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THE MINERS MAGAZINE

INDEPENDENCE
EDUCATION ORGANIZATION

Published Weekly by the

WESTERN FEDERATION OF MINERS

DENVER, COLO
January 13th
1910.
Volume XI.
Number 342

22



WEALTH
BELONGS TO THE
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EDUCATION INDEPENDENCE ORGANIZATION

MINERS MAGAZINE



Denver, Colorado,
Thursday, January, 13, 1909.

Volume XI. Number 342
\$1.00 a Year

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 Communications not in conformity with this notice will not be published.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

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

John M. O'Neill, Editor.
Address all communications to Miners Magazine,
Room 605 Railroad Building, Denver, Colo.

Card of the Homestake Mining Co.

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

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

Department

Occupation

DECLARED UNFAIR.

Tonopah, Nevada, Dec. 30, 1909.

Editor Miners' Magazine:

At a recent meeting of Tonopah Miners' Union No. 121, I was instructed to have printed the name of C. E. Thompson as being unfair to organized labor for refusing to initiate in this local after having filled out and signed application blank.

Fraternally yours,

(Seal)

R. H. DALZELL,
Secretary Tonopah Miners' Union No. 121.

DECLARED UNFAIR.

Mullan, Idaho, Jan. 4, 1910.

Miners' Magazine:

At the last regular meeting of this local, John Sullivan, better known as Jack or Scar-faced Sullivan, posing as a member of Butte No. 1, W. F. M., was ordered advertised in the Miners' Magazine for refusing to deposit his card and for being a general dead-beat, having left a big board bill behind when leaving here.

(Seal)

MULLAN MINERS' UNION NO. 9.

DECLARED UNFAIR.

Globe, Arizona, Jan. 5, 1910.

Miners' Magazine:

At a regular meeting of Globe Miners' Union No. 60, W. F. M., W. F. Copeland was placed on the unfair list and fined in the sum of twenty-five dollars for refusing to pay up. He has left for other fields and we request other locals to communicate with this local before admitting him.

(Seal)

GLOBE MINERS' UNION NO. 60, W. F. M.
WM. WILLS, Fin. Sec.

SUICIDE INCREASES as the masses of the people are driven into poverty.

WILL SOME ONE who has reverence for the judiciary tell us what rights have the working class before the courts?

NO ONE has as yet heard as to whether that \$1,000,000 contributed by Rockefeller has made a corpse of the "hook worm."

THE "WHITE SLAVE" TRAFFIC is an awful indictment against our civilization, but not even the religious world will attempt to remove the cause that breeds this social evil.

IT IS NOW REPORTED that the steel trust and copper trust will merge their interests in order that prices may soar skyward. The trusts are certainly being "busted" with a vengeance, under the policy of "Injunction Willie."

THE SITUATION in the Black Hills remains unchanged. The locked-out miners are standing firm and feel confident that the right to belong to a labor organization will be maintained, regardless of all the efforts of the Homestake Mining Company. Executive Board Members Kirwan, Terzieh and Davidson are now in the Black Hills giving their attention to the situation.

IT IS REPORTED, through the labor press, that John B. Lennon, who has served for years as national secretary of the Journeymen Tailors' International Union, has been defeated for re-election. Lennon is likewise one of the vice presidents of the American Federation of Labor, and it is presumed that his relegation from office in the Tailors' Union will remove him from his official position in the A. F. of L.

A NUMBER of the large department stores of the country have established a "Death Benefit Fund" as a means to prevent employes from joining a labor organization.

Men with intelligence realize that nature has made provision for death. There is no question in the minds of sane men and women, that death will come as the penalty for living, and it is scarcely necessary for any wage slave to be hypnotized by a "Death Benefit Fund." The wage slave should only be interested in how to live, and he should feel but little interest as to the manner in which he must meet the inevitable.

DURING THE YEAR 1909, there were 122 suicides in Chicago and the aggregate capital of these hopeless men and women amounted to \$61.26.

Only 25 out of the 122 had any money, and it can be safely presumed that these victims of despair who sought premature graves "shuffled off the mortal coil" because they were in the grip of poverty and want.

In the eyes of the law, suicide is a crime, but before suicide can be reduced to a minimum, the cause which nerves the arm of man and woman to commit self-destruction must be removed.

Life has but little sunshine for the man or woman who is penniless and homeless, and who is even deprived of the opportunity to earn the means of life. Under such circumstances death becomes preferable to a miserable existence.

THE ANNUAL CONVENTION of the United Mine Workers of America takes place at Indianapolis during the present month, and it is claimed that fully 1,200 delegates will be in attendance.

PRESIDENT TAFT, after writing his message to Congress, was visited last week by the presidents of six great railroad systems. A conference was held and, according to the press dispatches in the daily press, the president revised his message. Men of observation and intelligence will not be surprised that Taft revised his message to harmonize with the ideas of railway presidents, because it is a well known fact that national campaigns are carried on through the "sinews of war," that are donated by the mighty giants of the transportation industry.

It is no wonder that there are bread lines in all the large cities of the country, and it is no wonder that the wails of poverty can be heard from the countless hovels of the nation. The corporations and trusts are the powers behind the throne of government.

THE AMERICAN FEDERATION of Labor has levied an assessment of 10 cents on its membership, in order that a war may be waged against the steel trust that has denied its employes the right of membership in a labor organization.

The contribution of 10 cents per member will realize the sum of \$154,000. This amount in the war chest of the American Federation of Labor is to be pitted against the coffers of the steel trust, whose magnates jointly can boast of a billion of dollars. If the American Federation of Labor will change its policy and build an organization among the employes of the trust, founded on industrial unionism there is hope that something can be accomplished that will ultimately force the octopus to recognize the rights of the working class. But if organization of the employes of the steel trust is to be conducted along craft and trade lines, then such work will merely excite the merriment of the industrial despots.

ABOUT A WEEK AGO it was reported from Washington that Representative Steenerson, of Minnesota, presented to President Taft, for his consideration, a bill looking to giving discretionary power to the government to put railroads in receivership, if necessary, to avert or stop tieups. The President was reported to have said to the Congressman that it was a very interesting matter and that he would give it his personal attention.

The object of this bill is obviously to deprive railroad workers of the right to strike—the most fundamental right of a free working class as distinguished from a slave class. And this object is to be attained by putting the railroads under the control of the federal government. In other words, the railroad workers are to be converted into slaves of the capitalist class as a whole, represented by the national government.

In ancient times there were slaves of the state as well as private slaves. But chattel slavery is dead. Attempts to re-establish it, under whatever form, are indications of the process of dissolution going on within capitalist society. But that the workers will ever submit to its re-establishment is unthinkable. Let our rulers beware!—New York Call.

THE STANDARD OIL COMPANY for the last quarter of 1909 divided \$85,000,000 in dividends, or in other words, 25 per cent on the investments of the stockholders.

The steel trust has passed around \$140,000,000 among such bloated magnates as Morgan, Perkins, Carnegie, Corey, Gary, Frick and Rockefeller.

The Armour Packing Company has distributed dividends to the extent of \$7,127,926 on an investment of \$20,000,000, which is equal to 35 per cent.

The express companies have cleared up more than 100 per cent on investments during the year 1909, and yet some people are wondering why the masses of the people are bearing the burdens of abject poverty.

WHILE THE LEADERS in house and senate are concocting schemes for doing nothing in order that the existing prosperity may continue undisturbed, the economic process never flags and reports are beginning to arrive from Pittsburg to the effect that an overproduction in steel may be expected within a twelvemonth.

The rush is now for open-hearth steel. "Every little iron company that owns a blast furnace is preparing to go into open-hearth steel production." In Eastern Pennsylvania, as well as in Gary and the entire Chicago district, the producing capacity for this form of steel has been greatly extended, and plans are being matured for further extensions. But in Western Pennsylvania there is already under construction, under contract, or authorized, more new open-hearth capacity than in the other districts combined.

Thus does the anarchy of capitalist production manifest itself through the spasms and agonies of crisis, depression, prosperity, overproduction, and back again through the same cycle. Only last February the iron and steel business was "in the dumps." A couple of months ago it was passing all previous records of output. And today, while plans are still under way for further extensions of producing capacity, we already hear warnings that the industry is again approaching a period of overproduction and depression.—New York Call.

AN EXPOSE that shows the grinding power of the United States Steel Corporation at its new city, Gary, Ind., was printed the other day in the Chicago Daily Socialist. Gary is said to have the best mill equipment in the world, turns out \$100,000 worth of steel every 24 hours, and produces rails \$5 a ton cheaper than can be done at any other mill in the United States. The men are worked on 12-hour shifts, seven days a week, open shop, and at wages below what an ordinary seab would stand for. For example, while the union scale is 68½ cents an hour for electricians outside of Gary, in Gary the rate is 27½ cents an hour. Rollers receive \$8 to \$10 per day in fair plants, but the scale is \$3.75 in Gary, and assistants are limited at a maximum of 30 cents per hour. On the other hand, company houses rent at \$20 per month and clothing and provisions are kept at maximum prices. The trust operates its own hospital and all employes must sign papers releasing the octopus from all liability for damages for accidents received. The corporation also controls a private police force and a small army of spies, who sneak around among the workmen to see that no agitation is carried on successfully to organize. Nearly all the employes of the trust are foreigners fresh from Europe, who are engaged through its own employment agencies. These workers come from the poorest sections of Italy, Poland, Hungary, Austria, Russia and the Balkan States and are in complete ignorance of American conditions. They arrive practically penniless and are kept in that condition by the trust so that they can't get out.—Cleveland Citizen.

Address of Judge O. N. Hilton Before the Board of Pardons of the State of Nevada in the Preston-Smith Cases.

To The Honorable, The Board of Pardons of the State of Nevada—

GENTLEMEN OF THE BOARD:—When I appeared before this board one year ago, to present the application of Mr. Preston and Mr. Smith for pardon, I did so only after a careful and diligent study of the record, whereby I was convinced that the applicants had not received a fair and impartial trial under the protection guaranteed them by both state and federal constitutions. In the year that has lapsed, additional and critical study has only served to deepen that conviction.

Under these circumstances, then, if what I have to say in this behalf, is said with greater earnestness and greater intensity of feeling, it only reflects the deepened conviction that the wrong inflicted calls for immediate remedy.

