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THE MINERS MAGAZINE

INDEPENDENCE
EDUCATION ORGANIZATION

Published Weekly by the

WESTERN FEDERATION OF MINERS

Denver, Colo.
Feb. 8th
1912
Volume XII.
Number 450



WEALTH
BELONGS TO THE
PRODUCER THEREOF



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CENTENNIAL WIENER BEER

Best Brewed in Butte — None But Union Labor Employed — On Draught at All First-Class Saloons

EDUCATION INDEPENDENCE ORGANIZATION

MINERS MAGAZINE



Published Weekly
WESTERN FEDERATION OF MINERS

Denver, Colorado,
Thursday, February 8, 1912.

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 Communications not in conformity with this notice will not be published.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

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John M. O'Neill, Editor

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

Card of the Homestake Mining Co.

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

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

Occupation

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Signed

.....

Department

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CLARENCE DARROW, the attorney for the McNamaras, has been indicted for bribery.

THE REICHSTAG in Germany is red and royalty has become white with alarm. Let the good work go on.

WHEN A STRIKE takes place now, dynamite is immediately found by detectives. The licensed thugs know how to hold on to their jobs.

AT PHOENIX, ARIZONA, forty-four delegates met in convention and organized the Arizona State Federation of Labor. The state organization represents a membership of 7,000.

GERMANY will soon look upon "red" as a respectable color. There are now 110 Socialists in the Reichstag. Another election, and the Kaiser will be exchanging his crown for a revolutionary necktie

THE SOCIALISTS in Germany came within seven votes of capturing the district in which the Kaiser lives. Another election and the Kaiser will lose his crown. The world is moving.

IT IS NOW CLAIMED that the Steel Trust is the financial backer of the so-called "Insurgent," La Follette of Wisconsin, who wants to be President of the United States. His financial support proves conclusively that the Wisconsin insurgent is "safe and sane."

TESTIMONY brought before a congressional investigating committee shows that the Steel Trust works many of its slaves 18 hours per day and 7 days per week. The chattel slave of ante-bellum days was a gentleman compared with the hopeless victim behind the stockades of Morgan, Carnegie, Frick & Co.

THE WINDSOR MILLS closed down at Windsor Locks, Connecticut, and 2,000 men and women were thrown out of employment. The mills had but closed their doors when the Windsor Locks Savings bank likewise locked the doors with the employes mourning the loss of \$175,000. Prosperity seems to be on the boom.

WHEN THE JUDGES of the Supreme Court of the United States yearn for an increase of wages, the learned jurists are not forced to declare a strike for Congress is always willing to heed the demands of the servants in the temple of justice. Only real workingmen are forced to strike—gentlemen, never.

THE OFFICIALS of the city administration of Lawrence, Massachusetts, where the textile workers are on strike, have been forced to admit that the dynamite found by detectives cannot be placed at the door of the strikers. It is now in order for the officials of Lawrence to disclose the identity of the party or parties guilty of planting explosives. Will they do it?

THE UNITED MINE WORKERS of America in convention, amended the constitution so that conventions hereafter will be held biennially.

Such a change in the constitution of the coal miners is a matter of economy, and the enormous expenditures incurred by annual conventions can be directed in other channels that will be of more benefit to the general membership.

THE TRUSTEES of the First Baptist Church of St. Paul, Minnesota, have fixed up a gymnasium in the basement of the Lord's temple for the benefit of the Boy Scouts. As Czar Nicholas of Russia, the "little father" of "Bloody Sunday" memory, has given his royal approval to the Boy Scouts, the action of the trustees of the First Baptist Church of St. Paul, should be acceptable to the "Prince of Peace."

THE SUPREME COURT of the United States in upholding the validity of the Employer's Liability act, must have become somewhat alarmed over the growth of the sentiment that Judges shall be subject to recall. The people are awakening from their long sleep, and lawyers elevated to the bench through the influence of trusts and corporations can little longer conceal their frailties behind the judicial ermine.

GOVERNOR HARMON of Ohio, who has the presidential bee in his bonnet, is sitting on the fence so far as the Initiative and Referendum is concerned, but does not hesitate to declare openly his opposition to the application of the Recall to the Judiciary. As the

trusts and corporations are vehemently opposed to the Recall of Judges, Governor Harmon can congratulate himself that his political attitude relative to the Judiciary will be endorsed by the combinations that can raise slush funds for campaign expenses.

IT IS NOW REPORTED that John Mitchell and Peter Collins will be brought to Milwaukee to campaign against the Socialists in the spring election.

The capitalists of Milwaukee can afford to engage the services of such men as Mitchell and Collins, and their training in the National Civic Federation equips them for rendering service to exploiters. The Kaiser who sees "red" in his dreams should make arrangements to have Mitchell and Collins hurl their thunderbolts against Socialism in Germany.

CHARLES W. MORSE, a banker of New York has been pardoned by President Taft on the grounds that if he was not given his freedom his demise would soon follow. When a banker or an aristocratic swindler becomes wan and haggard, the doors of his prison are unlocked and he is again permitted to enjoy his liberty. But when a penniless pauper violates the mandate: "Thou shalt not steal" and is sent to prison, his pale and emaciated features do not appeal to the clemency of the President of the United States.

"We are all equal before the law."
Pass the sausage!

A MEETING of the Men and Religion Forward Movement was held at Pittsburg, Pa., last week and was addressed by Raymond Robbins, the modern Judas, who once posed as a "friend of labor," but the laboring men of Pittsburg fired such pointed questions at the brazen hypocrite that Robbins' meeting broke up in confusion and disorder.

During the meeting cards were handed around bearing the questions: "Are you a Socialist?" "Are you a Union man?" Robbins has fallen down in Pittsburg, as the men of the steel mills look upon Morgan's hired evangelist as a traitor, whose perfidy is only equaled by his shameless audacity.

JAMES WILSON, secretary of the Department of Agriculture, in his report says that the products of the farms of the United States for the past year brought the vast sum of \$8,400,000,000, and in the same report he shows that the farmer received but \$4,200,000,000.

According to Wilson's report, the farmer received but one half of the value of his products, and in order for the secretary to have made a report that would have proven satisfactory and that would have been complete, it would have been necessary for him to have disclosed who captured the \$4,200,000,000 that the farmer did not get.

But the secretary, in all probability, knows his constituency and realizes that capitalism might be placed in jeopardy by disclosing too many facts in an official report.

THE VAST MAJORITY of the laws that are passed are framed by the representatives of the Capitalist class. These laws are enacted in the interest of an exploiting class, and the exploited can expect but little justice from such laws. When the working class of this country realize that there is a class struggle and become conscious of all the brutal infamies that are perpetrated under laws that are drafted by the chattels of a master class, it is reasonable to presume that the class that is now subjugated by law will unite politically and clothe with authority representatives of their class to draft bills and enact such bills into laws, to protect and promote the interests of labor.

A Capitalist class is now supreme in the executive, judicial and legislative departments of government, and such being the case, it is useless to hope for a redress of wrongs at the hands of those who are mortgaged to organized greed.

VALUE of New York real estate increased \$150,000,000 last year.

Who made the increase?

The new population that went there to live and labor.

Who gets it

About 5 per cent of the inhabitants, who own the property.

Who pays it?

About 95 per cent of the inhabitants who rent the property.

Who pays the taxes on the increased valuation?

The tenants, who are the "ultimate consumers."

If the city gets bigger and bigger, the property more and more valuable, the rents and taxes higher and higher, the 5 per cent richer and richer, the 95 per cent poorer and poorer—what then?

Well, it is to be hoped that the plain people will get wiser and wiser. It's that or "bust."—Columbus Citizen.

IT WAS A FELONY in England a hundred years ago to loan a copy of Paine's "Rights of Man," and yet today there are hundreds of thousands of them distributed.

It was a felony 140 years ago to advocate the free school system in this country—yet now there are tens of thousands of them.

It was a felony to advocate the abolition of chattel slavery in this

country sixty years ago—yet now one would be considered a fool to oppose it.

It is a crime today to expose official corruption in the federal service—and yet the time will come when it will be considered a matter of highest honor.

The world moves and leaves behind those who would maintain the present state of things, no matter what that state is.

Socialism is even becoming respectable where only a few years ago it was considered a name of reproach.—Appeal to Reason.

PRESIDENT White in his annual report to the delegates of the United Mine Workers in convention at Indianapolis, had the following to say relative to the relations that now exist between the United Mine Workers and the Western Federation of Miners:

"It is my pleasure to mention that our relations with the Western Federation of Miners have been most cordial and pleasant and in all matters pertaining to the welfare of the two organizations a spirit of co-operation has been manifested which, I trust, will continue.

"It is also gratifying to report that there has been organized within the American Federation of Labor a department of mining which is of vital importance to the welfare of the Western Federation of Miners and the United Mine Workers. A full and complete account of this will be given in the report of the delegates who attended the American Federation of Labor convention. It is another step in the direction of progress and solidarity so much desired by the membership of these two organizations."

THE STRIKEBREAKERS on the Harriman lines at Ogden, Utah, are in rebellion and declare that they are treated like "dogs." The strikebreakers have sent a letter to local 82 of the Machinists' Union making known the fact that they are prisoners practically, that they are locked in bunk houses and if they quit there is no immediate payment nor are they furnished transportation to the towns and cities from which they came.

Their letter to local 82 begs all men seeking employment to not accept a position on the Harriman system. The strikebreakers will excite but little sympathy. They should have known that members of organized labor on the Harriman lines were forced to strike against conditions that were repugnant to honorable workingmen, and yet, these strikebreakers became the allies of the Harriman system to perpetuate conditions that are even intolerable to outlaws of organized labor.

The strikebreaker may be taught some wholesome lessons in the school of experience.

REYNOLD'S NEWSPAPER, published in England, which is recognized as a journal of high standing, makes the prediction that unionism must prevail in England and that the "closed shop" will be ultimately established. The following in Reynold's newspaper is significant:

"The new year has opened with a general unrest in the labor world, and the issues at stake are of national importance. Apart from a number of minor trade troubles there is the great lockout in the cotton trade. This involves the question of non-union labor. It seems outrageous that workers who do not share the cost of self-protection should have the impudence to work side by side with those who levy themselves to maintain a living wage, control the hours of work and abolish sweating. Yet we find this state of things not only in the cotton industry, but also amongst miners and in other trades. Non-unionists gain all the advantages won by organized workers, yet it does not cost them a single penny. The trade unionist has, however, come to the conclusion that this is an impossible state of affairs. It must be stopped and the present struggle will clear the air."

ONE OF OUR ENTERPRISING department stores has been giving away soup. Five thousand people took advantage of the hospitable offer as advertised among its other bargains.

Soup is the great question of the age.

Saloonkeepers use it as a bait to coax thirsty citizens into their establishments.

Churches prescribe soup as an anodyne to alleviate "hunger pains."

Politicians ladle out dinner pails brimful, for votes.

Thirteen million free American citizens are voting for it.

At the Democratic convention to be held in this city, a special platform about "SOUP" may be formulated.

The Republicans have a "SOUP HOUSE" Charley.

It is the only thing that can be voted for and obtained.

"The Lord loveth a cheerful giver, that is, an hilarious one.

So says Timothy in the New Testament.

To give and go into hysterics through being hilarious, keeps the poor in a state of contentment.

Let's have some more SOUP.—Exchange.

THE DELEGATES in the annual convention of the United Mine Workers have demonstrated that their eyes are open to the brutal economic system which enslaves the workers of this country.

The constitution of the United Mine Workers which formerly declared that the miners were entitled to "an equitable share" has been changed to read "full value of their toil," thus showing that the dele-

gates have awakened to the fact that *labor* that produces wealth is entitled to the social value of the wealth which labor creates.

John Mitchell, the former idol of the United Mine Workers, made an eloquent plea in behalf of the National Civic Federation, but his set speech had but little influence upon the delegates, as the convention refused to revise the constitution permitting a member or official of the organization to hob-nob with Belmont, Carnegie, Frick & Co., at annual feasts.

The convention went on record insisting that candidates for international offices must have worked in the mining industry for a period of five years and been identified with the organization not less than three years. This constitutional provision was adopted in order to guard against capitalist hirelings crawling into office and utilizing their official positions in the interest of exploiters. The delegates have demanded an increase of wages and the mine operators have refused to concede their demands, and at the present writing, it appears as though there might be a gigantic struggle when the present contract expires March 31st.

