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THE MINERS MAGAZINE

INDEPENDENCE
EDUCATION ORGANIZATION

Published Weekly by the

WESTERN FEDERATION OF MINERS

Denver, Colo.
Aug. 29
1912
Volume XII
Number 479



WEALTH
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EDUCATION INDEPENDENCE ORGANIZATION

MINERS MAGAZINE



Denver, Colorado,
Thursday, August 29, 1912.

Volume XII., Number 479
\$1.00 a Year

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 Communications not in conformity with this notice will not be published.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

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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

Signed

Department

ALL LABORERS and miners are requested to stay away from Hurley, Wisconsin, as the employes of the Montreal mine are striking against starvation wages.

STAY AWAY FROM BLAIR, NEVADA.

DON'T EAT MEAT but masticate beans is the advice of Dr. Doolittle, the pure food mechanic, who succeeded Dr. Wiley.

We are so prosperous that meat has soared away out of the reach of the working class, but beans are still on earth.

THE NATIONAL ERECTORS' ASSOCIATION failed to convict Clarence Darrow on the charges of bribery.

Darrow's plea to the jury was a masterpiece of eloquence, and the verdict of not guilty will receive the approval of the honest men and women of this country.

IT IS REPORTED in the daily press that a trust has a monopoly on vice in New York. Such a report in the daily press is not surprising news to men and women of observation.

Intelligent men and women know that everything that yields big dividends is cornered by a trust.

W. I. PLUMB of Tuscarora, Nevada, died of his injuries and has been committed to Mother Earth.

In the death of Brother Plumb the local union of Tuscarora has

lost one of its most active and earnest members, and the Western Federation of Miners one of its tireless workers and unflinching advocates.

THE IMPOVERISHED railroads and the struggling trusts are still declaring their usual dividends, while the sovereign citizen with the horny fist, is preparing to cast his ballot for the continued reign of the system that disinherits the many and clothes the comparatively few with economic power.

When will labor discern the cause that holds in bondage the workers of the world?

THE MINERS of the Anthracite regions of Pennsylvania are again taking shelter under the flag of the United Mine Workers of America. President White, with his force of organizers, has done effective work during the past five months. It is said that the miners are returning to the United Mine Workers by the thousands, and it is predicted that ere the close of the year 1912, that the U. M. W. of A. will be stronger in the Keystone state than ever in the history of the organization.

ANOTHER INSTANCE of a "sacred" agreement driving the workers apart is apparent in Spokane. The pressmen on the Spokesman-Review and on the Chronicle were locked out, and yet the members of the Typographical Union keep on plugging away. It is about time the printing trades took an inventory of themselves as union men to learn whether they should bear that proud name. A lockout of one set of employes in any establishment should be the signal for the men in the other departments walking out. There can be no excuse for the men remaining in. If we do not get together soon the publishers, through that million-dollar fund, will get us. A lockout because they feared a walkout is a flimsy excuse.—Seattle Union Record.

The members of the Typographical Union remaining at work while the Pressmen have been locked out by the Spokesman-Review and Chronicle, is but another proof that craft organizations belong to the past and are helpless in wresting victory from a master class.

Every employe in the printing industry should belong to one union, and until such solidarity takes place, the "sacred contract" will always be raised to justify scabbery.

JUST A CLAW at the end of a great long arm, reaching out from Wall street—just an unseen, silent claw, poisoned, alone, an outcast—that is the secret service operation.

Wall street, entrenched, removed by limitless wealth, from want, sheltered from harm by massive volumes of laws, values these claws but little. Out through the country, on the railroads, on the street car lines, in the mills and shops and factories, they place the claws.

In the sweltering heat of summer, in the bitter cold of winter, in the dark night these claws wait. Wall street never sees them, never wants to see them, but it knows they are there.

Like masters of the czar they direct their movements. At the silent nod of general managers they come and go. Concealing their own identity, hiding their motives, shadowing, digging, prying, known by false names, they perform their tasks. Even their own masters see little of them, care nothing for them. Valued only according to their ability to betray their fellow men, they learn to care nothing for themselves. Living for the moment only, they are reckless, without principle, eager for money and superficial pleasure.

With the first faint signs of discontent the claw, vicious, silent, quick, is sent in, sunk deep and quick into the body of labor. It poisons and kills.

Such is the private detective, the agency operative—just a treacherous claw at the end of a long, sinewy, sinuous arm.—New York Call.

THERE IS A WAR going on in West Virginia, but the daily newspapers do not contain but very meagre reports concerning that battle against slavery and starvation. The coal miners, backed by the United Mine Workers of America, are engaged in a life and death struggle. The coal barons of West Virginia have maintained a private army of murderous assassins, and these thugs, armed to kill, have committed outrages that baffle the English language for a description.

The coal miners were patient and endured in silence the infamies heaped upon them and their wives and children, but there is a limit to patience, and the memory of long suffering nerved them to a determination to submit no longer to the atrocities perpetrated by cold-blooded Cossacks on the pay roll of arrogant and insolent mining corporations.

Governor Glascock of West Virginia, who boasts of being a "Bull Moose" reformer and a worshipper of the only Teddy, when discovering that the coal barons' army of thugs were liable to be annihilated by coal miners driven to desperation, called out the national guard of the state to aid the privately-paid Cossacks of West Virginia in driving the striking coal miners into absolute servitude. The United Mine Workers of America have decreed that the miners of West Virginia shall be organized, regardless of corporations, thugs and state militia, and brave men, fighting for liberty, have no white flags to run up in a battle against a lingering death from hunger and want.

"Mother" Jones is on the firing line, and her eloquent appeals to the miners have stirred their hearts with the spirit of '76, and West Virginia will be wrested from the thralldom of the Baers of the coal fields and the kings of transportation.

A **JOBLESS WORKER** asks why at 6 o'clock in the evening he feels like a race horse and nothing seems impossible, why he can brace up and throw out his chest and say to himself that in the morning he will go right out and find a boss and ask him for a job, why he can boast that he is afraid of no man on earth, and then wake up in the morning and feel like a whipped cur that has not even been in a fight?

Why, man, it's because you are a stranger on strange ground. You are a wanderer in another man's country. You trespass on another man's property and live by another man's grace.

Why, man, you are in the grip of another man's hand. You breathe by virtue of another man's will. You eat by permission of another man. You find a shack to put your body in when it is cold by the goodness of another man. You work and you idle at the whimsical will of another man. You have a wife and children, according to the liberty that the other man gives you.

Why, man, you are a slave. You have chains around your neck and around your wrists, and about your ankles. You have a lash over you and a scourge beating upon your back. You have a master squeezing the life blood out of you. You have an oppressor with an iron heel crushing you into the ground.

Why, man, you are a fool.

You can own the earth in which you sojourn. You can take the job

you are asking for. You can eat bread without begging. You can cast away your master. You can break your chains. You can put down your oppressor.

Why, man, you can be free and hopeful and happy and have plenty.

You can, if you wake up—Western Clarion.

THE FOLLOWING LETTER has been sent to the editor of The National Socialist, published at Washington, D. C., and the writer furnishes the proof in his letter that he is not blind to the schemes of professional manipulators in raising funds to save the party.

"Brazil, Ind., Aug. 18, 1912.

"Editor National Socialist.

"I read your paper with a desperate call for money to save the party and a dirty insult to Debs. Do you really want our hard-earned dollars to save the party or do you want the money to heap more insults on the man that always stood by us and fought with us and almost gave up his life organizing the non-union miners in West Virginia? When we are striking and starving and our men are shot down like dogs by convicts and clubbed by deputies, where are you and the Spargos and the Hillquits and Bergers and Barnses and the rest of the white-collared highbrows? Hiding in the tall timber waiting for the smoke of battle to clear away and then bragging about what great things you did for labor. The only time we hear of your gang is when John Work is passing out the pay checks and then your gang is right in the front rank. If the party has got to be saved by that kind of small-bore politicians the sooner it bursts the better. Send your call for funds to the bunch that eats up our dues. If you think the slaves in the mines are going to send you anything the lamp in your main entry is smoking and you better see a doctor. You won't publish this letter, but I am sending a copy to Debs to let him know that the coal diggers are still his friends.

"WILLIS YOUNGSTAD."

The above letter is a blistering excoriation of those parlor champions of labor, whose hardest work is drawing salaries and hatching schemes to raise revenue. Ghent & Company, who issued a call to raise funds to "save the party," were probably far more interested in saving themselves than the party.

The rank and file of the Socialist party must be awakened from their sleep, for when the membership can discern clearly the hypocrisy and duplicity of "high brows," "intellectuals," "free lovers," "booze guzzlers," "tin-horn flimflammers," "hunger-strike bums," "direct actionists," and salaried hirelings of verbal froth, there will be a house-cleaning that will remove the maggots from the carrion in the treasury of the Socialist party.

The Socialist party is now under the control of the professors and until the working class holds in its custody the affairs of the Socialist party, the party will be prostituted to furnish a living for brave men in times of peace.

Let the good work go on.

Must Protect the Membership

UNDER THE HEADING "Call for Funds," the Monthly Bulletin of the Socialist party publishes the following appeal for financial aid for the Brotherhood of Timber Workers:

"To the Locals of the Socialist Party.

"Dear Comrades—You are hereby called upon to contribute funds for the purpose of assisting the Brotherhood of Timber Workers to win the strike. The following extracts from letters from Jay Smith, secretary of the brotherhood, will acquaint you with the situation:

"For years the Southern forest and lumber workers have been ground down until to-day they are practically in a state of peonage, a condition that will grow much worse if we lose this fight, while, if we win, hope will flame up in the hearts of the Southern mine and other workers, and the entire labor movement will be benefited, for a fighting army will have gained a foothold in the heart of the enemy's country. That you may have some idea of the conditions we are fighting against: We are forced to labor ten and twelve hours a day under the most killing conditions, while our average minimum wage, including skilled and unskilled, will not exceed \$1.50 per day. In many places thousands of workers are toiling twelve hours a day for the princely income of \$1.25 per day.

"On top of this infamous wage we are forced to pay for all sorts, kinds and breeds of graft, such as premiums for so-called accidental insurance, fees for imaginary fees to support alleged doctors, and then to pay for all medicines at outrageous prices and to pay whenever we are graciously sent to a public hospital. Then we are forced, under the time-check system, with pay days a month or more apart, to trade in the company stores, where the prices would shame the soul of Shylock, or to have our checks discounted as much as 10 to 20 per cent by outside merchants, many of whom are, we believe, secretly working with the local managers and superintendents of the lumber companies. Some companies actually have the gall to force the men to pay "exchange" on their own bank checks when cashed by their cashiers.

"All civil rights have already been or rapidly are being taken away from us, white as well as colored, the local "Democratic" authorities considerably deputizing any gunmen nominated by the lumber trust for this purpose, so that now we are fighting with our backs literally to the wall, and you must help us or we will lose.

"Knowing our extreme poverty, the lumber trust is counting mainly on starvation to whip us back into the mills and forests, and what we appeal to you for in this great hour of need is for funds to keep our forces on the ground until the fight is won, for we have the men—all we need is supplies."

"Contributions should be sent to John M. Work, national secretary, 111 North Market street, Chicago.

"Fraternally yours,

"NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, SOCIALIST PARTY."

The above appeal has been published in the August number of the Bulletin, is signed by the national secretary of the Socialist party and seems to have the approval of the national executive committee of the Socialist party.

The time has come to be plain in regard to such appeals for financial assistance. There is an old saying, "He who is not with you is against you." And the time is here when the membership of organized labor should know whether appeals for assistance should receive their consideration or not. The Brotherhood of Timber Workers refused to permit two representatives of the American Federation of Labor to appear on the floor of their last convention. The representatives of the A. F. of L. were treated with contempt, while one William D. Haywood, the "Bull Moose" of the Industrial Workers of the World, was permitted to work his jaw before the convention and given free rein to spew his slander and vituperation on anybody and everybody that refused to gulp down the lunacy proclaimed by an aggregation of fanatics, who feed on the dissension and disruption that they may be able to bring about in the labor movement of this country.

The Socialist party in the last national convention submitted the following amendment to the constitution, and the same has been made a part of the constitution by a referendum vote of the membership. The amendment is as follows:

"Section 6. Any member of the party who opposes political action or advocates sabotage or other methods of violence as a weapon of the working class to aid in its emancipation, shall be expelled from membership of the party."