Even in this humane and enlightened age, we are compelled to acknowledge that justice is merely an approximation; that in spite of every safeguard, justice waits upon expediency and without the pardoning power, justice would be without habitation and exist only in name. Hence, in the consensus of enlightened public opinion, the pardoning power is an essential; that without it life and liberty is often seriously menaced, if not wholly destroyed.

No sooner have we settled down for a moment's congratulation over our advancement, than our reverie is disturbed by the revelation of a desperate condition of affairs, which well nigh discourages us; but there is an imperceptible advance; we take up the new problem and with each new effort come nearer to a solution; through that advance and that uplift we have changed the brutality of the madhouse

to the sympathy and intelligence of the sanitarium, and the cruelty of the prison to the house of correction and reformation. But if we are to ultimately succeed we must reduce the number of vicarious sacrifices.

I have noted, gentlemen, that the Legislature of Nevada has added materially to your powers, that of parole and tentative release, believing that enlarged opportunity is necessary to the man who is trying to "rise upon the stepping stones of his dead self to higher, better things."

Here, in the quiet and peace of this capitol city, where the jurisprudence of a great state has been placed upon the broad foundation of justice and equity, declared in some of the greatest opinions that have ever illuminated and applied the fundamental principles of constitutional government, it is difficult for us to realize that Goldfield, now a peaceful and upbuilding industrial community, less than three years since, was a community of avarice, restlessness, turmoil and distress; that these conditions pressed upon all alike. The steady, thrifty, industrious class is there today; the pirates who destroy and the predatory classes, have sought other fields, but many of the wrongs that ensued, still remain to be adjusted. We cannot blind ourselves to the fact that capital and labor, which should have gone hand in hand, together, were arrayed against each other to their mutual hurt and destruction and that many of the unadjusted questions of today are the outgrowth of that turbulence and restlessness. Under these circumstances it is not strange that these applicants for pardon have not

had that fair and impartial trial which is the fundamental purpose of the state constitution to provide and which is your pleasure and duty in every case to assure.

Let us look at the genesis of the matter. Two men allied only by common interest for the protection of wages, seek to secure to a waiter girl the payment of her illegally withheld wage. Upon refusal, Smith, the man sent to make the demand, returns to his union for instructions; the matter had been unadjusted from the 8th to the 10th of March, 1907.

Preston, coming down a side street, finds the place unpicketed and stops to act; the excited proprietor comes rushing to the door with a threat to kill him, with his revolver held in his hand and concealed behind him, hurriedly snatched by him from the hook on which it hung. An encounter results. To the surprise of everyone it is fatal to the restaurant keeper, when it was thought that Preston was the victim, so violent had been his anger and the threats of the deceased during the frequent times that he had exhibited his gun to his customers.

At this time, Smith was at his home, nearly a mile from the scene, eating his supper. The disaster inflames public opinion; those opposed to organized labor saw their chance, as they thought, to disrupt it. Not one of this class knew Preston, the miner, nor cared; none knew about Smith, an humble cook. These were nothing the case that required special skill in its prosecution. The state was represented, and rightly represented, by the district attorney, a man of ability, entirely able to protect the state's interest. Two vituperative attorneys are hired and ready at hand and forced upon the prosecution; and with the employment of these two attorneys there is injected into the case corporate interests as opposed to organized labor. This is held in many of the older states, particularly Massachusetts and Michigan a procedure at once unfair and oppressive and never consonant with the due and proper administration of justice.

This touches upon the most serious question with which which our courts have to contend. Many earnest, but seriously mistaken men feel that every trial should be measured, not by a correction of the wrong, but by its ultimate effect upon political or industrial interests. It frequently happens in every community that some man has been successful in business, or has political aspirations and he soon comes to regard every incident in his community as bearing either favorable to himself or as an affront to his interests. He grows to feel that the community exists and has its very being as a setting for his personal interests, and that alone; he injects himself into everything. Now, mark you well, that this was the dominating element in that trial. It was not Preston, the miner; Smith, the Cook; Silva, the restaurant-keeper. It is a matter of fact that one of the attorneys aiding the prosecution was paid a fee of \$5,000. Was it as a philanthropist that he had such an interest in the promotion of abstract right, that he went to a man of marked ability and said: "I don't know Preston, I don't know Smith; I am indifferent to Silva, but you go into that trial and see that right is secured as measured by the constitution?"

Not for one moment. "Here's money; get into the ring; convict those men; I'm running this community." And the attorney did his paid duty. He called upon the jury to convict the defendants "so that capital would come to Nevada." And, gentlemen of the board, that commercialized attitude is always the standing threat and menace to a pure judiciary. Then we have as an element here a fund that is to secure conviction at all hazards; not to punish crime but to punish the *effrontery of an organization*. This evidence of funds for such purpose finds men who were as ever ready to deliver the goods. That is the bald fact and that is the portentous circumstance that stalks through every contest a mockery of justice and creates a Frankenstein that threatens the absolute destruction of the sacred rights of the individual and the country. The President struggled with it and is now struggling with it; the states struggle with it; the lesser subdivisions struggle with it; Rome contended with it until in A. D. 753 the world was so universally corrupted that civilization failed; men relapsed into utter barbarism until they regained the primal virtues of honesty and right for *right's sake*.

Human nature has not changed in one particular in the twelve thousand years of recorded history, and from the earliest dawn to this time, there is only one rule that has stood the fire and test: "As ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them." Any other principle introduces that dire element of dissolution that has always debauched the health of the body politic.

Every line and every precept of our constitutions, is an attempt to stay this hideous intrusion of selfish interests in behalf of public virtue and weal.

It is clear from this record that there would have been a very different result in this case, save for the testimony of Claiborn, Bliss and Davis.

Here is Claiborn, not a soldier of fortune, but a predatory camp-follower. He had come into town in February, 1907, joined a labor organization the next morning (Record page 53); had lived in Colorado a month; in San Francisco a few days; had studied law. He was prompted to join the union to get something for himself. He swore that he was at a meeting where men's names were written down and discussed for slaughter, but for a moment is caught off his guard—

"Q. Did that not relate to John Silva? (Record 21.)

"A. Not that I know of.

"Q. You simply drew an inference? (Record 93).

"A. Yes, his name was mentioned with it."

Then follows the testimony that stamps it unqualifiedly as manufactured and false. He mentions at random certain names; then he remembers that there were two or three men; that it was at one hour or at another; and when the men whom he names are called in and presented to him he does not know one of them by name; not one. He had familiarized himself with certain names; he had shrewdness enough to know that if he could mention these names of well known

individuals as connected with each other it might lead to an inference that there was a plot on hand and a vile conspiracy to take human life.

Claiborn failed to tell in reciting this miserable story the fact that existed with reference to himself; that at this time, at his home in Arkansas, *there was a charge against him of forging an insurance policy.*

This man, after the trial, promptly disappeared, but the evil he has done lives after him!

The next testimony is that of Thomas C. Bliss; he had been in Goldfield since February. He finds men talking together about the time of this occurrence, that he heard some remark that "Davis was more in the way than anybody else." "He did not see Smith (Record page 111) nor Preston (Record page 111). There seemed to be some men talking with Preston."

Even he dare not go further than to vaguely mention that there were five to six men, at some indefinite place, and he heard the shots fired.

The history of this man has been summed up by the leading paper of Goldfield as follows:

"Member of Butch Cassidy's gang at Robber's Roost in Utah, and participated in the robbery of a \$7,000 payroll; implicated in the Schurz stage robbery; arrested, brought to Goldfield, and jumped his bond; alleged connection with the robbery of a valuable automobile out of Rawhide; in trouble all through Nevada, Wyoming, Colorado and parts of Utah; principal witness against Smith and Preston.

Visited the sheriff's office with his customary bravado to demonstrate that he stood in with the authorities.

It is further shown that he had planned to rob the bank at Green River, Utah, and to hold up the paymaster carrying money from the Price bank to Kenilworth. This was learned the 9th of July and plans made to thwart it. Price had evidently learned of it because C. E. Cavies, who had been implicated with him, but ordered from the country, appeared at Price and said that while the deputies Johnson and Kelter were good men with guns, Bliss, or Maxwell, as he was better known there, would make short work of them.

Bliss came to town; asked Deputy Johnston to accompany him up the street. As they passed a building opposite the court house, Bliss dropped behind Johnston and said:

"You are the ——— I'm after. You are doing this outside work for Kelter and you worked out the Green River proposition as well as the Kenilworth job and I am going to get you!"

Johnston told Maxwell "to put up his gun."

"I am going to get you anyhow!" he replied. With his left hand Johnston grabbed for Maxwell's revolver, but he fired, the bullet passing through the lapel of Johnston's coat. Johnston fired three times and Bliss fell——"

Fell into the outer darkness and the night—and a career of crime without parallel as thief, murderer and perjurer, was closed, happily forever.

His career is closed, but the evil he has done lives after him!

Now follows the testimony of a man of some notoriety and a man that you would hesitate to meet alone on the road if you possessed anything you valued and he knew it, on your person.

In his testimony he is asked how he comes to recognize these men To this he replies:

"I had reason to notice the men because I knew they were a bunch of men I believed to be enemies of mine, and they had made threats against me to some extent, I didn't know to what extent. Record page 117.)"

This is the witness Jack Davis. The physical cowardice of the man is shown in the fact that he took three men with him, between 8 and 12 at night, so little knowledge or care has he of the facts or time, to arrest Smith. His "interests" were at stake. He admits the profanity and threats made by him and the intimidation of Mr. Smith and his friends and family at the Smith home. Then when he comes to that chapter in his own life that question must have brought back the sight of the poor shepherders murdered by him for a few paltry dollars he is asked:

"Q. Is it not a fact that you have been tried and convicted of the crime of murder in the state of Idaho?" (Record page 130).

Consider for a moment the ribald, hideous braggadocio of the answer given in but one word:

"A. SURE!"

Men absolutely wanting in moral natures are occasionally thrust upon the world, a commentary on our boasted civilization. This man would never feel that there was any disgrace in being in the penitentiary. He shows no moral sensitiveness that would give in the slightest degree evidence that he felt the punishment, the moral disgrace; he might feel the physical confinement, but that would be all.

He boasts of the fact:

"SURE—I was convicted of murder in Idaho——" with the same indifference, absolute, insolent indifference that he might have replied to any trivial or commonplace question.