JAMES A. EMERY, general counsel for the National Manufacturers' Association, at a recent banquet attended by more than 150 prominent manufacturers of the country, demonstrated that he was making an heroic struggle to earn his fees, when he uttered the following:

"We should throw down the gauntlet to Socialism and union labor with the same remark made by Jefferson to the Barbary pirates: 'Millions for defense, not one cent for tribute.'"

The manufacturers unanimously applauded their salaried hireling, thus showing that they were in perfect harmony with the sentiments uttered by the well-paid and well-groomed disciple of Blackstone.

But the lawyer seemed to forget that his clients and men of their ilk, have already "thrown down the gauntlet to Socialism and union labor" and have overlooked no weapon that could be used to dwarf and stunt the growth of the movements that are struggling for labor's emancipation.

The Capitalist has no mercy and will show no quarter to the producers of profit, and intelligent men in the ranks of the political and economic movement, will feel no nervousness over the proclamation of war uttered by the blustering braggart who filled the role of wind artist at the feast of the manufacturers.

Capitalism is doing all in its power against Socialism and unionism, but the cause of the slaves must ultimately triumph over the soulless tyranny of industrial pirates.

THE SUPREME COURT of the United States rather riddled with holes the claim of American railroads that they could not be made to pay under employer's liability for an accident to an employe that was not caused by the negligence of the railroad company. In other words they maintained that it was contrary to the basic law of the land to compel them to pay for an injury caused through no fault on their part.

The old law, or rather the old judge made law, sustained their position, but the people's law of more recent date took another view of it. It holds that the railroad company and others engaged in interstate commerce shall be liable for injuries to their employes for the acts of fellow servants. Now the courts have adjusted their rules to comply with the more reasonable provisions of the law of the people.

It was a long time in coming, but it is here, and the credit is due to the persistent and untiring efforts of organized labor.

Now the capable and well trained men on the engine will not have to assume the risk because of the negligence or incompetency of the low waged trackman or telegraph operator.

The responsibility is on the railroad companies, and they will lose no time in picking efficient men for these important posts.

Efficient men demand a living wage, and, therefore it will be economy to pay good wages to other employes to save higher priced men on the railroad trains.

So "two birds have been killed with one stone."—Duluth Labor World.

F. N. BARRETT, food expert and editor of the American Grocer, has penned an editorial that will give ease to the troubled minds of millions of people who have been in mourning for a shortage in the crop of spuds. Barrett, the expert and consoler of people with lean pocketbooks, says:

"The American workingman need not feel alarmed over the high prices and seemingly short supply of potatoes, because the supply of RICE is ample for all demands, and RICE is a much cheaper and at the same time more nutritious article of diet than potatoes.

"One pound of RICE costs 10 cents at retail and contains as much nourishment as several pecks of potatoes. American-grown RICE is the best in the world, and the supply is immense."

It is somewhat strange that the workingmen of America have failed to reach the same conclusions as this expert, who has discovered that a pound of rice "contains as much nourishment as several pecks of potatoes." It will be a matter of economy for the workingmen of America to raise a fund for these food experts and pay them salaries for working their genius, to the end that they may discover other cheap commodities that will give nourishment and strength to the laboring man, in order that he may be able to produce the usual dividends for a master.

If the workingman of America can be sustained on the diet of a "chink," then exploiters can have dreams that will be rosy with prosperity, for if *Labor on Rice* can grind out profit for exploiters, then

the Gods of Mammon will live in Paradise and Wall Street will be building warehouses in which to store the "filthy lucre" that comes from labor subsisting on the diet of the pig-tailed Mongolian.

Let us give three cheers and a tiger for *Rice*:

WHAT REGARD has Carnegie for the truth in the light of the following statements? "I never had a strike as long as I was in the steel business!" This declaration was made by Andrew Carnegie, the multi-millionaire, before the Stanley Steel Investigation Committee. Two minutes after he had made this assertion Carnegie was forced by a member of the committee to admit that there was a strike at his steel works at Homestead, Pa., in 1892. A few minutes later Carnegie again gave himself the lie by admitting that there was a strike at his works at Braddock in 1887. A statement made by Carnegie that he had never employed Pinkerton detectives to break strikes was shown to be false by the testimony of J. H. Bridges, author of "The Inside History of the Carnegie Steel Company." Just when the hearing became interesting from a labor point of view the committee decided that the story of the bloody Homestead strike and Carnegie's inhuman exploitation of his workers "was really extraneous to the investigation." "Let's not open up the old scores," said Congressman Gardner, Republican, of Massachusetts. "I agree with Mr. Gardner that it would be unkind to Mr. Carnegie," replied Congressman Stanley, Democrat, of Kentucky.—Amalgamated Journal.

A man of the financial magnitude of Andrew Carnegie has a license to give utterance to a falsehood. A brazen lie from the lips of a builder of libraries can receive absolution from all the official puppets of Congress who go through the farce of an investigation. When the investigating committee discovered that the questioning of Carnegie was becoming embarrassing, it was then determined that the curtain should be dropped on the years of the past and that the venerated reputation of the steel magnate should not be tarnished by any evidence that might expose the brutal methods by which Carnegie and men of his ilk, had made slaves of the thousands of victims whom poverty had driven to their bastiles of profit.

The Congressional investigating committee can always be relied upon to give a multi-millionaire a "clean bill of health."

A GREAT MANY PEOPLE in the United States boast of the privileges that are enjoyed under the Stars and Stripes and sometimes draw comparisons between the freedom of a republic and the despotism of a monarchy. But the difference between the laws of a republic and a monarchy is so slight, as to be scarcely noticeable. The president of a Republic seems to be clothed with as much power, if not more, than the crowned head of a monarchy. But the sovereign citizen with an expansion of the chest, points to the nations of the Old World where the subjects of kings are compelled to do military duty and hugs the delusion to his breast that beneath the unpillared arch of an American sky, no such obligations are imposed on the citizen of Young Columbia. But the following provisions of the Dick Military law should awaken the citizen of America to the fact that he belongs to the army and can be called into the field, whenever the executive head of the government deems it necessary:

"Section 1. The militia shall consist of every able-bodied male citizen of the respective states, territories, and the District of Columbia *** who is more than eighteen and less than forty-five years of age."

"Section 4. ***It shall be lawful for the President to call forth for a period not exceeding nine months such numbers of the militia as he may deem necessary *** and to issue his orders *** as he may think proper."

"Section 7. Any officer or enlisted man of the militia who shall refuse or neglect to present himself to such mustering officer upon being called forth *** shall be subject to trial by court martial, and shall be punished as such court may direct."

"Section 9. The militia when called into actual service by the United States, shall be subject to the same rules and articles of war as the regular troops," and "shall be mustered for service without further enlistment."

The above provisions of the Dick Military law should leave no room for doubt in the minds of citizens of this country as to the fact that every able-bodied man between 18 and 45 years is a soldier and subject to military duty at any time when called upon by those clothed with authority. The Dick Military law was sneaked through Congress in the year 1903, and but comparatively few people among the working class were aware of the provisions of such a legislative measure until after the bill was enacted into law.

THE NATIONAL SOCIALIST, a weekly journal, has been launched in Washington, D. C., by the National Socialist Publishing Association, 423 G. street, N. W. Washington, D. C. The subscription price is 50 cents per year and the salutary of the National Socialist explains the character of the publication.

The salutary is as follows:

"The National Socialist begins publication under unusually favorable conditions. The announcement that such a paper was to be published has brought to our office a flood of letters. Scores of these are in the form of congratulations, hundreds contain requests for sample copies, and yet other hundreds contain subscriptions, paid up for from six months to two years. The need of such a paper has thus been acknowledged in a most gratifying way.

"The National Socialist will aim to be a newspaper of facts and constructive propaganda. From all quarters, but principally from Government sources, it will collect the facts of industrial, social and politi-

cal conditions. It will present and interpret these facts simply and clearly. The National Socialist will be a weekly document which no earnest worker in the cause can afford to be without.

"We shall not, however, indulge in the luxury of publishing a paper solely for the benefit of the active workers in the movement. We intend, above all, to print a paper for *general circulation*. We aim to make The National Socialist distinctively a *propaganda paper*—a paper that will be bought in bundles and used for distribution among non-Socialists. Our Socialist papers have sometimes been criticised as being too extreme in statement, or too sensational in manner. Often this criticism has been unfounded or exaggerated, but at other times it has had some basis in fact. We shall strive to avoid these faults. We shall try to print a paper that will appeal to the hard-headed or the hesitant

man who has not yet seen the truth of Socialism, but who is willing to see it if it is shown to him in the proper light. With fact and argument we shall strive to overcome his prejudice, or misunderstanding, or ignorance, or whatever it is that keeps him from our ranks.

"We recognize that this program is at once an ambitious and a difficult one. We shall, however, use our best endeavors to keep to it and we shall welcome all criticism which points out our failure, and all suggestions which contribute to the making of a better *organ of propaganda*. We cannot succeed alone. We can succeed only by the hearty co-operation of the active Socialists in the ranks—the men who carry the soapbox, who pass the collection basket, who distribute printed matter, who make speeches and who write articles. In our efforts to build up this newspaper, we solicit the help of all these workers in our common cause."

The Courts Indicted

THE ARTICLE which appeared in Everybody's Magazine for February, written by C. P. Connolly, who has won a national reputation as a magazine writer will cause hundreds of thousands of people to look upon the Judiciary as the most rotten and corrupt department of government. Connolly cannot be branded as an anarchist nor can he be classed as a Socialist, and Connolly being a lawyer and a writer of national repute whose contributions appear in publications that are arrayed against radicalism and socialism, the *conservative* element of society and those who have external symptoms of insanity when socialism is discussed, must give Connolly's statements relative to the courts, some consideration. Connolly, in his article does not fire any shots from ambush, but comes out in the open and practically assassinates that hoary reverence that has surrounded the courts. Connolly's article will have the effect of giving sight to the blind and causing men and women who once looked upon the lawyer robed in the ermine of the bench as one who could "do no wrong," to entertain the opinion that the Recall is absolutely necessary in fumigating our *temples of justice*.

Connolly in his article says:

"I shall prove that when the highest courts of certain states have rendered their decisions, sometimes unanimously, powerful political leaders either in person or by attorney, have made their entrance into court and that thereupon the judges, like puppets at the end of a string have in matters of vital importance turned complete and undignified somersaults, reversing the previous decisions.

"Judicial opinions of our highest courts have been written in the offices of the legal departments of the railroads and other big corporations. Many judges are political henchmen who have pared and twisted

the law for the protection of a favored few. The corruption of our courts prevails in every section and it is becoming more and more difficult for the poor man to get a decision against a corporation.

"Evil decisions by the highest courts of any state do not poison the stream of law in that state alone; they follow from commonwealth to commonwealth, corrupting the entire legal system of the country. Once out of its environment, there is no suspicion that behind any decision was a foul influence."

The above is a severe indictment of the Judiciary, and Connolly in his article, cites instances to prove that *dignified* and *respectable gentlemen* who have been *honored* by corporations with seats on the bench, have *dishonored* themselves in handing down decisions made-to-order in exchange for the influence of corporate combinations whose political power can resolve lawyers into judges.

But President Taft entertains a far different opinion of our judges than Connolly of Everybody's Magazine. The ponderous Taft while delivering speeches on a late political whirl around the country, said:

"I love the judges; I love the courts; they are my ideal on Earth and typify what we shall meet in Heaven under a just God."

As Taft was once an occupant of the bench and wore the judicial robes, it is not expected that he would cast any aspersions on the Judicial fraternity. But with all due deference to the tribute of Taft to the courts, the statements of Connolly backed by proof, will be accepted by observing people, rather than a fulsome laudation from "Big Bill" whose reputation for loyalty to truth is at a discount.

Judicial corruption is apparent, and the time is here and now, when the courts must be cleansed of the chattels that are mortgaged to obey the dictums of trusts and corporations.

Is Socialism a "Dream?"

FROM THE REPORTS that have come from Germany concerning the late election, it would seem that Socialism is a "dream." When the fact is taken into consideration that the Socialists on the domain of the Kaiser have doubled their representation in the Reichstag and polled a vote exceeding 4,000,000 a howl should be raised throughout America protesting against the magnitude of the political tidal wave that threatens to sweep royal rule in Germany on the breakers of eternal death. Capitalism in America will now find it absolutely necessary to launch a few more organizations that will fight the "red spectre," and a few more preachers and professors will find employment on the platform painting pathetic pictures of the misery and wretchedness that will come if the sentiment for the collective ownership of the earth and the machines of production and distribution, is not strangled to death beneath the starry dome of Young Columbia.

