the delegates of the congress. He was asked many questions by the labor leaders of France, and no doubt Mr. Gompers has learned from his visit in Europe—if he did not already know it—that the American labor union organization (A. F. of L.) is at least twenty-five years behind the times as compared with European national and international labor organizations. The Advocate editor has contended for many years past that America should cut out the present system and form American organized labor into a national labor congress, with representatives from each state, said representatives to be the agents of all labor unions in each state sending delegates to the national congress—just as is formed the present United States government. This would do away with hundreds of nationals and internationals and save millions of money in expenses to the workers of this country, and at the same time give much better representation of all unions—many of which do not now have any delegates at all to the annual conventions of the A. F. of L. The American idea is by far too expensive and lacks effectiveness, besides being incumbered with too many idle national officers

and high salaried offices and headquarters. Give us a county, city, state and national organization of organized labor: cut out the red tape and get down to business on a modern and business-like basis for the good of the cause and reduce the terrible and unnecessary expense of all these headquarters, officials and fruitless annual conventions, and save these now wasted millions to the toilers of the land for better purposes, speedier and more effective results. And by all means make all organized labor international in its scope, so that all who toil may reap the benefits of the organization and that the much sought brotherhood of man may prove to be more than mere idle resolve. Let us have a complete reorganization, President Gompers, when you return at the next annual convention of the A. F. of L. The rank and file stand ready to lend every assistance to make American organized labor the peer of any in the world. We have the intelligence, money and spirit with which to succeed."

While the ideas advanced by the editor of the Advocate may not be accepted in toto by all the advanced thinkers in the labor movement, yet, all will be willing to give him credit for having the moral courage to condemn a form of organization which has outlived its usefulness and belongs to the past. The fact that the editor of the Advocate has expressed his convictions relative to the weakness and heavy expense of maintaining an organization built upon the lines of the American Federation of Labor, will cause other men to think and from thought and consideration of this question will come a form of organization that will give far better protection to the class that is struggling against the infamous wrongs that curse a world.

A Waste of Time.

THE FOLLOWING in the press dispatches from Pittsburg, Pa., the industrial hell of America, will be interesting reading to the countless thousands of this country whose vision has been focused upon the plants of the steel trust, where human beings are slaughtered without compunction, and where corporate despots laugh in derision as they hear the pleading voice for justice:

"Pittsburg, Pa., Sept. 6.—An innovation today in the celebration of Labor Day was the formal recognition of the holiday by the Roman Catholic church. Special masses were held in the St. Paul's cathedral, and at the 10 o'clock solemn high mass, Father Joseph L. Quinn, rector of the Church of the Resurrection of Brooklyn, preached on "The Necessity of Religion," as applied to the solution of the labor problem and reviewed industrial conditions, showing how religion, if given the opportunity, can alter and improve them.

"Notwithstanding the labor troubles in this district, the day was

generally celebrated by athletic events, speeches and meetings, to conclude tonight with a grand pyrotechnic display."

The above in the press dispatches from Pittsburg, will have but little weight or influence upon intelligent men and women, who have been close observers and who have realized long ago that religion falls short in solving an economic question.

John D. Rockefeller is a religious man and has been liberal in his donations to churches and universities, but John D. Rockefeller never permits his religious scruples to stand between him and the reaping of the golden harvest that comes from the destitution and subjugation of toiling humanity. Baer, the coal baron of Pennsylvania, who several years ago claimed partnership with God and who dared to herald to the world that God had intrusted the natural resources of the earth to his care and custody, is the owner of a sanctimonious face and would feel insulted if he was charged with being unfaithful to the doc-

trines of Christianity; but Baer, regardless of his partnership with the Deity, is a despot whose heart is calloused and whose soul has shrivelled in the mad scramble for profits.

Andrew Carnegie is looked upon as a religious man and the press of a nation has used up all the beautiful and choice phrases of the English language to crown him as the greatest philanthropist and humanitarian of the age, but Andrew's millions are stained with blood and wet with human tears.

Nearly every great industrial magnate and oppressor of labor has expressed his belief in Christianity and endeavors to impress upon the public that he is permeated with the spirit of religion, but such a man never loses sight of dividends and cares but little how much suffering is endured to mint the profits that build an Eden on the earth for him, whose position makes it possible to enjoy the fruits of exploitation.

Reverend Quinn may be honest in his convictions and may believe that there is some efficacy in religion, but he should have realized that for nineteen centuries pulpits have been filled with men propa-

gating the doctrines of Christianity and yet the Golden Rule is but a burlesque and the scriptural mandate "Love thy neighbor as thyself," is but a mockery.

If religion has failed to solve the labor problem after a trial of nineteen hundred years, then upon what grounds can any sane man base his hopes that religion will solve the labor question in the future?

It is becoming apparent to every close observer that the temples dedicated to God are becoming more impotent, under the system that breeds millionaires and tramps. The hellish system under which we live is strangling religion to death and *Gold* has become the *God* at whose shrine the men of wealth and power worship. Even the laboring people crushed by industrial tyranny, are losing faith in the church and the pews are becoming empty. Until every minister of the Gospel uses his energies in an effort to overthrow the system that makes brutes of men, it is but a waste of time to preach upon the virtue of religion as a solution to the labor problem.

Presages Coming Solidarity.

IN THE CHICAGO DAILY SOCIALIST of the issue of September 3rd, we find the following, which will be appreciated by every progressive man and woman whose hearts beat for that glad day, when the labor movement of the world shall be united under one banner fighting for industrial liberty.

"Pittsburg, Pa., Sept. 3.—Victory for the striking steel workers at the Pressed Steel Car Company at McKees Rocks is a step nearer today as a result of the action of the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen employed on the Pittsburg, Fort Wayne & Chicago railroad in refusing to bring any more strike breakers to the steel plant. It is expected that the trainmen on other railroads will take the same action.

"The practice of the steel company was to get a carload of unemployed men in some big city like New York, Chicago or Philadelphia, and ship them directly into the steel works. The strike breakers would not learn that there was a strike on until they were inside of the big stockade surrounding the plant, and then they would only find it out as they saw the place patrolled by armed troopers and constabulary.

"In this way the company has managed to put up a semblance of a fight until the general walkout of the strike breakers took place. The attitude of the trainmen will now complete the impossibility of getting any ignorant unemployed men inside of the steel trust "slaughter house." The company officials have given out an authoritative statement that 300 men are at work in the plant. This is discounted by the strike leaders, who claim that not a wheel is turning in the plant.

"Government agents Hoagland and Pignoli, with Sheriff Gumbert, continued their secret inquiry into the alleged peonage conditions inside the car company's stockade. It was learned that the box car

jail, concerning which such serious charges were made against the car company officials, has been renovated and made habitable."

The above telegraphic news in the columns of the Chicago Daily Socialist, will give hope and courage not only to the oppressed victims of the steel trust, but men and women all over this broad land who are yearning for the unity of the labor forces into one great industrial army, will feel an inspiration to redouble their energies towards hastening the time when the working class shall stand as a solid phalanx to resist the murderous carnival of ravenous greed. When the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen on the Pittsburg, Fort Wayne & Chicago railroad issued their ultimatum that no more strikebreakers would be carried to the steel plants by the membership of the trainmen, there was established a precedent that will have a far-reaching influence on the other brotherhoods identified with the railway service.

The engineers, firemen, conductors and other members of the various railway brotherhoods will ultimately emulate the example of the Trainmen and when all the *brotherhoods* shall stand as *one* and refuse to dishonor the principles of unionism by becoming the allies of employers in making it possible for strike-breakers to usurp the places of men who carry union cards in their pockets, we will be nearing that millenium in the history of the labor movement when the struggling millions will live in an atmosphere that contains no germs of soulless capitalism.

All hail to this precedent established by the Trainmen, as it presages the coming day when labor throughout the world shall stand together to give battle to industrial slavery.

Brazen Hypocrisy.

THE LEADERS of the Salvation Army are now declaring that the misery and wretchedness that cover the earth is due to the lack of religion among the people. It is somewhat strange and singular that men and women whose stomachs are empty and who have worn the rags of poverty for years have failed to discover that indifference to their spiritual welfare has so affected their material happiness. It is a difficult matter, however, for the average slave who is jobless and hungry to understand how faith in the mansions of the invisible world or a belief in the immortality of the soul, would bring a "mess of pottage" to satiate the cravings of the "inner man."

It has never yet been satisfactorily proven that faith in a Great Jehovah or confidence in the efficacy of religion have started up any mines, mills or factories that have been closed, nor can there be found a living man or woman who will swear under oath that a fervent prayer or appeal to heaven has ever filled the empty larder of the masterless slave with the necessities of life. The misery and wretchedness that deluge the earth are due to the fact that the comparatively few own the earth and hold in their custody the means of life. If there is virtue in religion it seems strange that the salaried officials of the Salvation Army have not tried their remedy on the upper strata of society in order that the frigid soul of plutocracy might be melted to such an ex-

tent that the rags and hunger of the impoverished multitude might appeal to the spiritual nature of the gluttons, who feast upon all the luxuries of the earth? Is religion but for the poor and penniless, and are the plutes above that promised salvation that is held out as a panacea to satisfy the yearnings of the poverty-stricken wretches whose vitals are clutched by the iron grip of want?

The Salvation Army has proven itself a formidable ally of capitalism, and in many instances during strikes this band of Mammon worshippers has resolved itself into a strike-breaking agency and recruited the degenerates that usurped the places of men, who were making a brave struggle against the despotism of organized greed.

The Salvation Army is strong and powerful in England, and yet, where the flag of this pretended religious organization is unfurled to the breeze, want and hunger stalks like a pestilence, and hundreds of thousands of men, women and children are begging for the crumbs of charity in order that they may escape death by starvation.

If religion is a palliative to ease the pain of misery on earth, the Salvation Army, with its stronghold in London, England, has an opportunity to prove to the world the truth of its declarations, for across the seas comes a cry that tells of hundreds of thousands standing upon the threshold of the most abject poverty that has ever been witnessed in the greatest city on the face of the globe.

Administering Metal "Dope."

SINCE SAMUEL GOMPERS was severely criticized by some of the delegates attending the International Trades Union congress at Paris, France, a number of the daily journals of America have attempted to defend the president of the American Federation of Labor, with the object in view of prolonging the time when the toilers of a republic shall reach across the seas to clasp hands with the toilers of the Old World.

The daily journals have a clear conception of the interests of capitalism and know that when the labor movements of the nations of the earth march beneath the folds of one banner, the doom of profit-piracy is sealed and the dawn of economic freedom is at hand. The Rocky

Mountain News, under the caption, "Attack on Gompers," had the following to say editorially:

"Samuel Gompers was the storm center at the International Trades Union congress because he refused to pledge to that body the affiliation of the American federation. He pleaded that he had no authority to give such a pledge, but the delegates suspected a deeper reason. When they attacked him he declared that the American workingmen desired international confederation, "but only so far as it preserves the American conception of unionism."

"Naturally he was misunderstood. Labor movements in all the larger countries of Europe are based on the idea of revolution. Mean-

ingless to them is any propaganda that has for its purpose the adjustment of differences between labor and capital. Their ideal is a revolution that shall evolve an absolutely new social order. Consequently the European labor organizations are not purely industrial in character. Socialism, politics, and even religious issues, are inextricably involved in the movement.

"The Journal des Debats caught a glimpse of the American idea when it said: 'His (Gompers') work lies in the direction of developing the real interests of the workmen and solving the problem of labor and capital.'