That amendment is now a part of the constitution of the Socialist

party. That amendment has been adopted by the *supreme power* of the Socialist party, and it is somewhat difficult to understand how a national executive committee assumes authority to ignore such an amendment and issue a call for funds for an organization on strike, whose membership by a referendum vote has declared for affiliation with the Industrial Workers of the World, an organization whose mouth-pieces stand for *sabotage, direct action* and *hitting the ballot box with an axe*.

The constitutional amendment just adopted is treated by the na-

tional executive committee as a *joke*, when such a committee, regardless of the amendment adopted, calls for funds to prolong the existence of a so-called labor organization that is feeding on revenue filched from the labor movement, which it brands as an auxiliary of capitalism and an incubator of scabbery.

If the Socialist party through its national executive committee upholds the tactics and methods used by the I. W. W., then organized labor of this continent will be forced to take such action as will protect its membership from being victimized.

Important Resolutions Adopted at the Recent Annual Convention of the Colorado State Federation of Labor Held at Cripple Creek

ON PROHIBITION.

The undersigned members desire to introduce the following resolution:

Whereas, A vote has been asked for the question of state-wide prohibition, and

Whereas, The failures of a state-wide prohibition law have been well established, and

Whereas, Local option extends to the people of each community the right of local choice and home rule on the license question, and

Whereas, State-wide prohibition if enacted in this state would bring about the disintegration of several of our unions and cause thousands of our members loss of employment, and

Whereas, The adoption of such a law would mean the substitution of the blind pig for the legitimate saloon with resultant intolerable conditions of lawlessness; therefore be it

Resolved: That this convention go on record as favoring a strict regulation by law of the liquor traffic in Colorado; and be it further

Resolved: That we pledge our faith in the efficacy of our present local option law, and call upon all members of organized labor, their friends and sympathizers to aid us in bringing about the defeat of the state-wide prohibition proposition.

OUTRAGES IN WEST VIRGINIA CONDEMNED.

Whereas, The inhuman treatment of the miners and their families in the coal fields of West Virginia by the coal barons and their hired officials and thugs, the killing of hundreds of miners, the outrages committed on the wives of the miners, the abolishing of all rights of constitutional liberty and the abolishing of the rights to organize unions to civilize that state, have overreached the limit of human endurance, and

Whereas, Those brutal conditions have driven the miners to revolt and to take the God-given right to defend their lives, their wives and children, and

Whereas, The state authorities at the request of the coal trust rush the state militia to the coal camps to re-enact the reign of terror that was inaugurated in the Cripple Creek district under Peabody's administration; therefore be it

Resolved: By the seventeenth annual convention that we condemn such action on the part of the state authorities and call upon organized labor to give the miners all possible support.

A VOTE OF THANKS TO BERGER.

Whereas, Victor L. Berger, Socialist congressman from Wisconsin, having brought about the removal of former Federal Judge Hanford, an infamous tool of the capitalist system in the state of Washington; therefore be it

Resolved: That the seventeenth annual convention of the Colorado State Federation of Labor extend to Victor L. Berger a vote of thanks for his efforts in behalf of the working class.

WHITFORD AND THE BAR ASSOCIATION DENOUNCED.

Whereas, The Denver Bar association by its vote and recommendation to the voters of the city and county of Denver have selected five judges for the District Court of the city and county of Denver, and

Whereas, Among those so chosen is one Greeley W. Whitford, one of the most notorious injunction judges that ever dragged judicial ermine into the mire, and

Whereas, By his kingly writs and infamous decisions, usurping as he did the right of a trial by jury to those accused of crime, he has shocked the liberty-loving and law-abiding citizens of this nation including those members of the bar who are not afraid to speak; therefore be it

Resolved: By the Colorado State Federation of Labor, now in convention assembled in the city of Cripple Creek, that we condemn the action of the Bar Association of Denver, Colorado, and that we go on record as saying that the said association should purge itself of those members who are contaminated by the holders of special privilege and who are subservient to the arrogant corporations; and be it further

Resolved: That we pledge ourselves to relegate the said Greeley W. Whitford and all other known enemies of organized labor to political oblivion forever.

PATRONIZE ONLY UNION-MINED COAL.

Whereas, The coal miners of Northern Colorado have been and now are engaged in a life and death struggle for the very existence of their organization, and

Whereas, Organized labor is now in position to substantially aid this organization owing to the fact that a number of operators have conceded the union's demands; therefore be it

Resolved: By the seventeenth annual convention of the State Federation of Labor now assembled that we pledge ourselves to purchase coal from the mines which produce union-mined coal only; and be it further

Resolved: That we urge all members of organized labor and their friends to purchase union-mined coal.

NO POLITICAL PARTY ENDORSED.

Whereas, There are several delegates now assembled from various unions whose policies are directly opposed to participation in politics, and

Whereas, Those various bodies are opposed to paying out money to send delegates to a political convention, and

Whereas, The various delegates here assembled have enough urgent business regarding labor and contingent conditions to transact without introducing business not purely of a labor nature, and

Whereas, The various delegates are on common ground on business regarding labor, and *are not* on common ground regarding politics, and

Whereas, Dissension will follow and disintegration result should foreign business and politics be introduced, and

Whereas, There are several union men and men friendly to labor on the various tickets this fall for the same elective offices, and

Whereas, It is not policy to endorse them all, and not wise to endorse some members of the various labor organizations and discriminate against others to their detriment; therefore be it

Resolved: That the Colorado State Federation of Labor now assembled will not endorse any political party during this, the seventeenth annual convention of the Colorado State Federation of Labor.

AGAINST CONSTRUCTIVE CONTEMPT.

Whereas, Organized labor throughout the country and especially in the state of Colorado has during the past few years been subjected to grave injustices by reason of the courts having usurped the power to imprison for constructive contempt, and

Whereas, There has been initiated by the Direct Legislation League an amendment to the constitution of the state of Colorado, which, if carried at the next general election, will deprive corrupt courts of this self-assumed power; therefore be it

Resolved: By this, the seventeenth annual convention of the Colorado State Federation of Labor, that we heartily endorse the proposed amendment to the state constitution; and be it further

Resolved: That we urge the members of organized labor, their friends and sympathizers to do all in their power to enact this proposed amendment.

Colorado State Federation of Labor.

During the present trouble in the form of a lock-out of Painters' Local No. 171 of Colorado Springs and the action of the Master Painters' Association in importing workmen through what we believe to be a false advertisement, and

Whereas, The state has started prosecution against the Master Painters' Association; be it

Resolved: By the State Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, that we pledge our moral and financial support and instruct our executive officers to use their utmost influence that the state law in this case may be upheld and enforced.

(Signed) JOSEPH HILDRICH,
Delegate Painters' No. 171.

FOR A STATE PUBLIC UTILITY COMMISSION.

Whereas, The Denver Trades and Labor Assembly has initiated a bill containing 26,266 names providing for a state public utility commission which will, if passed, have entire supervision over all public util-

ity corporations in this state, and also provides for a laboring man on the commission, and is to be voted upon at the November election, and

Whereas, There has been initiated a bill for a constitutional amendment which provides for a state public utility court, which is in direct conflict with the union labor bill; therefore be it

Resolved: That this convention assembled heartily endorse the bill initiated by the Denver Trades and Labor Assembly, and urge all our members to give all publicity possible and vote for this bill, and do all in their power for the adoption of same, and the rejection of the other bill.

Sabotage, "Jackass Tactics," Indeed!

MANY SOCIALISTS, especially of the excitable type, lean to what they call "direct action."

This sounds decisive, bold, aggressive. They are of an impatient temperament. The co-operative commonwealth seems a long way off by the road of political action. So they declare themselves to be direct actionists. They catch the tone of their leaders and sneer at political action—or damn it with faint praise.

To these emotional ones direct action seems to be a militant kind of industrial unionism. It looks braver than political action.

Direct action, however, as interpreted by Bill Haywood and his admirers and imitators, means simply—sneak work!

It means "sabotage." And sabotage is a French word, borrowed from the French Syndicalists, meaning to throw the wooden shoe into the employer's machinery, when he isn't looking, and wreck it.

It means to throw salt secretly into the boiler of the engine, as Bill Haywood explained up at Cleveland the other day.

Those bold, brave direct actionists do such tricks. Last winter an organizer for the I. W. W.—at least he proclaimed himself such—came to Dayton, Ohio, got himself into the Police Court, and stirred up all the advertising he could. Among other things, he visited Local Dayton. He boasted of a bit of sabotage he had pulled off at Akron. He said he had killed a cat and secretly plugged it into a syrup vat at the place where he was employed. The cat was not discovered for several weeks. When finally removed, it was so rotten it came apart at the shoulder blades.

"But," said the practitioner of sabotage with glee, "they didn't throw away the syrup!"

His story, whether true or false, turned his hearers' stomachs. Not only at the thought of the polluted syrup, but of the cowardly heart of blind hate which inspired the deed.

Industrial unionism is not peculiar to the I. W. W. On the contrary, it was being pushed within the American Federation of Labor long before the I. W. W. was heard of.

But the I. W. W. stands alone for direct action—or guerilla tactics of violence against the employing class. The I. W. W. alone advocates sneak work—the injuring of the employer's machinery on the sly.

Such tactics are not only not Socialistic—they are exactly opposed to Socialist principles. They are anarchistic tactics. And the member of the Socialist party who, knowing the real meaning of the word, declares himself a direct actionist, such as Bill Haywood, is really an anarchist.

Sabotage was practiced by the McNamaras and McManigal when they blew up the structural iron work on the sly. When they wrecked the Los Angeles Times building, that was direct action. They were Democrats and Roman Catholics. You don't have to be a Socialist in order to be a direct actionist. On the contrary, you cannot be a Socialist and a real direct actionist.

And who is hurt by this direct action?

Who gets killed when the rust-eaten boiler explodes? The working class!

Who eats the cat-flavored syrup? The working class!

Who gets blown up in the Los Angeles Times building? The working class!

It is the working class that always loses by tactics of force.

When the McNamaras started their stupid, non-political, direct action fight against the steel trust by stealthily blowing up bridges and buildings, they placed in the hands of the National Manufacturers' Association its most eagerly sought trump card. For the wholesale explosions, followed by the discovery of the dynamiters, threw the employing class into a panic of terror. They saw the necessity of organizing in self-protection.

That was what the National Manufacturers' Association had been vainly trying to get them to do before.

And out of this panic of the employing class, and the enormously increased strength and influence of the National Manufacturers' Association, has come a militant master class, thoroughly organized, alert, and determined to resort to extreme measures to crush the labor movement.

That's one thing direct action has done. Kirby owes the McNamaras an inestimable debt of gratitude.

Direct action, you see, is action directed against the working class.

It betrays the working class. For it disorganizes it, while organizing the master class. This stealthy violence called sabotage, disgusts the average American workman. He cannot be converted to sneak work. His whole spirit revolts against such cowardly, unmanly deeds.

Direct action appeals to anarchists who endeavor to inject it into the Socialist movement. The anarchists believe they must first destroy the Socialist movement, convincing the working class that there is no hope in political action, before anarchy can find a ripened harvest.

Anarchists accordingly work their way into Socialist locals, get themselves into influential offices within the movement, and then slyly disrupt it. These are recognized anarchist tactics.

These are likewise the I. W. W. tactics, as applied to the Socialist party. The official organ of the I. W. W. is "Solidarity," which on its editorial page frankly declares that the Socialist party must be destroyed. It says:

"The I. W. W. and the Socialist party have nothing in common—the latter is a political party whose structure is not revolutionary. It has the workers hypnotized and has sold out or prostituted itself, not for the working class emancipation, but only for votes—in order to revolutionize the nation or nations—political government must be abolished—advertise the structure of the I. W. W. If you can do that, your success is assured. You will have created a demand for our papers. There will be wholesale secessions from the S. P. to the I. W. W., and our rival will be on the run looking for a hiding place."

From this it can be clearly seen that the I. W. W. is simply an anarchist organization, working to disrupt and destroy the Socialist party.

If the I. W. W. is not financed by the capitalist class, it ought to be, for it is doing its best to betray the working class to destruction or impotence.