The preachers and professors with pain and anguish depicted on their saintly mugs, will tell how "Socialism would destroy the home;" how "free love" would run riot and how religion would be foully murdered, if the Socialist unbelievers in God should come into power and sweep industrial despotism into a dishonored grave.

Capitalism will muster all its forces and summon to its assistance every ally possible, but the brain of laboring humanity will remain at work, endeavoring to solve the problems that confront the nations of the world. The working class in every civilized part of the earth yearns for economic liberty, and that *yearning* is growing into a *demand* that wage slavery shall be banished from the earth and all the specious sophistry set forth in press and on the rostrum by the hired henchmen of a master class, will fail to halt the onward march of the millions, toward the summit of industrial freedom.

A Conspiracy Against the Miners

THE LABOR NEWS of Colorado Springs of a late issue, had the following relative to an organization that is being formed in the Cripple Creek district, in order that exploiter and exploited may become brothers:

"The Miners Protective association, an organization for the general welfare of both mine operators and employes, is being perfected in the Cripple Creek district.

"The purpose of the new organization as indicated in the proposed constitution, is broad enough to include everybody in any way connected with the mining industry in the district, and everyone is morally obliged to give his best efforts to the welfare of the industry.

"Protection from the operations of highgraders is the principal purpose of the association and protection for all employes in mines, mills and samplers from loss of wages through irresponsible employers and from injury from the careless and inefficient management of the different branches of the industry is another prime object.

"The organization of this association was first taken up by the Cripple Creek District Mining and Metallurgical Society, consisting of mine owners and managers and scientific men, and has been carefully considered by many prominent mining men, both in the district and in Colorado Springs. Cards bearing the proposed constitution and the objects of the association have been sent out to all men con-

needed in any way with the mining industry in the district, and membership in the association will be established simply by signing the cards and returning them to the organizers in this city. No membership fee will be charged and a meeting for completing the organization will be held as soon as a sufficient number of members has been secured.

"The proposed constitution is as follows:

"This organization shall be known as 'The Miners Protective Association' of the Cripple Creek district.

"The objects of this association shall be to unite its members in closer and more confidential relations, for the mutual good of all; to establish, if possible, between employer and employe amicable and friendly relations and mutuality of purpose and aim as will result in the greatest good to both capital and labor, employer and employe.

"Insofar as possible is shall be to protect all its members employed in and about the mines, mills and samplers in the Cripple Creek district against loss of earnings through irresponsible employers; to prevent injury by accident while in the performance of their duties about the mines, mills and samplers; to promote honest and fair dealing between employer and the employe; to encourage good, honest and faithful service for good wages, and to discourage all individual or organized effort tending towards dishonesty or a careless indifference of the rights of the person or property of either the employer or employed, and to

aid all its members in every honorable work in securing employment."

It will be remembered that shortly after the adjournment of the Nineteenth Annual convention of the Western Federation of Miners at Butte, Mont., a meeting of the mine operators was called at Colorado Springs. Great secrecy was maintained as to the deliberations of the mine operators at "Little Lunnon," but enough leaked out to convince those on the outside that the meeting of the mine operators was held for the sole purpose of thwarting the efforts of the Western Federation of Miners in reorganizing the men of the mines in the Cripple Creek district.

The fact that the delegates of the Nineteenth Annual convention selected Cripple Creek as the place for the holding of the next annual convention, caused the mine operators to hold a conference and devise ways and means by which employes in the mines could be prevented from coming together under the banner of a real labor organization. The result of the deliberations of the conference held by the mine operators at Colorado Springs is the launching of the Miner's Protective Association, an organization which will be utilized solely to drug

the mentality of the slaves to the fallacy of an "identity of interest" between employer and employe.

The men of the mines of the Cripple Creek district are expected to forget the brutal outrages that were perpetrated during the Peabody administration, when the mine operators who have now brought in existence "The Miner's Protective Association," used the state militia to bull-pen miners and deport them beyond the boundaries of the state, with no more consideration for their wives and children, than wolves accord victims of their ravenous appetite.

The miners should not forget that these mine operators gave their approval to the military yell: "To h—l with the constitution," and they should remember that these same operators would repeat history under the same circumstances and conditions, if the opportunity presented itself.

If the miners of the Cripple Creek district have any yearning for protection, they will not lend assistance to an organization that is built solely in the interest of the mine operator and against the miner.

Respect for the Courts

ORDINARILY, the piffle talked about the growing lack of respect for the courts as manifested by those who advocate the recall of judges is sufficiently exasperating, but when a creature like Elihu Root, who has played the jackal to the capitalist beasts to prey for more than a generation, adds his solemn warning against the proposal as one that menaces the stability of society and popular government, and his utterance is editorially commended as a "dignified rebuke," the limit of exasperation might be said to be reached, if it were not that, coming from such a source, its effect is most likely to be the opposite from that intended. The advocates of the recall, if they had the selection of their opponents, could not possibly desire a more appropriate one than this same Root, a man who has juggled and jockeyed and manipulated the courts in the interests of his clients more than any other half dozen of his profession in the country. To have this Artful Dodger denounce the recall of judges is perhaps the best argument that could be made for its support.

But however this may be, the opponents of this measure, while constantly harping upon and deploring the growing lack of respect for the courts, never by any chance attempt to give any reason therefor, though a reason, or reasons, there must certainly be.

If the courts are losing the popular respect, it must certainly be plain enough that their actions must in some way be the cause of the forfeiture of the respect supposedly once paid them. Neither respect nor disrespect are mental conditions that are causeless. If there is suspicion of the integrity of the courts so widespread as to form the foundation of a movement for the recall of judges, these suspicions must have some foundation in the actions of the courts themselves. But this side of the question is one that is never publicly discussed by those who would restore the forfeited respect by merely repeating that the courts should be respected if the stability of society is to be preserved.

At times they will admit that there are imperfections in the courts as in every other human institution, but it is plain enough if this logic is to be accepted, that when the courts had the entire respect of the people they had either no imperfections or the sight of the people itself was too imperfect to detect them.

And it is undoubtedly the latter condition that is the case. The mass of the people are now beginning to view the courts much in the same light as the capitalists have always regarded them—that is to say, as mere instruments for the furtherance of capitalistic interests and the maintenance of capitalistic property. The courts never had the respect of the capitalists in the past. It was nothing more than a pretense, and we could fill columns with illustrations showing the utter contempt that the great capitalists always had for the courts when

they expressed their real feelings. Who, for instance, not an utter imbecile, can imagine Root himself as having that respect for the courts that he says the masses of the people should have? As a matter of fact, his profession on the whole has expressed quite as much contempt for the law and the courts as the masters whom they served, and the amount of literature from the pens of legal lights, presenting "justice" as a roaring farce to the initiated, is by no means inconsiderable.

The trouble is that an ever larger number of the public are beginning to regard the courts as Root and Root's patrons have always regarded them. The public are getting wise to this matter, and there is always danger to established institutions, however much previously respected, when an increasing knowledge of the real conditions of society gradually becomes the property of the masses. If the public really had a full sense of all the other contemptible shams now existing in our social fabric, it is a foregone conclusion that its destruction would be both speedy and certain.

Fortunately, there is no other way to command respect than to deserve it, and this decay of popular respect for the courts is merely a symptom of the growing decay of faith in our present structure of society, for the maintenance of which the courts are the special instruments.

A generation ago the words of a great lawyer like Root would have been listened to with considerably more respect than at present. But the lawyer, too, is involved in the growing disrespect for the courts and is becoming discredited along with them. The old admiration for the "smart man," whether lawyer or plutocrat, which once covered a multitude of "imperfections," to give it no stronger name, is fast going, never to return. Just at the time when the corporation lawyer reaches the apparent maximum of his career and social importance, his decay in public estimation begins. And just at the time that the courts have been used almost to the very limit of their capacity in establishing the plutocrat as the absolute owner and ruler of the country, the alarm is heard about the growing disrespect for the courts and the general suspicion in which the judges are held.

Elihu Root is confronted with exactly the same situation that the clergy of the orthodox churches are facing, and the reason in both cases is identically the same. He will be able to restore the respect for the courts among the masses of the people at about the same time that the clergy of all denominations succeed by their preaching in inducing the millions of workingmen to return to the churches they have abandoned. In both cases, it is an attempt to restore that impossible thing called "the faith of our fathers" without taking into account the economic reasons for its abandonment, whether it takes the form of deserting the church or losing respect for the courts.—New York Call.

He Scores the Enemy

OLAF A. TVEITMOE, secretary-treasurer of the State Building Trades Council of California made a ringing report to the convention that was held recently at Fresno. Tveitmoe is one of the indicted victims of a Federal Grand Jury at Los Angeles, and in vigorous language he flays the foes of organized labor.

The following are a few of the extracts taken from Tveitmoe's report to the convention:

"Does the enemy want an accounting of the dead? If so, count all the men, women and children who have lost their lives in the industrial war in mines, in factories, on railroads, on buildings, on land and sea within the last five decades and you will have an appalling figure that will run into millions, and beyond it all you will see an ocean of human blood submerging our civilized lands, lighted by industrial monuments of bleached bones and grinning skulls. Does the enemy want an accounting of the dead?"

"Yet, through it all, labor has patiently toiled, suffered and died. It organized when it was compelled to, it protested when it was forced to. Its victories have been those of peace and not of war. It has taken the children out of the factories and placed them in the schools and on the playgrounds; it has reduced the hours of work for both men and women; it has made better citizens with higher hopes and ardent as-

pirations to help in the uplift of mankind. Union men and women work for peace because peace means greater happiness to all. They believe that murder is the most horrible of all crimes, and that the taking of human life, whether committed by individual, society, state or nation, in an ordinary brawl, an industrial struggle or a so-called civilized war, is murder.

"If Labor should invoke as a law 'AN EYE FOR AN EYE AND A TOOTH FOR A TOOTH,' the world would have a deluge of human blood without a saving mark or a Mount Ararat, but with numberless Caesar's columns to mark the final landings.

"Mr. Oscar Lawler, the special prosecutor, first became famous as the reputed author of the 'Dick-to-Dick' letter in the Ballinger scandal and the Alaska land steal. Before that time Mr. Lawler served as 'bell-hop' for the Southern Pacific political machine in Los Angeles. He is a dapper young man with an uncontrollable ambition to become a federal judge, and to further his political aspirations he would not hesitate for a moment to cut the heart out of every labor official in the country in order to please the trust magnates whom he believes control the gift of the ermine and the toga.

"In his private office in the postoffice building in Los Angeles, Mr. Lawler strongly intimated to witnesses subpoenaed before the Federal

Grand Jury—men who now are under indictment—that they would be immune from prosecution and possibly would receive a substantial consideration if they would state that Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor, knew that the McNamaras were guilty before they entered their pleas on December 1, 1911. Being informed by the witnesses referred to that they would not lie or perjure themselves to please anybody or help any one's political ambition, the special prosecutor waxed eloquent and forthwith delivered a lecture on good citizenship. He wound up by telling them that they would have to take the consequences.

"Then came the indictments, December 30, 1911, whereby your secretary-treasurer, your organizer (Anton Johannsen) and the executive board member from San Francisco (E. A. Clancy) were charged with conspiracy to transport explosives in violation of federal statutes. The case or cases, as it may be, will be tried in the courts and needs no discussion in this report; neither will it be discussed in the newspapers by the defendants or by any of their attorneys. Suffice it to say that there is no foundation for the charges; that, so far as the defendants know, the indictments were returned without a vestige or scintilla of

evidence tending to connect them with the crime alleged. They consider it all a personal, political persecution. But it is more; it is a blow aimed at labor.

"There will be no plea of guilty, simply because the men accused are NOT GUILTY, and they refuse to serve as stepping-stones in the political steeplechase either of Mr. Fredericks, who has his eye on the governor's chair at Sacramento, or for Mr. Lawler's judgeship, or Mr. Hearst's presidency.