Let us see what the Supreme Court of Idaho gathered from the record as to the murders committed by this man:

February 4, 1896, Wilson and Cummings were seen at their camp preparing for breakfast; they were living in a covered wagon; two dogs were tied to the wheels of the wagon; twelve days later, February 16th, both were found dead in the wagon, having been shot; the dogs were still tied to the wagon; were poor, emaciated; the sheep scattered; uncooked bread was in the stove; the condition of the bodies showed they had been dead from ten days to two weeks. Blood was on the ground, on the wagon, on the wagon tongue and in the wagon. . . . Wilson was shot IN THE BACK. Cummings had apparently lived from one to twenty-four hours.

The defendant had threatened sheepmen; he told James and Oliver Dunn that they would have to face a Winchester. He told William Orr that the first time a sheepman came, shooting would be done. He

told Jabez Durfee that he would kill the next shepherd who crossed the ridge; said he was wishing Bill Tolman would come over so he could make a target of him. Told Durfee that Wilson, the deceased, would have to move out of there. Told William Cramer that he was going to kill someone that summer; *THAT HE WOULD SHOE HIS HORSE WITH RAWHIDE AND JESUS CHRIST COULD NOT TRACK HIM.*

Came to the ranch January 30th preceding and changed his light-colored canvas coat for a darker one, remarking that it was too easily seen of a night. Came back to the ranch February 4th and changed his dark coat for the light coat which could be seen too far at night.

Was arrested at the penitentiary at Yuma, Ariz., where he was going by the name of Frank Woodson. Among his acquaintances generally he seems to have gone by the name of "Diamondfield Jack."

—State vs. Davis, 6 Idaho 159. (168-171).

Wherein all the history of ribald depravity can you match the low cunning, the absolute villainy of this man, who shot men to death in the back, and in his blasphemous insolence boasted that Jesus Christ could not track him.

What had he in mind when he raised his hand to swear to tell the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth, at the trial of Preston and Smith? Nothing at all but to invent from his low and debased mind whatever he felt would help convict them. What did the attorneys who prosecuted that case mean when they offered such a witness. They had the record; it was their duty to know it; it was published in 1898, and it became their duty to know, and yet from such lips came the testimony that the hired prosecutors brought forth to sustain the issues tendered.

If this can be excused upon the ground of professional duty, then there is no limit to which a prosecution may not go when the interests decide that they desire a conviction.

At this point the defendants are hedged about by the following unusual and concurrent circumstances:

The disaster occurring when public opinion was resolved on making an example one way or the other; a readiness on the part of certain warring interests to contribute large funds for a conviction; three willing witnesses, Claiborn, Bliss or Maxwell, and Jack Davis; two admitted to be murderers and the third only saved from it as I have reason to know personally, because he could not slip up and shoot his man in the back without certain detection.

Now, gentlemen of the board, let me put the question to you, *ad hominem*, direct to the man, direct to the individual; would one of you entertain for a moment the testimony of those three men? Suppose that some one near to you was facing that sort of testimony? Would you for a moment say that men who gloated over the fact that they had shed the blood of their fellow men, would hesitate to state as a fact any wicked imagination that came into their perverted minds. You know and I feel that you would not close your eyes for one moment if your friends, if your property, was in jeopardy at the hands of these men!

Take away the testimony of these men and the monetary interest that rushed in with funds to secure a conviction, and what is left of the case?

Had the disaster ended differently, had Silva shot Preston, the same forces would have been at work—except arrayed on the side of the defense instead of prosecution. The same counsel would have been employed to defend Silva; the same witnesses, Bliss or Maxwell, Claiborn and Davis, would have testified that Preston made the assault and that Silva shot to defend himself, and they would have urged the plea, and successfully, too, that Silva had a right to arm himself and to have shot Preston down.

In either event the solemn, orderly trial; the patient investigation and the fixing of the penalty as between the accused and the accuser, would have been wholly wanting.

Now understand me, gentlemen, the people are responsible for this; not the District Court nor the judge nor the officers. The district attorney could accept such aid as he wished; he could tender such witnesses as he chose and he could, and did, show to the jury, and the judge was powerless to prevent it, that if they did not return the verdict that was expected, that Bliss and Claiborn and Davis might at any future time, in the solitude of the desert, meet these men and, like the cowardly jackals and hyenas of the plains that they are, taking an acquittal as a personal affront to their testimony, just as certainly and with as much safety slay the jurors as the lonely sheep herders were slain in Idaho, and as helpless men were shot down in the lonely stretches of the desert in Utah by Bliss. The fear of the hidden assassin made itself felt all through that trial and was voiced unmistakably in the verdict. The jurors knew the utter helplessness of the law to protect them in the rendition of a verdict of "not guilty." And yet these very men that could set every law at defiance and terrorize the country can go, time after time, into different communities and, arraying themselves on the side of any dominant interest, in a contest either legal or political, be received as witnesses who dare not be discredited and when not so employed go forth in safety to commit cowardly murders. The more shame!

No man with any pretense to legal training can read in the record the testimony of these three witnesses, with their insolent assumptions and inferences, and not feel to his very marrow that it was manufactured for a price and to feed the colossal egotism and vanity that is always a part of such criminals. Is it not in keeping with this thought and this vile creature that for and during all his stay in Goldfield he proudly displayed the rope with which he was to have been hung in Idaho?

In the Vatican at Rome, Greek art has thrilled and fascinated the eye with the helplessness and despair of Laocoon and his sons in the tightening coils of the serpent. The priest of Apollo came to warn the Trojans against the wooden horse of the Greeks, but the Gods fought for the Greeks and in return the simple honesty of the priest was visited by an agonizing death.

These applicants, gentlemen of the board, are just as surely crushed and helpless in the coils of the law, as Laocoon and his unhappy sons and the wrong is, if any, that they had gone to the aid of a wage worker in collecting her wages. Let us not flatter ourselves for a moment that the intellectual Greek did not know that honest endeavor and devout, unselfish purpose was often punished as dishonesty and duplicity. Greece recognized it, but Greece paid the penalty. We know it and we will also pay the penalty, if we permit the swearing away of liberty by false words to subserve the dominating interests of the moment. The laws of right are never made; they are inherent in the plan and system of the universe; we recognize their force and intrinsic worth and so wisely enact them into statutes for the help of all; by so doing we have *created* nothing; we have merely recognized the divine behest and that which is an integral part of our being. Nature does not settle with us by monthly balances; she has the infinity of eternity in which she may work out her perfect laws, and the boundless universe of space as the theatre of her action. She may overlook the man unjustly imprisoned; she may forget the man perishing out here on the great, gray plains; both may seem to be infinitesimal, unimportant factors, but when the meed of wrongdoing comes to its full and righteous measure she settles as she did with Tyre and Nineveh; as she did with Athens and with Rome; as she is settling with the savage hordes of Africa, who flew at each other in savage fury, strewing the dead by the tens of thousands to fester under the tropic sun, to poison the air of the jungle, so that the insect life, bearing this deadly poison, steals like pestilence in the night, and the sleeping sickness holds the future of Africa in its terror today.

The great question is: Do we better it when we allow justice to wait upon expediency? But to take men away from local clamor and to re-examine their rights in the dispassionate higher courts, an appeal has been provided.

Did the ear of justice heed that appeal? In the application a future tense was used in place of a present tense; instead of saying "*we do hereby appeal*" through their attorneys, the applicants were made to say "*we intend to appeal*"—and the appeal was denied *solely on that ground.*

Have not these men a right to say that so far as justice goes that the laws of their country have failed to protect them; and when he is convinced that the law does not protect him is he not entitled to appeal to the higher law and so protect himself?

But the manhood of the men here rises superior to the injustice of the law! They accept their punishment calmly and instead of abandoning themselves to despair or joining themselves to the baser elements, even under the terrific strain of a prison sentence, they acquit themselves like men. Humble though their lives and station have been, denied privileges of education, deprived of many of the birthrights of citizens by reason of poverty and limiting circumstances, yet rising out of that very limitation by their inherent honesty of purpose and integrity of character, they prove, sirs, that to the humble of the earth is committed the keeping, intact, of that respect for law and the moral sense, that the insolent and the heedless criminally rich laugh at and scorn.

Preston and Smith have gained a remarkable standing in the penitentiary. How many of us would gain a respectability under such distressful circumstances as these?

It is not entirely as an attorney that I am before you the third time in behalf of these men. I have always reserved to myself the right and privilege of refusing the brief and fees of those whom I could not, as an attorney and a citizen, defend. As I have said, I did not try the case below, but I saw that in the bill of exception that convinced me as an attorney that justice had not been done to these defendants. That became a settled conviction when I read the full record. I have once presented to the majority of this board, sitting as the Supreme Court of Nevada, the legal reasons why these men should have another chance for their liberties. Again I have presented to this board, the legal reasons and the extenuating circumstances that might appeal to equity, denied these men under the strict rules of the law, and I now come again, helped, fortified and confident that by faith in themselves these men have shown in recognizing right principles of living; in preparing themselves, while in the gloomy walls of the prison to lead those lives of peace and industry, abundant assurance that this commonwealth will be benefited when they are restored to freedom and their protection and helpfulness once more raises their families from dependency and want; and I can ask with an earnestness that I could not ask, even one year ago, that you grant to these men the clemency that they have so plainly earned.

Do you think that if Preston and Smith had been abandoned and dissolute men; men of wicked tendencies; men of evil deeds; that upon being placed in prison, they could at once have simulated honesty and thrift and patience and obedience?

They were honest, and thrifty, and had a purpose and were obedient to the laws of the land, when they went there, and so firmly are those principles a part of their character, that they have not lost them in the terrible ordeal which they are undergoing.

What I have here endeavored to set forth arises not only out of my own experience but is along the line of the trend of what can best be done to restore criminals to industrial society, a matter, gentlemen, that is presented to you daily and upon which you yourselves are pondering with great earnestness.

In response to a suggestion of His Excellency, President Taft, the chief justice of this honorable court, in apt and fitting words has given voice to this problem, saying:

"Until we have a more accurate knowledge of the causes that produce crime and apply some effective remedies to the root of the evil, we will discover that improved procedure has only in a small measure relieved the situation. We need reform in our prison and in our jail systems and in our methods of dealing with offenders against the laws both before and after conviction."—Hon. F. H. Norcross, Chief Justice of Nevada, in Reply to President Taft.