From this also may be seen why a Socialist cannot also be an I. W. W.

For if an I. W. W., he does not believe in political governments nor political parties. He is a secret traitor to the Socialist party.

And that explains why the I. W. W. members of the state executive committee of the Socialist party of Ohio, suddenly tried to wreck the party. They were secret traitors and anarchists all the while.—Labor Advocate, Reading, Pa.

A Proclamation

TO ALL STEEL AND IRON WORKERS OF AMERICA, TO THE MINERS IN THE PITTSBURG DISTRICT AND THE WORKERS IN THE COKE FIELDS.

The hour has arrived that you must all strike to win. All must quit work together to make it a winning fight!

Strike now, strike all together, strike to win!

Tie up all the mills, shut down the mines, blow out the furnaces and the ovens, pull the fires, stop the engines and the pumps—strike, strike all, hear ye, all together to win.

Defeat after defeat has marked your rebellions in the past against unbearable working conditions. In 1892 you were defeated in the Homestead strike, in 1902, in 1909. One part of the workers scabbed against the other part; in one mill union men remained at work while the common laborers were beaten into submission by the minions of the law and the thugs hired by the employers.

That is not the way to strike. Such strikes always will end in defeat. If you wish to win all must strike together!

Wages are low, hours of work intolerably long. Your life conditions are miserable. Your overseers and bosses treat you like animals and beasts of burden. You have been nothing, absolutely nothing, but parts of the machine.

Now the tide has turned! You can be everything, even your own

boss. The first time in twenty-five years that the common laborers have the upper hand. There are not enough in the labor market, mills can not be operated, skilled mechanics can not work because the common laborers will not work for 15 cents an hour. The mills can not be run, and the bosses are beginning to be good to the workers so that they will not leave the mills. Carnegie Steel Company is bailing prisoners out of jail to get workers. This is the time to act. This is the time to strike! Now is the moment to win! We are demanding:

THE EIGHT-HOUR WORKDAY

In all steel and iron mills and factories, in all mines, in the coke districts, everywhere!

AN INCREASE OF 40 PER CENT

In wages for the workers receiving less than \$2 per day, of 20 per cent for all receiving from \$2 to \$4 per day, and a 5 per cent increase for all receiving more than \$4 per day.

Time and a half for overtime, double time for work on holidays.

Now is the time to win these demands. Now you all, whether Americans, Irish, Welsh, Italian, Polish, Russian, Ruthenian, Slovak, Hungarian, Horvat, Servian, Greek, Roumanian; or what not, must stand together to show your power and to win.

In Lawrence, Massachusetts, and throughout the New England

states 300,000 textile workers gained increases in wages to the amount of \$20,000,000 per year; 300,000 people get those better conditions under the management of their strikes by the Industrial Workers of the World. We are now with you to get you prepared for this struggle, the strike that will and must be won, to tell you all that now is the time, now you can win, now you must strike, and when you strike you must go out together, all united, all determined, all in one great brotherhood of workers—one big union.

Shorter hours of work, better wages, more rights, is now the slogan!

Lay down your tools, stop all machines and engines, pull the fires, lock the mill gates, strike, strike, strike to win.

Pittsburg, Wheeling, Martin's Ferry, Braddock, Homestead, Bessemer, Duquesne, Monongahela City, Johnstown, South Chicago, Gary and all other places where the steel trust rules with iron hand, or the Jones & Laughlin corporation grinds out the lives of men and women. Everywhere the workers must be aroused and be ready.

Tie up every mill! Close every mine! Flood every colliery! Stop the wheels of commerce! Tie up the railroads, the shops! Tie up all towns!

There will be no scabs; the mills must be closed! All together! Strike together! Meet together! Be men together! All together to win!

You will win! You must win!

Issued by authority of the Pittsburg Industrial District Council.

INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD.

Write immediately for information and speakers to I. W. W. headquarters, 342 Third avenue, Pittsburg, Pennsylvania.

The above appeared on the front page of "Solidarity," the official weekly scream of the "I Won't Works."

The member of organized labor who lays any claim to being sane must immediately pronounce the above proclamation, the product of a brain fired by fanaticism and crippled by egoism.

The Pittsburg Industrial District Council is responsible for the above proclamation, and it might be well to ascertain the make-up of the combination that clothes itself with authority to issue such a crazy call for a strike.

They are of the same ilk as the workless loafers who pulled off the free speech farce at Spokane, Washington, and the burlesque at San Diego, California.

Why has such a proclamation been issued by the Pittsburg Industrial District Council?

The rations in the larder of the "Bummery" are getting low, and if such a proclamation will have the effect of causing any dupes to be mesmerized and respond to such a call by quitting work, then the professional propagators of lunacy will be presented with an opportunity to issue circulars calling on the scab organizations of the American Federation of Labor and the capitalist Socialist party to forward the "mazuma" to the born-tired parasites who yell industrial unionism for "revenue only."

The Pittsburg Industrial District Council has no sinews of war in its armory, but regardless of its inability to finance a strike, this collection of professional bums issues a proclamation couched in language that would furnish laughs for maniacs in padded cells.

The "Insane Workers of the World" should build an asylum for its membership.

Official Proceedings of the Twentieth Annual Convention of the W. F. of M.

TENTH DAY.

(Continued from last week.)

Section 45 "D" read.

Moved by Delegate John Valimaki, No. 200, seconded by Delegate Anton Lassich, No. 225, that the report of the committee be adopted. Motion carried.

Section 45 "E" read.

Moved by John Maki, No. 12, seconded by John Gilbert, No. 83, that the recommendations of the committee be concurred in. Motion carried.

Report No. 125 of the constitution committee on amendment No. 81 read as follows:

Victor, Colo., July 24, 1912.

We, your committee on constitution and by-laws, recommend that resolution No. 81 be adopted.

JACOB OLIVER,
FRANK SZYMANSKE,
WM. I. JACOBSEN,
J. R. BRUCE,

R. L. LASHLEY,
BARNEY McCAFFERY,
GEO. B. PAUL,
TOM GORMAN.

Committee.

Victor, Colo., July 19, 1912.

To the Officers and Delegates to the Twentieth Annual Convention, W. F. M.

No. 81—

Resolved, That Section 6, Article 4, be stricken from the constitution.

JOS. D. CANNON.

Moved by Delegate Jacob Oliver, seconded by Delegate Michael Connolly, No. 14, that the report of the committee be concurred in. Motion carried.

Report No. 126 of constitution committee on amendment No. 79 read as follows:

Victor, Colo., July 24, 1912.

We, your committee on constitution and by-laws, recommend that no action be taken on resolution No. 79.

JACOB OLIVER,
F. SZYMANSKE,
BARNEY McCAFFERY,
GEO. B. PAUL,

R. LEE LASHLEY,
WM. I. JACOBSEN,
J. R. BRUCE,
TOM GORMAN.

Committee.

Victor, Colo., July 19, 1912.

To the Officers and Delegates to the Twentieth Annual Convention, W. F. M.

Believing it to be for the good of the organization that we have someone to audit the books of the different locals at least once in six months and to keep a uniform system of bookkeeping in the W. F. M., I submit for your consideration the following amendment to the constitution:

To amend Article 3, Section 1, by inserting in line 33, page 5, after the words "secretary treasurer" the word "auditor."

To amend Article 3, Section 8, by inserting in line 6, after the words "secretary treasurer" the word "auditor."

To insert a new section to be Section 4, Article 4, defining the duties of the auditor as follows:

"It shall be the duty of the auditor to audit the accounts of the local officers in each local at least once in each six months, and to report his findings in a tabulated statement of such accounts to the Executive Board. He shall instruct the local officers in a uniform system of bookkeeping. His pay shall not be less than \$100 per month, together with transportation expenses."

To amend the following sections of Article 4 as follows:

By changing the present Section 4 to Section 5. The present Section 5 to Section 6. Present Section 6 to Section 7. Present Section 8 to Section 9. Present Section 9 to Section 10. Present Section 10 to Section 11. Present Section 11 to Section 12. Present Section 12 to Section 13.

F. SZYMANSKE, Delegate No. 190.

Moved by Delegate James Ansen, No. 38, seconded by Delegate A. L. Hill, No. 249, that the report of the committee be concurred in. Motion carried.

Report No. 127 of constitution committee on amendment No. 80 read as follows:

Victor, Colo., July 24, 1912.

To the Officers and Delegates to the Twentieth Annual Convention, W. F. M.

Dear Sirs and Brothers: We, your committee on constitution and by-laws, recommend that resolution No. 80 be adopted.

JACOB OLIVER,
F. SZYMANSKE,
BARNEY McCAFFERY,
GEO. B. PAUL,

R. LEE LASHLEY,
WM. I. JACOBSEN,
J. R. BRUCE,
TOM GORMAN,

Committee.

No. 80—

Whereas, Local unions of the federation are annually robbed of thousands of dollars through embezzlement or ignorance and incompetency of local officers, and

Whereas, This condition has become not only a source of financial distress to many locals but a potent obstacle in the work of organization: be it

Resolved: That the constitution be amended as follows:

The following amendment to become Article 5, Sections 1 and 2.

AUDITORS.

Section 1. The president shall appoint, with the approval of the Executive Board, one or more auditors whose duty it shall be to audit the books and accounts of all unions of the federation, and to render to the president a report of his findings in each case.

Sec. 2. Such auditor shall be at all times under the direction of the president. He must be a competent bookkeeper and a member of the federation in good standing. It shall also be his duty to collect for the use of the federation such statistics as may be determined by the president and Executive Board and whenever possible solicit subscriptions and advertising for the Miners' Magazine.

Amendment No. 2. Strike out on page 14 the words "Article 5" and insert the words "Article 6."

Amendment No. 3. Strike out on page 15 the words "Article 6" and insert the words "Article 7."

Amendment No. 4. Strike out on page 15 the words "Article 7" and insert the words "Article 8."

Amendment No. 5. Strike out on page 16 the words "Article 8" and insert the words "Article 9."

Amendment No. 6. Strike out on page 17 the words "Article 9" and insert the words "Article 10."

Amendment No. 7. Strike out on page 17 the words "Article 10" and insert the words "Article 11."

Amendment No. 8. Strike out on page 20 the words "Article 11" and insert the words "Article 12."

Amendment No. 9. Strike out on page 21 the words "Article 12" and insert the words "Article 13."

RODERICK R. MACKENZIE,
TOM O'CONNOR,
GUY E. MILLER,
JAMES B. HANLEY,

MARION C. LEAKE,
PAT McEVOY,
ERNEST MILLS,

Committee.

Moved by Delegate Pat McEvoy, No. 144, seconded by Delegate Roderick MacKenzie, No. 26, that the recommendation of the committee be concurred in.

Delegates Wm. O'Brien, No. 241, and Jacob Oliver, No. 1, spoke on the question. Motion carried.

Report No. 128 of the constitution committee on amendment No. 77 read as follows:

Victor, Colo., July 24, 1912

To the Officers and Delegates to the Twentieth Annual Convention, W. F. M.

We, your committee on constitution and by-laws, recommend that resolution No. 77 be adopted.

JACOB OLIVER,
R. L. LASHLEY,
BARNEY McCAFFERY,
GEO. B. PAUL,

F. SZYMANSKE,
WM. I. JACOBSEN,
J. R. BRUCE,
TOM GORMAN,

Committee

To amend Section 4 of Article 4 of the by-laws, page 28, to read as follows:

No. 77—

Sec. 4. The property of defunct unions shall be held in trust by the federation, and where local unions are reorganized within a period of one year, comprising twenty or more members of the former local, the property so held in trust shall be returned to the reorganized local, but where locals are reorganized with less than twenty members of the former local they shall have no claim on the property of the defunct union. At the expiration of one year from the date of the local going defunct, the property shall cease to be held in trust and become the property of the federation.

C. E. MAHONEY.

Moved by Delegate Roderick MacKenzie, No. 26, seconded by Delegate Anton Lassich, No. 225, that the report of committee be concurred in. Motion carried.

Report No. 129 of constitution committee on amendment No. 54 read as follows:

Victor, Colo., July 24, 1912.

To the Officers and Delegates to the Twentieth Annual convention, W. F. M.