"WHETHER OF SHORT DURATION, OR MONTHS OR YEARS, LABOR'S BATTLE WILL BE FOUGHT IN FIELD AND FACTORY, IN MINE AND MILL, IN COURT AND BY THE BALLOT. IT MATTERS NOT IF FEW OR MANY FALL IN THE STRUGGLE; OTHER MILITANT WORKERS WILL TAKE THEIR PLACES. THE BATTLE FOR THE EMANCIPATION OF THE TOILERS AND FREEDOM FOR THE CHILDREN OF THE WORLD GOES ON AND ON AND ON, AND NO POWER CAN CHANGE THIS COURSE ANY MORE THAN IT CAN STOP THE MOTION OF THE PLANETS."

The Hunger-Farce

STEAM MAY FORCE steel giants across the ocean. Electricity may transmit man's messages through space, but still a force remains unquestioned in its supremacy, hunger, the imperious demand for the renewal of life. Through hunger the microscopic ameba absorbs a still tinier animalcule, the life and strength of the ameba. Through hunger was evolved intelligence, the use of tools, tribal wars, and hence social organization, slavery, feudalism and capitalism, and through hunger will evolve Socialism.

Shall capitalism which uses every profitable force in production, allow hunger, the greatest of world powers, to remain unorganized out of its control? Capitalism has already answered, and the world's workers awake to find the hunger force of humanity harnessed in the service of the capitalist, for the exploitation of the producer and the degradation of the human race. Under the protection of a police army which enrolled, not because the men loved tyranny, but because they feared hunger, and a military army which too was hungry, and therefore enlisted, capitalism lays hands on the bread and butter of men, women and children, regardless of right, regardless of justice.

Down in the basement of society the workers toil, they work all day, every day, through long years, summer and winter, working, always working. Every day the factory throbs with motion; every day masses of wealth pass out its doors. Great quantities of the choicest and the best, one needs but use one's eyes to tell how much, goes to the homes of the wealthy, the squanderers, the idlers, the robbers of society. Another portion, the coarse and cheap, goes to the proletariat, to those who have but their services to give in return; who control no lands, factories or houses, but who are themselves controlled. The portion of the proletariat is again divided, part goes to the army, police and other instruments of capitalist oppression, part to the industrial army, the toilers who provide for all.

Right outside society railings is a third section of the proletariat. To these is sent no food; despair, starvation and misery is their lot. To them comes disease, crime and vice. They form the great unemployed army, the vast reserve force of hunger power on which capitalist society hinges. But for them, the uniformed flunkies would not drill, nor would the workers sweat. Remove unemployment, and the fear of starvation goes. Remove the specter of want, and the soldier will not murder, the policeman will not arrest, and the worker will not be a slave. Hunger makes cowards of us all.

The idols of capitalism are efficiency and cheapness. Efficiency gains greater quantities of wealth; cheapness lessens the portion of the worker and increases that of the capitalist. The unemployed are hungry, their wives and children are hungry. The man without a job grows desperate. If by selling his labor more cheaply than does the

policeman, the soldier or the worker, he can at least get a crust, then a crust is better than no bread. But the employed has only a crust, and to lose his job would be to lose that crust, so he outdoes the employed with "half a crust is better than no crust." He keeps his job at a still lower wage, and the jobless man starves. Only when the policeman is too old and weak to bludgeon, when the soldier is no longer strong to murder, when the worker becomes too slow or ill to keep the pace, or when the capitalist extends his lines and requires more flunkies and slaves, have the unemployed a chance. The employed are always the fittest, the unemployed the unfit. Capitalism makes the fit unfit; saps the strength of the strong, and dashes brains to the ground. Capitalism is a mill into which enter the youth and hope of humanity, and out of which wasted and emasculated forms pass to the grave.

The function of the army and police is to protect the capitalist and his property against slave revolts, against robbery, strikes and insurrection; the power which drives them is the fear of hunger. The function of the unemployed is to prevent the slaves of capitalism from attaining to more than a moderately hungry condition; the driving force is starvation. The function of the worker is to sow, reap, make and build, to provide luxuries for the parasitic rich to squander and the meanest for themselves and their fellow slaves. The reason why they toil is the touch of hunger. The productivity of labor becomes greater with the years, and the worker becomes poorer with the increasing wealth. The worker can absorb only as much as his wage will provide, his wage is smaller as the hunger forces grow around him. The capitalist who knows no want, whose chief hobby is engaging in giant gambles for lands, mines, factories, railways and human lives, keeps all the wealth the workers produce but can not buy. In all leading capitalist countries there is a condition of chronic starvation and unemployment on the one hand and magnificence and extravagance on the other. When the capitalist class was serving its apprenticeship there were industrial crises caused by the production of greater quantities of wealth than the workers with their starvation wages and the capitalists with their enormous profits could or would buy. Now it has learned its profession, affairs are so nicely regulated that there is a state of under consumption in respect to the needs of the workers and over production as far as their buying capacity is concerned, and crises in the main are limited to tangles in the capitalistic gambling hells. Slow burning, chronic hunger with constant armies of unemployed, are the instruments of capitalism for getting the most for the least; for the most modern effective and scientific exploitation of the only useful people in the world.

Under capitalism there are two classes: Slave Drivers and Slaves. Under Socialism there will be one class: the Working Class.—International Socialist.



GRATEFUL TO BINGHAM MINERS' UNION.

Salt Lake City, January 31, 1912.

Editor Miners' Magazine:

In behalf of the striking shopmen of the Harriman lines at Salt Lake we wish to thank the miners' local at Bingham, Utah, for the hearty support given to our benefit ball in Bingham on the 26th inst., which swelled our treasury to the neighborhood of \$600. As the peewee officials of the Salt Lake Route saw fit to stop the merchants of Lyndll Jet., Milford and Caliente from giving our striking brothers merchandise on credit, informing these merchants that the strike was over with so far as the company is concerned and that these men will never work again for the Salt Lake Route. The poor merchant can't see that the company wants these men to go and scab on themselves, and we are getting in touch with these brothers and are going to for-

ward a part of this money received from Bingham. Thanking you, Brother O'Neil, if you will give this your kind attention. Yours truly,

JOHN P. JENSEN,

Secretary and Treasurer Salt Lake Harriman System Federation.
Salt Lake, Utah, Postoffice Box No. 559.

WELCOME, DEAR ENEMY!

By John M. Work.

A new anti-Socialist magazine, misnamed "The Common Cause," has been launched.

Great pains were taken to herald it widely before it made its appearance. No doubt its promulgators expected it to create a tremendous sensation. But it did not create even a ripple. The time has gone by when people could be scared or even interested by the time-honored lies hurled at Socialism by its ignorant, prejudiced and malicious foes.

We Socialists ourselves take but a languid interest in it. It is replete with venomous lies from cover to cover. Its attacks are so full of mis-statements and so unconvincing that it scarcely seems worth while for us to notice them. Let us hope that as time goes on it will develop some foe-man worthy of our steel. That would make things really interesting.

The very title of the magazine—"The Common Cause"—is a falsehood. Had it been called "The Special Privilege" or "The Upper Dog," the title would have been accurate.

Whatever good it may do will accrue to the Socialist movement.

In so far as it tells the truth about Socialism, its readers will be favorably impressed with Socialism.

In so far as it lies about Socialism, it will lose the confidence of its readers as soon as they learn the truth, and they will then all the more readily turn to Socialism.

In so far as it points out inaccurate statements made by Socialists, we will correct them and be the gainers thereby.

In so far as it leads people to investigate Socialism, they will discover that Socialism is the truth.

Therefore, I say, welcome, dear enemy! When people do not favor Socialism, we much prefer that they actively oppose it. All is grist that comes to our mill. If people cannot support our cause, the next best thing is to have them oppose it. By either method they convert others to Socialism.

The truth is invulnerable.
Socialism is the truth.

THE CHAIN.

By Ella Wheeler Wilcox.

Men have outgrown the worthless creed
Which bade them deem it God's good will
That Labor sweat and starve to fill
And glut the purse of idle Greed.

They have outgrown the poor content
That breeds oppression. Forged by pain
Mind links to mind in one great chain
Of protest and of argument.

And by the hand of progress hurled,
This mighty chain of human thought,
In silence and in anguish wrought,
Encompasses the pulsing world.

And he who will not form a link
Of new conditions, soon to be,
Ere long must stand aghast, and see
Old systems toppling down the brink.

They cannot and they shall not last,
The broader impulse of the day
Will gain and grow and sweep away
The rank injustice of the past.

The purport of the hour is vast,
The world wants justice. It demands
United hearts, united hands—
The day of charity is past.

Let no man think he can despoil
And rob his kind by trick and fraud,
And at the last make peace with God
By tossing alms to honest toil.

More labor for the selfish few,
More leisure for the burdened mass;
These things shall surely come to pass
As old conditions change to new.

They change through strain, and strike, and strife,
The worst but speaks the final best.
Work for all men—for all men rest,
And time to taste the joy of life.

RESOLUTIONS FROM HANCOCK, MICHIGAN.

Copper Miners' Union No. 203, W. F. M., January 14, 1912.

Whereas, The Porcupine Miners' Union No. 145 has seen fit to ask the Executive Board of W. F. M. to submit to the referendum vote of the entire membership of the federation the question of amalgamating the Western Federation of Miners with the United Mine Workers of America, and

Whereas, The Cobalt Miners' Union No. 145 has joined the Porcupine Miners' Union in this move by sending out resolutions to all the locals asking them to give due consideration to the question proposed, and

Whereas, The United Mine Workers of America, through its fraternal delegates in the nineteenth annual convention, has advised the Western Federation of Miners not to seek amalgamation at the present time, and

Whereas, The representatives of both organizations involved who have had this matter under their consideration in their several meetings have come to the conclusion that direct affiliation of the Western Federation of Miners with the United Mine Workers of America is impractical at the present time and that the mining department taking in both miners' organizations and other unions operating in such industries that are closely connected with mining, will best serve the purpose and needs of all concerned at the present time, and

Whereas, We believe that this mining department now under formation will, if successfully established, bring closer affiliation, not only between the men in the coal and metal mines, but also between us and those who toil in other industries closely connected with mining, and

Whereas, We believe it absolutely necessary for the Western Federation of Miners to gain the assistance and co-operation of not only the United Mine Workers of America, but also those who toil on docks and steamships on the Great Lakes and in the smelters and steel mills of Pennsylvania and other kindred industries before it can complete its work of organization in the great iron regions of Michigan and Minnesota owned and controlled by that "billion-dollar enemy," the United States Steel Corporation, and

Whereas, It seems to us that the time has come when the several craft organizations still existing in the dominion of the steel trust are forced, by the operations of the steel trust, to realize the fact that if they want to live, they must organize along the industrial lines; therefore, be it

Resolved, That we must emphatically oppose the move made by Porcupine and Cobalt Unions until this mining department is solidly and firmly established and until it has been shown what can be accomplished through and by this department; and, be it further

Resolved, That a copy of this resolution be sent to the Miners' Magazine for publication.

COMMITTEE AND OFFICERS.

P. M. WILKINSON,

PETER JEDDA

MOI OPPMAN,

MATT A. JOHNSON.

MYSELF AND ME.

I'm the best pal that I ever had,
I like to be with me;
I like to sit and tell myself
Things confidentially.

I often sit and ask me
I I shouldn't or I should,
And I find that my advice to me
Is always pretty good.

I never got acquainted with
Myself till here of late;
And I find myself a bully chum,
I treat me simply great.

I talk with me and walk with me,
And show me right and wrong,
I never knew how well myself
And I could get along.

I never try to cheat me;
I'm as trustful as can be
No matter what may come or go,
I'm on the square with me.

It's great to know yourself, and have
A pal that's all your own;
To be such company for yourself,
You're never left alone.

You'll try to dodge the masses,
And you'll find the crowds a joke,
If you only treat yourself as well
As you treat other folk.

I've made a study of myself,
Compared with me the lot,
And I've finally concluded
I'm the best friend I've got.

Just get together with yourself
And trust yourself with you,
And you'll be surprised how well yourself
Will like you if you do.

—George Cohan.

THE BOYS ON STRIKE.

By J. O. Bentall.

It's a brave fight the boys on the Illinois Central and the Harriman lines are putting up.

They have the whole power of Wall Street and the entire capitalist world against them, but they hold out splendidly in face of it all.

And the reason?

Well, the men have learned solidarity. That is it.

They used to go out by trades. The men in a single craft when driven to desperation would go on strike and fight for their lives. All the other crafts would then stand by and look on, but would not help the struggling strikers by going out with them. They were not organized that way.

