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THE MINERS MAGAZINE

INDEPENDENCE
EDUCATION ORGANIZATION

Published Weekly by the
**WESTERN FEDERATION
OF MINERS**



DENVER, COLORADO, SEPTEMBER 19, 1912
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EDUCATION INDEPENDENCE ORGANIZATION

MINERS MAGAZINE



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 Communications not in conformity with this notice will not be published.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

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

STAY AWAY FROM BLAIR, NEVADA.

PRESIDENT MOYER left last week for Bingham Canyon, Utah. A strike seems imminent, as the Utah Copper Company has refused to make any concessions.

THE READERS of the Magazine are urgently requested to read carefully the article in this issue written by Judson King on "Why the Initiative and Referendum Amendments Proposed in Wyoming and Idaho Should Be Defeated at the Polls."

GEORGE W. PERKINS and Frank Munsey of the steel trust are financing the Bull Moose party.

With such financial backing there can be no question as to where Teddy stands on the labor question.

THE GENERAL MANAGER of the "Ananias club," Teddy Roosevelt, recently referred to Eugene V. Debs as "brother." But a few years ago the champion braggart and liar, branded Debs as an "undesirable citizen."

The world moves.

THE LABOR HATERS of Massachusetts now stand charged with planting dynamite to annihilate unionism. They belong in an institution for the feeble-minded.

Unionism is born from the wrongs of industrial slavery, and until economic tyranny goes down to its death, unionism will live.

"MOTHER" JONES is doing heroic work in West Virginia. The mine barons and railroad magnates with their private army of thugs and assassins, have been unable to plant fear "in the dauntless heart of the Queen of the Miners" and ten thousand miners in parade in the city of Charleston, has served notice on economic tyrants that the slaves of West Virginia have resolved to be men.

THE UNION LABOR ADVOCATE of Chicago has been repudiated by the Chicago Federation of Labor by an almost unanimous vote. The editor and owner, A. A. Allen, has been branded as "a political skate and advertising grafter."

There are a number of other so-called labor journals that should be repudiated and their editors consigned to oblivion.

SOME PEOPLE are under the mistaken impression that Socialism is a "reform" movement. It isn't. You cannot reform that which is totally and fundamentally wrong, and Socialists believe that the present industrial system is totally and wholly wrong. If your house is built upon a foundation of sand you cannot "reform" the foundation; you can only build a new foundation of rock. So Socialism does not propose to reform the old decaying system of capitalism. It proposes to abolish the system—wipe it out of existence and establish in its place an enlightened system based upon the true principles of economic justice and social righteousness.—Exchange.

FLINN, a Bull Moose and political boss of Pennsylvania, has been charged by Senator Penrose with offering a bribe of \$2,000,000 for a seat in the United States Senate. Flinn is an unflinching champion of the only Teddy, and as Flinn is heavily interested in the steel trust, he could probably afford the trifling sum of \$2,000,000 to become enrolled as a member of "the American House of Lords."

There is no question but that Flinn's investment of \$2,000,000 would yield handsome dividends should he have reached the Senate.

Flinn is the same gentleman who operates a mine and mill at Blair, Nevada, and he believes in reducing wages in order that he may have funds to reach the goal of his political ambition.

THE GOVERNOR of West Virginia is a "Bull Moser" and an idolater of the Terrible Teddy. The striking miners of West Virginia have a clearer idea of what constitutes a "Bull Moose" since the governor issued a proclamation declaring martial law.

Progressive Democracy, Insurgent Republicanism and "Bull Moosism" may sound well, but *Socialism* is the only *ism* that will tear from the limbs of labor the shackles of industrial servitude.

Socialism is the only antidote for martial law.

Labor has the political power to overthrow the industrial system that puts a rifle into the hands of a trained, professional man-killer, and whenever labor becomes conscious of its power, the reign of privilege is at an end.

MARTIAL LAW in the Kanawha coal district of West Virginia suspended a newspaper on the grounds that it was inflammatory and *free speech*, one of our constitutional guarantees, was put out of business.

Law and constitutional rights under *martial law* are as dead as a corpse.

The *will* of the commander of the military forces of West Virginia is the *law*.