"There is something glitteringly general about this explanation, but it suggests what should be the object of unionism in the United States. American unionism should be founded on the belief that labor and capital can be in harmony and should work together. It is largely a question of the 'square deal' on both sides. The great majority of American toilers believe that justice, whether it be voluntary or enforced, can settle the labor question, because they hold that there is no essential antagonism between labor and capital, and that revolution is unnecessary."

The above editorial in The Rocky Mountain News is a fair sample of a number of editorials that have appeared in other daily journals of America since the Napoleon of the American Federation of Labor met his Waterloo in gay Paris.

The daily journals of America cannot be expected to give their approbation or indorsement to the launching of any innovations in the world of labor that might lead to the ultimate emancipation of the wage slaves of the earth. The abolition of wage slavery and the economic freedom of man, means the downfall of capitalism and the jour-

nals that are mortgaged to the profit system cannot afford to give an honest expression to convictions that would destroy the goose that lays the golden eggs for a master class. The News, like the vast majority of other daily journals, declares: "American unionism should be founded on the belief that labor and capital can be in harmony and should work together." The News goes farther and says: "The great majority of American toilers believe that justice, whether it be voluntary or enforced, can settle the labor question because they hold that there is no essential antagonism between labor and capital and that revolution is unnecessary."

If "labor and capital can be in harmony" and should work together, then will The News explain why it becomes necessary to utter the declaration "that justice, whether voluntary or enforced, can settle the labor question"? If there is harmony between labor and capital, then why speak of *enforcing justice*? The crafty and fallacious reasoning advanced by The News is the verbal poison that has been administered for years by the daily journals of this country, in order that the mentality of the laboring people might be drugged into the belief that labor and capital can meet on common ground and amicably adjust all differences. There is no such thing as a possibility of bringing about fraternity or harmony between the class that exploits and the class that is exploited. The News might as well advance the doctrine that the highwayman and his victim can be partners, or that the hawk and the dove can be sweethearts, as to intimate that a wedding can take place between the master and the slave. The interests of the employer and employe are diametrically opposed to each other and the conflict must go on until but one class lives upon this earth, and that class will be the toilers of the world. The parasite and the exploiter must go before we can exclaim with truth: "Peace on earth, good will to men."

Labor Day, Nineteen-Nine.

(By Robert Hunter.)

NOT LONG AGO I was chatting with Mr. Samuel Gompers. He told me then what he has since uttered abroad, that he could not accept the doctrines of Socialism.

He said that he had read Marx and other great Socialist writers, but he differed with them.

Every Socialist differs with some of the views of Marx. No two men agree upon every proposition.

Karl Marx might have believed in witches, but I need not believe in witches. Karl Marx might have been an atheist; but I need not be an atheist.

When, therefore, Gompers says he disagrees with the doctrines of the Socialists, I want to ask what doctrines?

Socialist principles are very simple. A child can understand them, and if any trade unionist in America disagrees with those principles, he either does not understand them or his mind is weak.

That's a strong statement. Now, let's see if it is true.

The Socialist believes that the workers should have the full product of their toil.

Abe Lincoln believed that. Does any working man deny it?

Will Sam Gompers or John Mitchell or any labor leader anywhere deny that to labor belongs the entire fruit of its labor?

That doctrine is fundamental. It is the declaration of every Socialist movement in the world, and at the present moment not less than 50,000,000 men, women and children of the working class make that demand.

Another doctrine of Socialism is the class struggle.

Does Mr. Gompers deny the class struggle? Is it or is it not a fact?

It's a fundamental matter. If the interests of the working class and the capitalist class are not opposed, then Socialists and trade unionists are wasting their lives.

Does Mr. Gompers or Mr. Mitchell or any trade unionist or working man anywhere deny the class struggle?

If there is no clash of interest, why are there trade unions?

Why do workmen organize, pay dues, strike, starve?

If the workers can depend upon the capitalists to raise their wages, protect them in their poverty, abolish their unemployment and provide for their old age, why under heavens do the 2,000,000 trade unionists pay the salary of Samuel Gompers and spend millions of dollars to maintain an organized movement?

Why not leave it all to Morgan and Rockefeller and Belmont?

If the miners can depend upon the good and holy George Baer to fight their battles, where is the need of John Mitchell or Tom Lewis or John Walker?

It would seem, then, that no trade unionist denies this doctrine of the Socialists.

Well, there's a third doctrine, namely, that the tools and instruments of production should be owned by the workers.

Will any trade unionist deny this proposition?

They can not deny it if they profess to believe in the first proposition.

If the Astors and Vanderbilts, the Rockefellers and Morgans, the Belmonts and Guggenheims, the Hills and Harrimans are to take millions of profit out of the mere ownership of the tools of production, the actual users of those tools can not by any conceivable method receive the whole product of their labor.

The hundreds of thousands of miners can't receive all the wealth they produce if the mine owners are allowed by the mere title of ownership to subtract from the wealth produced millions upon millions every year. It can't be done.

No man is stupid enough to be deceived into believing it can be done.

Unless the men who mine coal own the natural resources and the tools they use while at work, there is no possibility under heaven of those men receiving the full product of their toil.

Will Mr. Gompers or Mr. Mitchell or any other trade unionist anywhere deny that proposition?

If they deny that the workers should own their tools and receive the fruits of their labor, then they must believe that idlers, thieves and pirates should own those tools and force labor to divide up with them the wealth produced.

If labor is to have only a portion of its product, then some one else must get the other portion.

Now if a man believes that labor should have the full product of its labor and that labor should organize industrially and politically to obtain the full product of its labor, he agrees with the doctrines of Karl Marx. He is a Socialist and he can't be anything else.

Either Mr. Gompers believes these doctrines or he does not believe these doctrines. If he does not believe these doctrines, he is opposed to organized labor and favors the robbery and exploitation of every man of toil.

I know there are labor leaders who say that they believe in the doctrines of Socialism, but that Socialism is a thing for the future, not for the present.

They say we must organize and fight now to prevent abject slavery. They organize therefore to increase wages, shorten hours, improve conditions.

Well, no Socialist is opposed to that. They know that if labor is not strongly enough organized to increase wages, shorten hours and better present-day conditions, it will not be strongly enough organized to establish Socialism.

A labor movement which is so weak and infantile as not to be able to get filth cleaned away from its doorstep will not be able to establish the co-operative commonwealth.

Every Socialist believes that labor should organize, that every toiler in all this broad earth should join with all other toilers to fight.

To fight, here and now, for better conditions. To shorten hours to increase wages, to improve conditions now.

To fight the little employer and the big employer for better working conditions in this present day.

They believe that labor should organize industrially until every man of toil is included in the ranks of the fellowship.

And they also believe that the workers should be politically organized to send representatives into every legislative chamber, to elect their own public officials and to fight for laws and the enforcement of laws which shall better the conditions of labor in this world here and now.

Men who will not fight for increased wages now will not fight for the whole product of their labors tomorrow.

Men who will not fight against oppression now will not fight to free the children of the future.

Friends, this is Labor Day. Hundreds of thousands of you are today assembling and marching. That's not very many.

But if you are willing to fight, it's a pretty good beginning. Do you or do you not believe in what has been said above?

If you believe that it is just and right and good, then stand up and fight for what you believe is just and right and good.

If you are cowards today, you will be cowards tomorrow; and if you will not fight your present-day battles, you will not fight your future day battles.

Agitate, organize, educate. Bring together the comrades of field,

factory and workshop. Send forth your representatives, trade union and political, to fight and win what you want now.

For if you will fight and win what you want now, you will fight and win what you want tomorrow.

Your comrades of all other lands are at the front.

The time is here. Are you ready?

Pennsylvania Cossacks.

(Reprinted from the Beverage Trade News, August 27, 1909.)

ALL INDUSTRIAL DISTURBANCES are deplorable, but never more so than when the state becomes *particeps criminis* in fomenting them, and the power which should be used to make peace is used to incite strife. The strike of the employes of the Pressed Steel Car Company at McKees Rocks, in this state, furnishes a notable basis for our criticism.

Any one acquainted with the conditions existing there before the present strike knows that the men had abundant justification for resenting any attempt to remove the protection that organization affords against the encroachments and oppression of that corporation. The men employed are largely of foreign birth, many of them recent immigrants, who came to this country because of the favorable representations made by the agents of corporations in order that the demand for labor may be supplied, and a surplus created, so that they may secure labor at the cheapest possible rate and under the most advantageous conditions to themselves.

The managers of these corporations are without heart or soul, devoid of humanity, and evidently do not hesitate to countenance wholesale slaughter by reckless disregard of life in the management of their plants. The Pittsburg district is a veritable hell in this respect.

If any people, anywhere, have ever been justified in seeking to protect themselves by organization, it is the employes of the iron and steel works connected with the United States Steel Corporation, of which the Pressed Steel Car Company is a part. In order to defeat the strikers they, through various agencies and by misrepresentation and bald deception, endeavor to secure the necessary workers, and having inveigled them into their plants, they hold them there in practical peonage and force them to labor in an industrial slavery as criminal and indefensible as chattel slavery could possibly be.

What has the state ever done to stop the cruelty and lawlessness of these corporations? Practically nothing. It has ever been inclined to cooperate with them and sustain corporate lawlessness so offensive to every conscientious and patriotic citizen. But when the men seek to adjust matters all the power of the state is concentrated to protect the oligarchies of the steel trust. Formerly the service was performed by the toughs and thugs employed by the Pinkertons. This system, however, was a heavy expense to the corporations, as well as offensive to the public generally and the labor organizations.

As a substitute for the Pinkerton-thugs, the Legislature during the notorious Pennypacker administration instituted the state constabulary, which costs the state in the neighborhood of \$250,000 annually. The constabulary instead of being a pacificatory force, has always created more disorder and incited to more lawlessness than they have ever abated.

It was originally asserted that they were to patrol the unpoliced rural districts, to protect the defenseless farmers from tramps and hoboes; but they have not been used to any extent for this purpose. They

have been quartered in mining and other industrial centers for the sole purpose of intimidating workmen and helping the corporations in their tyrannical practices.

It would be as effective to send a man with a red blanket into a bull pen or a herd of Texas steers to promote peace as to send the state constabulary into the industrial districts to maintain law and order. Their very presence is offensive. It is un-American. It smacks of Russia and Cossackism. The men enlisted for this service are swaggering loafers, beefy bullies, ready for hire to undertake any dirty task or perpetrate any ruffianism.

The writer knows whereof he speaks from personal experience and observation, from contact with these men and knowledge of their acts. They always make themselves obnoxious to decent citizens, and would disturb the peace of any community.

Some two or three years since a squad of them was called to the borough of Clearfield, and kept the whole town in an uproar for weeks, until the regular police force threatened to resign unless they were sent away. Some of them were arrested for corner-lounging and for conducting themselves like Bowery mashers.

During the recent strike of the street car men in the city of Chester and vicinity they were guilty of conduct the most disgraceful and of brutality the most inexcusable; and now at McKees Rocks they are shooting women and children, and citizens who would, if left to themselves, conduct an orderly strike, but who are made disorderly and maddened to resentment and revenge by the affront put upon them through this constabulary. It is a pity that any of them should be killed, but it is a greater pity that men of this character should ever have lived.

We can not understand why the state of Pennsylvania should assume the responsibility of recruiting and supporting such a company of irresponsible blackguards, and confer upon them official authority to exploit their brutality in the industrial centers of the Commonwealth. It is true that the corporations and their sympathizers and toadies approve, but the sweating, toiling masses are full of resentment and some day will perform an act of decapitation upon the politicians whose subservience to corporate interests have instituted this un-American system.