We, your committee on constitution and by-laws, recommend that resolution No. 54 be adopted as corrected.

JACOB OLIVER,
R. LEE LASHLEY,
BARNEY McCAFFERY,
GEO. B. PAUL,

F. SZYMANSKE,
J. B. BRUCE,
WM. I. JACOBSEN,
TOM GORMAN,

Committee.

Victor, Colo., July 18, 1912.

To the Officers and Delegates to the Twentieth Annual Convention, W. F. M.

No. 54—

I hereby submit for your consideration the following; An amendment to the constitution, Article 2, Section 4, by inserting in line 14, page 14, after the words "by-laws" the words "and Sections 11 and 12 of Article 3 of the constitution."

F. SZYMANSKE, No. 190.

Moved by Delegate Leslie Turner, No. 17, seconded by Delegate John Gilbert, No. 83, that the report of the committee be concurred in. Vice President C. E. Mahoney spoke on question. Motion lost.

Moved by Vice President C. E. Mahoney, seconded by Delegate Frank Connors, that amendment be not concurred in. Motion carried.

Report No. 130 of resolution committee on resolution No. 55 read as follows:

MAJORITY REPORT.

Victor, Colo., July 24, 1912.

To the Officers and Delegates to the Twentieth Annual Convention, W. F. M.

Sirs and Brothers: We, the majority of your committee on resolutions, herewith report on resolution No. 55 that we recommend that the Executive Board devise some plan of organization for the auxiliaries by which a more efficient organization of our women can be built up under the general head of the W. F. M., and that a small monthly per capita tax be provided, not so much for the gathering of funds, but in order that the auxiliaries be placed on an independent footing without local unions, and that by paying such tax, they will come to our conventions as a matter of economic right instead of a matter of chivalry, as the subject now stands.

JOS. D. CANNON,
PETER JEDDA,

MARION C. LEAKE,
AXEL KOLINEN,
Committee.

MINORITY REPORT.

Victor, Colo., July 25, 1912.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twentieth Annual Convention of the W. F. M.

We, the minority of the resolution committee, recommend the adoption of the original resolution No. 55.

J. W. DINWIDDIE,
A. A. LASSICH,
G. W. SMITH,
Committee.

Victor, Colo., July 18, 1912.

No. 55—

Whereas, The W. F. M. has recognized the necessity of interesting the mothers, wives, sisters and daughters of the membership in the principles and benefits of unionism, providing for their organization into auxiliaries of the W. F. M., and finally at the nineteenth annual convention, giving them added recognition by the adoption of an amendment providing for the payment of transportation, expenses—a chivalrous act characteristic of the W. F. M.—and

Whereas, There are many problems connected with the welfare of the workers and the advancement of unionism in which the women can render indispensable services, and

Whereas, The conventions of the W. F. M. are unable to take up these problems, and

Whereas, The women themselves must take up the economic questions that touch the welfare and effect the comfort of every home, encourage the men in their struggles for better conditions and inculcate in the minds of their sisters and the rising generation that love of industrial freedom which lies at the basis of all great achievements, and

Whereas, Other international organizations have found that the best means of accomplishing these desired results is to provide for general officers of the auxiliaries and call their convention at the same time and place as the international to which they are an auxiliary, and

Whereas, Believing the auxiliaries will never achieve the purpose for which they were organized until they have officials devoted to the work of educating and organizing auxiliaries; therefore be it

Resolved: That the incoming Executive Board be instructed to take such steps as they may deem necessary to perfect the organization, including the appointment of a general secretary who shall serve without pay; and be it further

Resolved: That a section of the magazine be devoted to the auxiliary body.

EMMA F. LANGDON.

Representing Eureka, Desloge and Elvins Auxiliaries.

Moved by Delegate Emma F. Langdon, L. A. No. 12, seconded by Guy E. Miller, No. 232, that the minority report be substituted for the report of the committee.

Executive Board Member Jos. D. Cannon; Delegates Guy E. Miller, No. 232; Emma F. Langdon, L. A. No. 12; Mrs. Rosalie F. Murray, L. A. No. 1, spoke on the question.

Delegate Emma F. Langdon, L. A. No. 12, rose to point of correction.

Executive Board Member Jos. D. Cannon closed debate.

Roll call demanded and resulted as follows:

Yes—Butte, No. 1: Dan Holland, 4; Frank O'Connor, 4; Con Shea, 4; Pat Leahy, 4; Jacob Oliver, 4; Herbert Downing, 4; James Byrne, 4; Dominich Martin, 4; Charles Ferns, 4; William Hennessy, 4; Pat Casey, 3; Austin McGinn, 3; Mike Harrington, 3; Dave Powers, 3; Al McClelland, 3. Pitkin County, No. 6: G. W. Smith, 1. Mullan, No. 9: Leslie Turner (proxy), 1. Wallace, No. 17: Leslie Turner, 2. Rossland, No. 38: James Ansen, 4. De Lamar, No. 53: William Hawkins, 2. Globe, No. 60: E. B. Simanton, 3. Bodie, No. 61: F. T. Roach, 1. Butte Engineers, No. 83: John Gilbert, 2; W. T. Stodden, 3. Grass Valley, No. 90: Thos. Bone, 2. Bisbee, No. 106: E. B. Simanton (proxy), 1; R. A. Campbell, 5. Anaconda, M. & S., No. 117: Ed McNichols, 2; Patrick Walsh, 3; Mike Walsh, 2; Micky Munley, 3. Tonopah, No. 121: Michael Shea, 5. Snowball Union, No. 124: John Krahenbuhl, 3. Bartlesville, M. & S., No. 132: Neil J. McGee, 1. Tintie District, No. 151: James B. Hanley, 5. Zortman, No. 190: Frank Szymanske, 1. Mercur, No. 199: Steve Oberto, 1. Joplin, No. 217: W. M. Butler, 1. Cartersville, No. 221: Chas. Hillman, 1. Flat River, No. 225: Anton A. Lassich, 3. Webb City, No. 226: W. M. Butler, 1. Desloge, No. 229: M. C. Dufour, 2. Bonne Terre, No. 231: C. E. Burquin, 4. Prosperity, No. 232: Guy E. Miller, 1. Cripple Creek District, No. 234: J. W. Dinwiddie, 1. Craigs, No. 245: Guy E. Miller (proxy), 1. Ladies' Auxiliaries: Eureka, No. 4: Emma F. Langdon (proxy), 1. Elvins, No. 9: Emma F. Langdon (proxy), 1. Desloge, No. 12: Emma F. Langdon, 1. Executive Board: Jno. C. Lowney, 1.

No—Lead City, No. 2: T. J. Ryan, 4; Barney McCaffery, 3; Thos. Gorman, 3. Central City, No. 3: E. Flow, 1. Terry Peak, No. 5: J. C. May, 1. Burke, No. 10: Tom Corra (proxy), 1; Al Bordsen (proxy), 1. Deadwood, No. 14: Michael Connolly, 1. Great Falls, M. & S., No. 16: Al Bordsen, 3; Herbert Gallagher, 3. Creede, No. 20: Roderick MacKenzie (proxy), 1. Silverton, No. 26: Roderick R. MacKenzie, 3. Cloud City, No. 33: Tom Corra, 1. Eight Hour M. & S., No. 41: Michael J. Riley, 1. Pueblo, No. 43: Steve Carlino, 2. Randsburg, No. 44: Tom O'Connor (proxy), 1. Virginia City, No. 46: John R. Bruce, 2. Jerome, No. 79: Thos. O'Connor (proxy), 1. Sandon, No. 81: William Davidson, 2. Silverton, No. 95: William Davidson (proxy), 2. Texada, No. 113: Wm. Davidson (proxy), 1. Anaconda M. & S., No. 117: Andrew Mallon, 2. Tonopah, No. 121: Wm. O'Brien (proxy),

3. Neguance, No. 128: John F. Maki, 1. Castle Rock M. & S., No. 142: Ben Goggin, 3. Park City, No. 144: Pat McEvoy, 2. Porcupine, No. 145: Wm. N. Welsh, 4. Cobalt, No. 146: John Miller, 4; Albert Nap Gauthier, 5. Silver Center, No. 148: W. N. Welsh (proxy), 1. Gowganda, No. 154: John Miller (proxy), 1. Searchlight, No. 164: Wm. O'Brien (proxy), 1. Princeton, No. 176: J. F. Maki (proxy), 1. Iron Mountain, No. 177: Axel Kolinen (proxy), 1. Crystal Falls, No. 195: Alex Kolinen, 1. Hancock Copper, No. 200: John Valimaki, 4. Salt Lake M. & S., No. 201: Marion C. Leake, 2. Copper, No. 203: Peter Jedda, 4. Fredericktown, No. 205: R. Lee Lashley (proxy), 1. Palatka, No. 209: Axel Kolinen (proxy), 1. Amasa M. U., No. 214: Axel Kolinen (proxy), 1. Mass City, No. 215: Fred Tuominen, 2. Winthrop, No. 223: J. F. Maki (proxy), 1. Flat River, No. 225: R. Lee Lashley, 4. Steptoe, M. & S., No. 233: Thos. O'Connor, 1. Leadwood, No. 236: E. M. Davis, 2. Manhattan, No. 241: William O'Brien, 1. Elvins, No. 242: Rufus Blaylock, 3. Herculaneum, No. 249: A. L. Hill, 2. Thompson M. & S., No. 225: John R. Bruce (proxy), 1. Ladies' Auxiliaries—Roseland, No. 1: Mrs. Rosalia F. Murray, 1. Central City, No. 1: E. Flow (proxy), 1. Hancock, No. 5: Jacob Valimaki (proxy), 1. Lead, No. 6: Barney McCaffery (proxy), 1. Flat River, No. 7: Mrs. R. Lee Lashley, 1. Executive Board—Joseph D. Cannon, 1; Yanco Terzich, 1; Vice President Chas. E. Mahoney, 1; Secretary Treasurer Ernest Mills, 1.

Absent—Jerry D. O'Neill, Butte, No. 1; George B. Paul, Republic, No. 28; W. I. Jacobsen, Anaconda, M. & S., No. 117.

Not voting—President Chas. H. Moyer.

Totals—Yes, 27; no, 107; absent, 8; not voting, 2.

Moved by Delegate Guy E. Miller, No. 232, seconded by Delegate Anton Lassich, No. 225, that the report of committee be concurred in. Motion carried.

Report of committee on president's report No. 131 read as follows:

No. 131—

Victor, Colo., July 25, 1912.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twentieth Annual Convention of the W. F. M.

We, your committee on president's report, beg leave to submit the following:

We commend the president's masterly review of the conditions and problems confronting the federation. We deplore a situation in which the greatest menace to our organization is not the opposition of the employer but dissensions in our own ranks.

We recognize the right of every member to a full and free discussion of the policies of our organization and the labor movement in general. We welcome that intelligent criticism which not only points out errors and mistakes but also indicates the path of progress. We insist that the spirit of democracy has ever guided the councils of the Western Federation of Miners and that in determining the policies of the federation the majority have had but one goal in view, to promote the welfare of the metalliferous miners and thereby advance the cause of industrial freedom throughout the world. That was our purpose when we launched the Western Labor Union, the American Labor Union and the Industrial Workers of the World. It was still our purpose when we recognized that we could not stand apart from the American labor movement, that whatever its mistakes, its members were our brothers, that our fate was bound up with them. We also recognized that while no man or set of men could lead an organization to industrial freedom so no organization should presume to dictate the policies nor prescribe the form of organization for their brothers.

Looking back over the years we note many mistakes. We were scourged in the school of experience, we learned her lessons, we are trying to apply her teachings. Cannot all our membership be charitable enough to believe that the membership of other organizations can learn, are learning, in the same school, are combatted by the same forces, moved by the same interests and that finally all will apply the same great truths?

The working class cannot achieve its emancipation until it possesses a better organization and is guided by a higher intelligence than the capitalist class. Their continued existence depends upon holding the workers in subjection. Industrial thrones are propped by bayonets. Our movement rests upon education animated by that love of liberty which prisons cannot hold nor hangmen strangle, moved on by the irresistible forces of industrial evolution which is teaching the workers of the world a common language, giving them a common hope, committing to the toilers' calloused hands the destinies of civilization.