The striking miners of West Virginia are now getting the same experience as the miners of Colorado during the year 1904, when the infamous Peabody put into execution the orders of a Mine Owners' Association.

THE DENUNCIATION of the trusts will have but little effect in ameliorating the conditions from which the great mass of the people suffer. The trusts are here and are the natural result that is bred from the private ownership of the natural resources of the earth and the machinery of production and distribution.

As long as the resources of the earth and the machinery of production and distribution are privately owned, just so long will the trust be privately owned, but when the people, through their economic and political power, shall bring about the collective ownership of the earth and the machinery of production and distribution, then will the trust be collectively owned and will then cease to be an institution of oppression.

The trust, privately owned, is despotic and oppressive, but collectively owned, will become a blessing. The evils of the trust comes from its ownership.

When private ownership is resolved into collective ownership, the trust will be the *servant* instead of the *master* of the people.

IT IS REPORTED from New York that so far this year Standard Oil has paid \$5,782,523 more in dividends than during the same period last year, when the octopus was "busted."

In exact figures, Standard Oil stockholders have received this year to date \$35,284,037 in cash, compared with \$29,510,514 for the corresponding period in 1911. In addition to these cash dividends paid, stockholders have been given valuable rights and stock dividends.

Furthermore, the \$35,284,037 cash dividends paid out have been contributed by only twenty-two companies, and these do not include some of the largest earners, so there is still more "velvet" coming to the grand high moguls before the year ends.

That's how much the trust-busting amounts to that political demagogues have been howling about during the last dozen years.—Cleveland Citizen.

THE LABOR and Socialist press have contained many reports concerning the celebration of Labor Day. Reports of monster parades have been made and a number of orations have been published, but there is a Labor Day in November when the working class can be far more effective than on Labor Day in September. Parades, speeches and bands of music are not out of place, but intelligent men and women marching to the polls in November depositing their dictum against the system will accomplish far more than millions of parades, speeches and bands of music in September.

If the laboring people go no farther than celebrating Labor Day by parades, music and speeches and learn nothing of the ceaseless struggle between master and slave, then the celebration of Labor Day is but a waste of time and energy, but if the bone and brawn of a nation, through the celebration of Labor Day, can acquire a clearer conception of the hellish industrial system that enslaves humanity, and through that conception become class-conscious and class-loyal, then time and energy are not expended in vain.

We have celebrated Labor Day in September; let us not forget the workers' real Labor Day in November.

"HERE'S AN INCIDENT that happened in the shop where I was working in Pasadena," said a certain city official yesterday. "It will be interesting if you can tell it in such a way as to make the moral apparent. It happened about this way: Several of us were working together at the same bench when for some reason or other there came a temporary lull in our talk. Everything was quiet for a few minutes. Then one of the men—a Socialist, by the way—began to recite in a low voice a section from the Declaration of Independence, something like this: 'We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. That to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed. That whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it and to institute new government, laying its foundation—' 'Aw, cut out that Socialist stuff,' interrupted one of the men at the other end of the bench, indignantly."—Pasadena, California, Star.

AN AUSTRALIAN has invented an electric waiter for hotels and restaurants, operated by the customer seated at his table. A wooden frame holding the menu card is fitted with push buttons opposite each item, and "pressing the button" rings a bell in the kitchen and displays the order and the table number. The kitchen apparatus also prints a check the original of which comes to the customer, with a duplicate on an endless tape. This device has been in successful use in New Zealand.—Scientific American.

The above in the Scientific American is another argument in favor of Socialism.

The waiter who is thrown out of employment through this recent

invention will soon realize that collective ownership of the machine is far more beneficial to society than private ownership.

As the skill of the hand is slowly but surely being transmitted to the machine, the more urgent becomes the necessity of the whole people becoming owners of the machine.

Socialism demands the collective ownership of the earth and the machines of production and distribution, and conditions that are being created, will inevitably crystallize a sentiment that will ultimately make humanity the heirs of the means of life.