Our acquaintance with workingmen under the most adverse conditions and during strike periods the most desperate, leads us to assert that an officer in civilian clothes, carrying no weapon but his badge of authority, will accomplish more to maintain peace and good order than all the uniformed Cossacks that can be recruited. If the authorities will depend upon the regular officers, police and constables of the different localities, they will protect the common interests much more successfully than they can by the importation of Russian methods.

At least we say, out with the Cossacks, eliminate this foul remnant of a disgraced administration, and give us an American system for an American commonwealth.

Crisis In Unionism.

ORGANIZED LABOR has accomplished much in America. To it we owe our public schools, a free ballot and many other privileges and rights now enjoyed by the workers. Organized labor has fought magnificent battles and won splendid victories on American soil.

For almost a century, with many desperate struggles, heart-breaking crises, glorious victories and occasional crushing defeats, the movement of organized labor has proceeded onward and upward.

There have been times when the outlook was dark. In the terrible days of 1877, 1887 and 1894 the enemies of unionism declared that unions were crushed out of existence. Yet the crisis passed and blows that were thought to have crushed were found to have but served to forge a better weapon for the fight.

Once more the unions of America are confronted with a crisis. It is not so spectacular as the preceding ones. There has been no crushing defeat in a great nation-wide strike. There has been no sudden wiping out of whole battalions of organized labor.

On the contrary, this crisis has crept upon us so quietly and so insidiously that its very existence has scarcely been noticed.

The union exists to increase the share of the product going to labor and to improve the conditions of labor. If it cannot do these things it has failed of its mission.

Until within little more than a decade ago the unions were able, on the whole, to steadily improve the conditions of their members. They raised wages from an average of little more than a dollar a day to three, four and five times that sum in many trades. They transformed an almost universal twelve-hour day into an almost equally universal eight-hour day in the skilled trades.

All these things they have done and many more. Nor is their work

finished. So long as workingmen must sell their labor power for a chance to live, their only hope of maintaining even a decent human existence lies in organization.

But we would be foolish to shut our eyes to the fact that the union movement in America is passing through one of the most critical periods of its long career.

One tremendous fact proves this.

For fifteen years the cost of living has advanced faster than the unions have been able to raise wages, so that today wages are actually lower than they were in 1896.

This is the statement of the United States Department of Labor, which always seeks to make the best showing possible to prove the prosperity of American workingmen.

There is no doubt that the condition would have been much worse had it not been for the resistance offered by the unions. Yet, if whatever is gained in money wages is lost in purchasing power, then the workers of America are engaged in dipping water with a sieve and need never expect to get their dinner buckets full.

Another startling fact is that the unions have been least effective against just those largest and most powerful combinations of capital that are coming more and more to dominate the industrial situation. In the great steel industry and in the production of meat the unions have not only been unable to improve or even to maintain conditions, but the organizations themselves have been almost entirely wiped out of existence.

But these great trusts are the advance guard of industrial development. They are the pattern toward which all industry is evolving. Yet with these monsters of industry the union seems unable to cope.

The reason for this is not hard to see. The union was born of competition. It depended for success upon the fact that stopping the

profits of one capitalist or set of capitalists gave its competitors such an advantage that he was willing to grant something to his workers before he was completely eliminated from the world of business.

Today the union confronts not competitive industry, but trustified power. When employes of the steel trust strike in Pittsburg, profits still flow in at Gary and South Chicago. Even if all the plants are shut down the *time* of receiving the profits is all that is changed; the *quantity* may remain the same. Even if wages be increased the monopoly can still shift the increased cost to price, and the worker has gained but little.

While the capitalists have grown more powerful on the economic ground, they have grown still more rapidly on the political field.

For centuries the fiction has been maintained that the courts stood above individual and class distinctions. Today the fiction has been cast aside. The courts have become the open tools of the employing class, and in the injunction they have forged a weapon against which the union, by itself, is almost helpless.

It is not alone that the old weapons of the exploiters have grown more powerful. New and still more effective weapons have been added.

This does not mean that the unions have outlived their usefulness. It does not mean that organized resistance to oppression must be in vain. On the contrary, these conditions call only for new methods of organization and new weapons of defense on the part of labor.

Concentrated economic power on the part of the exploiters must

be met with wider and more compact organization on the part of labor. When competition disappeared between capitalists it was the signal that divisions in the ranks of labor were outgrown.

When the capitalists tore the judicial ermine from the judge and dragged it in the mire of class justice, they did it only because laborers had neglected to use their political power in defense of their own interest.

If the unions have been helpless before monopoly, it was because they clung to outgrown methods and not because progress is no longer possible. If unions have been crushed by injunctions, it is not because of lack of power to resist, but because union men have given their ballots to their enemies.

Unionism can pass through this crisis in one of two ways. It can fight on with present methods, dividing its strength industrially on the economic field according to outgrown trade lines and dividing its votes politically among the parties of capitalism until the present organizations are destroyed and new ones are born to meet the new conditions. Or union men can use their intelligence to change their methods and solidify their forces while their organizations are still strong.

They can close up the gaps in their ranks, stop the dickering of power-seeking leaders with the political parties of capitalism and use their strength intelligently to advance from victory to victory.—Chicago Daily Socialist.



INFORMATION WANTED.

Information wanted of the whereabouts of Joseph F. Poynton, who was secretary of the Coeur d'Alene Central Executive Miners' Union in 1892, and who served part of a term in Boise, Idaho, jail until released by order of the Supreme Court of the United States. He left the Coeur d'Alene district about 1894 for Johannesburg, South Africa. He was heard from in South Africa seven or eight years ago, since which time nothing has been heard of him. It is believed he returned to the United States. An estate valued at between \$1,500 and \$2,000 has been left to him, but will go to others if he is not heard from soon. Any information concerning him, dead or alive, will be thankfully received by either T. P. Procell, Mullan, Idaho, or Denis Walsh, Cathedral street, Thurles, County Tipperary, Ireland, the latter executor under the will of Joseph F. Poynton's mother.

REPLY OF JOSEPH HUTCHINSON TO MARTIN WALLACE.

Grass Valley, Cal.

Martin Wallace:

When you get and properly state the facts in connection with my statements on the floor of the seventeenth annual convention regarding the schedule of hours adopted by the state union, upon which all locals of the state could make a stand under the law, then and then only will you be entitled to discuss them, or receive any reply from me, much less any apologies.

As for the balance of your article, those who read it may be the judges. To me it is but a repetition of what all my predecessors have got from a few men in Nevada county. Personally I prefer envious censure to praise from the author of such delirious squeals.

Would advise that you get the facts, which will save you considerable energy for the building of the old, and bringing into being more new locals in your state, and "all the glory shall be thine forever. Amen. Amen."

JOE F. HUTCHINSON,

Hailey, Idaho, Sept. 5, 1909.

THE REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON EX-SECRETARY BOYLE.

Park City, Utah, August 28, 1909.

To the Members of Park City Miners' Union No. 144, Western Federation of Miners:

Brothers—We, your committee on Investigation, in re ex-Financial Secretary Ed. F. Boyle vs. Park City Miners' Union No. 144, beg to submit the following report: We took up the investigation in conjunction with Executive Board Member Tresidder and Brother Boyle, on their arrival here August 11, 1909. We began by going over the ledgers in order to determine to what extent the membership had been exaggerated during Brother Boyle's term as financial secretary. At the commencement a contention arose between your committee and the executive board member as to whether a member who owed \$2.00 for dues at the end of a quarter should be considered in good standing. Your committee contended that the secretary in reporting on conditions as they exist, at the end of the quarter, and that all members who are owing for two months' dues at the end of the quarter are in bad standing. Executive Board Member Tresidder would not concede the point any further than to keep such members in a separate account.

After carefully going over the books, we found the following number of members to be in good standing:

- Quarter ending September 30, 1903.....743 members
- Quarter ending December 31, 1903.....792 members
- Quarter ending March 31, 1904.....802 members
- Quarter ending June 30, 1904.....198 members
- Quarter ending September 30, 1904.....50 members

As per quarterly reports reported to Western Federation of Miners by Financial Secretary Boyle:

- Quarter ending September 30, 1903.....800 members
- Quarter ending December 31, 1903.....953 members

- Quarter ending March 31, 1904.....904 members
- Quarter ending June 30, 1904.....450 members
- Quarter ending September 30, 1904.....466 members

After going over the ledgers, Brother Tresidder considered his work done, and refused to carry the investigation any further, claiming that he could not see any benefit to any one concerned in going any further. Your committee used every available argument to convince him of the necessity of going over the assessment accounts in order to determine who were in good standing during the quarters ending June 30, 1904, and September 30, 1904, but all to no purpose. He absolutely refused to go into these accounts, thereby showing that his purpose was not to make an impartial investigation. Your committee decided to continue the investigation far enough to go through the assessment account, with the above result. Your committee also looked over the cards that were turned in, and heard two or three cases of complaints against ex-Financial Secretary Boyle, from members who claimed to have paid money to him without being credited on the books. As no proof was furnished to sustain said charges, we recommend that Brother Boyle be exonerated from them. Although this organization has never to the knowledge of your committee charged him with such offense, on the other hand, we charge Brother Boyle with falsifying his quarterly reports while in a position of trust in this union to the great injury of No. 144.

A point raised by Brother Boyle was that this union collected moneys on assessments and turned it into the treasury. We contend that this was the place for it, that it should have been turned in from the commencement of their collection, and credited to the various accounts on the ledgers, and paid out of the treasury to the Federation. Instead of doing this Brother Boyle kept all assessments collected on a separate list and continued to carry the members in good standing regardless of whether they paid their assessments or not.

In summing up, your committee finds that owing to exaggerations as shown above, No. 144 is misrepresented on the records of the Western Federation of Miners, to the extent of \$2,994.00, which they did not owe, and consequently could not be remitted by the Western Federation of Miners. The blame for this falls principally on ex-Secretary Boyle, who, as financial secretary of No. 144, should have done exact justice between Park City Miners' Union No. 144 and the Western Federation of Miners.

Hoping this will clear this unfortunate controversy to the satisfaction of all concerned, we remain, yours fraternally,

(Seal.)

M. F. CURRAN,
HENRY WONN,
JOHN EDENSTROM

Committee

This report was adopted by Park City Miners' Union No. 144, W. F. M., August 28, 1909, and same ordered forwarded to the Miners' Magazine for publication.

J. P. LANGFORD,

Financial Secretary No. 144, W. F. M.

REPORT OF HOWARD TRESIDDER.

Mammoth, Utah, August 19, 1909

Mr. Chas. H. Moyer, President W. F. M., Denver, Colo.

Dear Sir and Bro.: In accordance with instructions received from the seventeenth annual convention, I went to Park City, Utah, with Brother E. F. Boyle, former secretary of Park City M. U. No. 144, and went over the books of No. 144.

The charges made against Former Secretary Boyle, as I understand them, are that he had exaggerated the membership of No. 144 in his quarterly reports of 1903-1904; also that he had received money for assessments from different members and did not give them credit on the ledger for same.

The ledger shows that the assessments were not entered in the ledger until January, 1905. At this time Secretary Langford was in office.

The assessments collected by Boyle were kept in a separate account and not entered against or credited to the members in their ledger accounts.

The members claiming to have paid Boyle assessments, and not receiving credit for them, failed to show in any instance where they had ever paid

Former Secretary Boyle money for assessments or dues that they had not received credit for.