If this be true, what excuse can be offered in the labor movement for an organization whose most bitter attacks have been directed against other organizations of working men? What excuse for its representatives who, in the name of unity, preach disruption, whose mouths drip vituperation and whose pens are dipped in calumnies? Is that the method by which great truths are illuminated and driven home? Do you inspire confidence in the working class by teaching that the labor movement of this country is made up of two classes, its officials and representatives who are knaves and the membership who are dupes? Or does that arouse the suspicion that the charges may be true, that the people who make the charges only need an opportunity to become as faithless and corrupt as those against whom the charges are brought, that organizations are useless, that all organized effort is futile, that there are but two courses left open for the worker—servile submission or blind revolt.

Whatever the intent may be, that is the natural result of teaching that you can take dynamite and emery dust and win a strike, a rifle and inaugurate a revolution. History records that in proportion as revolutions were peaceful their results were enduring. That is, the

rising class understands its interests; knows what it wants and how to get it, those interests are in accord with the interests of the great mass of society and when they are organized so that their needs can find intelligent expression, violence is unnecessary, it but retards the final result. Violence is the natural expression of the weak and ignorant, when used by the workers, it is the necessary expression of capitalism exemplified in the injunction and the use of military powers.

Against these forces making for the disruption of our organization we make our protest. We distinguish between the anxious, impatient worker goaded by oppression, often uninformed regarding industrial history, seeking the shortest cut to industrial liberty and the degenerate who, if not in the pay of detective agencies, performs the same work. The one lacks knowledge, that can be supplied; the other, manhood, which if not inherent can never be supplied.

The methods and policies of this coterie toward the Western Federation and the labor movement were indicated by an official of the I. W. W. in a letter to Albert Ryan, August, 1908, and have been consistently pursued ever since. The following is an extract:

"Randall's cracks against me were inspired by the machine. I believe, but it stirred up such a hornet's nest by the minority, putting it up to them to make good, that they ducked from under very nicely by a compromise of striking the whole matter from the records. Of course, that is a partial victory for the slandering S. B., as the poison has gone out and is being circulated by the slander syndicate, viz.: S. P. and A. F. of L. press.

"I believe we should turn in now and lay the wires to defeat the machine at the next convention, and it can be done in this way: By picking out good and reliable men with ability and getting them to place themselves in local unions of the federation for the purpose of getting to be delegates to the next convention. To do this they should cultivate the sentiment of the local unions to which they go. If the local be a Moyer local, let them be Moyer men. Let them outdo the best of them in worship at his shrine. If the local is indifferent, let them be likewise, but let them be elected as delegates. I know all the objections that can be urged to this plan, but the fact remains that once we can control the offices of the W. F. M. for the I. W. W. the big bulk of the membership will go with them and the prestige of the W. F. M. from its past is worth something to the revolutionary movement, and we should make an attempt to get it with us. These are the tactics of the enemy and we can beat them at it if we try hard enough. I have written Lungard in Globe and want you to take the matter up with Bechtel and Opman and have them work with you to control Arizona for the next convention. Pick out a man or two for every local in the state, let them get into them and do the work. Have written to others that I can trust implicitly in other parts of the jurisdiction and I will try and handle Michigan and Minnesota from here. If you are shy men or have any to spare we can trade with the different districts. Let me hear from you what you think you can do to help.

"Yours for the real thing, soon.

"V. ST. JOHN."

St. John's idea of the honor that should obtain among men is indicated by a letter written to the Finnish newspaper, Tyomies, contained in the trial proceedings in which he acknowledges a debt for the publication of a Finnish handbook, states that it was not paid at the time for lack of funds, since that time he has learned that the publication criticises the I. W. W. and supports the W. F. M. and the Socialist party. It is to be remembered that Tyomies is owned co-operatively, practically all of the stockholders being workmen. What is our attitude toward the employer who bilks workmen out of their wages? What shall we say of the head of a so-called revolutionary labor organization that practices such a policy? We might judge him and his organization by their deeds more accurately than by their pretensions.

The wires run from Chicago to Butte, the methods outlined by St. John in 1908 were pursued by the so-called revolutionists in the campaign for the offices in 1912. In their efforts to disrupt and discredit every opponent. The following is an instance, Campbell is discussing the election of delegates in Butte Miners' Union: "There is also a man here by the name of Con Shea, representing the Butte Miners' Union as a delegate who cashed a check for \$50 about three weeks before election from John D. Ryan, president of the Amalgamated Copper Company, and marked New York office and numbered 2616. If this makes the 2616th check issued by John D. Ryan to these fellows out of a special fund put aside by the Amalgamated Copper Company for this special purpose, is it any wonder that we lost out and that our efforts were in vain in attempting to prevent the Amalgamated Copper Company being represented in this convention instead of the union men in Butte, who are struggling to make of the Butte Miners' Union an organization for the benefit of the workers?"

It is only necessary to say that the evidence showed that the check was a contribution to a football team of which Con Shea was secretary. Thus a statement that was in itself a damning charge against the honor and integrity of a man and his associates was shown to be baseless and unfounded. Few wage workers possess much of the world's goods; when a man's reputation is successfully assailed his standing among his fellows is lost. When the attack is shown to be baseless the parties making the attack should suffer the same result.

TRIAL OF CAMPBELL.

The campaign of slander that had long gone on in the federation culminated in the trial of Thos. Campbell and resulted in finding him guilty, by a vote of 198 to 27, 17 not voting. The decision carried with it the penalty of expulsion.

President Moyer had been the chief target in the campaign of de-

traction and vilification. He waived all his rights as a member of his local union, appeared at the bar of the convention and demanded exoneration or condemnation at its hands. His innocence meant his accuser's guilt and vice versa.

Not a vote was cast in opposition to the resolution declaring that not a scintilla of evidence had been produced reflecting upon the conduct of Chas. H. Moyer.

Campbell had protested against the seating of the delegation from Butte, asked to be heard by the convention, whereupon he read a report that was remarkable for the number of charges it contained and the lack of evidence to sustain them. It was with evident reluctance that he agreed to the same conditions President Moyer had demanded. He played for the sympathy of the Socialists while advocating sabotage, although the constitution of the Socialist party debar anyone from membership who advocates its practice. The evidence of the Butte delegates and resolutions passed by No. 1 showed that he had advocated sabotage in its most violent forms.

Your committee offered amendments to the constitution whose purpose it is to protect the organization against the evils from which we have suffered in the past.

It is to be hoped that the trial of Campbell marks the passing of the era of slander and dissension, that henceforth we shall be found united in our efforts to wrest a larger measure of justice from the master class. We must refer interested parties to the proceedings of the trial for further information.

AFFILIATION WITH THE A. F. OF L.

No act of the federation has been more bitterly criticised than our affiliation with the American Federation of Labor. It was the result of a referendum submitted to the membership, approved by the largest majority ever cast in the history of the organization. The purpose and the result to be attained were stated in the clearest possible terms. The man who pleads ignorance of its provisions convicts himself of incapacity to understand the English language. The man who refuses to submit to the verdict of a great majority of his fellows in the union on a question affecting the welfare of all and upon which they are as competent to decide as he, is at heart a dictator and autocrat; denies the spirit of democracy and repudiates the only method by which solidarity can be obtained—which is to place the recorded judgment of the whole above the opinion of any part, to act in accordance with the majority until time fixes the seal of approval or experience condemns it.

Many of those most bitterly opposed to affiliation with the American Federation of Labor have during the past year strenuously advocated amalgamation with the United Mine Workers. Their objections to the A. F. of L. suddenly disappeared. Possibly they imagined that their eloquence would be sufficient to swerve the Mine Workers from a policy which has given them the most commanding position in the American labor movement. For that position what have the Industrial Workers of the World to offer? What have they to exchange for what the Mine Workers would have to surrender? Their advance through twenty years of struggle has proven that they are reasonably well fitted to survive. They have developed powers that send a thrill of joy through every freeman's heart, they have added many comforts to lowly homes, in direst tragedies they have shown how tender brave men could be, they have borne their colors aloft through the fiercest hells of the class war to snatch the victor's laurel crown—and paused to drop a wreath and a tear at the grave of their dead. Will they throw away their dear-bought victories? A capitalist organization, forsooth! Will they ever stand above their silent heroes and say: "Ye died in vain?"

There is a great deal of sentiment among our membership for our sister organization and a kindred feeling for the federation in the ranks of the Mine Workers. May the ties of sentiment develop into the bond of common interests. Until that time we can best serve the cause of unity by perfecting our organization and arriving at a mutual understanding and acceptance of policies.

It is noteworthy that those in our ranks who criticise the federation most bitterly are very complimentary to the Mine Workers, while their critics sing the praises of the revolutionary federation and deplore the fact that they must contribute to the funds of a conservative organization. It is doubtful if the critics of either organization are sincere in their professions of attachment for the other.

John H. Walker, president of the Illinois district, calls them impossibilities and characterizes their work in part as follows:

TRAITORS AND IMPOSSIBILISTS.

Two Species of Mankind That Are Undermining the Trades Union Movement.

(By John H. Walker.)

The old saying, "Politics makes strange bedfellows," is true, could not be better illustrated than is being done by two elements within the labor movement of the present time, as well as two elements outside who are similarly interested and occupied with it. These two elements are what is known as the paid wreckers and traitors, and the impossibilists. They both use the same tactics and work hand in hand. By their actions one could not be distinguished from the other. Their purpose is identical. They are working in co-operation to destroy the present trades unions.

The first mentioned are acting from the most narrow, mean, contemptible and selfish motives, that the lowest, degraded, most vicious degenerate, and inhuman beast could devise—for a mess of pottage, for a few dirty dollars—they are betraying the whole human race. This element includes from the Pinkerton, Thiel and other so-called detective agencies, representatives, the labor spy, gum-shoe men, thugs, and professional strike-breakers that are on the pay rolls of the companies

regularly, to the cheapest worker who does it to get or hold a better job than the rest, or who gets an extra shift sometimes, or has a so-called stand-in with the boss: the stool pigeon outside, for instance, (the mine workers have some of them) who for years during conventions and joint conferences have rented suites of rooms at the most fashionable hotels, and who, like buzzards, have grown fat on the rottenness, corruption and weaknesses of both sides, up to their allies, the real arch traitors higher up who are on the secret payrolls and do the dirty work of wrecking their own union and betraying the men who are trusting and confiding in them, and paying them, for so much per month with bonuses for each specially dirty, damnable, treacherous act.

On the other hand the impossibilist is trying to destroy the present trades unions because he sincerely and honestly believes that if they were wiped out of existence by some magical process the workers would become educated over night, and that a new movement would immediately rise out of their ashes which would bring about a solution of the labor problem on a basis that would mean equal opportunity for all and absolute justice.

We must protect ourselves from him, for if he is successful our union will not only be destroyed, which will not only mean putting back the ultimate incalculably and unnecessarily, but in the meantime, as a result of the destruction of the organization, every man in the workers' ranks and every one dependent upon him will have to suffer immeasurably every day in almost every phase of their lives, for we know that the minute the union is gone that there will be less wages, longer hours, harder work, more dangerous and unhealthful conditions; there will be physical exhaustion, helplessness and hopelessness to combat, which will mean less desire for education; curtailment of means, which will mean less facilities, and less to educate with, no freedom and longer hours, which will mean less opportunity; and no union on our part will mean proportionately in inverse ratio the strengthening of the powers of the employer to oppose and crush us.

Those two elements combined are the greatest menace that endangers the existence and progress of the labor movement today. Education of the members on all phases of our movement to the point where neither the hireling, Judas, or the sincere but misled fanatic can lead them astray, is the only sure safeguard.

STRIKES.

The strikes that have occurred since the last convention of the Federation are evidences that the battle between the employer and the worker is still raging. Practically each of them present some new phase of the never-ending struggle which demands thoughtful consideration of men who believe in the use of intelligence rather than brute force in solving economic problems.

In the smelter strike at Caney and Dearing, Kansas, caused by discrimination against union men, the Federation attempted to invoke the protection of the anti-coercion act, which forbids any employer or company requiring an employé not to join or remain a member of a labor organization as a condition of securing or retaining employment. The act provides a heavy penalty for its violation. The district court decided against the Federation. A test case has since been carried to the supreme court and the law sustained.