When the boiler workers would strike, the machinists and blacksmiths and carmen and clerks and others in the railroad industry would keep working and let the lone group fight alone.

Of course that meant defeat for the lone group.

But a change in organization has taken place. Today not less than nine crafts in the railroad industry have joined hands and act as one body.

They call it the System Federation.

When the railroads came to renew their contract with certain crafts they were told to deal with the System Federation.

That was a new one on the railroads.

They had been accustomed to deal with individuals and then been driven to deal with the craft union, but to deal with a union of the unions was too much.

The railroads balked.

So did the men.

During the cold and pinching months since September 30th of last year the men in the unions and the unions in the federation have held on like grim death.

Never before in the history of the struggle between capital and labor has the fight been so keen.

Never before has judicial power been so recklessly and unscrupulously displayed.

Never has the injunction been put to such vulgar use.

Never before has the outlook of the bosses been so dark nor the outlook of the workers so bright.

Look at them!

There they are—the machinists, the boiler makers, the blacksmiths, the sheet metal workers, the carmen, the clerks, the painters, the steamfitters and the Federal Labor union—all these trade groups acting together—strong as the strands that make up the unbreakable cable.

And these men, having learned the lesson of solidarity in the industrial field, are learning the value of solidarity in the political field.

They have learned the origin of the injunction and will combine to elect judges that are not as wrong as Judge Wright.

The idea of combination has become epidemic. The System Federation may soon look for the locomotive engineers, the firemen, the brakemen, the conductors, the switchmen, to join.

And when they do, the bosses will be up against a stone wall as thick as a mountain.

Combine. Strike hard when you strike.

Combine in the shops and in the booth.

The world is right before us on a capitalist silver platter. The workers are in position to take it to use it for the good of all the race.

OUTRAGES IN CUBA.

January 27, 1912.

To the Editors of the Socialist and Labor Press:

The following communication was received from Camille Huysmans, secretary of the International Socialist Bureau, with request from the Executive Committee of the bureau that it be given publicity.

JOHN M. WORK, National Secretary, Socialist Party.

Manifesto to All Socialist and Labor Parties of the World.

The Socialist party of Cuba has decided to let the whole world know of

the outrages to which workers of this country are subjected on the part of the government.

In acting thus the Socialist party deem they are doing a deed of international solidarity.

First of all, the party stigmatizes the acts of the government, at the time of the strike last July, in which the drain laborers took part to the number of 1,800.

The Socialist club, where the strikers met, was watched by the government, and liberty of speech was violated.

The detectives seized the strikers and took them to the police station, ill treating them, because they would not work. Several strikers, walking the streets during working hours, were arrested and taken to the court of justice, where fines and other penalties were imposed on them.

However, in view of their moderate demands—they asked for an increase of 25 to 50 centavos per day—the strikers gained the sympathy of the people and of a large part of the press.

The secretary of the government, an impulsive man, who during his political career has rendered himself odious to the entire population and the entire press, except the press favoring the palace, formed a kind of secret committee composed of a number of vile working men, who sold themselves like prostitutes. This committee formed a fictitious group of Cuban laborers, whose sole object was to separate the laborers of Cuba and to prevent the growth and development of Socialism in this country.

At the end of the drain laborers strike, this federation held a meeting, to which Comrades Vieytes and Perez and the president of the Socialist party were invited. These comrades were insulted by the orators, detained by the police and accused before the courts of having insulted the government and the Cuban people. The judge acquitted them.

Since then, after each interview between the secretary of the government and the whites, orders are given, which surpass in severity anything which has been done in the least civilized countries of the world.

Comrades Vieytes and president of the Socialist party, Severino Chacon, were arrested, the former at the Socialist club and the latter at his work and, without a trial, they were shipped off to Spain as "pernicious foreigners."

The sentiment of protest which was raised by these outrages among the laborers of Havana and the whole island was unanimous.

A committee was formed to protest against these banishments, but as soon as they attempted to hold the first meeting, the police even went so far as publicity to ill treat several laborers, among whom was Edward Carraz of the committee of the Socialist group of Havana, who was wounded in the head by a blow from a club.

The entire press, with the exception of the partisans of the government, pronounced in favor of the people.

In face of the impossibility to exercise a right, allowed by the constitution of the country to all citizens, the protest committee was obliged to dissolve and to address to the Cuban people a manifesto explaining their motives.

But the trials of the laborers did not end here.

The following month the secretary of the government enacted another decree of banishment against Abelardo Saavedra and an editor of the conservative periodical, "Cuba," who were shipped off to Spain without even being allowed to change their clothes or take leave of their families.

Later on ten more comrades were banished from the country for having professed ideas of redemption.

They were: Francisco Aznart, Sebastian Aguiar, Juan Alarcon, Juan Casanova, Serafin Castrillon, Vennacio Saenz, Bartolome Berenguer, Francisco G. Sola, Jose Grau and Francisco Perez.

Moreover, in an interview with the president of the republic, the head of the nation expressed the opinion that the steps taken had not closed the series of repressive measures against the libertists and the Socialists, whether they be Cuban or foreigners.

All these crimes of the government rendered the development of labor organization in Cuba impossible.

So, to the laborers of Cuba political and civil liberty is a myth. It exists only for a restricted group of wretches who are striving to make themselves the mentors of the labor class.

It is for this reason that the labor Socialist party is desirous of publishing its protest to all the oppressed peoples of the world, so that it may serve as a lesson and example; they denounce to the whole world the vile governmental conduct, and invite the oppressed peoples to unite against tyranny and exploitation in order to attain a better society by suppressing the inhuman institutions of present day society.

WHAT IS SOCIALISM?

By I. Tarkoff.

(Continued from Last Week.)

In the last article, I have shown that the main mission of capitalism is to absorb, through profit, rent and interest, the wealth produced by toil and brain; and all land values; and to concentrate it into fewer and fewer hands until it will wind itself up, by having nothing more to absorb. It must also absorb the government and use it to maintain capitalism in its position as well as to get the good there is in public or government property.

Now let us see what value there is in public property, and what was THE INCENTIVE THAT PRODUCED THEM. For instance: here is a school house, a city park, a government building, a hospital, a water works, or an electric light plant. Now what financial value is there to a school house, or any other public service property? Who cares for financial values on such property? What private individual or corporation would care to own them for the profit they bring? Have they no value? "Yes" and "No." "Yes," as public service or use value; and "No," from the capitalists' standpoint of making profit through their ownership.

What value is there in "public property," from the public service or use-value standpoint? The same value that can be put on a good home, a good wife, a good husband, a good child good health, good morals, etc. Money is inadequate to express such values. They are beyond and above all such values and can only be compared with the value of wholesome life, itself. No one tries to express the value of schools, parks, public water-works, etc., in dollars and cents. They always measure the value of such property by the service and enjoyment they afford the public. The value of public property is in use, while the value of private property is in the amount of profit, rent, or interest they bring. That is the difference between these two classes of property. One is for the benefit and use of the people, and the other MAY benefit them, but that is not the primary reason or cause for their existence. Profit is the cause. We might apparently lose money on our schools, parks, streets, fire departments, hospitals, etc., but who would suggest to dispose of them for that reason? They are not in existence for profit making; and therefore they become sacred property, serving all alike; and have use value only.

That is the reason you find that Socialists are always in favor of government or municipal ownership. Because all property which gets into the hands of the city, state, or national government becomes use-value property and is safe from corporation absorption. Corporations can absorb private wealth, but not public property; and the more property there is in the hands of the government the sooner the end of concentration will come and wind up the era of what is known as capitalism.

The aim of Socialism is to separate property into two classes: First,

private property. All property needed by anyone and their dependents, for personal use; such as home, furniture, automobiles (or personal means of employment, such as the use of improvements on land sufficient for self-employment) or any of the products of labor for personal use; or surplus savings in any form, either as money, credits, or otherwise, shall be private property PRIVATELY OWNED and used to suit the owner thereof. But under no circumstances must it be used for the purpose of profit, rent, interest, or any other financial gain from any other human being by virtue of such ownership.

Second, public property: All property not used by the owner for personal use as explained above, and all land, shall be public property collectively owned by all the people and operated by the government under such regulations that neither rent, profit, nor interest will accrue to any individual from such property.

In other words, SOCIALISM STANDS FOR THE ABOLITION OF PROFIT, RENT, INTEREST AND ALL OTHER FORMS OF EXPLOITATION OF ANY HUMAN BEING; and since profit, rent and interest is the main foundation of present capitalistic property values, therefore, it is self evident that as soon as profit, rent and interest is outlawed and legally abolished, that no one would care to claim title to property which he can not use personally. Such property will be abandoned by their owners and the government will be compelled to take it over and operate it for the good of the people. Goulds and Harrimans can not operate railroads or other industries except for profit, while the government can and must, for the Goulds and Harrimans will all quit their jobs in all industries not profitable to them.

The only way corporations can prevent their property changing from profit, to use-value, or public property is by capturing the powers of government; and selling their property to the government on such terms as will practically make them legal masters and the ruling class as well as industrial masters; just as is now the case in Russia. The Russian government and governors now own two-thirds of all the wealth of Russia; and five-eighths of all the wealth created in Russia goes through the fingers of Russian officials. But the government property is not used for the good of the people, but to enslave them. It is used for the benefit of a few who are the government and governors, as well as the industrial masters. How can property which is now used for exploiting (profit, rent and interest) be turned into public or use-value property? Or how can we establish Socialism?

(To Be Continued.)

NEWS FROM WASHINGTON, D. C.

(By National Socialist Press.)

Washington, Jan.—"As far as the tariff question is concerned, the American working class is between the devil and the deep blue sea. Here is the Republican devil and there is the Democratic deep blue sea. And, gentlemen, the rock of rescue is Socialism, when every person will own his job and get the full value of the product of his or her labor."

The above pointed paragraph is from a short speech delivered by Victor L. Berger, the Socialist congressman, during a stormy debate in the House over the steel tariff schedule. Berger was applauded by the Democrats whenever he made a remark derogatory to the Republicans and vice versa. But there was no applause when he coupled both parties as being responsible for present economic conditions.

"Both big parties are playing politics on this great question of the employment of workers," declared Berger. A few members laughed. They thought Berger was just talking to get his speech into the record. But the Socialist congressman soon showed them, if capitalistic congressmen can be shown, that he was talking from his heart. "It is a very serious thing," he said. "All I can do is to watch, with a grim smile, how both sides of this chamber play the game. Yet upon such important questions we should drop politics."

Declaring that the high protective tariff protects the manufacturers and not the laborers, Berger said:

"When I got to Milwaukee, some 30 years ago, I remember they paid the workmen in the rolling mills as high as \$10 to \$15 a day. Then the employers introduced new machinery and new processes, and now under the blessings of protection, the workmen get \$1.75 a day for similar work. The Republican protection theory was only invented because the workmen have votes. So much for this side of the House."

"Now to my friends, the Democrats. (Laughter.) While I am absolutely against the high tariff, because it is simply a means of exploitation—it hits the poor man as a consumer, and the workingmen do not get any more than they can force by unions, strikes and boycotts—free trade would be worse. (Applause on the Republican side.)

"Of course, manufactured products would be cheaper. One could get a suit of clothes like the one I have for \$10. But a Chinaman would make it, or a Japanese would make it, or a Hindoo would make it. Our people would be without work. We would be very much in the position of a gentleman from Texas who said he remembered the time when he could buy a county in Texas for a pair of boots. When asked why he did not buy the county, he replied that he did not have the boots. (Laughter and applause.) That would be the condition of the working class."

At this point Berger pointed out that the workingman of this country is between the devil and deep blue sea and that Socialism is the only solution. Berger proceeded to show by official government statistics that miserable wages are being paid to American workers despite the claims of the apostles of high tariff. He also pointed out that our government, has never furthered any legislation to protect workers in old age as the European governments do.

Under capitalism, Berger told the House, industrial panics are inevitable. "There is no doubt in the world but that we are going to have a panic, because no matter how much or how little they produce they create more than they can buy back with their wages."

Asked by a Democrat whether his party was not all right as far as it goes, Berger replied:

"Well, they are just a little more right on this question (the tariff) than are the gentlemen over here. On the other hand, I can see the time when my neighbors (the Republicans) may be more nearly right than the other side. But only the Socialists are always right on the question of bread and butter for the working class."