The following is a report of the number of members in good standing during Boyle's term of office:

Boyle claims to have reported those members owing two (\$2.00) dollars at the end of the quarter as being in good standing. Secretary Langford and the local committee claim that members owing two (\$2.00) dollars at the end of the quarter are in bad standing. The following shows the number of members in good standing in each quarter and the number owing \$2.00:

Members in good standing, quarter ending Sept. 30, 1903.....	743
Members owing \$2.00 Sept. 30, 1903.....	87
Total	830
Reported in quarterly report ending Sept. 30, 1903 (by Boyle).....	800
Members in good standing, quarter ending Dec. 31, 1903.....	792
Members owing \$2.00	67
Total	859
Reported in quarterly report ending Dec. 31, 1903 (by Boyle).....	953
Members in good standing, quarter ending March 31, 1904.....	802
Members owing \$2.00	31
Total	833
Reported in quarterly report ending Mar. 31, 1904 (by Boyle).....	904
Members in good standing, quarter ending June 30, 1904.....	447
Members owing \$2.00	128
Total	575
Reported in quarterly report ending June 30, 1904 (by Boyle).....	450
Members in good standing, quarter ending Sept. 30, 1904.....	274
Members owing \$2.00	84
Total	358
(Quarterly report of above date missing.)	

In regard to charges made by Former Secretary Boyle that assessments collected by No. 144 were turned into the treasury of No. 144, the minutes show that on July 16, 1904, at the regular meeting, a motion was made and carried that the W. F. of M. assessment now on hand be placed in the treasury of the union. The books show the amount voted into the local treasury at that time was \$306.50.

The books also show that after the above date all assessments collected were turned into the local treasury. The exact amount I am unable to determine. Respectfully submitted,

HOWARD TRESIBBER.

CABLEGRAM FROM SWEDEN.

The Swedish general strike is now assuming a new character, as evidenced by the following cablegram received by the Swedish-American newspaper "Arbetaren" ("The Worker") from the president of the Swedish National Organization of Workers:

Stockholm, September 4, 1909.

"Arbetaren," 28 City Hall Place, New York City:

The gigantic struggle continues, though the situation is somewhat changed. Work will be resumed on September 6th only with such employers as do not belong to the Swedish Employers' Association. Against the latter the fight continues, embracing 163,000 workers. The struggle now is limited to the association that declared the lockouts. With continued economic assistance the immense struggle must be continued until a satisfactory settlement of the whole conflict has been reached.

For Landssekretariatet,

HERMAN LINDQUIST.

As appears from the above cablegram, the workmen have scored their first victory, in so far as they have succeeded in effecting a break in the ranks of the employers, previously united.

But even with the situation thus improved, the fight is of vital importance to labor the world over.

These 163,000 workers are all organized and the employers will no doubt go to unlimited sacrifices to try to crush out of existence the Swedish, and thereby all Scandinavian, labor organizations. If the Swedes should lose this battle, which they cannot possibly afford to do, labor will have received a setback the world over, from which it will take years to recover.

Therefore, financial assistance from the world is needed as much as ever, and the workers of America should consider this fight as their own.

Send all appropriations and contributions direct to

LANDSSEKRETARIATET,
Stockholm, Sweden.

New York, September 4, 1909.
JOHN SANDGREN.



WANTED—HONEST SERVANTS.

(Reprinted From the Beverage Trade News, August 27, 1909.)

Theoretically, public officials are the servants of the people. It would be a good thing if, like servants in the common relations of life, they were subject to peremptory dismissal for neglect of duty.

In the United States last year 2,050 men were killed in the coal mines and 6,772 were injured. Three times this number were killed by railroad accidents, and thousands more in various industrial enterprises.

In the city of Philadelphia, from January 1 to August 24, 1909, forty-seven were killed by the cars of the Philadelphia "Rapid" Transit Company.

It is safe to say that by a competent administration of public affairs and a faithful discharge of duty by our official servants at least four-fifths of this slaughter could have been averted. This being the case, our official servants are accessories to this killing and accomplices in the crime of murder.

When a mining corporation, by deliberate neglect of precautions known to be necessary, and solely for the sake of economy neglects to protect its employes, and through this neglect thousands are killed, the representatives of that corporation are murderers pure and simple, and for the lowest reason—greed.

When the railroad corporations of the country for the same motive invites the slaughter of its servants and patrons, the charge of murder should

lie without modification or excuse; and when the Philadelphia Rapid Transit Company, which enjoys possession of the streets of Philadelphia, granted that it may serve the public efficiently, neglects the most ordinary precautions, and the citizens of the city, men, women and children—principally children—are killed, the charge of murder lies against the officials of the Rapid Transit Company, and it is one of those "Darned spots that will not out."

But the very men who are responsible for this condition—for this neglect that results in the murder of innocent and helpless people—are the loudest in their cry for protection and the first to be protected when any labor or other trouble arises that menaces their property and their profits. "Maintain the supremacy of the law" is their cry; "Protect the good order of the community" is the demand of these patriots; and there is no limit to their denunciation of labor organizations.

If the strikers are occasionally responsible for the injury of a strike-breaker or some one who interferes with their securing justice at the hands of the employers, the employers themselves, in the aggregate, are responsible for the killing and the injuring of tens of thousands.

Our servants are quick to avert the lesser evil while indifferent to the existence of the greater.

It would seem as though the mass of our citizens would perceive this incongruity, not to say infamy, and demand an administration of public affairs more in accord with the rights of the masses, and calculated to protect the real interests of the people; for, say what you will and think what you may, the rights represented in the human personality, the right of mind, of aspiration, of hope, of heart, of soul, are more than all that is represented in the inanimate, unthinking and unfeeling thing we call property.

Profits secured at the expense of human life and a reckless disregard of the common welfare are worse than the filchings of a common thief or the peculations of a trusted official—the stain of blood is upon them, and inhumanity brands their possessor.

Is it not strange in the twentieth century of the Christian era that we have to fight for the protection of human life in industrial pursuits; for the right of man to labor under just conditions; to secure such remuneration for the toil of women that they will not have to sell their bodies to eke out a miserable existence; for the salvation of children from the taskmastership of mill and mine owners, and practically be under the necessity of wresting from our servants the rights that are immutably ours?

Our servants? Yes, in theory; but in fact the tools of our masters—the money-mongers.

REGAIN FREEDOM BROKEN IN WILL.

Convicts Incapacitated for Life Struggle—Prison Discipline Deprives Them of All Power of Initiative, Leaving Them Permanent Public Charges.

When a convict regains his freedom society hopes he will be good. Admittedly there are impediments. Usually he is without money and with few, if any, friends. His descriptions has been sent the police rounds, and a small army of his fellow beings is professionally and financially interested in keeping close tab on him and taking advantage of his first slip from grace. But, on the other hand, society considers that he must have learned a valuable lesson, and that during the years of his imprisonment he may have acquired habits that will guide his feet safely in the paths of virtue. "Let him behave himself," says society, "and do the right thing, as others do."

An eminent writer, Thoreau, criticising the Sunday school teaching of his day, says: "Do not be merely good; be good for something." That is more than a moral precept; it is a practical statement of the facts of actual life. If a man is to keep his head above the water he must be more than honest or well meaning; he must be capable. He is heavily handicapped if he has not some special occupation, but even if he has, other qualifications are essential. Without some capacity or self-assertion he most assuredly will be driven to the wall in the universal jostle. Not an hour will pass without calling on him for some exercise of will power; at every step he will be required to use his judgment and discriminate. Our civilization is, at least, partially free, and men are expected to do things for themselves.

Such is the world of which our convict finds himself once more a part; under disadvantages, it is admitted, but with his lesson learned and years of training to assist him. Let us see how he has been trained for the conflict that lies before him.

Many books recently published, such as "The Turn of the Balance," "No. 9009," "Thirteen Years in the Oregon Penitentiary" and "Life in Sing Sing," to say nothing of the numerous magazine articles by well-known writers, have made the public exceedingly skeptical as to the education given in our state penitentiaries, but there is probably a feeling that the central government runs things with a closer approximation to common sense. Here, then, we give an extract from the rules in force at the United States penitentiary at Fort Leavenworth, Kan.—an institution under the management of Maj. R. W. McLaughrey, who is an advocate of the most advanced prison reforms, but finds himself the mere administrator of a system he had no hand in creating:

Discipline at Meals.

12. On entering the dining room take your seat promptly—position erect—arms folded, with eyes to the front until the signal is given to commence eating.

13. Strict silence must be observed during the meal. Staring at visitors, talking and laughing, fooling or gazing about the room are strictly forbidden.

14. Eating or drinking before or after the bell sounds, using vinegar in your drinking water, or putting meat on the table are prohibited.

15. Should you desire additional food, make your wants known to the waiters in the following manner: If you want bread, hold up your right hand; coffee or water, hold up your cup; meat, hold up your fork; soup, hold up your spoon; vegetables, hold up your knife. If you desire to speak to an officer about food or service in the dining hall, hold up your left hand. Wasting food in any form will not be tolerated. You must not ask for or allow the waiter to place more food on your plate than you can eat. When through with meal leave pieces of bread on left side of plate. Crusts and small pieces of bread must not be left on your plate.

17. After finishing your meal place knife, fork and spoon on right side of plate. Sit erect, with arms folded. When the signal is given to arise, drop hands to your side. At the second signal march out and to your place in line in a prompt, quiet and orderly manner.

Men fight shy nowadays of enlisting in the army, the constant obedience to autocratic orders being alien to that larger freedom which a society gradually evolving from militarism has acquired. And it is proverbial that the discharged soldier is seldom capable of holding his own in other occupations, having acquired unconsciously the habit of waiting for the word of command, rather than of thinking for himself. But even with the soldier meal time is a period of jollity and relaxation. In the federal prison, as in other penitentiaries, men march to their meals under the shadow of guns and flanked by armed guards; devour them in grim silence, and may think themselves lucky if they escape punishment for infraction of rules so minute that they constitute in themselves a reign of terror.

Tortured in Ohio.

That this is no exaggeration may be seen by any one who will take the trouble to read the article on the penitentiary at Columbus, Ohio, appearing in the August number of Hampton's Magazine and written by Charles Edward Russell, a publicist of established reputation. His visit to the dining room is described thus: "More than one convict makes an attempt on the mess before him, and, desisting after a moment, sits and stares hopelessly at his

plate. If one wishes more bread he raises a dirty finger, and a guard takes a piece in his hand and tosses it upon the dirty table. If one wishes more water, he raises his cup. Not a soul breathes a word. The guards are all there, watching, listening."

This is followed by the affidavit of William Labarge, which is given to explain the paddle torture, and shows how unrelenting is the meal-time discipline. It runs as follows: "Three weeks after I entered the Ohio penitentiary there was a couple of guards arguing about politics, and one of the convicts (at dinner hour) stuck his finger up for some bread. The guards did not seem to pay much attention to him, so I passed him some bread. I was reported in the morning, sent to the cellar, and the deputy gave me about twelve or fourteen licks with a wet paddle and sanded, and every time he hit me it seemed to take the flesh right off, and it bled so it went into my shoes. I had to use cotton for two or three weeks in order that it would not stick to my clothing, and I could hardly sit down to eat, it pained me so."

Of course this is only a convict's affidavit, but there are too many, far too many, of these affidavits now in circulation, and they are supported by the testimony of too many independent and reliable investigators. On the other hand, the official reports rendered by wardens in response to governmental inquiries are not calculated to inspire one with overweening confidence. For example, the report made by the warden of the Ohio state penitentiary, given in "Modern Prison Systems," document No. 452, House of Representatives, issued in 1903, begins: "No other punishment mentioned than that of loss of grade, privileges and good times." Yet this is the very penitentiary in which Brand Whitlock and Charles Edward Russell found torture worthy of the inquisition in habitual use.