In the office last week, the gentlemen who are associated with me, were discussing a startling state of affairs in our own city:

It was stated as a matter of record that at the September term of the Criminal Division of our Criminal Court, out of sixty-four cases, sixty-one convictions were had; out of that, a very small percentage three and not more than five, were old offenders. Out of that list there has been one appeal.

Think for a moment of the fearful menace of our institutions that this declares. Fifty-six men, hitherto honest, hitherto citizens of some value; all of them at one time sons around which love centered and hope lay, condemned as outcasts. When they return, only those can be saved who can conceal their identity. The moment an officer sees one of them, "move on" as relentless as fate itself. The moment one seeks an industrial occupation, some one says to the employer: "Do you know you have an ex con driving your team, or working in your store?" The gratuitous information makes a sad-eyed, despairing man move on; yes, and a few moves more and in hunger and despair and desperation, he violates the law again. To the district attorney it meant sixty-one fees; to the newspapers it meant an active, energetic, up-to-date court. The presiding judge had been a district and Federal prosecutor for over twenty years; try as he might, could he get away from his predelections? Do you think that in every instance full and complete justice was done? The greater per cent of these were convicted upon the testimony of arresting officers. Were they gentle and humane, and did they arrive at the exact facts? If the sweat box could speak, even the Spanish inquisition might keep silence! The last General Assembly, in response to an almost universal demand, made beating and cursing of prisoners to extort testimony a felony. It is at a point where you do not ask if the judge is impartial or the jury fair. You must ask if the bailiffs and the police department and the detectives, the Claude Inmans and the Jack Davises, the Claiborns and the Maxwells and the interests are interested.

This is no fancy picture; it is fact; you can't wake up and be thankful that it is a dream, a hideous phantasy of a night. What is the constitution to the bailiffs and the police!

Yet it is not wholly without hope. A strong, sturdy business man was willing in our state to forego business for two years to become our warden; he had been on a jury at the criminal term some years before, and he thought he had a duty to do. The only promise he made was every man a square deal; under him ninety per cent have some hope; the ten per cent are the incorrigible ones. You have a similar man here in Mr. Maxwell. Now, what is necessary? To supply the deserving men with a certificate and to make that a protection against the order to "move on" and against the libel of loose tongues who expose the self-redeeming prisoner when trying to re-establish himself in the relations of life.

Yet so often is the miscarriage of justice in the courts, that we are urging suspension of sentence and parole to first offenders who, having come square against the terror of the law and been given another chance, will profit by the experience. And again we find necessity for a public defender. The unfortunates are unfortunate from poverty and poverty is the right hand of temptation. It is a sad picture, gentlemen; pardon me, it is not a picture—it is a blighting, devastating existence growing out of the fierce competition that crushes and submerges!

The impersonality, the equity and the clemency of the Board of Pardons is the only hope. The necessary complexity of the legal machinery is such that it is merely machinery, because discrimination seems absolutely wanting.

To recapitulate for a moment. These facts appear from the proceedings in the court and the admission of fact by the parties de hors the record:

Hired prosecutors to take care of the "interests," the state, perhaps, protesting, but forced upon it; two witnesses with their hands red with the life blood of helpless fellow beings; the third, that worst of all pariahs and outcasts, a lot-jumping lawyer who, if he has not yet added murder to his other crimes, has only been restrained because his cowardly body harbors a still more cowardly existence.

These are the elements that say to a jury: "You render a verdict

upon any evidence other than that we produce, and you do it at your peril."

Then comes the technical defects in the appeal; one man admittedly innocent of the offense for which he was found guilty, and every door of remedy closed, showing a state of facts that law, in theory, says can never exist, but an ever present example of the impotency of justice—a climax that must result in remedial legislation if life and liberty is to be preserved.

Can you point to one reason why this appeal for action on the part of the Board of Pardons of the state of Nevada should be denied, tardy though it is?

Gentlemen, we are face to face with elemental and primal questions. We are trustees of the fate of two men whom it is admitted are not condemned according to the solemn, grave and serious procedure of the law.

To me, the most pathetic utterance in all recorded literature is where the Galilean fishermen, after a night of labor, say to their master: "Master, we have toiled all night and taken nothing."

And that pathetic picture is not so far removed in time, nor so distant in place, but what it is repeated daily around us. Men delve in these mines all their lives and take nothing. Men work in the sweat shops from youth to the feebleness of age and take nothing. In every walk and calling of industrial life men toil and take nothing. We are somewhat responsible for that. We demand that the wage worker shall give his all; that he shall produce all and stand all the losses; that if he attempts to assert a claim to anything more than will necessarily clothe the body or nourish him, he must be put down. Let him go to a new camp and bear the heat and burden of the day; the hard life of the prospector, and when success comes the humble means that made it possible takes nothing.

These men for whom I now appeal belong to that great class that do the world's work. They pour out their lives a daily sacrifice on the altar of duty; the children of such men remember only the stooped shoulders, the patient, plodding walk, the hard, knotted hands, because the man that they call "papa" always worked and by the time they come to years of appreciation, has generally succumbed to the stress, and their young lives are all too soon turned into the endless line that stretches back through the centuries that are told, the men who work, and toiling all their days *take nothing*. We talk of "vested interests;" we fear "agitation;" we fear to upset "the order of things," but we continually grind and grind until oppression, greed and unholy acquisition strangles the oppressed and we begin again building up from primitive life to complex civilization. If we cannot preserve it, we can at least prolong the self-destruction that arises out of selfishness, avarice and indifference by securing the same rights upon the same terms *for each and every man*.

It is not a tangled nor complexed problem if we have the courage to face it. It is not a tangled nor vexing problem if we do not leave its solution to men who fancy their interests are hurt by such solution. It is not a tangled nor complexed problem at all if we let justice and right and equity prevail over selfishness, expediency and greed.

But if we use our positions for personal aggrandizement, then we become the willing aids of that greed and self sufficiency that stands between the man who toils and the just reward of his efforts, and are the efficient cause that leads him to toil all his life and take nothing.

This problem is not settled by the loose utterances of the daily press, nor unthinking, evanescent, impulsive public opinion, but in the quiet places of life, where men trained for the purpose investigate, weigh and determine; and beyond the threshold of those quiet precincts no influence should hold sway, govern or control, but right itself *for right's sake!*

Then it can be said to the pathetic cry of those who weep, toil and take nothing, "another day has dawned;" from out of your toil has come a mighty strength; come, brother, from out of the depths; your sufferings in patience and sorrow have expiated your misdeeds, and you shall again take your station amongst your fellows, saddened, perhaps, but strengthened anew against temptation and worthy to undertake again the work that you have need to do.

Must Exonerate Themselves.

IN THE ISSUE of the Miners' Magazine of December 23rd there appeared the names of a number of men who had been declared "unfair" by the United Brewery Workers.

The publication of this list of names seems to have aroused some indignation among the membership of the Mill and Smelters Union of Great Falls, Montana, and as a result of such indignation, the following resolution was drafted and adopted for publication in the official organ:

"Great Falls, Mont., Dec. 31, 1909.

"Editor Miners' Magazine:

"The following resolution was adopted by the Mill and Smelters Union No. 16 at a meeting held the 29th, and ordered published in the Miners' Magazine:

"Whereas, there has appeared in the Miners' Magazine a list of names declared to be unfair by the U. B. W. of A., and

"Whereas, said list of names includes former members of this union, which members have no stain against their record as union men in this union or in this community, and being men of good moral character and well respected in this community; and

"Whereas, the conditions existing at the brewery in which these men are employed, at the time of their securing work, was fully known by this organization, and their securing and retaining employment was and is approved by this union, both then and now; and

"Whereas, Charles H. Moyer and J. C. Lowney were in a position to personally know that the United Brewery Workers have never claimed jurisdiction over the engineers at this place; and

"Whereas, this organization considers the right to seek employment in an open field the natural heritage and birthright of all men; and

"Whereas, the men securing employment were willing to comply with all requirements of the Brewery Workers' Union and secured work when no trouble existed;

"Therefore, we condemn the action of the Miners' Magazine, and the above mentioned members of the executive board, in violating, through an official paper which is maintained by the rank and file, such an unwarranted communication, and capable of working such grievous injury upon innocent members of organized labor and former members of our organization; and be it further

"Resolved, that we disapprove of our Magazine printing any defamatory matter at the request of any outside organization or any per-

son or persons against our membership, or against any body of organized labor without consulting the nearest local of the W. F. of M. in that vicinity; and be it further

“Resolved, That we request the editor of the Miners’ Magazine to exonerate those men in the next issue of our Magazine.

“THOMAS P. BARRETT,

“J. P. MADIGAN,

“P. CUDDIHY,

“Committee.

“J. J. BARTH, Secretary.”

(Seal)

As the executive board of the Western Federation of Miners was in session when the resolutions from Great Falls reached the editor, the same was turned over to the board for action. The following action was taken by the board and submitted to the editor for publication:

“That we, the Executive Board, do not endorse the resolutions from No. 16, and that the editor of the Miners’ Magazine be instructed not to print an exoneration of the men published as unfair to organized labor under date of December 23, 1909, in the Miners’ Magazine, at

the request of the United Brewery Workers, and that we, the Executive Board of the Western Federation of Miners, recognize the jurisdiction of the United Brewery Workers over all men employed in the breweries at Great Falls, Montana, and that this action of the Executive Board be published in the Miners’ Magazine along with the resolution from Great Falls Mill and Smeltermen’s Union No. 16.”

The editor, in publishing the list of names declared unfair by the United Brewery Workers, was actuated by no personal feeling, but regretted that such a condition existed in Great Falls as made it seem necessary for a labor organization to declare men who had been members of another organization as “unfair.”

The editor of the Miners’ Magazine is not in a position to exonerate any man. Men who are charged with treachery to the principles of organized labor must exonerate themselves, as it does not lie within the power of any one else to bring forward a vindication.

There is nothing in the resolution from Great Falls that contains a particle of evidence as to the innocence of the parties who have been charged with being “unfair,” and the editor is not engaged in the business of “white-washing.”

1909-1910.