Slowly the public is coming to recognize the right of labor to combine. Statutes finally recognize as a right that which men once fought for as a privilege. The recognition of such a right removes one of the great obstacles to the work of organization. Every effort should be made to have a similar law enacted in every state in which the mining industry is carried on.

The representative of the Federation in that strike, Neil McGee, acquired a great deal of information regarding the policy of the manager of the American Zinc, Lead Smelting and Refining Co., which if given to the public would have aroused a protest from the stockholders, as well as the public and instructed our membership in the devious methods of corporate managers. The ownership of a share of stock would have given the Federation the right to use the information. The ownership of a share of stock in many mining and smelting corporations would give the organization data that would be invaluable in fortifying our membership against the specious plea that the industry will not permit a larger wage. That was the plea made to the public and the employés of the Roserun Mining Co., in the strike at Owingsville, Ky. The facts would undoubtedly have destroyed the delusion.

The strike at Blair, Nevada, is the natural result of the defeat at Goldfield, Nevada. A cut in wages in one section is inevitably followed by a demand for a reduction in others. Those who were responsible for the policy inaugurated at Goldfield should realize the train of evil consequences following in their wake and those who earn their bread in the sweat of their brow should hesitate long before accepting the leadership of men whose pathway is strewn with the wrecks of organizations once flourishing.

DISCHARGE OF FINNISH MINERS.

The discharge of a large number of miners in Butte, largely of Finnish descent for political reasons on the eve of the municipal elections involved many matters that should be given the most careful consideration by the membership. The present instance is not an isolated case. Men have been discharged by the hundreds on former occasions in Butte and Anaconda and but little was done for their protection.

We recognize that it is the duty of our organization to protect its membership, to the fullest extent of its power, from discharge on account of their industrial affiliations or political beliefs. We also recognize that it is reprehensible in the extreme for a faction to seize upon such an occasion to sow the seeds of dissension, to advocate secession and open warfare against the Federation, to malign the officials of the Federation and to state that they were denied protection and

support because the officials were prejudiced against foreign-speaking members. Men who circulate such statements are traitors to the labor movement and the worst enemies of the men whose cause they profess to espouse. It is well here to note that the contract system in vogue among the mine workers has been effective in protecting its membership against the blacklist and unjust discharge and that the element responsible for the Butte situation are rabid in their opposition to its provisions.

Intelligent men everywhere recognize that the strike is the weapon of the last resort, every other means should be used before that is tried. The strike seems to have been the only method considered by a majority of the committee and that without consulting the membership. No attempt was made to arouse public resentment and set in action those forces to which even corporations must sometimes bow. If every effort had been made by the union to secure justice for the discharged men before the referendum had been taken it is your committee's opinion that the majority case against the strike would have been reversed.

INITIATIVE AND REFERENDUM.

Your president has called attention to the fact that the last general assembly of the state of Colorado passed an eight-hour law for the miners and smelter men. The law was not only rendered inoperative for a period of two years by invoking the referendum but in addition, a substitute law proposed that is worse than useless. The sinister hand of the Guggenheims and the Colorado Fuel and Iron Co. is plainly discernable in the matter.

It gives rise to the reflection that the initiative and referendum is but a tool in the hands of the voter, useless to him who does not know how to use it and thoroughly acquainted with the issues that are to be decided by his ballot. Our greatest foe is ignorance, knowledge is the only emancipator. We should redouble our efforts to enlighten and instruct the entire working class.

The Executive Board of the American Federation of Labor has been instructed to submit a report on the election of its officers by the initiative and referendum at the ensuing convention. That report will largely depend upon the attitude of the membership. Our position should be stated in unmistakable terms to the labor organizations of this continent. The forces of evolution are behind the industrial union movement. No set of officials can long thwart or hinder such a movement, but it is of the utmost importance that they act in harmony and be in sympathy with it. To that end we should exert every power to change the method of election, thereby making the officials of the A. F. of L. responsive to the sentiment and expressive of the interest of the toilers.

We did not affiliate with the American Federation of Labor because we agreed with its policy, but because we knew that it included the great mass of organized workers having the same interests and beset by the same forces as ourselves. We have not ceased our efforts to unite the entire working class in a solid phalanx against capitalism. We have only arrived at the conclusion that we can perform our part most effectually by aiding the constructive forces within rather than by criticizing from the outside.

We concur in the recommendation of our president that Socialism and the problems and history of the labor movement receive the careful consideration of the membership to the end that labor's forces may be united on every field and its final triumph rendered inevitable. Other committees have proposed and the convention has adopted plans by which this may be carried into effect.

Your committee have carefully considered the problems that have confronted the organization in the past as presented by our president. We trust that whatever obstacles may confront us in the future we shall meet them with united ranks and finally confer upon all mankind the last great service which labor must render the world—industrial freedom.

GUY E. MILLER,
WM. DAVIDSON,
JAMES B. HANLEY,
J. F. MAKI,

R. A. CAMPBELL,
DAVID A. POWERS,
RODERICK R. MACKENZIE,

Moved by Delegate Thos. Gorman, No. 2, seconded by Delegate J. C. May, No. 5, that we concur in report of committee. Motion carried unanimously.

Moved by Delegate James Ansen, No. 38, seconded by Delegate John Valimaki, No. 200, that we order 1,000 copies of the report of the committee on president's report printed for distribution in various languages. Motion carried.

Report No. 132 of constitution committee on amendment No. 72, which had been referred back to them read as follows:

Victor, Colo., July 25, 1912.

To the officers and members of the 20th annual convention of the W. F. M.,

We, your committee on constitution and by-laws, recommend that resolution No. 72 be adopted.

JACOB OLIVER,
J. R. BRUCE,
BARNEY McCAFFERY,
F. SZYMANSKE,

TOM GORMAN,
GEO. B. PAUL,
R. L. LASHLEY.

No. 72.

Victor, Colo., July 19, 1912

To the officers and members of the 20th annual convention of the W. F. M.,

I hereby submit for your consideration the following amendment

to Art. 4, Sec. 8 of the constitution, on page 13, line 24, by striking the figure \$5.00 and inserting therein the figure \$4.00 and in line 25, after the word "day" inserting the following, "and hotel expenses not to exceed \$3.00 per day," which would make it read as follows: "He shall receive \$4.00 per day and hotel expenses not to exceed \$3.00 per day for such time as he is actually employed, together with his transportation."

TOM CORRA,
Delegate No. 33.

Moved by Delegate Herbert Downing, No. 1, seconded by Delegate Jas. Ansen, No. 38, that the report of the committee be non-concurred in. Motion carried.

Report No. 133 of the constitution committee on amendment No. 64 read as follows:

Victor, Colo., July 25, 1912.

To the officers and members of the 20th annual convention of the W. F. M.,

Sirs and Brothers:

We, your committee on constitution and by-laws, recommend that resolution No. 64 be not adopted.

TOM GORMAN,
F. SZYMANSKE,
R. L. LASHLEY,
J. R. BRUCE,

GEO. B. PAUL,
BARNEY McCAFFERY,
JACOB OLIVER,

Victor, Colo., July 19, 1912.

To the Delegates of the 20th Annual Convention of the Western Federation of Miners, assembled at Victor, Colorado.,

Whereas, After years of advocacy by a minority in the Western Federation of Miners of the election of the general officers of the Federation by the referendum vote of the membership, the same was adopted by the nineteenth annual convention, but the same convention extended the terms of office between elections from one to two years and

Whereas, We believe that two years is too long a period for any officers of a labor organization to be elected for as the membership are for that space of time practically denied the opportunity of pronouncing upon their officers; therefore be it

Resolved, That we instruct our delegates to the 20th annual convention of the Western Federation of Miners to endeavor to have an amendment to the constitution making election of officers annual instead of biennial and be it further

Resolved: The acting secretary treasurer immediately forward a copy of these resolutions to our delegates at the twentieth annual convention.

Introduced by Wm. W. Joyce.

JOS. GORMAN,
Acting Sec'y Treas., No. 146, W. F. M.

Adopted by Cobalt Miners' Union, No. 146, W. F. M., at meeting of July 14, 1912.

A. MAILLOUX,
Pres No. 146, W. F. M.

Moved by Delegate James B. Hanley, No. 121, seconded by Delegate John Gilbert, No. 83, that we concur in the report of the committee. Motion carried.

Report No. 134, of constitution committee on amendments No. 66 and No. 71 read as follows:

Victor, Colo., July 25, 1912.

To the Twentieth Annual Convention, W. F. M.

We, your committee on constitution and by-laws, beg leave to report on resolution No. 66 and 71 as follows: That Article 2, Section 2, line 26, be amended as follows: After the word "union" insert "in good standing." We recommend the same be adopted:

JACOB OLIVER,
GEO. B. PAUL,
BARNEY McCAFFERY,
J. R. BRUCE,

R. L. LASHLEY,
F. SZYMANSKE,
TOM GORMAN,

Committee.

To the Officers and Members of the Twentieth Annual Convention, W. F. M.

No. 66—

A resolution to amend the constitution of the W. F. M. as follows: Add to Article 11, page 7, a new Section 7, to read as follows:

"No local union shall issue proxy credentials for conventions except to a regularly elected delegate of some other local union of the W. F. M., and no delegate may vote proxies not received direct from the union issuing said proxy.

All clauses in the constitution in conflict with this amendment are void.

WALLACE, No. 17,
W. N. WELSH, No. 145,
ALFRED BORDSEN, No. 16,
HERBERT GALLAGHER, No. 16.

REPUBLIC MINERS' UNION No. 28.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twentieth Annual Convention, No. 71—

Whereas, It has been shown that there are a great many locals of the Western Federation of Miners who are in arrears for dues and assessments to the W. F. M. and consequently in bad standing, and heretofore such delinquent locals have exercised the same pro ratio voting and elective powers as locals which were in good standing, and

Whereas, They have been enabled to increase their power in convention by being allowed to vote proxy which is manifestly unfair to locals which are in good standing; therefore be it

Resolved, That we instruct our delegates to the twentieth annual convention of the W. F. M. to present the following resolutions to the delegates and officers at the opening of the convention.

Resolved: "That of a right" the voting and elective power of delinquent locals in convention assembled should be curtailed and abridged and further that the privilege of voting proxies in convention by delegates from delinquent locals should not be allowed.

GERALD ROBINSON,
JOS. F. HUNTER,
C. H. TOWNS,

Committee.

Moved by Delegate Andrew Mallon, No. 117, seconded by Delegate Jacob Oliver, No. 1, that the report of the committee be adopted as read.

Delegates Leslie Turner, No. 17, James Ansen, No. 38, spoke on the question.

Motion lost.

Moved by Delegate E. B. Simanton, No. 60, seconded by Delegate Roderick MacKenzie, No. 26, that resolution No. 71 be not adopted. Motion carried.

Resolution No. 66 was then read.

Moved by Vice President C. E. Mahoney, seconded by Delegate Tom Corra, No. 33, that the resolution No. 66 be tabled. Motion carried.

Communication No. 135 read as follows:

No. 135—

Victor, Colo., July 25, 1912

To the Officers and Delegates to the Twentieth Annual Convention of the W. F. M.

Brothers: It is my intention and most ardent desire to make a future residence in the central east, Missouri or Illinois or thereabouts, and without your financial assistance it will be impossible for me to accomplish this, as you are absolutely the only ones I can appeal to and expect any redress, as this will be the last monetary request I shall ever make of the organization I sincerely hope you will grant my request, as my affliction, which makes me almost helpless. It has taken several years of observation and study to ferret out a plan by which I can make my own livelihood. If you will allow me to explain, I think I can satisfy you that the change will be beneficial for me in several ways. It will take \$200 for me to accomplish this purpose, as I will have to take a companion with me, which I have arranged at Colorado Springs with a young hunchback, twenty-two years old. The railroad fare will be \$50 to St. Louis, Missouri. As it is coming on winter and I am almost naked, it will take \$35 to \$40 for clothing. The additional amount I would like to explain about.

Sincerely hoping you will grant the last request of one of your afflicted members, I remain

Yours for political and industrial unity,

J. W. O'BRYAN,

Moved by Delegate J. W. Dinwiddie, No. 234, seconded by Delegate Leslie Turner, No. 17, that Brother O'Bryan be permitted to address the convention. Motion carried.