Folsom Prison Criticized.

Again, the report made by the warden of the Folsom state prison, California, reads: "We do not chain, cage or whip prisoners; our punishment consists in salubrious confinement with bread and water, and partial or total suspension of privileges." As a matter of fact the bull rings were then in constant use there and convicts brought terrifying tales of the treatment to which they had been subjected. In reality the average convict, dreading the vengeance of the authorities, dare not tell the truth, the average prison official will not.

Col. Griffith J. Griffith, secretary and treasurer of the Prison Reform league, has given with immense wealth of detail, such accounts of the abject subjection in which San Quentin prisoners are held that the story has become a familiar one to California readers at least; and it may be added that the vast bulk of San Quentin inmates are employed in the jute mill, on an occupation which fits convicts in no way for the tasks they must take up when they emerge from prison, since the manufacture of these particular goods is confined to the San Quentin and Walla Walla, Washington, penitentiaries. If the convict is fitted in any way there for his future struggle with the world, it must be by the disciplinary education he receives, which is simply that of terrorism—the one object being to break the will and convert man, the final product of evolution, into a spineless jellyfish.

From Oregon's History.

Joseph Kelly, in his "Thirteen Years in the Oregon Penitentiary," gives sickening details of the floggings that were administered there within quite recent times (his book was published last year), what he terms "the murder of the boy Delmane," forming an appalling chapter. His general criticism of flogging is as follows: "That man who is flogged you need never be afraid of. He will do you no harm, for he is a dog for life and a coward, of course. This is what men have told me that have been flogged. They say the spark of manhood is out of them. They begged for mercy when their backs were being lashed, and mercy was refused them. They were only laughed at and told the next time they would be killed with the lash." He declares, however, that conditions in this particular penitentiary are better now than they were when his term began.

In "Facts About Flogging," by Joseph Collinson, honorable secretary of the criminal law and prison commission, Humanitarian League (England), the general effect not only of flogging, but of all other forms of brutality is expressed thus: "The lashed and hacked prisoner has no future. He is no longer a man; he has been degraded to a brute, and for the rest of his life alternates between ticket-of-leave and prison. He is alive and yet dead. When you have broken the spirit of a criminal, lacerated his flesh as far as human endurance is possible (gauged by the medical man in attendance), be sure of one thing: You will have to support that man, in and out of prison, for the rest of his life. Let the advocates of the 'cat' note that fact. To lacerate and smash up, morally and physically, the criminal is—apart from all questions of humanity—a somewhat expensive luxury for the already overburdened people of this country."

The author of "Life in Sing Sing," a singularly restrained and well-balanced book, reports the following conversation: "You," cried the irate warden to a prisoner before him on some trivial offense, "you, damn you, you have a will of your own. Well, I'll have no wills here except my own. I'll tame you, damn you. I'll tame you. If you were a tiger I'd tame you." And he adds: "They did tame him, and he wasn't very wild, so far as I could see; and when they had him really tamed he was in Dannemora insane asylum, where he will die a raging maniac."

A shallow public seems very generally to picture the discharged convict as a dangerous, wild beast, wandering about and seeking whom he may devour. Those, on the other hand, who have had experience in aiding this most unfortunate class will tell you that they are often so unstrung and bewildered by the roar and bustle of our industrial centers, to which they return, of necessity in their search for work, that they dare not venture across the street unassisted. No wonder they remain permanent public charges.

IN THE MARKET.

Society today is a huge market wherein wares are being bought and sold. Over the purchase and sale of these wares there is constant hickering and strife, often amounting to riot, at all times a seemingly hopeless confusion. But a closer examination shows, beneath the confused and unordered surface, certain economic laws mechanically controlling all barter and sale, balancing fluctuations, limiting variations, directing the movements of buyers and sellers. By the combined action of these laws the market is governed, while it conforms more or less closely to them, they seem inoperative, but immediately it is attempted to transgress them, forces are immediately brought into play to reduce the transgressors to conformity.

While it appears at first glance that the whole process of buying and selling is haphazard and human, that prices are dependent on accident or human design, on the greed of the seller or the close-fistedness of the buyer, yet investigation will reveal a certain method and order pervading the entire market, that not only the fluctuations and variations but the very haggling and chaffering are mechanical and automatic.

The one factor common to all wares or commodities is the labor necessary for producing them. On the basis of labor alone then can they be compared or measured in value one against another. As labor today is a social process, that is to say, as it is the cooperative labor of many individuals that produces each commodity, we have the axiom that the exchange value of a commodity is determined by the socially necessary labor involved in its production. This fact gives all commodities a strong tendency to sell at their exchange value.

Were the condition of the market uniform, were there an even flow of commodities into the market and out of it, so that the supply would exactly meet the demand, all commodities would sell at their exchange value. But the condition of the market is never such. The supply of any variety of

commodity may at any time be greater or less than the demand. More than that, the exchange value of each commodity is constantly varying as, with few processes of manufacture and improvements in machinery less and less.

Essentially necessary labor is monopolized in its offering its relation to all other commodities. At the same time, in fact, in which the prices of commodities are expressed, each commodity, as subject to the same fluctuations of commodities, rendering the average confusion worse confounded.

So that, instead of commodities selling at their exchange value they fluctuate continually above and below it. Nevertheless, over the entire range of the market, and over a period of time, more or less extensive, these fluctuations cancel and balance one another, and in the long run, commodities sell, on the average, at their exchange value.

The fluctuations in the prices of commodities are of two varieties—continuous and intermittent. Continuous fluctuations are due to two principal causes operating in their effects. On the one hand, improvements in machinery and processes of production, reducing the quantity of socially necessary labor involved in the production of commodities, tend constantly to lower prices. However, despite the marked improvements in production, prices have steadily risen. On the other hand, we have the explanation of this continuous rise in prices in the second of the causes of continuous fluctuations, that is, the increase in the production of gold. Enormous as has been this increased production of gold in late years, and great as have been the improvements in the methods of its production, it may be admitted that it has been outdistanced in these respects by other commodities. But a factor that must be taken into consideration is that, while other commodities are consumed with at least sufficient rapidity to avert an immediate glut, yet gold is consumed in hardly appreciable quantities. With the exception of what is worked up into jewelry, etc., gold practically remains unconsumed and each year's production is heaped on the accumulations of the ages, so that the rise in prices, really amounts to a decline in the value of gold so rapid as to effect the cheapening effect of improved methods.

Indeed, this decline would be yet more rapid were it not for a factor that in some degree tends to check it, that is, the practice of "hoarding." Among Moslems, to whom the taking of interest is forbidden by the Koran, and in countries where the banks have not attained a degree of apparent stability sufficient to command confidence, gold is hoarded and thus disappears from the market, somewhat lessening the glut. Our bourgeois rulers and their financial luminaries, absolutely ignorant of economics, seek to discourage hoarding by various means, and as nation after nation becomes more highly developed capitalistically and its financial institutions assume more stability, not only will hoarding lessen but previously hoarded gold will be thrown on the market, and the decline in gold will be enormously accelerated. So that an even greater and more rapid rise in the prices of commodities than heretofore is inevitable.

Of intermittent fluctuations in price the principal cause is to be found in the relation of supply to demand. When the supply of a commodity on the market exceeds the demand, the price tends to fall, and vice versa. Owing to the strong upward trend given to prices by the rapid decline in the exchange value of gold these intermittent fluctuations may not appear on the surface as a rise or fall in prices but merely as an acceleration or retardation of the general upward trend. When "times are good" that is, during periods of capitalist expansion, the demand for commodities is strong and prices have an upward trend. When the limit of the period of expansion is reached and the prosperity bubble bursts, demand falls off just at a time when the supply is at its greatest and prices receive a downward impulse, where they do not actually fall, they are at least rise very slowly or are at a standstill for a time. Their intermittent fluctuations are thus periodical.

As all commodities rise and fall in price practically together, their exchange relation with one another is not affected, but merely their common exchange relation with gold.

Taking it all together, it can be seen how absurd it is to blame the "Trusts" for raising prices. Actually, trust production cheapens commodities in that it constantly reduces the socially necessary labor involved in their production, without which prices would rise much more rapidly because of the increased production of gold. Moreover trusts steady prices and eliminate minor fluctuations as, producing largely to order, they limit the supply to the demand to a certain extent. Of course, as demand becomes stronger with a period of expansion, they can command higher prices, but when the demand falls off they must lower prices again in order to hold their sales up to their output. So that, under trust production fluctuations are minimized and prices of commodities more closely approximate exchange values than under cut-throat competition. Western Clarion.

TRADE UNIONISTS SEE NEED OF THE SOCIALIST MOVEMENT.

By Frank J. Hayes.

The trade unionists throughout the country are slowly but surely awakening to the fact that existing wrongs cannot be remedied by an economic organization alone, but that the true solution of the injunction question, the military question, the creation of bullpens and the deportation and murder of striking unionists, along with the shameless exploitation of the entire working class, is to be found expressed in no uncertain terms, in the Socialist propaganda—i. e., the elimination of the cause, production for private gain, the enrichment of the idle few who own the jobs and with them the lives and happiness of the toiling millions.

The loss of nearly every great strike that has taken place during the last decade has been caused chiefly, if not entirely, by the workers voting the tickets of capitalism and electing staunch supporters of private interests and legalized robbery to public office, some of them—ah, the mockery of it!—posing as "friends of labor." And then awakening, as usual, after the strike has been lost, and after quite a few of their number are the occupants of jails, bullpens, hospitals and morgues, to the simple fact that the Republican and Democratic parties and their political henchmen are not the "friends of labor," but are owned and controlled and operated, like the capitalist, operates his mine, mill or factory, for the sole promotion of the private interests of a few individuals who own the greater part of "the land of the free and the home of the brave."

Let us see how this political power which we so magnanimously vote into the hands of the capitalist class is used. A strike is called to remedy some grievous wrong or perchance to resist a reduction in wages. The men all respond, the ranks are firm, men en masse, everything favorable, corporation losing money, and then, what? Why, then a call is sent to the governor for troops, or to the chief of police for a few extra "brain awakens" to protect the strike breakers.

After this procedure it is the established custom for the masters to apply to some temple of justice for an injunction, depriving the strikers of all constitutional rights. And here let me ask, Does the court, as a rule, ever inquire into the merits of the workers' grievances, the cause of a strike? Is the matter investigated? Not much! These capitalist judges, elected on the platforms of the "loyal patriots, methodical, subsidized Republican and Democratic parties, are as true to their class and the sanctity of property rights, as the workers have been false to their class and the Socialist party, the political expression of their social needs.

Experience, it is said, is the best teacher, and let us hope that the experience of the trade unionist has not been in vain. I believe I can speak for the craft to which I belong when I say that the loss of the coal strike in Alabama, under a Republican governor, and the loss of the coal strike in Colorado under a Republican governor, has made thousands of Socialists in every mining district in the country.

In the state of Alabama, Governor Comer, a Democrat and a "friend of labor," saved the day of the mine owners. The strike was virtually won, when the mine owners called upon him to serve his class. Did Governor Comer hesitate? Did he take this request under advisement? Oh, no!—he immediately issued an order to the state troops already on the field to tear down the tents of the striking miners, and also served notice that the supply of convict labor in the mines of Alabama was in need of certain additions, and it was very likely that he could use a good part of the strikers in such mines, if the strike was not called off immediately.

With no shelter for the strikers or their families, with the troopers' bayonets at their backs, with a government, from the governor down, owned and controlled by capitalist forces—there was nothing to do but call off the strike. Another strike lost and mine slavery perpetuated in Alabama, because the workers voted the political power into the hands of their oppressors.