THE NEXT MORNING after the old year passed away, the press of the country was filled with reports relative to the manner in which farewells were said to the passing away of the year 1909, and the welcomes that were accorded to the new born year of 1910. The swell cafes and restaurants of the great cities were ablaze with magnificent splendor to receive the purse-proud guests, whose plethoric bank accounts make it possible for them to sip sparkling champagne and indulge in feasts that would make royal gluttons of old look like penniless plebeians munching handouts from the charity table of a Bowery Mission. The exploiting pirates of America and the queens of fashion indulged in midnight orgies that would shame the ordinary palace of sin where unblushing and abandoned women and masculine degenerates are callous to everything that is involved in the word *respectability*. Gorgeous gowns flashing with diamonds adorned the gentler sex of the “smart set,” as they kept step with their male escorts in the dizzy dance, and the strains of music that intoxicated the senses made the parting of the Old Year and the ushering in of the New a reminiscence that can be chronicled as the annual drunk of that “sacred set” that is licensed to indulge in regal debauchery.

In the great city of New York, Broadway was ablaze with electric glory and aristocracy revelled in a carnival of inebriation that would mantle the cheek of a Bowery tough, or outcast, with a crimson blush. But mighty magnates in the realms of finance and commerce and royal dames in the world of fashion are like the kings and queens of old—they can do no wrong. To spend money lavishly in America is appreciated, even though the money squandered in satiating carnal appetites has been wrung from the callous hand of ill-paid labor or coined from

the shattered womanhood of the countless white slaves, against whom society has locked its doors.

But while patricians drank and feasted in the sumptuously furnished cafes of Broadway, the great toiling masses of the people of New York city, living in the congested tenement districts, felt but little joy or happiness as the Old Year passed away to give birth to the New.

Thousands and tens of thousands of starving men and women in the great metropolitan city of America looked into the future with wan and haggard faces, beholding but little light behind the cloud which shadows perpetually the hovels where victims of poverty endure the agonies of a living death.

While Broadway was glorious in royal splendor, thousands of striking girls and women were shivering with cold and suffering for the bare necessities of life, because greed demands the “pound of flesh” from the bone and muscle of labor.

The exploiters of America can say, “Happy New Year” and feel thrills of joy as they anticipate the coming dividends that will come during the year 1910, but the exploited—the class whose shoulders bear the galling yoke of wage slavery—must feel that the phrase, Happy New Year, are tragic words that should make angels weep over the chasm that lies between a Croesus and a Lazarus. As the cream of society indulged in the annual celebration in all the prominent cities of this country, the wails of distress were not heard from the pallid lips of the submerged, nor was there a thought that in this country there was an army growing whose desperation may yet threaten the exalted positions of the class of privilege.

Nations of the Old World have crumbled and fallen, and America is traveling the same road that dimmed the splendor of empires that are now but memories in the pages of the world’s history.

Anaconda’s Activity.

AS SOLICITOR for the Miners’ Magazine, my first field was in the Black Hills, South Dakota, from whence I proceeded to Anaconda, Montana.

The story of the growth of Anaconda Mill & Smeltermen’s Union No. 117, W. F. M., is a record of extraordinary achievement in the face of many difficulties.

A brief account of its advance should be of interest to every one interested in the cause of unionism. The membership as a class are fine fellows—typical men of the mines, broad-minded, liberal in mind and with their money, willing at all times to do their part in the battle for industrial freedom. The petty bickerings and jealousies that so often wreck a union are not found here. There is nothing more remarkable than the fine spirit of co-operation between the officers and the membership.

The year ending March 31, 1906, found them with 355 members in good standing, a balance of but \$755.48 in the treasury. The sum of \$1,635 was paid out during the year in sick benefits.

A year later, March 31, 1907, found them with a membership of 1,366, a balance in the treasury of \$5,673.38, although \$7,852.55 had been paid out in sick benefits during the year.

The next year witnessed heavy reverses, owing to the shut down, which extended from November to the first of March, 1908. A special relief committee of the union was kept busy. In spite of all difficulties in their pathway, when work was resumed there were 541 members in good standing. A reserve of \$8,672.81, while \$7,332.80 had been paid in sick benefits.

The next year ending March 31, 1909, witnessed a marvelous growth. An increase of membership to 2,062, sick benefits to the amount of \$3,080.05 were paid out—a handsome sum remaining in the treasury. The total benefits paid to members during this period aggregate \$19,900.40. This does not include funeral benefits, which at the present time amount to about \$1,000 per year.

The figures speak well for the loyalty of the membership and the efficiency of the officers. For they have battles to fight and difficulties to overcome, the cold type tells with what success.

Headquarters since 1905 have been moved from a dirty, dingy building in poor location, to the center of the city, in a new, strictly modern brick building. Nothing is more remarkable than the clean, polished appearance of the office. Cobwebs are not found in the corners, nor in the brains of the officers and members.

The library is especially creditable; new sectional book cases, filled with well selected books, a fine selection of magazines, periodicals, daily papers. Among those for the education of the membership are 75 copies of the Miners’ Magazine and a bunch of Appeal to Reasons.

The officers and membership of the union are justly proud of headquarters and never neglect an opportunity to make an improvement. A clock regulated by the Western Union is the latest addition.

The Newlyweds’ baby with its first tooth is not an object of greater pride to its fond parents than is the Anaconda Co-Operative Mercantile Company, a first class store, opened to the public November 1st. It is incorporated under the laws of Montana with a capital of \$40,000. The stockholders are all union men, shares \$10 each, with a limit of ten shares to a stockholder. Patrons and stockholders participate in the profits. Prices are being reduced as rapidly as possible.

Co-operative enterprises often fail as a result of inefficient management. The Anaconda brothers have learned wisdom from those failures. The seven directors of the company, all of them members of No. 117, have been fortunate in the selection of the manager, Tom Spurlock, a genial, capable fellow, and his corps of assistants, all of them chosen with reference to their fitness for the position to be filled.

To show their confidence in the new enterprise and also to warn jealous rivals that they must not injure the union’s child, No. 117 at their meeting, December 17th, voted a loan of \$4,000 to the store. With such a spirit it would seem that the success of the enterprise was assured.

In the light of its past achievements, with the wisdom of past ex-

periences to guide them, it would seem safe to prophesy a brilliant future in an enlarged field for Anaconda Mill & Smelters' Union No. 117.

Butte is my next field. The history of No. 1 cannot fail to be of

interest to every member of the Federation. It will appear in the near future.

EMMA F. LANGDON,
Solicitor Miners' Magazine.

A Pen Picture of Debs.

NO MAN in the labor movement of America is more generally known than Eugene V. Debs, and no man has been more bitterly assailed than the brilliant writer and eloquent orator, who for more than a quarter of a century, has battled heroically for the rights of man. Not only have subsidized journals mortgaged to the interests of capitalism questioned the pure and unselfish motives of the dauntless champion of the working class, but journals flying the flag of organized labor have not hesitated to join in the chorus of capitalist sheets to arraign the man who has defied the scowling brow of corporate power, to do battle for the cause of the struggling millions.

Debs, the invincible, amid all the storms, has stood undismayed and never faltered in delivering his message to the enslaved workers of the world.

It is therefore encouraging when the editor of the Jewell County Monitor of Kansas, after listening to the matchless logic and peerless eloquence of Debs, draws the following pen picture of America's Cicero of the labor rostrum:

"His was such an effort as baffles reporters—every word a flash of light from the enchanted castle of his own building wherein the lookers—saw angels flit and heard the rustle of their wings. He talked of music, of poetry; he plucked flowers from the air about him and tossed them in realistic bouquets to his hearers, who reached for them as children seek the primary colors where the rainbow touches the valley;

he weaved sweet charity's blossoms in garlands so true to nature that their fragrance filled the room; he took hope by the hand and bedecked her with the rarest gems that a worker in the deep mine of the English language can always bring to the festal board of thought; he pictured mercy so vividly that every father and mother present took the etching on their hearts and carried it to their home; he swept the strings of sentiment and fragments of forgotten poems came waving in softest sounds upon the ears of the old, whose eyes filled with tears over the long ago. He recited poetry masterfully and effectively; he quoted scripture reverently; he shot out epigrams straight as the winged arrow in its flight. Neither abusive nor violent in manner or speech, his invincible skill in argument, his incisive style, his fine imagery, facts, figures, incidents, historic data and precedent stream forth in opulent variety. His metaphors and embellishments are as fine as they are apt. Altogether the literary excellence of his address, the eloquence of his utterance, the magic of his voice, the magnetism of his presence, the earnestness of his plea, the bigness of his heart, are well nigh overwhelming."

The above is the tribute of a man who was once prejudiced against the great advocate of justice for man, woman and child. But when he heard the pleading voice of Debs speaking for the liberty of the human race, prejudice fled from his brain and he realized that he was in the presence of a man whose every heart-beat yearned for a civilization where human beings would bask in the sunlight of economic liberty.

Looking Into the Future.

ANOTHER YEAR has passed into history and in the early morn of the year 1910 millions of people are peering anxiously into the future and wondering if the clouds of adversity will disappear and the earth become brightened with the sunlight of a prosperity that will bring some joy and happiness to "the worn and heavy laden." The year 1909 has not been radiant, and countless hovels that are called homes have been darkened with the shadows of a desperate struggle to live. The subsidized press that has upheld the interests of exploiters and shouted prosperity in an attempt to make the masses of the people forget their misery, has scarcely been successful in dispelling the gloom that shrouds the habitations of those whose labor produces the wealth of the world.

Labor for the past year has felt the weight of the heavy yoke of capitalism, and yet the most optimistic in the ranks of labor have scarcely any logical argument upon which to base a prediction that the future looks rosy for the millions who are shackled in the chains of wage slavery. The strikes of the past year have been many, and in the vast majority of instances, victory has not perched on the banner of those who have fought against unbearable conditions.

The class of privilege seems to have risen to more despotic heights and treated with more insolent contempt the demands for right and justice.

The decisions of courts have been almost invariably on the side of "vested rights," and human liberty has been forced to retreat before the onward march of pirates in the world of commerce and finance. The unemployed army has not diminished, but it seems that competition has grown fiercer in the labor market, and as competition for jobs has become sharper, there seems to have grown up a more bitter rivalry among those who are dependent on jobs to secure the means of life.

The trusts, which were to be "busted" or halted by legislation, have assumed more colossal proportions, and now practically bid defiance to the very powers of government.