DURING THE PAST SUMMER several of the larger labor unions, in their national and international conventions have tightened their lines and have notified so-called revolutionists and I. W. W. advocates that their practices will be no longer tolerated. The International Typographical Union took strong grounds against this element and their campaign of abuse. The Western Federation of Miners expelled their leader, while the American Flint Glass Workers empowered their national officers to deal with this element, and if necessary, expel them for their treasonable utterances against the trade union movement. A funny incident transpired in connection with the action of the Glass Workers. At their convention when this action was taken, not a "revolutionist" or an I. W. W. sympathizer opened his head in protest. They waited till they "got back home," and now they are protesting, when they are sure they are safe. But they were smart enough to keep quiet in the convention—in fact, they voted for the proposal.

The Miners' Magazine, official newspaper of the Western Federation of Miners, is leading the fight against this element in the western country, and Editor O'Neil is exposing their soup-house stunts and fake free speech fights, only started for the purpose of gathering revenue. Other papers are falling in line, and with the publicity of this "mob movement," it is only a question of time till it is classed with other freak movements that attract the attention of hair-brains, sentimentalists and won't works.—Toledo Union Leader.

IT HAS BEEN a happy fiscal year all around. Up at Lawrence, as reported by the Rev. Clark Carter, the children have frequently enjoyed the delirious luxury of molasses on their bread. And we imported \$41,000,000 worth of gems. Some of them went to Lawrence, but not to the parents of the children who eat molasses on their bread. They went to those who employ the children and their parents.

Ten dollars a week is considerably more than the average wage. Yet it would take the labor of 82,000 persons, each receiving \$500 a year, to pay for those gems. The population of Lawrence is only about 86,000 and the assessed value of the whole city is only about \$86,000,000.

So, leaving out the 4,000 or so babies, who could not work in the mills to earn money to cover the cost of their bread and molasses, it is evident that the whole wage income of the workers of Lawrence would not be sufficient to cover the cost of those gems. The sum of \$22,000,000 can easily be allowed for the value of the mills, the homes of the millionaires and the value of taxable securities. Then the value of the gems, without these, is about equal to the value of the whole city of Lawrence, and is undoubtedly a great many times larger than the value of the "homes" the workers own, partly own or merely inhabit.

All told, our gem imports should make us throw out our chests in glee. We do not get the gems ourselves, but it should make us feel mighty good to realize that we give them to the better people, and also that there is nothing the better people do or could desire that we are not willing to get for them. It shows we are not only prosperous, productive and generous, but that also we are marvels of patience when it comes to the demands of these better people. Like the children of Lawrence, we can subsist on bread and molasses—when we can get it.—Exchange.

THE B. C. FEDERATIONIST contains the following report relative to the dispute on the Britannia mines:

"The result of the dispute at the Britannia mines, which was recently referred to the Department of Labor, is seen in majority and minority reports from members of the conciliation board recently appointed to investigate the dispute, most of the demands of the men being recommended in the majority report and the investigation being objected to in the minority report. The majority report is presented by the chairman, Mr. J. A. Harvey, K. C., and Mr. George Heatherton, and the minority by Mr. W. E. Burns, who was nominated by the company.

"Mr. Burns states that there was no complaint made by the employees at the mine or by the Britannia Miners' Union, but only an alleged grievance on the part of the secretary of the company. Therefore, he contends, the investigation does not come under the conditions of the act.

"The three questions under dispute were: (1) The denial by the company of the claim of the secretary of the Britannia Miners' Union to visit the men in their bunk houses for the purpose of collecting dues and holding meetings of the union. (2) The discharge of a medical practitioner at the mine without the consent of the men, who each contributed \$1 a month for his support; and (3) The transferring of a charge for medical attendance to one for light in the bunkhouses. In addition a complaint was made that the bunkhouses did not comply with the conditions imposed by the provincial health act.

"Among other things, the majority report holds that the right to form unions and hold meetings is one that should be freely enjoyed by every workman, and the company should in this case grant the right to its men to hold such meetings in their bunkhouses or in some other suitable place of meeting on the company's property and should allow

the officials of the union to visit the men there for the purpose of collecting dues and transacting the business of the union. In reference to the medical practitioner, referred to as discharged, the report, after going into detail, believes that if the privilege of holding meetings was accorded by the company, the matter would be amicably adjusted by the parties. After visiting bunkhouses, the signatories of the majority report are of opinion that they do not in every respect comply with the conditions of the public health act. The company are, however, constructing new bunk houses at the "half-way."