Brother J. W. O'Bryan then took the floor and explained his case, which was an appeal for aid.

Moved by Delegate W. N. Welsh, No. 145, seconded by W. T. Stodden, No. 83, that the request of J. W. O'Bryan for \$200 be complied with.

Delegates Dan Holland, No. 1, and Guy E. Miller, spoke on the question. Motion lost, 22 to 32.

Moved by Delegate Tom Corra, No. 33, seconded by Delegate Pat McEvoy, No. 144, that the W. F. M. donate Brother J. W. O'Bryan \$100.

Delegate M. C. Leake spoke on the question.

Moved by Delegate W. T. Stodden, No. 83, seconded by Delegate A. L. Hill, No. 249, as a substitute that \$100 be placed in the hands of the Executive Board to be used for Brother O'Bryan's benefit. Motion carried.

Resolution No. 136 read as follows:

No. 136—

Victor, Colo., July 25, 1912.

To the Officers and Members of the Twentieth Annual Convention, W. F. M.

Whereas, Executive Board Member Dan D. Sullivan came to this convention at the expense and the pay of the W. F. M., and

Whereas, Brother Sullivan was in a position to render important service to this convention, and

Whereas, Brother Sullivan resigned his office and abandoned his post of duty during the sitting of the convention; therefore be it

Resolved: That we censure the action of Brother Sullivan as unbecoming an officer and brother of the W. F. M.

J. W. DINWIDDIE,
MARION LEAKE,
G. W. SMITH,
A. A. LASSICH,

AXEL KOLINEN,
PETER JEDDA,
JOS. D. CANON,

Committee.

Moved by Delegate W. T. Stodden, No. 83, seconded by Delegate Leslie Turner, No. 17, that the resolution be tabled. Motion carried. Communication No. 137 read as follows:

No. 137—

Victor, Colo., July 25, 1912.

To the Members of the W. F. M.

Gentlemen: If convenient and agreeable to the members at the convention, the Victor studio would like the privilege of making a plate or two of the group of officers and delegates convened.

Yours truly,

VICTOR STUDIO,

By L. Thostenberg.

Moved by Delegate John B. Hanly, No. 157, seconded by Delegate Roderick MacKenzie, No. 26, that the communication be tabled. Motion carried.

After announcements the convention adjourned at 5:10 to meet at 9 a. m. Friday morning, July 26th.

(Continued Next Week.)



INFORMATION WANTED.

Information is wanted of the whereabouts of Thomas H. Taylor, age fifty-five years, complexion sandy, heavy moustache; height five feet eight inches; weight 160 pounds.

When last heard from was in Butte, Mont., and carried a card from Lead City Miners' Union. Anyone knowing his present address will please write to E. L. Delaney, Galena, So. Dak.

RECESSION FROM DEMOCRACY.

I hold in my hand a paper (Referendum B).

The face of this paper (the platform) presents the Socialist Party of America as the most advanced and intelligent political organization in any country. It does this provided its producers, the party, enjoy a complete and illuminated comprehension of their own expression.

As said, it is in verity a classic.

If its declarations are definitely and intelligently wrought out it means the consummation of the ultimate purpose of the party at a period many decades in advance of such a possibility wrought by other means, or by a merely sophistical comprehension of the platform.

But this is only an expression; a platform; mere words.

There is a reverse side to this paper, (the constitution), which depicts most emphatically and miserably the reverse side of the Socialist party.

The history of platforms is that they bind no one—not even an entire political organization.

The constitution—the organic law—binds the organization and all its parts. It proves or destroys the sincerity of the platform. It demonstrates the real principles of the party in action.

This constitution records the party as narrow, conservative, reactionary, a mere sect, in deadly contrast and contradiction with its broad platform, suppressing its own freedom of speech, destroying its own democracy, penalizing its members, prescribing and limiting its thought, expression, action and power to the narrow mental rut of a few political gods by means of a party-owned press, a machine-owned party, a committee-owned machine and a clique-owned committee.

This is no fancy of the imagination. It is there in big type.

Let me tell you how the battle wages between democracy on the one hand and a party oligarchy on the other.

Democracy is rule by the rank and file—by majority. It needs no other definition. Any other definition is a limitation. Any limitation is a nullification—is not democracy.

Parliamentarism is the father of syndicalism and sabotage. The only antidote for direct action is direct legislation.

Bureaucrats base their entire activity and sophistry on the presumption that committees and delegated bodies are a part of democracy. They are not and cannot be. They divert Democracy. They are called "representative," a misnomer.

A delegate, to be "representative," must know in advance the exact attitude of his constituency on every detail that will come before the convention for determination. This he cannot know unless the constituency determines by previous referendums each point.

No one knowing all that may come before a convention, such previous referendums cannot be had, and if they could, why have a "representative"?

A "representative" is therefore impossible—a delegated body essentially misrepresentative. Therein lies the germ and first cause of all confusion, dissension, internal conflict, arrogation of power and the defections of syndicalism, direct action and sabotage. Get this in your mind and analyze each incident and condition and it will become apparent.

The misrepresentative character of all delegated bodies, coupled with the deceptive suggestion that their operation is democratic, are the vehicle and opportunity for the operation of the bureaucrats in the party. At every convention or committee meeting they get control. Being parliamentarians and politicians, this is easy. They confer. They caucus. They plan and prearrange. They are organized. While the democratic-minded, disdainful class-determine appointments, are segregated and beaten.

The only recourse of democracy, then, is to return to the rank and file and initiate measures to undo the concentration work of bureaucracy.

These referendums, rooted in and fomented by the very acts of the bureaucrats, as first causes, are cried down by them as foolish and expensive, though none but the membership have the right to determine them foolish and a continual stream of referendums would not cost the price of one convention.

Bureaucracy accrues to itself. The very evils engendered by it furnish its excuses for further concentration. Remove bureaucracy and the frequency of referendums would soon be reduced to a minimum. The party would find its settled expression and law as water finds its level.

Few referendums would ever be initiated were it not for the very acts of the bureaucrats as fomenting causes. Their frequency, thus caused, is pounced upon by them as an excuse to curtail the referendum.

A democratic minority in the convention of 1908 fought concentration in the committee and on the floor, where bureaucrats placed the election of national secretary and national executive committee out of the hands of the members and enacted other measures of repression.

The minority took the matter home and a responsive membership revoked the autocratic act, restoring some measure of democracy.

The constitution, the most vital matter, is relegated to the last days of a convention. This is the opportunity. Many delegates have gone home. Those remaining are reduced to mental inefficiency and inaction through the week's battle of words over what we shall say to the women of Kansas or what we shall do to the Jap! Anything goes, and the most autocratic measures are quickly embodied in the constitution.

Fresh from recent referendum, the unauthorized Congress of 1910 did not have the nerve to go farther in the program against democracy than to add a few more powers to the national committees, plant a lecture bureau and give a handful of men in New York, Boston or Chicago a supreme advantage in the initiative, though the disposition was strong.

Encouraged by a period of apparent defeat or submission on the part of the Democrats, evidenced by failures to get or to win referendums, the 1912 convention seemed to the bureaucrats a moment of supreme opportunity, and, with brazen assurance, they threw away reserve and boldly took the elective franchise from the membership; robbed them entirely of the initiative and recall, emasculated the referendum by allowing the members to vote only on what a few wiseacres propose, deprived the national committee of its limited representative capacity, gave to this contorted body the sole power of election and recall, and the power of legislation (a power never before given them) and forbade any alteration of these laws for one year.

The conceit of the bureaucrats reached a climax in this convention when a single individual was proclaimed as the one most efficient member of this entire organization of a hundred thousand.

It is poor solace to say that a part of the delegates supporting these measures did so with a sincere purpose to gain efficiency. The effect is the same.

Oh "efficiency," what crimes are committed in thy name! For you kings build their armaments, emperors their bastiles. For you patriots are banished, nations suppressed and subjugated. You are ever present as the most delusive and powerful weapon in opposition to democracy—even down to the present American Socialist party, in which you are miscalled even democracy itself. You are the ever safe refuge and bulwark of they who distrust the people in their own government.

Who declines to assert unreservedly to the most unrestricted, direct and unlimited self-government by the most universal and direct use of the initiative, referendum and recall WITHIN the Socialist party would delay the installation of industrial democracy an hundred years by the very inexperience and inefficiency thus imposed on the membership.

Who denies the capacity of self-government by the membership denies the most essential working principle of the party—the principle that will be called into free and unlimited action at the installation of industrial democracy.

The men in the forefront of the American party up to the near present are environed with the bureaucratic atmosphere of large cities, imbibe its methods—and get their inspiration from the most rigidly bureaucratic and disciplinary nation on earth, grafting their formalities, restrictions and machine methods upon an American movement that cannot and will not fit into the mold.

Concentration of power is always the modicum of disruption. Democracy never. A rumpus is never started by the lay member. It finds its source always in contracted bodies crying for the abolition of the Senate, while installing its counterpart in the party.

With the older political parties reducing these bureaucratic committees to a minimum, gravitating into democratic measures through the recall, direct legislation and through preferential primaries into direct nomination of national candidates and the abolition of conventions—with the Socialist party refraining from direct nomination, receding rapidly from democracy WITHIN the party while loudly demanding its legislative enactment, we are handing the "Teddycrats" an opportunity they will not be slow to grasp to brand our movement with the stamp of insincerity!

For a national movement to command its constituent states to provide for the initiative and recall and decline to do so itself is sufficient cause for the secession of a state movement until the national movement complies with its own demand.

In the name of efficiency abolish your concentrated heads. Abolish your conventions and permanent committees. Abolish your soft-snap lecture bureau—your party-owned press. Return to direct legislation and individual freedom of expression. This has been done in Texas with salutary effect, where, at the expense of a fraction of the state dues, the entire state movement is financed, including a corps of lecturers half as large as is handled by your pet bureau with thousands of dollars of cost and a minimum of efficiency. Here where the same quarrelsome spirit exists in the individual, but cannot deter nor disrupt, because deprived of the avenues through which to operate—permanent committees and conventions. W. J. BELL.



WAGES VERSUS HORSE FEED.

The average wage, expressed in money, cannot rise above the average cost of the necessities of life requisite to maintain a workingman and his family, provided the labor market is fully stocked with the commodity labor-power. That is, if workers are plentiful; if, in numbers, they equal or exceed the number of jobs offered, the average wage cannot rise above the point referred to.

If the supply of labor power exceeds the demand to any appreciable extent, the surplus of labor in the market will tend to force the wage below the point mentioned, thus compelling the workman to curtail his living expenses, at no matter what cost to the comfort and well-being of himself and family. If matters become unduly aggravated—as is the case with millions of the world's workers—conditions of living are forced down to such a low level as to make life little, if any, better than a matter of slow starvation.

The miseries attendant upon the semi-starved existence of a vast multitude of the world's poorest paid toilers can neither be imagined nor described. Doubtless it must be lived in order that these miseries may be properly appreciated.

The physical and moral degeneration due to these conditions of wretchedness and squalor, however, may be readily seen by anyone who cares to make a study of the slums and tenement districts of any large center of Christian civilization.

Of the countless thousands who are continually out of employment because of the chronically congested condition of the labor market, little need be said. Not needed in the industrial process they are without value, and, consequently not entitled to any one's consideration. Outside of the scraps secured from garbage barrels and an occasional meagre hand-out from the

philanthropically inclined, the Lord alone knows how they manage to exist and this knowledge he carefully keeps to himself.

The wage slave is a sorry-looking brute even at the best. Even while enjoying the very top wages, that is, sufficient to insure moderate comfort to himself and family, he wears the habitual look of a scared jackrabbit—doubtless inspired by the fear of losing his precious job. As we look down the line from the best paid slave, with his wage barely sufficient to cover his actually necessary living expenses, to the jobless one who subsists chiefly upon the contents of the garbage can and the hope of heaven, we are forced to the conclusion that the slave is an animal in a class by himself, and that all other animals should studiously avoid falling into any of his customs, habits and absurdities.

The horse is a noble animal. Bred for speed, he is often a marvel. Bred for draft purposes his strength is wonderful. In beauty of form and grace of action he is frequently a picture to delight the eye. He is also remarkably intelligent, so intelligent, in fact, that he will not hitch himself to plow or cart. He will not provide for himself habitation and creature comforts. He will not stoop to the menial tasks of valet and chambermaid. His employer is therefore compelled to employ a descendant of the monkey tribe to perform these and similar services for his equine "nibs."