In the state of Colorado, under Governor Peabody, a good Republican, the same thing occurred. The state troops were used to crush organized labor. In Colorado bullpens were erected and deportation of strikers was speedily recognized as one of the infant industries of the state, and is now universally recognized as an established capitalist institution throughout the country.

Governor Peabody spent thousands of dollars of the money of the state of Colorado to break this strike. The people's money used as an instrument of oppression! Shades of Abraham Lincoln and Thomas Jefferson! Is this "a government of the people, by the people and for the people?" Is this "the home of democracy?" What a travesty on a Republican, representative form of government! And who is to blame for this farcical administration of public affairs? The capitalistic class—very small in number? Ah, no—the working class alone must bear the responsibility.

It has been said that there is no darkness but ignorance, and it is the force of ignorance and superstition that has placed this tremendous power for weal or woe into the hands of a small, parasitic class. The workers, as a class, have never voted for better things—have always been content to be the burden bearers and share the lot of the submissive slave. But it is one of the most hopeful signs of the times when we see the trades union movement drifting toward the Socialist propaganda—sailing toward that open sea which leads to a new land, a new era, dedicated to peace and plenty and consecrated to a higher order of civilization.

At the last national convention of the United Mine Workers of America, the largest single trade union in America, a resolution was passed declaring for the tenets of Socialism.

It is my observation that the time is not far distant when every real trade union in America will see the necessity of organized political action, and will voice the political expression of their class needs under the banner of the militant, uncompromising, Socialist movement.—Chicago Daily Socialist.

WORLD OF LABOR.

By Max S. Hayes.

While the cables from Honolulu announce that the strike of the Japanese laborers on the plantations has been abandoned, it is significant that no mention is made of the terms of settlement. Whenever the Associated Press is silent on that phase of industrial adjustments it can be usually taken for granted that the workers have secured some advantages that the capitalists prefer that the public know nothing about. In fact it has often occurred that strikes have been abandoned, with an understanding that the workers return to their employment under old conditions, and then later were conceded every demand made. Whatever the immediate results may be, it is a certainty that the Japanese laborers have lost nothing. They came on strike, as has been mentioned in *The Review*, without having held meetings, attempted to arrive at settlements, or having an organization along union lines. It was a sort of spontaneous, voluntary movement, but class-conscious and sympathetic, and, although the governing powers and the capitalist class of the islands were solidly opposed to the workers, the strikers succeeded in developing an organization that was rather an innovation and might well be emulated by some of our unions in the states that have had years of experience in organization work.

A prominent citizen of Honolulu, who was in entire sympathy with the Jap laborers, but who for obvious reasons does not want his name published, has sent me an interesting account of the tactics that were pursued by the workers. It appears that the mob of workers who suddenly and spontaneously walked out on strike several months ago have been drilled into a well-disciplined organization possessing the cohesion and solidarity of a military body. The whole army, several thousand strong, were divided into squads of twenty, each captained by one of the most intelligent of the lot, who was responsible for his associates to the Higher Wage Association. The roll was called in each group twice a day, and if a man was absent he had to be accounted for. When a member wanted to absent himself from his fellow workers he received a pass with a time limit reading: "Permit to go out of town. The above named man is granted traveling permission, good for this day only." The pass bore the name of the individual receiving it and was signed by the Wage Association. If the man went into the country (the strike district) he was met by pickets, who inspected the pass as sentries do on the lines of an enemy.

In the matter of supporting the strikers a system was followed that appears to have operated like clock-work. The commissariat purchased supplies through bidders, the food was wholesome, meals regularly served and the housing was carefully looked after. The strikers were said to have had plenty of finances and every penny was accounted for, and, as the funds were carefully husbanded and no waste was permitted, the money problem was not as aggravated as the plantation owners hoped it would be.

It should also be stated that a system of courts martial was in operation by which offenders against the rules of the Association were arrested, tried and punished. It is not claimed that the punishment was severe, the moral effect being sufficient to cause prisoners to mend their ways, as the strikers took a natural pride in displaying their solidarity and loyalty to their movement.

As mentioned above, the capitalists and politicians were a unit in opposing the strikers. Many American and European workingmen in the Hawaiian Islands were also inclined to antagonize the Japs at the outset, perhaps largely on racial grounds. But gradually the Caucasians began to show more respect and sympathy for the Orientals and racial prejudice is disappearing. Of course, the Japs, having developed a splendid organization, will, now that they have returned to work, keep it intact in all probability and be ready for another contest if necessary. But as the capitalists lost millions of dollars it is not likely that they will hunger for more trouble.

Samuel Gompers' European trip hasn't set the world on fire. While he is studying industrial and political conditions in the older countries our cousins are studying him rather curiously. Socially, Sam is a hale fellow well met, and, while the Englishmen have received him with due hospitality and drank "alf-an'-alf to 'is health, and the Frenchmen uncorked some wine, and the Germans said "gesundheit," as they raised their steins, at the same time they watched their American visitor out of the corner of their eyes. In Great Britain Gompers was heckled at some of the meetings he addressed, in France some of the radicals charged him with being a "labor plutocrat," and in Germany they have been asking him some pointed questions about what the American workingmen are doing with their free ballots, how many strikes they have won and lost, and so forth.

Our envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary, while repeatedly requested to state his views regarding the labor movements in the various

European countries, has quite diplomatically abstained from committing himself to any great extent. Once or twice Gompers unguardedly dropped remarks that started the foreigners to talking. He complimented John Burns, it is reported, and was sharply criticised for so doing, although when Burns was over here some fifteen years ago he rapped Sam pretty hard for his conservatism. In Paris it appears that only about two hundred persons heard Gompers speak, and when he lightly criticised some of their policies they poked fun at him and grew sarcastic.

Gompers is writing a series of articles for an American newspaper syndicate, which appear in some of the dailies and labor publications. But they merely refer to the living conditions of the workers, state of trade, etc., which might be duplicated in our own industrial centers, and are significantly luminous in what they do not relate about the political progress of our European fellow-workers. In all probability Gompers will discuss the bigger questions relating to the struggles between the workers and the ruling classes in his concluding articles, which will serve as a basis for his recommendations to the Toronto convention of the A. F. of L. next November.

The action of the Western Federation of Miners, in voting to call a national conference of all organizations engaged in mining for the purpose of forming some sort of an offensive and defensive alliance, is bound to be commended by every progressive worker in the labor movement. The Western Federation, as the officers' reports submitted to the recent convention demonstrated, is now, at the close of one of the most severe struggles to which any American labor body ever has been subjected, stronger financially and numerically, than at any time in its history. The United Mine Workers are also in fine shape, and if these two organizations come together along with scattering bodies that may be eligible, and form an alliance, they will be a great industrial power.

As is well known, both the W. F. of M. and the U. M. W. are strongly Socialistic. Class lines have been drawn upon them so often by the capitalists that they would be stupid indeed if they failed to grasp the principles involved and take steps along the path of true progress. During the past few years I have had opportunities of visiting a good many mining localities in the Middle West and have been agreeably surprised to find a rapidly increasing sentiment for Socialism, where eight or ten years ago the movement was unknown. In two or three years more the United Mine Workers will be more thoroughly permeated with Socialism than almost any other organization, not excepting the Western Federation. I know officers identified with old political parties who admit that this prediction is no dream.

In this connection it should be stated that the United Mine Workers' Journal, following the course of many other labor publications, has thrown open its columns to a free discussion of all economic and political questions. Editor Scaife announces that he will not be muzzled or attempt to suppress free speech of others. His predecessor, one Sexton, gloried in the fact that he possessed the power of injunction and used it unsparingly, with the result that under his "editorial" administration the Journal was about as progressive as the Congressional Record. Not only does Editor Scaife invite free and open discussion of all matters in which labor is interested, but he fearlessly attacks some sacred institutions and individuals when he deems it necessary. Thus in a recent column editorial the Journal roundly denounced Samuel Gompers in writing his series of a dozen articles and syndicating them for \$12 to the labor press. The Journal declares that union members who receive as little as a half day's work per week have, through payment of dues, defrayed all of Gompers' expenses on his European tour, and that it was an outrage to charge the labor press for the information that he was paid to collect, and which additional expense the miners' international executive board refused to stand for as a matter of principle. This is lese majesty in earnest.

At their Buffalo convention, just held, the journeymen tailors adopted the resolutions declaring for Socialism, with slight amendments, which were passed in the United Mine Workers' convention. One of the surprises of the convention was that Secretary John B. Lennon, who is also treasurer of the A. F. of L., supported the resolutions. The Tailors' organization is becoming strongly Socialistic. The peculiar thing about it is that an independent organization in San Francisco, which claims to stand for Socialism, has been bombarding Lennon as a reactionist and shouting "down with him," and Lennon, on his part, has invited them to join the international and help overthrow him. The Frisco tailors seem to be as radical as Lennon is conservative.

It looks as though the new employers' liability law, about which Roosevelt, Taft and other politicians made so much fuss, is doomed to follow its predecessor. It was said that the old law was faultily constructed and that the new act would be sure to run the gauntlet of the courts. The corporation fat men pretended they were greatly pleased when the bill went through the upper, and in both houses of Congress they lustily shouted, "Aye!" upon roll call. Then they winked and grinned at each other and went home and told their constituents all about their friendship and love for the dear workingman—and, of course, were re-elected.

Now comes the Connecticut Supreme Court of Errors and declares the national employers' liability law is unconstitutional. Two brakemen employed by the New York, New Haven and Hartford railway, sued that corporation for damages for injuries sustained while in its employ. The United States government was represented in the case to defend the constitutionality of the law, but the corporation won. Now the precedent will doubtless be quoted by other courts as sound reasoning and the law will be a dead letter.

There is no nope for an adjustment of the jurisdictional controversy between the glass bottle blowers and flint glass workers. The latter have withdrawn their local unions from all central bodies chartered by the A. F. of L. They had made an offer to combine with the bottle blowers, but met with refusal, and it is quite likely that the war between the two factions will go on, to the great satisfaction of the capitalists.

As we go to press, word comes of the successful outcome of the hatters' strike. The main contentions of the men were for the union label and the closed shop. They win on both points. The label will be used in hats as before, the union will be recognized and all strike-breakers fired. It seems to have been a clean-cut victory after seven months of hard fighting.—International Socialist Review.

TO HIM WHO SETS THIS UP IN TYPE.

By Ernest Poole.

Stop your linotype machine!

You have? Good. The jingling rattle has suddenly ceased. The machine is before you motionless—grim—for the moment dead.

And I myself, as a writer, am for the moment dead. Powerless. Of my 100,000 readers I can reach not one. You have suddenly stricken me dumb.

There are other machines beside you. But all are run by union men. The printers and all the other trades here, all are worked by union men. And most of the papers and magazines all through the American cities and towns go to press through the labor of union men. And since in these modern days, the most vital speech of a civilization is printed speech, in you is the power to strike whole cities dumb. You did it once in Vienna. Last month you did it in Stockholm. And in "free America," if the powers that

rule ever lose their heads and strive to take from the people the right of free speech and free press—then you will certainly show your strength.

Your strength all lies in union. The strength of men in all trades, in all civilized nations of the earth lies in steadily banding together.

This they have begun to see. And slowly, year by year, trade by trade, nation by nation, the workers of the world have begun to unite.