The cost of living has so increased that hundreds of thousands of men and women, though employed, are unable to provide themselves with the actual necessities of life.

The struggle to live among the masses of the people has even attracted the attention of the law-makers of a nation, but what legislation can be enacted to lighten the burdens of those who are forced to pay tribute to glut the appetite of greed, has not as yet assumed the shape of a bill to be supported by the sages who occupy seats in Congress.

Agitation has been kept up with the object in view of releasing the child from the mill, factory and sweat shop, but with all the eloquence and efforts of humanitarians, the industrial hells are still populated with nearly two millions of children whose lives are being crushed through demands for dividends.

Churches and reformers have protested against the "white slave" traffic, and pathetic pictures have been painted of the hordes of women in every city of the land who barter their honor for bread, and yet the great social evil has grown, until even the homes of a nation are threatened with the contagion of moral leprosy. Charity organizations are swamped with appeals for aid, but the alms that come from the hands of charity cannot still the cries of hunger and want.

Our boasted civilization is tottering, regardless of the fact that press and pulpit are endeavoring to uphold a system that mocks the agony of humanity.

Our industrial system is reaching a climax, and the most conservative, looking into the future, can behold the coming of a storm that has in it the symptoms of a revolution.



ON THE PROPOSED REFERENDUM FROM LUCKY BOY.

Editor Miners' Magazine:

Having read the proposed referendum emanating from Lucky Boy Miners' Union, which is intended to reorganize the Western Federation of Miners in

accordance with the enlightened (?) ideas of the members of No. 248, I desire space in the columns of the Magazine to express an opinion on the said referendum.

It does not require a very fertile imagination to picture the motive underlying the present attempt to mold the body in conformity with the desires of



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the men responsible for the latest attempt to change the federation. Disguise it how they may, the intent of the referendum is the deposing of the present head of the organization. Conceding the right of a local union to present questions for discussion in order that a more perfect form of organization may be achieved, it is absolutely requisite that the matter so presented should be free for any insinuations on the probity of an officer or member, and should contain nothing reflecting on the administrative honesty of the executive to cause suspicion amongst the rank and file.

Amendment No. 2 specifically provides for the election of the auditing committee, whilst all other committees may be appointed by the presiding officer. Why make such a distinction? Do the members of No. 248 doubt the integrity of the presiding officer, or is it meant to imply that he is in any manner interested in the report of that special committee? There is a covert insinuation in this new section that calls for the fullest inquiry into the motives prompting such an amendment. Giving due credit for honesty of purpose to the members of Lucky Boy, the insertion of that section in the referendum must be characterized as very poor judgment. It tends to reflect on the honesty of the executive officers and my vocabulary is too limited to condemn it in a fitting manner.

Whilst disagreeing with some of the policies of the organization and believing a more determined and aggressive fight might be made on the enemy, I do not consider it the duty of a member to let aspersions on the character of the administrative officers go unchallenged, and when a veiled attack is made on them it is a duty which every member owes to himself and the organization to repudiate in no uncertain terms the unmanly conduct of the parties making such covert attack.

Apart from the amendment above referred to, there is nothing in the proposed referendum which is worthy of any serious consideration. The president must be forced to abdicate, and in order to assure his abdication the office must be abolished. If by the abolition of the office we can manage to get along, well and good; still there seems to be some doubt in the minds of our friends how the affair can be arranged, as provision is made for the election of the most popular member of the executive board to perform the duties incumbent on the president. He must place his signature on all papers that at present require to be countersigned, and guide the secretary-treasurer in all matters requiring the aid of the president. As my esteemed friend used to say, "Whenever the exigency exists," his presence must grace headquarters. He may be called chairman, director, or what may possibly be more appropriate, czar—anything, so long as we do not call him president. Shades of the Bard of Avon, "What's in a name?" "If the spirits of the illustrious dead participate in the actions of the present," then, my dear Shakespeare, you must feel aggrieved that by the metaphysics of our sagebrush solons, the rose would lose its sweetness should we perchance call it a lily.

From the tenor of the criticisms we hear every day, there is a seeming dissatisfaction amongst the members. They believe that something needs fixing in order that the organization may be enabled to meet the requirements of the present day struggle for existence. But such makeshift propositions as that suggested by the proposed referendum do not in any sense offer any relief, but tend to confusion and disintegration. The power in the organization is too centralized, and it should be the aim of all reforms to place all power in the hands of the rank and file. The present mode of electing national officers should be discontinued and a more democratic one substituted in its stead. Let us give the rank and file a say in who their officers shall be—they supply the sinews of war, and it is just they have a voice in who shall distribute them. The rank and file have about the same status with their executive officers as a territory has in regard to whom shall govern it.

Let the membership nominate and elect their officers and such attempts as the referendum under discussion will not be forthcoming to spread dissension in our ranks. The term of office should also be limited to two consecutive terms. As the Appeal to Reason very fittingly states, in reference to perpetuation in office. "Every party that has ever been wrecked has been wrecked by a bureaucracy which has fastened itself upon and perpetuated its rule until disintegration followed dissension and ended in ruin. Men are human and it is but natural that they should seek to mold the destiny of a party in conformity with their views."

In conclusion, let me state that whilst fully recognizing the necessity for a change in the present constitution of the Western Federation of Miners, such policies as that advocated by No. 248 should receive but cool comfort from any one having the interests of the organization at heart. Such thinly disguised personal attacks should be consigned to the graveyard of oblivion and instead of hindering the unity of the different elements we should endeavor to advance the movement to its proper station in the vanguard of progression for the interest of the whole and not for any particular wing of the membership.

P. J. HOLOHAN.

Bisbee, Jan. 1, 1910.

INFORMATION WANTED.

Information is wanted of the whereabouts of Martin Wallace of Grass Valley, California, who disappeared from home some four weeks ago. His description is as follows: Age, 50 years; height, 5 ft. 7 in.; blonde hair, getting thin on crown of head; blonde moustache; Scotch descent; stands erect; square shoulders, and face always red. Anyone knowing his present address will please communicate with Mrs. Martin Wallace, Grass Valley, California.

INFORMATION WANTED.

Anyone knowing the present whereabouts of W. J. King, who left Globe, Arizona, some time in September, 1909, presumably for Cripple Creek, Colorado, will please communicate with Charles King, Chivatera, Cananea, Sonora, Mexico. Any information to the above will be thankfully received.

SHOULD BE ELECTED.

At the union meeting I talked with a brother about the bad ventilation of quartz mines and asked why the same rules were not required for quartz as coal mines in Montana. He said there were no laws on the subject in the state.

Twenty-second annual Report of the Commissioner of Labor, 1907, Labor Laws of the United States, Page 776, Sec. 3355; Labor Laws, Montana, Annotated Codes, 1895: "The owner or operator of every coal mine, whether operated by shaft, stope or drift, must provide and maintain for every such mine a good and sufficient amount of ventilation for men and animals employed therein; the amount of air in circulation to be in no case less than one hundred cubic feet for each man, and six hundred cubic feet for each animal per minute, measured at the foot of the downcast, and the same to be increased at the discretion of the inspector, according to the character and extent of the

workings, or the amount of powder used in blasting; and the volume of air must be forced and circulated to the face of every working place throughout the mine, so that the mine is free from standing powder smoke and gases of every kind. All doors set on main entries for the purpose of conducting ventilation must be so constructed and hung as to close of themselves when opened, and must be made sufficiently tight to effectually obstruct air currents."

The drain on the treasury to send victims of miners' consumption abroad or keep them by assessments and all expense for injured and killed in mines should attract us to the cause. Mine inspectors should be elected by vote of miners and should have police power to execute humane and preventative measures to safeguard the miners. Profits to capitalists preclude immediate success, but you can teach us, and some day our class will reap the benefits.

WAGE SLAVE.

REFUSED TO COMPLY.

Mammoth, Utah, Dec. 30, 1909.

Editor Miners' Magazine:

Please have the following reply to communication from Lucky Boy Miners' Union in the next issue of the Magazine: I, as secretary of Mammoth Union, No. 238, W. F. of M., think and am thereby convinced, that all the amendments mentioned by the officers of Lucky Boy Miners' Union, No. 248, have been thoroughly discussed at the 17th annual convention, and by men who understand the situation, so I, as secretary of Mammoth Union, No. 238, do refuse to put any such ballot before the membership of this local to be voted on unless ordered to officially.

Fraternally Yours,

JOSEPH MANN,

Secretary-Treasurer No. 238, W. F. of M.

INFORMATION WANTED.

Information is wanted regarding the whereabouts of Linn Hill, supposed to be in Alaska or western states. Last heard of in Alaska in 1903. Anyone sending information leading to his present location will be paid reward by his brother, Herman Hill, Madison, Kansas. mch 24.



CAPITALISM AND SOCIALISM.

(By Eugene V. Debs.)

The capitalist system of industry is the most highly developed, the most ingeniously perfected system yet devised for the exploitation of man by man; and the so-called problem of Capital and Labor is simply the latest manifestation of the age-long conflict between slavery and mastership.

Instead of owning the man, as did his ancient prototype, the capitalist owns the tools and materials with which the man must work to live. The opportunities, the land, the machinery, all the means and instruments of production by which and with which alone the man must labor to obtain subsistence belong to the capitalist as his private property. This property can not be used except on terms dictated by the capitalist, which terms involve the surrender by the worker of the entire product of his labor in return for a contract wage. This wage is determined by supply and demand, the vicissitudes of the market, and always approaches the minimum that will enable the worker to support life at his accustomed standard of living. The certainty with which wages tend to approach the minimum necessary for the worker's subsistence has caused the fact to be erected into a scientific dogma, accepted by political economists as a manifestation of natural law, and denominated by them the point of natural wages, or "the natural price of labor." This is stated by Ricardo as "that price which is necessary to enable the laborers, one with another, to subsist and perpetuate their race without either increase or diminution." This inevitable economic consequence of capitalism is absolutely the best the existing industrial system has to offer the great body of workers in exchange for their ceaseless toil, their sweat, their blood, and their tears; their hopes and their aspirations; their strivings for economic security and material comfort in old age; their yearnings for intellectual and spiritual advancement; their vain and impotent groings after the threads of that higher existence which an eternal Deity has decreed for all His children. Is it to be wondered that there should be a "problem" of Capital and Labor? Is it surprising that there should be an insistent demand for change in our industrial system?