The employer of the horse provides him with feed. This term is here used to imply not only hay, oats, etc., but stabling and the services of valet, chambermaid and such other requisites as enter into proper and up-to-date horse stable economy.

The quality of the horse feed is not cut down because hay and oats advance in price. The allowance is not cut off because the horse's employer has no work for him to do for the time being. The services of valet and chambermaid are continued whether there is work or not and the employer himself will even attend to these offices if his hired monkey is not available.

With a steady situation, horse feed in ample quantity assured and a servant or servants provided for all menial services, the horse may well look with disdain upon the wage slave and his peripatetic and uncertain existence. Why, even when overtaken by old age, when his joints are no longer supple and his strength is on the wane, he is not turned adrift to the tender mercies of Christian charity and garbage cans, but is allowed to dream out his remaining days upon succulent pasturage, or, perchance, is mercifully and expeditiously ushered into horse heaven via the fertilizer route, leaving his mundane phosphates to be incorporated into luscious crops of hay and oats for the comfort and sustenance of his equine posterity.

What a happy fate from the cradle to the grave in comparison with that of the wage-slave.

If we had our choice of being a wage-slave we would rather be a horse. The certainty of horse feed in abundance would be infinitely preferable to the uncertainty of wages, scanty wages at that.

As Lafargue has said, it is time we ceased prating of the "Rights of Man" and demanded the "Rights of the Horse."—Western Clarion.

THE DEVOTEES OF SYNDICALISM.

Where do the syndicalists come from? What social group or class furnishes the advocates of "revolutionary" unionism, or I. W. W.-ism, or whatever you choose to call it, with its methods of violence and sabotage? The question is important, and some answer to it should be attempted. The constant profession made in behalf of this "revolutionary" unionism is that it is wholly or predominantly proletarian, and that the fascination which it holds for middle-class persons is merely accidental.

The facts, so far as the United States is concerned, happen to be just the reverse. The champions of this cult, who have up to the present time made the most noise about it are, for the most part, anything but proletarians. They are usually men and women of college training. They are sometimes business persons and sometimes persons of semi-commercial occupations that cannot well be classified. Often they are men and women of the leisure class, and not infrequently they are bohemians who look upon work much as the devil is said to look upon holy water. They come from the classroom, the study, the urban villa, and only rarely from the workshop. Even those who have had a proletarian experience seem not to have become fully obsessed by this cult until after they have graduated into clerical, commercial or professional occupations, or have found some means of existing without toil.

An indication of the non-proletarian favor for syndicalism can be seen in an analysis of the occupation statistics of the ninety delegates to the national convention who voted against the sabotage clause.

Not less than 67 per cent, and probably as many as 75 per cent, are engaged in non-manual employments. The figures are all the more striking when considered with regard to the proportion in society between non-manual and manual workers.

One striking fact about this record is the large number of delegates who are party officials of some sort. The total is fifty-two, of whom ten are either state secretaries or state organizers. It is impossible to tell in all cases whether the party work is exclusive and is sufficiently paid to enable the recipient to support himself. It is certainly so in the case of the four delegates who are separately listed as state secretaries or organizers, and is probably so in a number of other instances. It would seem, therefore, that syndicalism is not only largely non-proletarian, but also largely bureaucratic.

Scores and hundreds of university fledglings, of painters, illustrators, sculptors, novelists, poets, magazine writers and journalists have embraced syndicalism with as much avidity as though it were Babism or Christian Science. Indeed, it would seem that to the "artistic temperament" there is something in the cult peculiarly appealing. Anarchy is "not quite the thing," and Socialism is too formal, too much bound up in rule and theorem, too slow and regular in method. Syndicalism, on the other hand, unties all difficult knots with a sword. It is not trammelled with rules and economic doctrines. It promises action instead of development, and the millennium in a minimum of time. To the languid intellectual who disdains study, to the rapt impressionist who delights in "effects" (a different thing, by the way, from results), to the enthusiast or zealot with no patience for reason, it comes with the message of a new order, imminent and immediate. No knowledge of actual working class conditions obtrudes itself upon any one of these to unsettle his blissful illusions.

In the more or less vague suggestion of energy and turmoil which syndicalism adorns forth, the degenerate estheticism of the day finds a haven. The spectacle brings vividly to one's mind Bulwer's picture, in the "Last Days of Pompeii," of the effeminate Latin nobles paying devoted homage to the burly gladiators of the arena. Our delicate and overstrung advocates of theoretical sabotage (for none of the poor souls actually contemplate any sabotage on their own account), are in a way but miming the Roman dandies of 2,000 years ago. Very likely this epidemic will be but a brief one. Very likely, within a year or two our neurotic syndicalists will have found a new emotional toy which will answer all the same purposes. Just now, however, their absorption in the reigning fad is extreme.

Syndicalism, or whatever it is—we mean the thing that the ninety voted for—is not a proletarian product. Unquestionably some proletarians have been, bamboozled by it. But the thing itself is a commercial, professional and esthetic product. It has been capitalized by a publishing house in Chicago, and apotheosized by a lot of intellectual dandies of both sexes. They will get over it in time, and so will the party get over it. Clause 6, Article II. in the new constitution is its death warrant.—W. J. Ghent in Social-Democratic Herald.

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A TRIBUTE TO SOCIALISM.

At the annual commencement exercises of Fordham University, the Jesuit institution at the northern end of New York, all the oratory incident to such imposing occasions was devoted to Socialism, not to considering it, weighing its claims, or attempting to explain it, but to attacking it.

The eminent and scholarly and versatile and versible and reversible W. Bourke Cockran, who has made more profitable trades owing to the plasticity of his conscience than almost any man who ever was in politics, shuddered vocally at the thought that Socialism and Christianity are antagonistic and irreconcilable systems now locked in a life and death struggle.

John Cardinal Farley, Prince of the Church, and as a member of royalty a claimant of royal consideration and precedence, thought that the combat could not be begun too soon. He recalled the days of the French Revolution and likened our days to those when the people of France, after suffering much, turned upon their oppressors.

Three members of the graduating class delivered, or were delivered of, orations. Albert J. King spoke on "Socialism and the State;" Joseph F. Doyle, "Socialism and the Church," and Maurice L. Ahern, "Socialism and the Family."

Taken altogether, it was a notable tribute to Socialism.

Receiving Their Degrees.

The graduating class numbered thirty-two, and each graduate, receiving his diploma from the cardinal, knelt and kissed his hand.

No doubt the Jesuits have their eyes firmly fixed on heaven, but this does not prevent them from taking cognizance of mundane affairs, and while they are all intent on a place in the future, a piece of good earthly real estate does not get by them. This is the reason why, in this city, they have acquired and tenaciously hold three exceedingly valuable parcels of land. St. Francis Xavier on West Seventeenth street, St. Ignatius Loyola on Park avenue and Fordham University cover the city pretty thoroughly, and are an excellent indication of the farsightedness of their founders.

So in this fight against the Socialist the church has the incentive of property it possesses and the prospect of property it will acquire in the future. No mention is made of other property devoted to other uses, such as apartment houses and business buildings. But there can be no doubt of the enormous richness of the church.

Socialism and the State.

Albert J. King, with the fullness of knowledge that comes from having many things told him, utterly annihilated the Socialists in this oration. At one time the church was the state; at another it was the landed aristocracy; at another the King; at another the great traders; now it is the capitalist class. The Socialists are fighting to make the people the state. Possibly anything so sacrilegious as this appals our opponents and sets them in such bitter antagonism to us. But it will be done, nevertheless.

Socialism and the Church.

If Joseph F. Doyle considers the church an organization of men and women possessing certain beliefs, then Socialism has nothing whatever to do with it. But if he considers the church merely to be that, he knows as little about the church as he does about Socialism. The church in many ways is an economic organization, and it is in politics. For instance, it is in politics for the purpose of destroying the Socialist party, if it can. It is in business for the purpose of acquiring property, and it does with huge success. We have nothing whatever to do with its dogmas. But because we probe into the uses to which its wealth and numbers are put, there necessarily arises antagonism on the part of many beneficiaries of the vast property holdings of the church. But this is not an antagonism between Socialism and religion. It is merely an incident in the war Socialism is conducting against the use of social property used by a class for the exploitation of the working class.

Maurice L. Ahern could profitably take a walk around Fordham and the Bronx and study some of the families under capitalism. He will not find anything about them in the textbooks he studied. He will not find anything about them in the works of any of the fathers of the church. Probably he did not hear anything about them in any of the lectures he attended during his college course. But there they are, and as they are capitalism made them. We intend to put an end to that kind of a family.

The Open Declaration of War.

Cardinal Farley proclaimed war. It is a highly advantageous time in which to do it, because we are now approaching a great political struggle in which the Socialists will be a significant factor. Both Democrats and Republicans fear them.

Therefore, it is possible for any organization to make rather profitable bargains, or secure immunity or consideration through fighting the Socialists. There have persistently come up during the past few years a few little disconcerting things that the church opposes.

There is, for instance, the matter of taxation of property used for church and private school purposes. This is favored by some Catholics. Controller Prendergast, for example, and John D. Crimmins spoke for it, though only once. After that he was silent.

There is the matter of the competency of the teachers in the parochial schools, based on the desire to increase their efficiency.

There is the matter of the uses to which public money is put by sectarian charitable institutions.

All these manifestly fair moves have been strenuously combatted, but the demand that they be carried out is becoming stronger.

On the other side, there is the increasing boldness of the proprietors of the parochial schools in demanding that money which is so sorely needed for American schools be given to them.

As the Socialists are staunch supporters of the public schools, as they oppose the efforts of any private organization—educational or charitable—to dip their hands into the public purse, it necessarily follows that they make enemies of those who are attempting it.

These are not religious matters, not by a good deal. They have to do with finances, and there are no financial institutions in heaven.

Always Alert.

No Socialist who understands the question can or should feel any bitterness toward the Catholic church because of the attitude it has taken. It is always alive to any movement that occurs within society.

Here is Fordham, next to Georgetown, the most important college run by the Jesuits, occupying, in presidential year, its whole commencement exercises with discussions of Socialism. That they were all in opposition makes no difference. There can be no such thing as unanimity maintained on such a subject as this. Probably the young orators and the old, during their speeches, conveyed to people in the audience the first intimation some of them had that there is such a thing as Socialism. They assuredly awakened in every member of the audience increased interest in Socialism. That will accomplish much.

The church formerly ignored Socialism. It was something that got through its infancy without being strangled. Now it is big enough to defend itself against any attempt at assassination.

The Fordham graduates, while they thought they were fighting it, actually were announcing to the world the inevitability of it, and were helping it along.—New York Call.

In Memoriam.

Tuscorora, Nev., Aug. 16, 1912.

Resolutions adopted by Tuscorora Miners' Union No. 31:

Whereas, The Grim Messenger, Death, has taken from our ranks our beloved brother, W. I. Plumb, who met his untimely end while on a vacation; therefore be it

Resolved, That Tuscorora Miners' Union No. 31 sincerely regrets the loss of a worthy brother and true union man who has tried to better the conditions of his class; and therefore has not lived his life in vain; and be it further

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be sent to his bereaved family, a copy be sent to the Miners' Magazine for publication, and a copy be spread on the minutes of the meeting, and we drape our charter in mourning for a period of thirty days in respect of our deceased brother.

L. G. GIFFORD,
FRANK HART,
D. LAMAR,

Committee.

(Seal)

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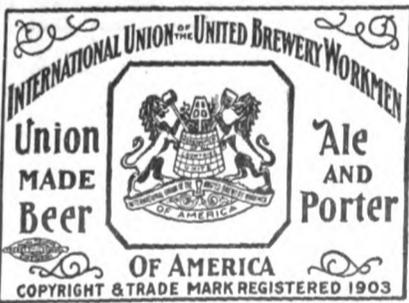
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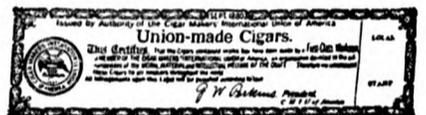
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