THE SECOND SESSION of the sixty-second Congress has been continuous for 267 days since December 4th last. It was the longest since 1894. Only seven times in the history of our country did any session last longer.

The sixty-second Congress has already been at it for 408 days. Except for a recess of about three months last year, it has been almost continuously "making laws" since April 4, 1911.

When Congress meets again on December 2nd, its members will have been away only ninety-eight days—and have very little rest at that on account of the national campaign. Most of them will rest up afterwards, however, while apparently "on the job."

The session was long and tedious, but the results were meager, indeed. It was a "do nothing Congress." Both old parties played politics and politics only. Both had the presidential election in mind all the time. Both parties tried to create stage thunder for platform speeches all the time.

The laws that were passed were of little importance—the only exception, the Panama canal bill, had been started years ago.

And the Democratic boast of economy is pure swindle. The Democrats appropriated about \$1,019,000,000, while the previous Republican Congress spent about \$1,025,000,000. Of this sum, however, \$45,000,000 went for the Panama canal, therefore, as a matter of fact, the Democratic house spent more than its Republican predecessor.

And that is natural enough, because the Democratic politicians are even more hungry and more eager to get at the grab-bag than are the Republicans. Only whenever the matter of fixing salaries for ill paid clerks or wages for workmen came up—then the Democrats excelled in "economy."

The sixty-second Congress will be remembered in history solely for one thing: For the first time in American history was the voice of modern labor heard in the halls of Congress, the first American Socialist had been elected in Milwaukee.

And that "lone Socialist" is responsible for the two real and tangible achievements of the sixty-second Congress—the investigation of the condition of the working people in the mills of the wool trust in Lawrence, Massachusetts—and the impeachment of an incompetent, arbitrary and corrupt federal judge in Seattle. Both of these measures were initiated and pushed through the House of Representatives by the "lone Socialist," Victor L. Berger.

But it would be a God-send to the country—and a blessing even to the two old capitalist parties—if that "lone Socialist," Victor L. Berger, would get fifty comrades in the sixty-third Congress.—Milwaukee Leader.

The Paid Spy

ATTORNEY EARL ROGERS, in his speech before the jury at Los Angeles in defense of Clarence Darrow, declared:

"While I was employed by the Merchants and Manufacturers' Association I had a paid spy in every labor union in Los Angeles. I had detailed reports from each union."

The Merchants and Manufacturers' Association furnished the money to pay the salaries of the spies, who, as members of organized labor, committed treason to their class for the Judas money of exploiters. The labor movement is fought from within and without.

The Benedict Arnolds of the working class are even greater enemies to the cause of industrial freedom than an Otis or a Kirby, for these men stand out in the open and in broad daylight wage relentless war against the principles of unionism.

But the traitor, garbed in the livery of labor and carrying a card in a labor union, while professing loyalty and allegiance to the organization that shelters his individual interests as a worker, betrays the

membership for the "filthy lucre" that comes from the coffers of a master class.

The unions throughout this country are honeycombed with paid spies, who for dirty dollars, throw away manhood and honor and become the servile lick-spittles of combinations that know no justice that conflicts with corpulent dividends.

The spy is usually glib of tongue and is continually boasting of his unionism, and at the same time bellowing with indignation against every trivial matter that seems to impede the onward progress of the labor movement.

The paid spy, knowing in the innermost recesses of his debauched heart that he is a criminal, realizes that it is necessary for him to make a good showing apparently, in order that his fellow members may not entertain a suspicion of his treachery.

The fellow with the loud mouth who continually fights wrong with lurid denunciation and brimstone epithets, will generally bear watching.

Actions always speak louder than words.

The Minimum Wage

PROF. WOODROW WILSON, B. A., L. L. B., and Democratic candidate for President, in his Buffalo speech says: "A minimum wage law would bring wages all down to the minimum permitted by law."

Great discovery, a real gem for Wilson. To the average wage worker it seems like trotting out a mummy from the catacombs. A fallacy that has earned the right to eternal sleep is robbed of its comfort and brought out.