Under Capitalism the "Iron Law of Wages," as stated above, is inexorable in its operation. The capitalist can no more escape or evade its consequences than can the laborer. The capitalist as an individual may be a sympathetic, kind-hearted man, with the soul of a philanthropist and the most abounding love for humanity. He may wish to pay his workmen wages that will enable them to live and support their families in comfort, clothe and educate their children properly, and lay aside a modest competence for old age, but he is enmeshed in a net of a system that knows no law save the law of the market; and should he act upon the promptings of his higher nature he would soon find himself irrevocably ruined.

Capitalism has but one god, and that is Profit. That is the ruling motive of industry. It is the "open sesame" that swings wide the doors of our mills and factories, starts our spindles on their ceaseless hum, opens our mines, and puts in motion our mighty agencies of transportation and communication. Profit is the vital principle that energizes the whole system of production and exchange; when it ceases, industry comes to a standstill, and countless thousands of our fellow citizens must starve in the midst of abundance. Capital-

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ism produces entirely for profit, not at all for use. Wheat is grown, animals are slaughtered, and clothing is manufactured, not because people need to be fed and clothed, but because the capitalist, who owns the means and instruments for producing these utilities, can make a profit therefrom.

The profit of capitalism comes from trading in the surplus product of the workers. Were capitalism confined to the home market, it would speedily break down, as it would be a mathematical impossibility to dispose of the product. The workers, receiving only a small part of the value of their product in the form of wages (approximately twenty per cent. on the average), are, of course, unable to buy it back. The capitalist must, therefore, continually seek for a world-market. He must dispose of the surplus product of his workers in foreign countries. In this endeavor he comes in competition with other capitalists who are forced to the same necessity. This compels economies in production, lowering of wages, displacement of labor by machinery, etc., so as to permit the product to be sold at the lowest possible price, and finally leads to combinations and trusts to control markets and prices. As all capitalist countries are engaged in the same fight for control of the world-market, and as, in consequence of this fight, the market is constantly narrowing, the inevitable end of capitalism can be certainly predicted. When the expansion of the profit system has overlapped the market for the disposal of its product, the system must end. The human race will then be compelled to adopt a new system of industry in order to avert universal starvation. It is this mathematical certainty of the breakdown of capitalism that gives strength and scientific character to Socialism, the system that has been evolved by, and grown out of, capitalism itself, and which must inevitably supplant it.

In the evolution of the human race to a higher plane of life, capitalism has a historic mission which is about fulfilled. It has exploited the earth and fastened its tentacles into the most remote corners of the globe. It has no more worlds to conquer, and as its inevitable need is expansion, it carries within itself the seeds of its own dissolution. It must give way to its successor as feudalism gave way to it. Capitalism has introduced system, organization, and technical perfection into industry. It has brought the races of the world into communication with one another and enabled men to realize the oneness of humanity. It has immensely broadened the intellectual horizon of mankind and has welded the producers of the world into a compact, well disciplined body that understands the need for solidarity and the necessity of cooperative effort. It has, in short, laid the groundwork, prepared the way, and furnished the means whereby the great body of wealth producers, as a result of their orderly and legitimate conquest of political power, shall be able to take over the whole of industry and operate it for the use of all the people instead of for the private profit of the comparatively few owners of capital.

This is the only remedy. Any proposition which assumes to leave the capitalist in possession of his property in the means of production is fatuous. Any scheme of regulation that interferes with capitalist profit to a sufficient extent to bring substantial relief to the workers, do away with the army of the unemployed, and insure to every producer of wealth that economic security which an enlightened civilization demands for him, necessarily means collective ownership.

We are now in the transition period to a higher, more godlike civilization. This period will be filled with blood and tears for countless thousands of human beings, but its end will be marked by the rising of the sun of industrial equity, when the children of men shall be relieved from the torturing fear of want, and the human race shall advance to intellectual and spiritual heights as yet but faintly dreamed of.—Signs of the Times Monthly.

THEY ARE LOYAL.

At the Slavonian meeting held at the opera house Saturday afternoon, was given a very strong and easily understood reason why the Homestake company has not enough signers for non-union jobs to resume work. The house was comfortably filled with strong, healthy men—men strong of arm and head—the men who have been doing the heavy work in the mines. They were mostly Slavonians and they had congregated to hear some labor talk by one of their race—Yanco Terzich, executive board member from Alaska. After he had talked to them a few moments, Mr. Terzich asked those who intended to stay with the union to stand and, like men mounted on springs, every man sprang to his feet. A few English-speaking men who were in the audience did not understand what was coming and the sudden upheaval of humanity for a moment startled them, many of them fearing a fire panic. Then the speaker asked those who intended to "brankovich" to stand up and not a man arose. That explains why the company is still asking people to sign for jobs, "on or before Dec. 15, 1909." It may explain, also, why the company has been offering better than usual wages for men to work on the Spearfish ditch. It matters not how many millmen, machinists, engineers, blacksmiths, motormen, tallmen and detectives sign the list—they can't go to work until the miners, helpers and shovelers are ready to go to work. These men—the miners, helpers and shovelers—have always had to do the hardest work and they are not nearly so job-hungry as the fellows who have had the soft snaps, consequently, they are going to stand firm for their rights.

Mr. Terzich told the officers of the union before he left his countrymen would be the last to brankovich, which is the Slav for "scab," and that many of them would starve before they were driven out of the union. This fact ought to show the other men that it is not only foolish, but useless, as well, to sign up with the expectation of going to work without a settlement with the union.

The Register does not wish to be understood, however, that there are no loyal men among the other nationalities, for that would be a slander and a lie, for the men of all nationalities are standing firm, with the exception of a very small percentage of men who are born that way.—Black Hills Daily Register.

WORLD OF LABOR.

(By Max S. Hayes.)

When dispatches were received in the convention hall on Monday morning of the last week's session of the American Federation of Labor, at Toronto, announcing that Gompers, Mitchell and Morrison would probably be compelled to begin their prison sentences before the week was ended, it was taken for granted that those officials would be re-elected without opposition while on their way to jail. All opposition that had developed on account of the electrical workers' controversy and for other reasons disappeared like a morning mist before the sun.

"Gompers is being elected president for life by the courts," was the declaration heard on all sides. Not that Gompers could have been defeated in this year's convention, even if the courts at Washington had not precipitated the crisis, but the opposition would have been more formidable than at any time during the past fifteen years.

On account of the complications in the electrical workers' controversy and the tearing up in state and central bodies, the slowness of the administration in the matter of making some political progress, as well as some personal views or grievances that had developed, there was considerable talk at the beginning of the convention of making changes or at least casting protest votes against the official family. And this talk did not come from the Socialists wholly by a long shot, although the "reds" are usually credited with being the disturbers.

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After numerous conferences were held it was agreed that an attack upon the administration at this juncture would be misinterpreted—that the votes of the opposition would be twisted into an endorsement of the judicial decrees committing the labor officials to prison. Furthermore, Gompers and his colleagues have, throughout the legal battle in the famous Bucks stove case, labored unceasingly to broaden the contempt case and characterize it as an invasion of free speech and free press. And if there is anything that appeals to the intelligent radical it is that same constitutional provision, and he doesn't like to be placed in a false light when such a crisis has been reached.

So there was nothing for the opposition to do but bottle their wrath, cuss Van Cleave and the courts for their meddling, go along with the conservatives, and live upon the hope that some day this judicial sparring would come to an end and permit the unionists to center their attention upon the solution of their own economic and political problems.

When the opposition to Gompers and his executive council melted into nothingness it carried the anticipated debate upon Socialism with it. A counting of noses showed that at the very least 10 per cent. of the vote would have been cast for the Socialist resolution introduced by several members of the miners' delegation, and some estimated that fully 41,000 votes, or about one-fourth of the convention, would have gone that way. But the necessity of maintaining absolute harmony and presenting a solid front to the common enemy became apparent to radicals and conservatives alike, and consequently the usually interesting debate upon Socialism, which always attracts the largest attendance during conventions, was held in abeyance.

On their part the conservatives, who are in control of the federation machinery, were no less inspired with the desire for peace and harmony, as is demonstrated in the action taken to adjust the electrical workers' controversy, which became a nation-wide issue among the union people. It had become customary in such internal wars to dig up ancient history, to criminate and recriminate and to prove to one's own satisfaction that the other fellow is a scalawag and that the big I-am can do no wrong. When this momentous question that bid fair to develop into a small-sized insurrection came upon the floor, although the peace dove blinked on high, a hush fell upon the assemblage such as is experienced only in witnessing the desperate villain in a melodrama creep toward the train of powder, torch in hand.

But no explosion came. The committee merely presented a few commonplace facts and advised that an arbitration committee of three—one to represent each faction and a third to be selected by President Gompers—be named to reunite the factions. One of the factional chiefs (McNulty) made a weak attempt to "start something," but the chilly reception that he received caused him to change his tune and he sang harmony before he closed. Thus the position of defiance to the A. F. of L. executive council assumed by the state bodies of Iowa and Ohio and city central bodies in Cleveland, Toledo, Detroit and other places was partially vindicated at least. The executive council had ruled that the Reid faction must surrender unconditionally and join the McNulty wing, which was and is in the minority. This ruling was challenged by the central and state bodies and their charters were revoked. But the central bodies still refused to be coerced, and demanded that both factions be amalgamated or neither recognized. Consequently in adopting the amalgamation idea the executive council's February decision was annulled. It is quite likely that peace will be restored among the electrical workers, but the central bodies that defied the powers that be, forced the issue and compelled recognition of the Reid factions case, were martyred. They had disobeyed the law regarding the harboring of rebels, were judicially spanked and told to go home and be good little boys.

Another important step in the line of industrialism was the revocation of the charters of the car workers and the amalgamated workers. The former were told to merge with another organization in that trade and the latter were instructed to join the carpenters. On a technicality the elevator constructors were given a temporary lease of life, but they will become a part of the machinists in the near future. A few years ago when the radicals advocated industrialism they were ridiculed, but the crafts are getting together now, as they are beginning to see pretty clearly the centralization of capital, the introduction of labor-saving machinery, and the self-evident necessity of presenting a solid phalanx during disputes.

Likewise it was unpopular a few years ago to suggest practical affiliation with the organized workers of Europe through a central bureau, but it was unanimously decided to join the International Labor Secretariat and thus keep in touch with the working class in the Old World.