Representative Buchanan, a Gompers Democrat, here unburdened himself of this question: "Does the gentleman argue in this House on his Socialistic policies?" Berger asked him to explain his question, but the chairman's gavel cut off further debate. Berger's time had expired.

Justice for Postal Employees.

For the first time since the Roosevelt-Taft gag rule for federal employes has been in effect, a representative of organized government workers appeared before the House postoffice committee, pleading for shorter hours, better pay and decent conditions.

This representative was Oscar F. Nelson, president of the National Federation of Postoffice clerks, and he told the story of the wrongs of his comrades to the men responsible for these conditions. The members of the committee were asked to pass a law limiting the time of the postal clerks to eight hours a day, and to pay for overtime. As the postoffice is now run by the autocratic politician, Hitchcock, men receiving yearly salaries from \$600

to over \$1,000 work at their hard mental and physical toil for long stretches of time.

Nelson's appeal for justice toward the postal employe will no doubt be opposed by Hitchcock and his satellites. He no doubt will be also opposed to James A. Emery, representative of organized capital in Washington. Emery has already appeared on the scene and will soon be heard from.

How Soldiers Are Treated.

Called a "deserter" from the United States army for a half a century, William O. Mallahan, a former soldier in the Civil War, is about to receive justice.

Mallahan's case, which has just come before the Senate, is typical of the treatment which "patriotic defenders of their country" receive from their "superiors." He entered the army when a boy of 15. One night he was doing guard duty at headquarters tent when a major, whose name the discreet Senate committee in charge of the bill has not made public, rode home drunk, and began to swear at Private Mallahan.

Becoming more and more incensed as his fury grew, the major put the muzzle of his pistol in the boy's face and threatened to shoot him.

Military discipline is such that when Mallahan protested by word and act he was arrested and thrown into the guard house. The next day the degenerate major sentenced him to two weeks hard labor grubbing stumps, and before his sentence was finished the officer again began to bully Mallahan. The boy was advised by his comrades to go home. Accordingly he went to the major's tent and told him what he intended to do.

The major, still under the influence of drink, replied in the hearing of the men, "Go——— you, go." Mallahan went. Nevertheless he was marked a deserter.

The war department is still fighting this case. To the managers of wholesale murder discipline is more important than justice.

New Anti-Socialist Paper.

The American Anti-Socialist is the latest publication with the modest purpose of wiping the Socialist movement out of existence. It is edited, published and managed by one John Basil Barnhill, an office-holder of the United States capitol.

Barnhill is rather a lean one. He is employed in what is known as the "folding room" of the House. His job consists of addressing and wrapping franked speeches, delivered and undelivered, by members of the House.

It has been the irony of fate that Barnhill's principal work should have been to assist in mailing and wrapping the million copies of the speech on tariff by Congressman Berger.

Barnhill enjoys his heroic job of slapping the Socialist party on the wrist. He will debate against Socialism with anybody who is willing to listen to a lot of quotations and clippings of the sayings on Socialism by "unquestioned authorities." The Anti-Socialist will no doubt furnish some work to the printing trade.



CONFLICTING CRITICISMS.

By Our Opponents.

- One—Socialist would destroy ambition.
- Another—Under Socialism all would wish to become artists and poets.
- One—Socialism would be a system of tyranny.
- Another—Socialism spells Anarchy.
- One—Socialism means robbing the rich to help the poor.
- Another—Socialism would take away the poor man's slender savings.
- One—Socialism is based upon sordid materialism, and take no account of the higher spiritual nature of man.
- Another—Socialists are a set of well-meaning, but unpractical idealists, crying for the moon.
- One—Socialism is inspired by feelings of envy and greed, and the British working man is much too independent and high-minded ever to think of adopting it.
- Another—Socialism is all right in theory, but impossible in practice. If men were angels, perhaps—but human nature being what it is, etc.
- One—Socialists are out to STIR UP STRIFE.
- Another—Industrial competition is necessary to preserve the virility of the race.
- One—Socialists are generally persons of low intelligence.
- Another—The trade unions have been captured by the cunning and "brainy" Socialists.
- One—The worker under capitalism is free.
- Another—You must have a master.—Exchange.

FOOLS AT THE THROTTLE.

By A. M. Simons.

A maniac at the throttle of the Twentieth Century express would be a picture of intelligence and conservatism in comparison with the scene of the government of this nation in the hands of the "trust" busters. I sincerely hope that our grandchildren will not believe the historians of the future when they tell about the present anti-trust crusade. We have several thousand universities and high schools. Most of them have a course on political economy. Lecture platforms and periodicals discuss economic questions. Yet it is still possible for the president of the United States to travel fifteen thousand miles and more, spreading the story of how he is busting the trusts, without once arousing a burst of Homeric laughter.

There never was such a tribute to the extent of misinformation. It is enough to make one believe that evolution is moving backward to see the executive, the supreme court, congress and the whole kit and caboodle of the university-stuffed and press-puffed high brows, jabbering like a lot of Kipling's banderlogs about industrial concentration.

It needs a Rabelais to write of a nation trying to accomplish at once the impossible and the undesirable. The historic effort to put Humpty Dumpty together again was easy beside the task of "unscrambling eggs," that Taft, congress and the supreme court have set themselves.

There is danger as well as humor in having fools at the social throttle. The ruling class of this country has developed such a mighty organ for concealing and distorting truth, and for the dissemination of misinformation that its own defenders, educated in its own colleges and mentally fed through its profit-ruled press are now incapable of intelligent action even in the in-

terest of the class they represent.

Of course, it is impossible to stop concentration in industry. It may be possible, however, so to pile up legal expenses and annoyances as to make it cheaper for the more powerful capitalists to smash their competitors than to unite with them under trust management.

If the tobacco trust, steel trust and the oil trust are forced to divide up their properties for a moment, there would be such a scramble for the fragments, such a smashing of competitors, such a widespread disturbance and upheaval in public interests as might easily produce that "last great panic," which some of the earlier catastrophic Socialists saw as the climax and collapse of the capitalist system.

We need something else than the wild gyrations of medicine men about a totem pole marked "trusts" to solve the problem of how to feed hungry people in a land of plenty.

It is about time that even the ruling class came to realize that they cannot solve the trust problem by running around in circles after a fat man shouting, "Gee, it's fun to be crazy."—The Coming Nation.

ARMS AND THE MAN.

A correspondent directs our attention to the proposal that cardinal O'Connell, on his arrival in Boston from Rome, should be received with a military escort consisting of part of the armed forces of the state, and asks us to denounce this feature of the reception.

We have heard since that the governor has refused to permit the regiment in question to parade under arms on the occasion, and that the ecclesiastic in charge of the reception has also concluded that they shall not attend. So denunciation becomes superfluous.

But we may state frankly that had the proposal been carried out, we should not have said one word in protest or denunciation, though we should certainly have had something to say on the matter in the way of explanation.

Under present conditions, we are of the opinion that on the whole the reception of his eminence by a state armed body would have been both appropriate and proper, and in a certain sense we regret that the proposal is not to be carried out.

Governor Foss, it seems, is of the opinion that as the church and the state are in law held to be separate institutions, the contemplated parade under arms is out of order. And this obsolete idea is still held as a valid objection, though it represents what was once a much more actual condition than it now is.

The church, which is represented by His Eminence Cardinal O'Connell, is fast becoming an equal power with the state, and its spokesman on thousands of occasions have represented it as the chief bulwark of the state against any social or industrial change, in fact, as the only power on which the capitalist state can rely in its coming time of need. The president of the United States and his cabinet have attended its religious functions en masse, and the highest and mightiest in the land have been obsequious in its honor and apparently delighted to recognize it as an ally. And yet, forsooth, an insignificant militia regiment is prohibited from doing honor to one of its highest representatives by furnishing him with an armed escort on his arrival from the Eternal City after his promotion by the Viceregent of God, for no other reason apparently than that the public might get a correct impression of the nature of the growing relation between the state and that particular church.

We are of the opinion that the spectacle of Cardinal O'Connell proceeding in triumph through the streets of Boston, inclosed on each side by a forest of bristling bayonets, would not only have been highly appropriate but would have been highly appropriate but would also have left most beneficial impression on the minds of all the citizens of that burg, both Catholic and non-Catholic, especially the latter. There is a considerable potency in military display for disturbing political somnolence and thereby assisting in political education. And New England, as well as other parts of the country, needs waking up to the importance of this matter. A squad of militiamen officially presenting arms to a prince of the church makes a much clearer mental impression than the spectacle of the president and his cabinet doing honor to another prince of the same church, "in an unofficial capacity." That distinction between official and unofficial constitutes for the public a profound difference of viewpoint.

We, of course, have no power in the matter, but if we had, we should not raise a finger to prevent the contemplated military reception to Cardinal O'Connell. He and his brethren have deserved well of the state and are fully entitled to public acknowledgment at its hands, though unfortunately the state lacks courage to recognize the condition that exists in fact though not in law.—New York Call.

MILITARY SCABS.

In a recent "Clarion," Russell Smart censures the British government for its improper use of the armed forces.

During the recent strike the soldiers were used as scabs by the great Liberal government, and were found to be so useful to capitalism that in future strikes their services are to be utilized to the fullest extent.

The strike was on such a grand scale that the old method of filling the strikers places with scabs drawn from the ranks of the unemployed failed, and the soldiers were told off for the dirty work.

After the strike was "settled," the British government issued an official form to the military authority in each district in which was shown the number of soldiers eligible for employment as engine-drivers, firemen, guards and porters.

One of these forms fell into the hands of Robert Blatchford, editor of the "Clarion," who is a firm believer in a powerful army and navy, and that gentleman, rather inconsistently, complains of the "king's troops" being used as "blacklegs."

The excuse for the employment of troops as scabs and strike-breakers, is, of course, the plausible claim that the food supplies of the nation must not be endangered by a strike; that the public service and needs are above and before the interests of a section of the workers. During the strike the capitalist press raved about "the food supply of the people," and described the strike as "a strike against the public." It unanimously demanded that the welfare of the few must be sacrificed to the welfare of the many, and it loudly applauded the government's action in using the troops to defeat the workers.

There were two parties to the dispute—a large number of workers on the one side and on the other a small number of landlords, financiers, and shareholders. The dispute disorganized the food supply of the nation, but the troops were used only against one side. Why was the power of the government and the army used against one side?

The one-sided reply is that only one side was keeping the food supply from the rest of the nation; the other was endeavoring to supply the public needs. Not being concerned with the question in dispute, the business of the government was to see that the safety of the food supply was assured, and to do this it had to coerce the workers who were "striking against the public interest."

Anti-Socialists and capitalistic apologists are so satisfied with this reply that they would let it go at that, but the argument cannot be allowed to stop just there.

The land monopolist, in keeping the workers off the land, in charging for the use of that which he permits them to use, is interfering with the food supply of the nation. Why should he not be coerced by the government and the troops? The owners of the factories, mines, railways, and ships are only a small section of the public, yet they stand between the public and its food supply, and dictate terms upon which they will allow the nation to enjoy what it produces. Should they not be coerced?

The strikers were fighting against the very people who permanently stand between the nation and its food supply, and the British government (being a government of the ruling class) naturally took sides against them! And it used the soldiers to put down the workers and support the exploiters.

In all this there is food for reflection for those who believe in militarism in any shape or form. The standing armies in the past have been used for very doubtful purposes. At present they are being used as scabs and strike-breakers. In the future, as the class fight thickens, their use as tools of the exploiters is to be extended if the forms issued by the British government mean anything.—Exchange.

CLASS STRUGGLE AND PROGRESS.

One of the most prominent facts of modern history is the struggle of class against class, and hand in hand with this is the truth also that this is one of the principal causes of social unrest now in its acute stage. Strange as it may seem, an analysis of the history of the world since the Middle Ages leads us to note that the privilege of franchise granted to people of all ranks has set in motion the forces that lie at the base of class contention.

An interesting phenomenon among the nations of the world is found in the peculiar social situation in India. Here the class system has been overshadowed by the prevalence of castes. The superior class has triumphed so completely over the remaining ones that the walls of separation have been insurmountable, with the result that progress has been impossible and immobility has been the one characteristic fact distinguishing that nation.