This the powers that rule you have begun to see. And swiftly, in nations all over the world, but most swiftly of all in our nation here, the unions of employers have suddenly appeared. Injunctions have appeared. Anti-boycott decisions have appeared. A host of other obstacles are suddenly rising in your path. Rising, swiftly rising, new ones every year, most cunningly devised by the ablest legal minds, most cunningly fitted in one to the other, like girders of steel in the frame of a bridge. The bridge is rising high over your heads. And the bridge is intended to lead you back to the black days of slaves.

The bridge already looms over your heads—looms high. And so huge and heavy it seems, that when you look up at its massive frame you believe it can never be changed.

The bridge makes me think of a legend. A legend I read in some old book which dealt with our Western Indian tribes.

Many thousand years ago, on the desert, there lived a tribe that crawled in the dust. All its members, men, women and children—crawled along on their hands and knees, eyes fixed on the dust and mire. And no one had ever dared to look up. For the tribe believed that above in the sky loomed a terrible something—something intended to crush them—and that if a man looked up, then he would instantly die.

One day a very old man, crawling along in search of food, suddenly fell exhausted at full length upon the ground. His eyes for a moment were turned to the sky. In his eyes flashed a look of amazement and joy. With a shout he staggered to his feet.

"Brothers!" he cried. "Look up! There is no terrible thing! Here is only—"

But his speech was stopped. For his neighbors in blind terror at his boldness, their eyes still fixed upon the dust, reached up and pulled the old man down—and choked him until he died.

And so the tribe crawled on. But one man, who was young and filled with fierce revolt at the thought of the long, weary life ahead, a life in the mire and dust—he thought to himself of the old man's cry. It was with him while he toiled all day, it rang in his ears in the night.

At last, one dazzling morning, he suddenly leaped to his feet. He threw up his head, gave one glad look, burst into a peal of laughter!

His laughter was cut off. He too was dragged down by frenzied hands. He too was choked to death.

But his laughter—and the old man's cry—began now to work in the minds of others.

Two men, by side-long looks and whispers, resolved to spring up together. This they did. Before they could both be dragged into the dust, a third man had risen, then a fourth! And soon a score of young men were upon their feet—shouting:

"Brothers! Look up! Here is only a bright blue sky—and a flashing sun—and air to breathe!"

And from that day onward, the tribe walked erect—like men.

A thousand years ago, when most men were still slaves, over their heads there loomed a terrible something. It was vague, mysterious, made up of laws and customs which they could not understand. It was almighty in their eyes. They believed it was eternal, come from God, to endure so long as the earth should last.

But there were men who dared to rise and look this Something in the face. And from that day onward, one kind of slavery began to disappear.

A hundred years ago, in "Free America," a union among workmen was decreed a crime. Again there was Something over their heads, again it was made up of customs and laws, and again they were made to believe that this Something was unchangeable, that it must forever endure.

But again there were pioneers who dared to rise, look squarely up. Those early pioneers in labor's cause were hunted, starved, imprisoned. Many were shot down. But others rose to take their place. The work went on—not only here but in countries over the sea. And from that time onward, the organized army of labor began.

Now you number tens of millions—but your work has just begun.

And now once more there suddenly rises over your heads the old Terrible Something. Swiftly, year by year, it rises higher, more solid and compact, made up of laws most cunningly devised to crush out your union strength.

Are you going to lie down and crawl—back to the days of dust and slaves? Or are you going to rise, as men have risen before you?

To rise will not be easy. For all around you are workers by the millions who are blind—blind as the Indian tribe with its eyes upon the dust.

"Unions," they will tell you, "we believe in. We have had unions before. But to unite as citizens, in a political party all our own, to rise and take over the government and make the laws ourselves—this is only some wild dream! It would never work, it could never last! Because it has never been done before!"

The same old cry, the same blind fear.

But the pioneers are rising. And the time is close at hand.

For your unions are fast being robbed of their strength. You cannot stand still. You must go forward or back. You must either submit, give up your organization, give up the right to strike, and go back to the black old days of slaves. Or you must rise and face this Something now looming high above you.

"Shall we pull it down?" you ask. "Pull down the whole vast system, government, laws, courts and all?"

Oh, no. At least not with a crash. For in these modern times, these practical times, when men decide that a bridge or a building is unsafe, a menace to the mass of men, they do not pull it down with a crash. They take it down slowly, piece by piece, and slowly piece by piece they build another in its place.

The Socialist party has no purpose of pulling things down with a crash. No violent revolution—but a carefully worked out plan, a progressive program, whereby as we slowly come into power through peaceable means, by the ballot, we may piece by piece remove these laws, this great network so cunningly devised to keep you down—and in their place make new laws which shall give new lives to a new and nobler race in the years before us, when the whole great tribe—humanity—shall no longer crawl with their eyes on the dust, but shall walk erect like men.

I have written. You have read. Now, turn back to your machine. For you stand between me and thousands of readers. Without you I am dumb.

REVENGE FAILS TO CURE CRIME.

Probation Laws Humane and Efficacious—Philosophy of Old and New Schools of Criminology Placed in Sharp Contrast by Prison Reform League.

In recent letters we have dwelled so fully on the sadder subjects of increasing crime, especially those of violence, and on the proved futility of the violent methods by which it has been sought to remedy the evil, that it is a relief to turn to a consideration of the efforts that are being made

to find a better way. How could it be otherwise? To those who have thought at all on the subject the situation for years past has been an obvious absurdity.

Here is the president of the Chaplains' Association speaking at the remarkable congress of the National Prison Association, held in Chicago less than two years ago—a congress attended by many of the leading wardens of the country. He asks this pointed question: "What's in a prison that it should reform man? They are received, photograped, stripped, clipped, annotated, measured, numbered, tabulated by size, shape, scars, color, marks, moles and the unchanging papillary ridges of the finger tips. Arrayed in prison garb, they are counted, matched, worked, watched whether awake or asleep, hustled along by keepers, lied about by fellow convicts, forgotten by their friends, kept in silence and leading strings till they lose the power of initiative and forget the usages of the world."

Or take an address by Judge Arthur N. Sager of St. Louis, made at the same congress, in which, speaking of the penitentiary at Jefferson City, he says: "We know that when the convict leaves these walls his picture, description and record will be catalogued in all the great cities of the land, that the trained sleuths of the law are constantly on the alert to pick him up, interrogate and inform upon him, that he is as timid and helpless as a bird just released from the cage, that he feels that every man who looks him in the face reads his prison number and record. We know, if his family is gone, his home destroyed and his friends have forgotten him, he is as a wild beast—hunted, feared and despised."

When such thoughts make their way into any considerable number of minds they are found to ripen into action. One of these forms of action, the adult probation law, we shall now consider.

Massachusetts was distinctly the pioneer, having taken action as far back as 1878. Then came a long pause that lasted until 1903, when Vermont and New Jersey followed suit. After which came New York in 1904, California and Michigan in 1903, Maine (one county only) in 1905, Missouri (only for those between nineteen and twenty-five years of age) in 1906, Ohio in 1907, Indiana in 1908 and Connecticut this present year. The organ of the National Probation League, organized in Chicago December 17, 1908, announces that similar laws probably will be passed in Illinois, Minnesota, Wisconsin and other states this coming winter.

It should be added that thirty states and the District of Columbia have juvenile probation laws, legislatures having shown a far greater readiness to apply this sensible and humane system to the youthful than to the adult offender. A striking example of the muddy thought that apparently reigns supreme when the question of crime and criminals is under examination.

Adult Claim Greater.

For those who have made a special study of this subject are a unit in holding that if there is one good reason why a lad should be placed on probation, there are a dozen for avoiding, if it is possible to do so, the locking up of the father on whom, probably, he his brothers and sisters and his mother are dependent; for the cause of juvenile delinquency is most commonly parental neglect, which imprisonment of the family bread-winner only intensifies; for the earning capacity of the adult is larger than that of the youth, and the community is by that much the loser when the state forces the adult into compulsory idleness. As Judge Cleland of the municipal court of Chicago puts it: "If an ex-convict has a family, he returns from prison to find them impoverished, shunned by their neighbors, his children scorned and sneered at by their schoolmates—everything worse, more helpless, than when he left them." Thus the advocates of adult probation are in the habit of urging it even more for the sake of the offender's family than for that of the offender himself.

The federal government still lags conspicuously in the rear, having no probation law for either juveniles or adults, and in the same class stand the following states: Arkansas, Delaware, Florida, Georgia (except the city of Atlanta), Maine (except Cumberland county), Mississippi, Nevada, North Carolina, North and South Dakota, Oklahoma, South Carolina, West Virginia and Wyoming. In a previous letter we have commented on the brutal methods of treating crime that still mark the south, instancing, in particular, the atrocities of the convict camps. The preponderance of southern states in the foregoing list will strike the most superficial reader.

What is the principle that underlies all probation laws? Simply that which is the basis of the entire national movement set on foot by the Prison Reform League—that the philosophy of revenge has been proved inefficacious and is, therefore, out of date, and that society profits more by reforming than by punishing the offender. The prisoner is given a chance. He is told by the court that his future fate rests with himself. If the probation officer reports that he is behaving himself, and, especially that he is abstaining from drink, or whatever may have been the special vice that brought him into trouble, he is left unmolested, and finally procures complete discharge. Thus, instead of being stained and incapacitated by serving a term in prison, he is put on his mettle with every imaginable inducement to do his best; instead of the taxpayer having to support him in his compulsory idleness, and the community being deprived of the addition to its sum of wealth which his labor would produce, he is placed in conditions where he has all the incentive in the world to hunt a job and to hold it when found.

Has It Worked?

It looks like a good scheme, but has it worked? Let us cross-examine those who have been in a position to discover. Judge Cleland is a first-rate authority, since he presided for thirteen months over the Maxwell street criminal branch of the municipal court of Chicago, a district which has been described in McClure's Magazine as follows: "In this territory murderers, robbers and thieves of the worst kind are born, reared and grown to maturity in numbers which exceed the record of any similar district anywhere on the face of the globe. Murders by the score, shooting and stabbing affrays by the hundred, assaults, burglaries and robberies by the thousand—such is the crime record each year for this festering place of evil which lies a scant mile from the heart of Chicago."

The judge tells us that when he took charge he found that an immense proportion of those brought before him were "repeaters"—persons who had been sentenced again and again. He says that of 3,000 imprisoned during the previous year, having been unable to pay the fines imposed, nearly one-half had been there all the way from twice to two hundred and one times. He counted eighteen women, each of whom had served 100 terms. After dwelling on the awful poverty that was the marked characteristic of the district, and the fact that its inhabitants universally regarded the law as a juggernaut, he makes the following comment: "In substantially every case that I investigated I found that, notwithstanding the efficient management of our workhouse, the offender had come out a less desirable member of society than when he went in; his employment was gone, his reputation was injured, his will weakened, his knowledge of crime and criminal practices greatly increased. As one young girl expressed it, 'It is not a house of correction, but a house of corruption.'"

Illinois has no probation law, there are no paid probation officers and the judge had to devise his own methods and provide his own machinery. He at once made an innovation by holding night sessions and adopted the following plan. On the prisoner pleading guilty he was given the maximum sentence, but it was immediately suspended on the accused pleading himself to go to work and to refrain from the special vice that was admitted as the chief cause of his trouble. Reports were made at regular intervals, the released prisoner bringing with him his wife or other witness to testify to his good conduct.

Unprecedented Record.

During the thirteen months in which Judge Cleland presided in Maxwell street he tried more than 8,000 cases, in 1,231 of which the prisoner was

placed on probation, and he records that 92 per cent were faithful to their pledges. Summing up his experience the judge says: "That many, perhaps a majority, of criminals can be wholly reformed without imprisonment through the means of suspended sentence, with little or no expense to the state, I am satisfied beyond a doubt; and this will be done when we can eliminate from the treatment of criminals the desire for revenge and look only to the good of the individual and of society."