There was little of the sensational or contentious and acrimonious discussion at the Toronto meeting. For the most part the proceedings were marked by a calm, thoughtful and dignified spirit. The shadow of the battle appeared to have fallen upon the assemblage. The merciless attacks of the United States Steel Corporation, the American Tobacco Company, the National Association of Manufacturers and other combinations of capital had a strong tendency to bring the delegates to a realization that something more than passing resolutions and delivering grandiloquent speeches were necessary to meet the present situation.

But the delegates were no less determined to face every problem confronting the union movement and to redouble their efforts to organize the working people for the purpose of battling the common enemy. No one but predicted that if Gompers, Mitchell and Morrison go to prison next year's convention will be the greatest labor gathering ever held on this continent, and that the growth in membership will break all previous records. In fact, many delegates hoped and prayed that the three officers would be jailed before the year is out.

That the trade unions of the country are confronted by some hard problems in the shape of opposition from the class-conscious capitalists is nothing new to those who have watched developments during the past few years. What with centralization of capital into huge trusts and combines that in the very nature of things would ride roughshod over labor to squeeze profits out of the toilers; what with the steady and constant introduction of labor-saving machinery to cheapen production and increase the standing army of the unemployed upon which to draw in times of strikes; with hostile courts annulling laws meant to protect the workers, hurling injunctions in every industrial crisis, legalizing the blacklist, outlawing the boycott, imprisoning men who dare to protest against oppression, and mulcting union treasuries for alleged damages sustained by employers; with Congress and state Legislatures turning a deaf ear to all cries for relief for the under dog in the unequal struggle, and governors and mayors standing ready to hurl the militia and police against those workers who still possess the manhood to revolt against slavish conditions; with the unions overrun with sneaks and spies ready to betray their fellows for a few pieces of silver, and strike-breaking agencies in all the large cities recruiting scabs and thugs to assist in beating back labor and holding it in subjection—gentlemen, the situation is tough, damned tough.

But now several more moves are being made calculated to assist in the

apparent well-planned scheme to force labor into hopeless slavery, and these moves are, as in most instances when labor is to be the victim, clandestine in their nature or at least appear innocent enough on the surface. In New York a National Employment Exchange has been launched. It is a very philanthropic institution outwardly. J. P. Morgan, John Rockefeller, Jacob Schiff, E. H. Gary, W. H. Moore, John D. Archbold and about a dozen other public-spirited citizens have contributed \$100,000 for the purpose of providing an agency through which the unemployed can be furnished with work. Branches are to be started in all the leading industrial centers. But it so happens that the promoters of this national exchange control millions of jobs, and they are simply forming a huge job trust. Heretofore the railway magnates and mine and mill barons have spent large sums of money in contracting with independent agencies to procure working people or in advertising in the newspapers for help wanted. In the future the applicants for jobs must pay for them, and so instead of paying out money to secure workers the philanthropic capitalists will sell their jobs and clean up a nice profit in the bargain. Moreover, through the adoption of an index card system containing all the data desired of applicants, the "agitators" and "undesirables" can be kept among the hungry until they repent of their evil ways and acknowledge that the golden calf is the only true god to worship.

Another project that is being launched sails under the title of the Employers' Indemnity Company, incorporated under the laws of West Virginia. The promoters of this institution are also great captains of industry, closely associated with the United States Steel Corporation, the National Association of Manufacturers and similar combines that have well-known labor records. This company proposes to insure its stockholders, whose names are to be kept secret, against strikes and labor troubles of every character. On a premium of \$300 a year the employer is guaranteed protection to the amount of \$30,000 a year. Thus, if a strike should be called in his establishment and last 300 working days, the boss could keep his shop locked, sit back in an easy chair and draw \$100 per day. More than that, the promoters of this new scheme have taken the United States government reports and made their estimates that strikes average about 25 days, and on this basis the employers would not only receive the financial protection indicated, but would actually pull down 36 per cent. on their investments in the indemnity company.

While some Socialist writers claim, and probably with good reason, that the average capitalist is ignorant on economics and social science, yet it must be admitted that the plutocrats or their hirelings are gradually working out scientific schemes to protect their class interests economically, while politically, as everybody but an old party slave knows, their money has talked for a good many moons. On the other hand, if we study the efforts that are being made by the so-called leaders of labor to meet or circumvent the plans of the plutes the situation becomes truly pitiful, even tragical. "Don't you ever become weary of your helpless and almost hopeless struggle against the inevitable?" a captain of industry asked me recently, as he recounted some of the advantages that his side possesses in this irrepressible and seemingly everlasting contest.

I was compelled to admit that the situation looked deplorable at times when all things were considered, but it's always darkest before dawn, and besides the capitalists themselves are giving us so many object lessons nowadays that the workers are bound to be enlightened, whether they will or not. There is only one really serious danger, and that is, judging from past history, when revolutionary thought gets in full swing it may travel too fast for the Socialist movement to guide it.

When the strike of the tinplate branch of the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tinplate Workers began last June it was pointed out in the Review that while the struggle was primarily inaugurated to resist the introduction of the open shop (or non-union) policy of the United States Steel Corporation behind it all was a threatened reduction of wages in the face of advancing prices for the necessities of life. This fact was entirely ignored by all except a few newspapers, the bulk of the press sermonizing on the justice of the open shop and alleged fair treatment of union and non-union workmen alike.

But now the steel trust managers, feeling that they had successfully educated their scabs to produce tinplate, have been posting notices in some of the mills, notably at New Castle, shifting their strike-breakers from a day wage to a piece or tonnage system. According to the best informed mill workers, the average reduction under this latter system will be nothing less than 29 per cent. Last summer the trust's reduction scheme was estimated as ranging between 2 per cent. to 24 per cent. Now the cut runs from 10 per cent. to 45 per cent.

The iron and steel hog is evidently striving to squeeze a hundred per cent. dividends per annum out of its workers on the actual capital invested, in order that its votaries may purchase more wives and chateaux in France and become social lions among the rotten nobility of the Old World, not to speak of buying American politicians from President down.

Many of the strike-breakers went on strike when the new order was posted and then the managers seduced some of the hungry strikers to take the places of the strike-breakers.

The middle of the past month representatives from the principal international unions affiliated with the A. F. of L. held a conference to adopt ways and means to combat the open shop policy of the United States Steel Corporation, and action was taken to shift from a defensive to an aggressive policy and move heaven and earth if possible to organize the thousands of non-unionists employed by the trust, secretly or otherwise, and continue a running fight on the octopus indefinitely.

Some time ago a wild yarn was set afloat and printed quite extensively that the Carnegie Steel Company, guided by Civic Federation influence, contemplated changing its policy toward organized labor and was inclined to beg the labor officials to unionize its mills. There have been a good many jokes sprung in labor affairs, but this pipe-dream was about the limit. The comical feature about it was that the Carnegie company would invite the formation of craft unions in order to head off the organizing methods of the I. W. W.

Everybody knows that the Carnegie Steel Company spells United States Steel Corporation, and certainly this latter combine has given sufficient evidence during the past few years that it doesn't give a continental dam whether the workers are organized along craft or industrial lines—they must be smashed as collective bodies. That fact has been pointed out in this department before and ought not to require repetition. All unions look alike to Morgan, Corey, Gary Co., and it's a safe guess that they never bothered their heads enough to inquire about the relative merits of craft and industrial unionism.

The present trade unions largely are evolving slowly and logically along industrial lines, as that method is the best as far as it goes, but, ladies and gentlemen, the millennium will still be a long way off when that has been accomplished. There must be intelligent political as well as industrial action.

It looks as though the United Hatters of North America have won their long battle for self-preservation as an organization. Originally fifty-nine concerns banded together as the Hat Manufacturers' Association and posted a forfeit (reported to have been \$25,000 each) to enforce the open shop.

After a fierce struggle a break occurred among the Connecticut manufacturers, the bulk of them making peace with the union and were promptly sued by the remaining open shoppers for the forfeit. Then came some important desertions in New Jersey and New York, until less than a dozen of the union

smashers remained. The latter hope to replenish some of their losses by securing the forfeits through action in the courts, but it is likely that the re-unionized firms will give them a merry battle.

The United Hatters lost but few of their members, and at present less than 10 per cent. of their members are still on strike, and these are being cared for by assessments on those at work and contributions coming in from other organizations.

The indications are that the Hat Manufacturers' Association will go the way of the United Typothetae of America, which attempted to destroy the Typographical Union, and it will be due to the class-consciousness of the workers displayed upon the industrial field at least. Perhaps ere long this same spirit will be manifested on the political field, but meanwhile credit is due to the men and women who have made sacrifices for the labor cause.—international Socialist Review.

In Memoriam.

Elk Lake, Ont., Dec. 30, 1909.

Whereas, God in his infinite wisdom has seen fit to summon from amongst us our much-respected fellow-worker, Laniel J. McLean; and

Whereas, The said fellow-worker has been one of the charter members of Cobalt Miners' Union, and to the last an upholder of the principles advocated by the Western Federation of Miners; therefore be it

Resolved, That we, the members of Elk Lake Miners' Union, No. 140., of the Western Federation of Miners, join in expressing our heartfelt sympathy with his bereaved wife and family; and be it further

Resolved, That a copy of this resolution be placed on our minutes, a copy sent to his bereaved wife, and a copy sent to the Miners' Magazine for publication.

CHAS. MCGUIRE,
J. A. WALKER,
J. McANDREWS,

(Seal)

Committee.

McGill, Nev., Dec. 14, 1909.

Whereas, Death has invaded our ranks and taken from our midst Brother Michael Dower; and

Whereas, In his death the Western Federation of Miners in general and Steptoe Mill and Smeltermen's Union in particular, has lost a most worthy friend and brother, one ever true to his obligation, faithful in the discharge of his duties, a friend best loved when best known; therefore, be it

Resolved, That Steptoe Mill and Smeltermen's Union extend to the relatives and friends of our deceased brother, our sincere sympathy in this their hour of grief; and be it further

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be sent to the relatives of our deceased brother, one to the Miners' Magazine for publication, and spread upon the minutes of this local union, and that our charter be draped for a period of thirty days. Respectfully submitted,

HUBERT L. HARRY,
O. T. WATLAND,

(Seal)

Committee.

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