In western civilization, however, the complete conquest of one class over the other has been contested, and absolute subjugation has never been submitted to. To this struggle must be credited the very life of the forward movement that has brought civilization up to the high plane of modern achievement. Hence instead of remaining stationary and inactive society has bestirred itself with varying degrees of avidity, tearing loose from moorings that would confine it to unlimited spheres of activity and progress and circumscribe its possibilities of growth and advancement.

A few of the underlying principles attending the contentions between classes, historically considered, may profitably engage our thought. In the first place, the persistence that has marked the efforts of contending parties is worthy of note. There has been no cessation in the efforts of classes to obtain what to them have appeared to be their rights. To lie down and tamely submit to the domination of a dictatorial spirit has not been a feature of the struggle. People have learned that constancy is necessary to success, and this lesson has permeated all phases of modern life, and has incorporated in the general practice all forms of our complex civilization.

Another feature, seemingly an evil, is the hostility that has existed among groups or organizations. But this enmity, growing out as it did, from conditions due to diversity of interests, manners or situations, has brought about a better understanding between the various elements making up our communities. They have learned to understand each other better, have come closer together, have become more unified in ideas, sentiments and beliefs. Hence out of this antagonism and contending efforts has come a greater catholicity of feeling and a more wholesome public spirit—not yet what it should be, we admit, but tending in that direction. We can certainly hope that the future will bring forward much greater advancement as the result of what seems now but enmity and disintegration.

One of the greatest stimuli to activity on the part of individuals or organizations is the fact that desires remain unfulfilled owing to the lack of power to bring them into realization. Various divisions of society wish for a change of conditions in order that privileges or blessings may accrue that do not now obtain. As soon as these desires become strong enough effort is awakened and forces are set in play to bring about the coveted changes. Hence the wish to gain supremacy without the necessary power or resources to bring these desires into fruition calls for ingenuity, study, reflection, action and wisdom, all of which tend to make gains for society as a whole. We hear it often repeated that "Necessity is the mother of invention." This is true socially as well as industrially, and forms an important principle in the development of mankind. We learn that give and take are a part of the game, and we become accustomed to the idea that it pays to look all around a proposition in order to become complete masters of the situation.

Thus we are led to feel that what, at times, seems to be nothing but strife and discord, are but the signs of a healthy activity; that society is not going to the bad, but is simply working out the problems of its own salvation. Out of it all will come a higher, nobler and truer conception of man's duty to man.—Amalgamated Journal.

PHILOSOPHY AND THE CLASS STRUGGLE.

To the average mind the mention of philosophy implies the need of study to understand anyone who attempts to write on such a subject. It is a significant fact, however, in the progress of the working class in their struggle for emancipation that one of their own class should be instrumental in propagating a proletarian philosophy. In the progress of capitalist production the leisure afforded to the privileged class has resulted in considerable time being devoted to investigation into fundamental reason. Naturally their investigations have been tainted by their class environment, which tended to hamper their unbiased search for truth, and so limited their scope of usefulness. Owing to advances made in various branches of sciences the old beliefs in supernaturalism, and various religious ideas have been shattered, and the more knowledge the people gain the more difficult it becomes to bind them to the old ideas. In days by the miners have been noted for their foolish superstitions in many districts in Great Britain. Being at that time ignorant themselves, the ridicule of their superstitions did not have the effect of quickly enlightening them, but often aroused their ardor to defend what they believed was reasonable. They could not explain to their own satisfaction the reason for their belief and as a final resort often fell back on "faith," that old "stunt" of the individual who fears to reason away a pet notion. As with superstitions and other ethical ideas of right and wrong, the searchlight of human knowledge has laid plain to a great extent the mould in which the thoughts of our teachers has been made. It has shown the dominant influence of capitalism on the press, pulpit and school, so that men of intellect who have investigated things in their search for truth have, with few exceptions, been valiant enough to challenge the intelligence of humanity by declaring the truth as they saw it. The result to those who have done so is well known, Darwin and Karl Marx are examples. The bitter criticism from the intellectual and religious thinkers upon the publication of Darwin's "Origin of Species" is sufficient condemnation of the open-mindedness of the flunkies of capital.

The death of Karl Marx amidst poverty is no credit to capitalist domination in the realm of thought. Still his work has now assumed the basis of a leading, if not THE leading phase of modern progress. His doctrines are now no longer clamoring for recognition, but instead a great army of de-

fenders now rally around the doctrines he laid down, challenging the intelligence of men by making plain the process of production. To understand this process is to see the emancipation of humanity by the despised proletariat as no mere fancy but as an inevitable fact.

Thinking men who had the courage to look into the theories of Socialism have become convinced as to the indisputable result of the working out of the capitalist system. Naturally they have had to relinquish many old ideas that were pleasant to them. Their investigations have now a place in the literature of the proletariat, which is to be the literature commanding more attention from now on. Having no fear of the results of scientific enquiry and looking only for the truth, it is natural they should arouse the condemnation of those who fear the enlightenment of the people. The workers are not requested to absorb all that is put before them, but simply apply their own intelligence. A little more study of problems, in the light of new knowledge, can do no harm to the working class. It is this lack of the enquiring attitude that has enabled you to be led so long. It is this apathetic state of mind that arouses the ire oftentimes of those who wish to get you thinking. The fear of having an opinion contrary to that prevailing amongst other people leads many to accept the opinions of the so-called intellectuals. They naturally are going to keep you content with your conditions and will not disillusion you. Our ignorance is their gain. Can you imagine for a moment that they will assist you to throw off the yoke that means so much ease and pleasure to them? Why are you so fearful of knowledge when you have so much to gain? Does not the welfare of your children appeal to you, and cannot you see that it is your refusal to think for yourself that means so much misery to your fellow men? To those who see the question as to when the workers are going to realize the great mission before them is inclined to be tinged with bitterness. Still, we know the difficulties confronting them, and how hard it is to cast away the illusions of the past, in conjunction with the power of starvation in the hands of a class ever ready to use repressive measures against the "messengers of good tidings." The gospel of a freedom, more extensive than is the message from any pulpit throughout the world, is the clarion call of the final "Class Struggle" caused by the capitalist process of production and the result of which is beyond the shadow of doubt. But how long, O you workers! How long!—Ferne Ledger.

NAME THE SCARLET MEN.

Vengeance has been heaped upon the scarlet woman through the ages, but the man has usually gone scot free. If it is socially injurious for women to lead filthy lives, it must be also dangerous to permit men to do so. And also, what's sauce for the gander ought always to be sauce for the goose. If women are branded as prostitutes, what about the men that pay them?

It is high time that we began to demand that women be treated as human beings. It is high time that women were not damned for doing what men may freely do. If we damn the woman who goes wrong, the woman who becomes a prostitute, let's also damn the men who consort with her.

There are female prostitutes. Everyone admits that. Though, of course, polite and puttering folks don't wish to hear the matter discussed.

There are male prostitutes. But few are ready to admit that. And polite society doesn't wish to hear the matter discussed. But facts are facts. You can't sidestep them. You can't brush them away with a wave of the hand.

Several factors enter into the creation of the problem commonly called the "social evil." Economic conditions, ignorance and inherited taints—these are the principal factors that enter into the making of the problem. These plus, of course, the double standard of morals—one standard for men and another for women.

What's wrong for the woman is right for the man. That is the gist of the moral practice of our day.

Let a girl make one misstep and she is forever doomed and damned.

But a boy may make as many missteps as he pleases, and he, it goes without saying, will be forgiven. He has only been "sowing wild oats."

Competition among workers, especially among women, tends to intensify the struggle for existence. It tends to decrease the wage of the woman and the girl.

Below a certain point wages cannot go without driving women into the gilden den. Great armies of young women and young girls from coast to coast are toiling daily for such wages as barely serve to keep them alive. A brief spell of unemployment, and then—

Ignorance of the beautiful significance of sex leads as surely as day leads to night, to many pitfalls and bruises for growing boys and girls, as well as for some grown ups. And yet, our schools, for the most part are silent upon this most vital subject. Children are permitted to grow in total ignorance until some companion in street or schoolyard gives them a filthy description of the meaning of sex. A great many parents unfortunately, are unable to give this information to their children.

But ignorance is no excuse before the law. And let it be borne in mind that the laws of nature cannot be broken without paying the penalty.

Inherited taints are the offspring of the two factors already named. Bent minds, perverted passions, weak wills—no man or woman is to blame because their parents endowed them with these ills. No one is to blame for being born with a crooked spine. No more are they to blame for being born mentally deformed.

But society is to blame for permitting social conditions to exist which breed ignorance and poverty.

Of course we recognize that this problem can never be solved until every human being is assured of certainty of bread and butter, until the curse of ignorance is banished forever from the fair face of the earth.

The meaning of sex must be taught to every boy and girl.

Social conditions must be so remolded that it will be possible for every human being to enjoy a well rounded life, with plenty of exercise, with plenty of recreation, with every avenue of literature and art and science wide open ahead of them. Prostitution will then fade from the face of the earth.

Meanwhile let us name the scarlet men.

Let us name the employer who pays his girls not enough to permit them to lead decent lives.

Let us name the men who share in the shame of the women that bear the scarlet letter upon their breasts. Let us name the men who frequent their places. Let us register them on a list at police headquarters which shall be open to the public. Then, possibly, there will be fewer young girls offered on the marital altar as a sacrifice to the "wild oats" of the young man.

Let us place the names of the owners of houses use for purposes of prostitution in letters a foot high over the doors of the brothels from whose rental they reap richly.

Some day the workers of the world, the women as well as the men, will wake up and throw the masters off their backs. On that day they will stand erect free men and free women, and prostitution will be no more.—The Free Press.

Matriarchs.

The value of Jane Addams' sociological writing lies in the deftness with which she conceals her own conclusions under a smooth, sympathetic ripple which permits the reader to fancy himself profound in that he sees so clearly what Miss Addams apparently fails to grasp.

One cannot read her observations upon the under-paid working girl without having whatever preconceived theories of the remedy for the social evil given new direction. The clumsy moralist sees too often, in the bedizened creature of the streets a victim of vanity. Miss Addams beholds in the gew-gaws, not an end, but the means. The "trade" demands appearance of gaudiness and gaiety, just as the saloon tacks on the bright lights and the tintinnabulation of real or alleged music. Miss Addams perceives in the snap-nation of a minimum wage law a certain possible good in selected cases, where the underpaid woman has but her own support to care for—but she finds, in her painstaking and tireless investigations, that nearly all working girls are burdened with the support of others. They "go wrong," in thousands of cases, from sacrificial motives that are angelically pure, so far as the spiritual side goes. They sell the body, not for the body's own food or drink or ease or rich apparel, but barter it secretly for money needed by the aged, weak and helpless of their own blood. Where a girl gets \$5 or \$6 a week in factory or store; and where she must have \$15 or \$20 to keep want from her dear ones, what "minimum wage" of \$10 or \$12 would suffice?

The facts are, gentlemen and ladies, that you all have a theory growing out of the ancient tradition that the girl and woman wage-earner was working either for pin-money or at the worst, her own living. You must know that most of these persons, with the delicacy due to sex, laboring under handicaps and discriminations against that sex, are mainstays of families—little matriarchs. The woman's love and loyalty to her own operates against her. Where the boy will cut himself loose, if necessary, from parents and younger brothers and sisters, and says, "It is as much as I can do now to take care of myself," the girl pours even her chastity upon the altar of family devotion.—Dallas Laborer.

THE ETHICS OF POLITICS.

Lecture by the Rev. H. Booth Coventry at Newquay.

At the Newquay Liberal Club on Thursday of last week the Rev. H. Booth Coventry delivered an interesting lecture on "The Ethics of Politics." Mr. J. P. Teague presided over a crowded attendance.

The lecturer, who was warmly received, after defining ethics as "the science of the ideal involved in human life," went on to say that ethics endeavored by a critical examination of human life to set a standard of right and wrong, good and bad clearly before them. Ethics must deal with the nature of the good as related to practical affairs; endeavored to state the superlative degree in human conduct; and tried to put into scientific form the ultimate purpose and meaning of life. It was based upon the supposition that life was something more than eating, drinking and making merry. Politics had been defined as "that branch of ethics which has for its subject the proper mode of governing a state so as to secure its prosperity, peace and safety, and to attain as perfectly as possible the end of civil society."