It should be added that, as the numbers of those released on probation increased, it became impossible for Judge Cleland to keep personal track of them, and it was necessary to call for volunteer probation officers. One hundred business and professional men responded and took on themselves the duty of visiting the released men monthly, reporting on regular blanks. This number was subsequently increased to about 400. It may be further remarked that when he entered on his duties Judge Cleland had to face the opposition of the 400 liquor dealers of the district, who were much prejudiced against him on account of his record as a total abstainer, but that these subsequently became his warmest supporters and pledged him their unanimous support.

One demonstration so complete is worth a ton of abstract argument, but the experience testified to by Judge Cleland could be duplicated from many other points. For example, Judge Sager of St. Louis, previously referred to, states emphatically that if the courts grant probation without bias or prejudice "they will work more for good and humanity than all the penitentiaries that blot the land." He cites numerous instances from his own experience where the offense was of an aggravated kind, yet the eventual outcome fully justified the merciful course pursued. On one of these, in which the charge was embezzlement, he makes this comment: "I might add that this case is unique in the fact that the detective department, which usually pursues this class unrelentingly, was in sympathy with the defendant." The comment will be found applicable to many cities besides St. Louis.

Only Two Schools.

As a general summing up we submit the following remarks by Warren F. Spalding, secretary of the Massachusetts Prison Association, as being profoundly just: "In the competition between punishment and probation, probation has been subjected to tests which have never been applied to imprisonment. It has been demanded that probation shall prove that it promotes reformation. It has never been asked that punishment, as a means of reformation, shall support its claims by results. Has probation succeeded? is a common question. Why not ask: Has punishment succeeded? The answer would be found in multitudes of prison records showing dozens, scores, sometimes a hundred commitments of the same person. But though it has failed in thousands of cases, imprisonment is still in favor. Though it has failed ninety-nine times in a single case, there is no hesitation in imposing the hundredth sentence. No other method of dealing with human beings has such a record of failures, such a lack of records of success; yet there are many who are reluctant to even partially abandon it—such is the attachment to old ways."

On the one side stands the old school, guided solely by the philosophy that it is the business of the authorities to see to it that society is properly revenged. On the other side stands the new school, with the conception that it is the duty of the authorities to banish all thought of revenge and to look exclusively to the good of the individual and of society. The teachings of this latter school are those which the Prison Reform League is endeavoring to nationalize. There are only these two schools.

TOILERS NOT INTERESTED IN FORMS.

Flint Glass Worker Condemns a Leadership That Depends on Observance of Moth-Eaten Rules.

By Fred Shane, President Flint Glass Workers' No. 81.

"For forms of government, let fools contest,
That which is best administered, is best."

The above quotation was never more pathetically verified than in the trade union movement today.

The peril of every great movement, in its most acute stage, has at least the redeeming feature of making big men by utilizing the opportunities which only then exist.

At this very hour, believed by many to mark a crisis in the history of organized labor; when injustice in the mills, mines and factories is being answered by the feverish pulse beats of collective revolt, even in unorganized localities; when a sense of solidarity of interests is permeating the ranks, and the soil never more receptive for the seeds of unionism, we find the commander-in-chief 3,000 miles from the scene of action, and his lame lieutenants at Washington, still farther away in spirit, belching orders of more discipline to the men behind the guns.

The irritated resentment of the executive council of the A. F. of L. against the "Flints" is a good excuse to side-track the main issue.

A passionate devotion to established forms does not offend the powers that oppress labor, nor worry the Civic Federation.

The souls of men might grow black with the wrongs they endure, but this does not concern most international presidents. That is a matter for the membership.

The former are concerned only in perpetuating forms which will establish their reputation for successful leadership, as that term is defined by their capitalistic associates and the exclusive set with whom they exchange flatteries in clubs and cafes and across the banquet board.

At present, society is convulsed by a conflict—expressed in strikes, lock-outs, injunctions, evictions, constabulary and workingmen's funerals too numerous to mention and too abhorrent for comment. No matter! Forms must not be neglected—discipline must be maintained.

What possible good can come out of an order to expel the delegates of a bona fide labor organization from central bodies?

It is true, the "Flints" is a small organization, numerically speaking, but they are always big in pocket and not much condemned to have an "itching palm."

When the Glass Bottle Blowers' Association was in trouble some years ago, they were the beneficiary of the "Flints'" generosity to the extent of \$5,000.

A proposition is now before our trade to give financial relief to the Steel Workers. The proposition will likely carry. I trust it will, but the donation in this and all other cases would doubtless be twice as large, were the A. F. of L. officials as adept in cultivating solidarity and fraternal standards as they are in fostering internecine war.

The labor movement today demands a renaissance—a strong and aggressive leadership. Not the brilliant appearance of empty oratory—not a clenched fist declaration of "No reductions—not an obsequious acknowledgment for puny patronage—no, the call of "Les miserables" in this day must be answered by something more substantial than mere mouthings from self-centered authority.

Will the organizations that have suffered a cut in wages in the past year be content to sit in the next convention of the A. F. of L. and hear the hollow sound of "no reductions" emanate and reverberate?

After the adjournment of a seven-day conference and no settlement reached, with the manufacturers still demanding a sweeping reduction in wages, will the members of the Glass Bottle Blowers' Association still lend

their ears reverently to the official dictum of no compromise with the "Flints?"

I fear if more is said the A. F. of L. will play their sleeve card and exclude the Ladies' Auxiliary of the "Flints" from central bodies.

This would be a fitting climax to the juvenile performance.—Toledo Union Leader.

GOMPERS AT PARIS.

Because Samuel Gompers has been posing as the representative of the organized laborers of America, the humiliation which he brought upon himself at the International Trade Union Congress in Paris is to some extent shared by the trade unionists of this country. Yet they have only themselves to blame that they are sneered at by the organized laborers of Europe.

The European workingmen and women have no time for such silly insults to their intelligence as Gompers has been offering. They cannot understand a representative of the working class who is a political ally of capitalism. They are unable to believe in both the intelligence and the integrity of an officer of a trade union who affiliates with an organization like the Civic Federation, whose managing heads profit from the horrible exploitation and murderous conditions of the steel trust.

Perhaps they would have treated him with greater courtesy if he had not adopted such a ridiculously conceited attitude. But when he presumed to lecture them on the proper methods of conducting a labor movement they would be less than human if they did not point to the fact that while European workingmen are gaining new victories daily, American workers are fighting hard to hold their own, and that these gains in Europe have been made most rapid since the tactics advocated by Gompers have been cast aside.

It is unfortunate that Gompers was sent on such a voyage. It has placed the whole American movement in a most humiliating position.

It was hoped by many that this trip of Gompers' might teach him something. It was a magnificent opportunity. He could have come back to the United States a far stronger man than when he left. He could have brought back with him a knowledge of how European workers used their political power to back up their economic action. He could have told the members of the American Federation of Labor how their brothers across the Atlantic were standing within the halls of legislative bodies demanding and enacting legislation for which the representatives of American workers are standing outside congress begging.

He could have done these things had he been willing to learn.

Instead he has tried to preach the outgrown, hopeless tactics of which he is the defender to those who tried and exploded these tactics years ago. Consequently he has forced American labor to undergo the humiliation of seeing its representative practically kicked out of the largest gathering of organized workers ever assembled on the planet.—Chicago Daily Socialist.

In Memoriam.

Goldfield, Nev., Aug. 31, 1909.

To the Officers and Members of Local No. 220, W. F. of M.:

Whereas, In the death of Owen Wherity, Local No. 220, W. F. of M. lost a true and loyal member; therefore be it

Resolved, By Goldfield Miners' Union, That our heartfelt sympathy be extended to his relatives, and our charter be draped in mourning for a period of thirty days, and a copy of this resolution be spread on the minutes, a copy sent to his relatives and a copy sent to the Miners' Magazine for publication.

J. F. CRITCHFIELD,
CHRIS DUTLER,
DAVID SCHULTZ,
Committee.

Tonopah, Sept. 2, 1909.

We, your committee on resolutions on the death of Brother Geo. Cabrillo submit the following:

Whereas, Through an untimely accident, our esteemed brother, George Cabrillo, has been taken from our midst; and,

Whereas, This union has sustained a loss almost irreparable, as he was a true and honest champion of the cause of organized labor, and a man who at all times had the respect and confidence of his fellowmen; and be it

Resolved, That our charter be draped in mourning for thirty days and a copy of these resolutions be placed on the minutes of this local, and a copy be sent to the Miners' Magazine for publication.

J. J. DOLAN,
M. D. McLEAN,
Committee.

Rhyolite, Nev., August 30, 1909.

Whereas, Bonanza Miners' Union No. 235, W. F. M., has sustained an irreparable loss in the death of our brother, Timothy Crowe, whom the Grim Reaper overtook alone and unattended beside a lonely trail of the merciless desert; therefore be it

Resolved, That this union extend to his bereaved relatives our heartfelt sympathy, and be it

Resolved, That the thanks of this union be extended to the kind friends who contributed the beautiful floral gift; and be it further

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be sent to his bereaved relatives, a copy to the Miners' Magazine for publication, a copy spread on the minutes of this union, and our charter be draped for thirty days.

JOS. E. GARRETT,
GEO. T. PHILLIPS,
Committee.

(Seal.)

Elk Lake, Ont., September 9, 1909.

Whereas, Death has again removed from our midst a faithful brother and a devoted adherent to the working class in the person of Brother Russell Casy; and

Whereas, This union and the cause of industrial freedom has suffered; therefore be it

Resolved, That as a mark of esteem and respect to our late brother our charter be draped for the period of thirty days, a copy spread on the minutes of this local, a copy sent to his relatives and a copy sent to Miners' Magazine for publication.

GERALD DESMOND,
PATRICK CASHMAN,
CHAS. H. LOWTHIAN,
Committee.

(Seal.)

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

Table with columns: No., NAME, Night, PRESIDENT, SECRETARY, P.O., ADDRESS. It lists local unions and officers for various states including Alaska, Arizona, Brit. Columbia, California, Colorado, Idaho, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Montana, Nevada, Ontario, Oregon, South Dakota, Utah, Washington, and Wyoming.



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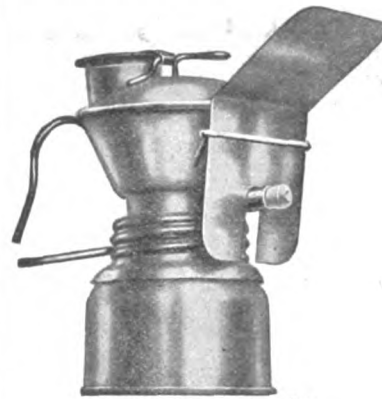
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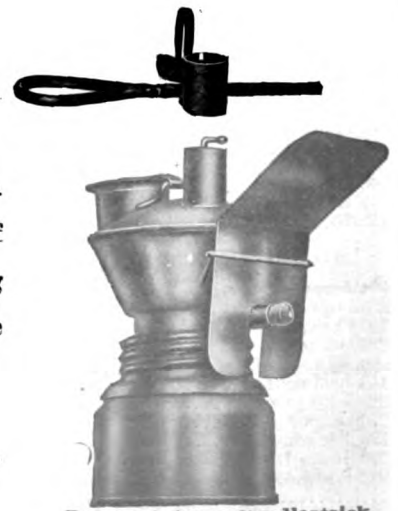


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