This worn-out old argument has been hurled against every trades union that has ever attempted to fix a minimum wage. But the pioneer thinks it is new. He is playing with a rag doll and believes it's alive. He does not know, this professor, that employers pay the wages they are obliged to pay and pay as low wages as they can. Employers oppose labor organizations because unions fix a minimum wage.

If fixing a minimum wage resulted in a lowering of wages every employer in the United States would "break his neck" trying to pass minimum wage bills.

Fixing the lowest amount that can be paid does not prohibit paying more to the more efficient, and we suspect that even the professor knows this.—Chicago Evening World.

The World should not expect the Democratic candidate for the presidency of the United States to know much on questions affecting wages. The professor has a smattering of the classics and can rehearse the sentiments of dead statesmen, but to grapple with living, burning questions is a task beyond the mental capacity of the Princeton preacher. From present indications the clerical gentleman with the poultry appetite will reach the White House, but we are inclined to believe that his administration as president of the United States will write his name on the political history of this country as the most inefficient pigmy that ever aspired to be "the first gentleman of the land."

Organized labor has been continually struggling to establish a wage below which the exploiter shall not go. The wage established by organized labor is *the minimum wage* and this *minimum wage* has required all the power of the labor movement to protect it from the avarice of a master class.

The professor will not be accepted as a standard authority on economics by men who have given a life study to the great problems involved in our industrial life.

Regardless of the attitude assumed by the Democratic aspirant for the presidency, the labor movement will continue the fight in establishing a wage that will insure to the worker the necessities of life.

Why the Initiative and Referendum Amendments Proposed in Wyoming and Idaho Should be Defeated at the Polls

By Judson King,
Field Secretary of the National Referendum League.

EVERY VOTER in Wyoming who believes in the rule of the people by means of direct legislation will vote against the initiative and referendum amendment to the state constitution, proposed by the last legislature and which will be decided upon by the people at the coming election in November.

The same thing must be said of the pending amendment in Idaho. These amendments are of vastly more importance to the people of these states than who shall be governor or even president of the United States.

Both of them are frauds, are worse than none at all, and, if adopted, will block real self government in these states for years.

It is foolish to talk of accepting such abortions because they are "the best that can be secured now." The people can do nothing with them if adopted. They are too cumbersome, and they will prevent the securing of a genuine workable amendment. It will be just as difficult to get these changed as to get a good one to begin with, and even more difficult, since when they fail, the politicians will lay the blame on the people; and the people, thinking they *have* the initiative and referendum cannot so easily be rallied to a campaign in its favor. In not a

single state today where worthless amendments have been adopted is there a movement to perfect them.

Union men, both as members of organized labor concerned vitally in legislation for the benefit of the working class, and as citizens who desire the promotion of laws for the common good, should exert their united forces to defeat these amendments at the polls in both Wyoming and Idaho.

The Wyoming Proposal.

The first joker in the Wyoming amendment is the requirement that both initiative and referendum petitions must be signed by *twenty-five* per cent. of the voters before measures can be voted upon by the people. This alone is enough to kill the proposal as a working instrument for the common people. Wyoming has nearly 40,000 voters, quite evenly distributed over 97,000 square miles of territory, the most thickly populated county (Laramie) having only about 6,000 voters; the largest city, Cheyenne, having a population of only 16,000. The election returns of 1910 show Wyoming to have right at 38,000 voters.

In practical operation, then, a petition would have to be signed by 9,500 legal voters, scattered over this tremendous area, no considerable portion of which could be secured in any one or two of these thickly populated districts.

Oregon requires an *eight* per cent. petition, based on the vote for the chief justice of the Supreme Court, and in actual usage this means 8,500 signatures out of a voting strength of 120,000. Moreover, nearly one-half of a petition can be secured in the city of Portland, which has a population of 255,000.

Yet it cost the well organized State Federation of Labor \$255 in cash, besides all the voluntary work done, to secure the petition for the employers' liability law in 1910. It costs the People's Power League \$1,500 to secure the petition for one of their progressive measures, according to the testimony of William S. U'Ren, the able secretary of that patriotic organization. In 1906 it cost the State Grange of Oregon, one of the best organized farmers' associations in the west, \$600 in cash besides all the volunteer work to get the petition for the famous corporation tax law, which was carried up to the Supreme Court of the United States on the grounds of unconstitutionality. There the question was settled that the initiative and referendum are not in conflict with the Federal Constitution.