The point to remember was that politics was concerned ultimately with human life. It was based upon the needs of men and was indeed an attempt to supply these. Aristotle said, "Man is a political animal." That meant that he found his life in the life of society. An isolated animal was unthinkable. Human personality was never an isolated phenomenon. Our duties and our virtues were at every point dependent on our relations to one another. Ethics, therefore, could not be satisfactorily treated except as a part of politics—as a part of the study of society. They could not treat any man's life apart from that of his fellows. They could not treat the life of the community apart from the life of the individual. They could get no adequate conception of the ideal involved in the individual life until they recognized that a man's self was a large thing—that it was realized, not in solitude, but in social life and fellowship. (Hear, hear.) The converse followed, and that was the point he wished to adopt.

What did human life mean? An individual had a value in himself and for himself. He was not merely a means to someone else's end—not even society's end—he was an end to himself. Along with the growing complexity of social organization was an ever-increasing appreciation of the rights as well as the obligations of the individual.

Liberalism was born in such recognition and in the past had been a great defence of individual rights as against what were supposed to be the rights of society. This was the vital principle of the school of Cobden and if they passed away from their position in the future it must be not in an effort to negate their teaching but rather to bring it to fuller and richer fulfilment by the recognition of the truth that social restraint was involved in a true conception of personal liberty. A man was only truly himself when rational and free to follow his rational conclusions. That may be for them an unrealized ideal, nevertheless true freedom meant the absence of all restrictions keeping them back from that ideal. Politics showed the other side of that truth. It was the science which endeavored to arrange social conditions, but keeping the ideal of the individual life before them they would see that those conditions ought to be such as would help and not retard that progress of individual perfection.

Individual freedom involved social restraint, and the adjusting of these was the heart problem of politics. Whatever they might expect and hope from the future they must admit that the present constitution of society was very far from that ideal. They could not rest content with the conditions which enabled the few to rise to power, prosperity and the fullness of life upon the limitations and degradation of the many. Nor could they be satisfied even where the good of the majority was based upon the evil slavery of a minority.

Every man must count as one and as no more than one. (Applause.) If they held that society was an organism with a common life they would realize that the injury of one man was the the ill-health of all. Thus social salvation depended upon individual salvation even as individual salvation depended upon social salvation. They could congratulate themselves, per-

haps, upon the fact that they were leaving behind the days of the politics of passion and had definitely entered into the stage of the politics of compassion. (Applause.)

But even that was not sufficient. They must toil and sacrifice that the future might be characterized and determined by the politics of vision. (Hear, hear.) Towards this, still adhering to the individual standpoint, he would ask what were the elementary rights of the individual? Politics must legislate towards "the right to live," and all that it involved. Society must hasten to make the social conditions such that the full supply of all the material needs of every man, woman and child shall be freely accessible, which meant the insistence on the universal principle of a living wage. (Applause.) After which would come legislation for the provision of the higher human needs. They would have to nationalize education, medicine, pensions, insurance and further, art, literature, drama and music. They were all familiar with the cry, "The rights of property." Was there not another cry which ought to rise even more emphatically and insistently, "Every man's right to property."

Property was not an end in itself was a means to some end. No man had a right to property if the possession meant the enslavement or limitation of other men. They had not yet so developed in moral sense that they recognized it as a great wrong to rob a man of his time and reputation as of his goods. The time must come when the state will safeguard to every individual the free possession and full use of all necessary means of development, and at the same time remove the possibility of any one man possessing more property than would serve such ends (Hear, hear.) Dealing with the state and the government, the lecturer said they already stood firmly on one hardly won principle "No taxation without representation." It was but a step to the larger principle "No legislation without representation." Plural voting must go because excessive property must go, and the property qualification was doomed. Logically, they could not stop at manhood suffrage. Women's suffrage must come. Adult suffrage was the end. (Hear, hear.) There were other things to be dealt with such as the question of the physically, mentally and morally unfit. They were living in a time of great unrest, which was dangerous to a state without vision and courage to legislate towards that vision. Blind adherence to an illogical worship of party shibboleths was disastrous. They must be men before politicians. Humanity and not governments must be the focus of their thoughts. (Applause.)

At the close of the address Mr. Booth Coventry answered a number of questions. He was in favor of the nationalization of lands, railways, harbors, etc., and pointed out that whereas the conservative policy was one of small holdings that of the Liberal party was national possession and state tenantry. As regarded the insurance bill he favored the broad principles of it and believed it had been drafted with the highest ideals of humanity. He did not profess to understand the bill, however, and was afraid it might come hardly on those who earned very small wages.

Capt. Kernick: Does not that mean that the bill is right and the wages wrong? (Hear, hear.)

A vote of thanks to Mr. Coventry was moved by Capt. Kernick, who said they felt honored by his presence in Newquay. They had watched his doings with interest, and the part he was playing showed that he was acting on the principles of the Great Master, whom he served namely that the multitude must be fed before they could be taught. (Hear, hear.) Mr. Coventry had the sympathy of them all in his efforts to lift up the masses. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. W. H. P. Martin seconded. He was particularly struck with the dignity and honor the speaker had conferred upon mankind. He was convinced that if they entered into and discussed more fully the brotherhood of man a lot of the brutal and barbarous things of present day life would be removed. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. T. Veale, supporting, said it was intended to form a debating society in connection with the club if they could get enough members to join.

Mr. J. Vivian, J. P., in supporting, said it was pleasing to know they had such a man in the county who was prepared to do so much to help fallen humanity.

Mr. Booth Coventry, in reply, said that to him this was an age in which it was grand to live, but they would not get the grandeur unless they were in the fight.

Thanks to the chairman concluded a very successful meeting.—Exchange.

In Memoriam.

Resolutions of Condolence re the Death of Brother John R. Grey.

Cobalt, Ontario, Canada, January 28th, 1912.

Whereas, Death has again entered our ranks and removed from our midst our esteemed brother, John R. Grey, who passed away in the new Liskeard hospital on January 18th, 1912, a victim of scarlet fever; and

Whereas, Through his death Cobalt Miners' Union loses a true and faithful member; therefore be it

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

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

JOSEPH GORMAN,
JAS. WRATHALL,
WM. JOYCE,

Committee.

Cobalt Miners' Union, 746 W. F. M., Cobalt, Ont., January 28, 1912.

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

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LIST OF UNIONS

Table listing unions in Alaska, Arizona, Brit. Columbia, California, Colorado, Idaho, Kansas, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Montana, Nevada, New Jersey, New Mexico, North Carolina, Oklahoma, Oregon, South Dakota, Utah, Washington, Wisconsin, and Wyoming. Columns include No., Name, Meet'g Night, President, Secretary, P.O. Box, and Address.

LIST OF UNIONS

Table listing unions in Missouri, Montana, Nevada, New Jersey, New Mexico, North Carolina, Oklahoma, Oregon, South Dakota, Utah, Washington, Wisconsin, and Wyoming. Columns include No., Name, Meet'g Night, President, Secretary, P.O. Box, and Address.

STATE AND DISTRICT UNIONS.

Utah State Union No. 1, W. F. M., Park City, Utah... J. W. Morton, Secretary
District Association No. 6, W. F. M., Sandon, B. C., Anthony Shiland, Secretary
Flat River District Union No. 9, W. F. M., Flat River, Mo., R. Lee Lashley

AUXILIARIES.

Rossland Woman's Auxiliary No. 1, Rossland, B. C., Ida M. Roberts, Sec.
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THE WHITE SLAVE.

Throughout the history of civilization women have sold their bodies for gold. It is only in recent times, however, that woman has been looked upon as a commodity through which fortunes may be made by a third party—the actual owner of her as one owns a machine. A man buys a machine to weave cotton into cloth, sets it up in his factory, runs it as many hours a day as he sees fit, and collects for himself the results of its work. The machine is a dumb and helpless partner in the process. Just so the modern dealer in the flesh and blood of womankind buys, steals or betrays into his power and place of business a number of girls and women, work them as many hours a day as he sees fit, and collects the proceeds of their labor for himself. The girls and women are dumb and helpless accessories to the process.

This is white slavery. The owner of the white slave does not own her—does not steal, buy or entrap her—for the satisfaction of his own lust. He does all this as a money proposition. It is his business, his way of making a living, of getting rich quick. In the money competition of today, to get rich at this business requires the same mad haste, the same speeding up, the same working of the victim to the last notch, that any other business requires.

It is frequently said that if the facts of the white slave traffic could be widely known, the American people would abolish this treacherous sore in our social body. Unlike most confident reformers, we believe the white slave traffic is imbedded in the profit system, and cannot be abolished, nor very greatly reduced, until poverty, in which its roots find deepest soil, is abolished. The fear of poverty, combined with a lax moral nature (frequently caused by the struggle against disheartening odds for a livelihood) drives every man and woman engaged in the business to even harsher exploitation of their victims.—Progressive Woman.

POLITICAL CONDITIONS IN THE COUNTRY.

The topsy turvy conditions of politics in the country at present, while productive of much discussion, need cause no alarm. It is simply a battle of politicians on one hand for the mastery, and a conflict between the people and the money interests on the other. The money lords have their candidates in the field, and so have the people, and it is doubtful if any of the men who are chasing the presidential nomination or seeking seats in congress care half as much about the interests of those whose special support they seek, as they do about the positions they covet.

That may be a queer way of putting it, but it is the truth, and although it looks a trifle ugly at first sight it is neither more nor less than the weaker side of human nature.

Taft is an honest man, as men go, but just at present he is willing to do almost anything to secure a second nomination and get even with Roosevelt, the man who placed him in office. It is a personal matter with him pure and simple. He feels that he has a right to a second term, and in order to gratify his desire every department of the government that can further his interests is being strained to its utmost to serve the president, and to the mischief with the people till the nomination and election is over.

Roosevelt, on the other hand, is a master in intrigue, and keeps Taft forever on the anxious seat. He is not a candidate for the presidency, and yet he is. If he could prove to the country that the nomination was forced on him, he would be the happiest man on this continent and there would be a lot of things doing immediately thereafter. No, he is not a candidate, nevertheless there are practical politicians at work in his interests in every state in the union and it takes a lot of money to carry on the underground campaign business.

Roosevelt men hate Taft so thoroughly that they would vote any other ticket, rather than support the president for re-election and Taft's followers fully reciprocate the hostile sentiment. The result is that there is a tremendous split in the Republican ranks which will not heal completely during the present year, and when election day comes it will be felt at the polls, to the hurt of the Republican candidate, whoever he may be.

The Democrats are also squabbling among themselves, but that has been their way for many years, and there is not the same bitterness in their ranks that marks present conditions among the Republicans. In all probability they will nominate a reasonably progressive man and rally as a body to his support. If they do that, they get many thousands of Republican votes, because the bitterness of feeling among the Republicans cannot be obliterated and sheer spite or a desire to "show" the other fellows would prompt such action.

And in the midst of all these wrangles and heart burnings, the interests of the voters are forgotten. It is not a question of what will do the people most good, but of what trick will serve best to catch their votes. That was the plan Roosevelt ran on in 1904, and that is the sort of job he is trying to frame up now on the quiet. While he flayed the trusts with his mouth, his hand was thrust behind his back for their coin to aid his campaign, consequently they had no fear of him whatever, as everything but his voice was securely tied.

Taft would like to play good god and good devil at the same time. In other words, he would like to serve the people and carry out some of the more urgent reforms which they are crying out for, and he would also like to serve the monopolists and financial combines at the same time, consequently he has fallen between two great stools as it were and cannot get up.

He has a tremendous grip on the government machinery, however, and will attempt to force his renomination by that means. If he succeeds, he cannot be elected, therefore it behooves the leaders of the Republican party to look carefully over the field and seek a new candidate for the presidency, and if they select the right man, they may win. But if the fight continues to center around Taft and Roosevelt, the former will in all probability get the nomination, which will be followed by a humiliating licking at the polls.—The Scrantonian.

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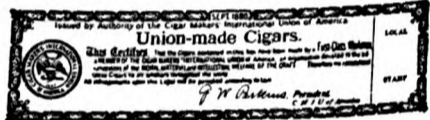
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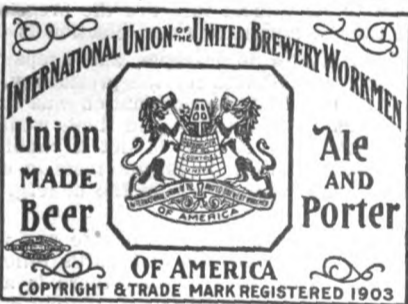
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