With these concrete facts in mind, judge what it will mean to get a petition of 9,500 signatures out of 38,000 voters in Wyoming, where every condition makes it more costly and difficult than in Oregon, which requires 8,500 out of 120,000 voters! Add to which the fact that a *referendum* petition must be secured and filed in ninety days.

No one but the corporation managers can use the initiative and referendum of such a kind in Wyoming, and they are just the fellows who don't want to bring their legislative proposals out in the public forum and give the people a chance at them.

The second joker is this: Every sheet of the petition must be sworn to by *three* men that "each signature thereon is the name of the person whose name it purports to be," etc. One man is sufficient in Oregon and other states, namely the man who got the signatures. What is the intent of the Wyoming proposition unless it be to practically compel solicitors for signatures to go in *committees of three*? This innocent joker adds vastly to the cost and trouble of getting petitions and is enough to kill the amendment in itself.

The third joker in the Wyoming amendment, and the worst one of all, is that all amendments to the constitution proposed by the people become effective only "when approved by a majority of the electors voting at such election, and not otherwise." This means in its practical effect, every man who does not vote on an amendment proposed by the people is *virtually counted against it*. Election returns from Oregon, Oklahoma, Maine, Missouri and other states having the initiative and referendum in operation show that on a general average twenty-five per cent. of the voters are either too ignorant, careless or disinterested in principles, and laws at stake, to vote upon them. Yet they are all practically voted against proposed people's amendments in Oklahoma, which has the identical joker slipped into the proposed Wyoming amendment. No initiated measure has been adopted in Oklahoma at a regular election since the state was admitted in 1907, but five important laws and amendments wanted by the intelligent, progressive people of the state, which got a big majority of the vote *cast thereon*, were lost! There is no reason to believe that Wyoming will have any better results than other states. *Not one proposal in ten can be adopted when such a prohibitive majority is required.* Measures should be decided by a majority of the vote cast thereon.

So that if the friends of direct legislation in Wyoming are counting on using the initiative with its 25 per cent. to secure later on a new

amendment with lower percentages on petitions, they will, after all their hard work, find themselves blocked when it comes to the vote because it will be practically impossible to get a majority of "all the votes cast" for that or any other proposal, or for candidates.

The fourth joker in the amendment is that when a referendum petition is filed against a law passed by the legislature, the law is *not thereby suspended, but remains in effect till the vote is taken*. Thus if any valuable grant of state property, or of any franchise right is made by the legislature, the people can simply vote "no" a year and a half later; but if, in the meantime, the right or property is transferred to "innocent purchasers," the people are powerless to revoke the contract. It is argued that good laws may be "held up" by a referendum which suspends the law till the vote. Quite true. But there is more danger from bad laws and grants being in operations during this period than from good ones occasionally waiting a few months.

The fifth joker lies in the fact that the referendum may be ordered "except as to appropriations." This means *all* appropriations and not simply those for the maintenance of the regular, established state institutions. Hence the people are to be deprived of any control whatever over the public purse—which they fill by their taxes. The legislature still "appropriates" the people's money in the good old way!

The sixth joker lies in the provision that all "laws passed by initiative shall be subject to amendment and repeal *as other statutes*," that is, by the legislature. Which seems to be a bid for the legislature to tamper with, repeal, and amend to the death laws passed by a vote of the sovereign people, without any reference to the people whatever.

To sum up the whole miserable business, even if the people could get an initiative petition of 25 per cent. each sheet of which was sworn to by three electors as to validity, and pass the law at the polls, the legislature can, by specifically granted power, repeal or amend the people's law. Even if they *could* get a 25 per cent. petition in ninety days for a referendum on a law which the legislature has passed, the legislature can deny them the right of a vote on the law by simply making it an "appropriation" measure by voting money in connection with its operation in some way.

The Proposed Idaho Amendments.

The Idaho legislature saw fit to divide the question and submit one amendment providing for the referendum and another for the initiative. Both are as bad or worse than the Wyoming amendment. In Idaho the people are to have the initiative and referendum "under conditions to be hereafter prescribed by the legislature."

That is to say, the legislature can fix the percentages for petitions at 8 per cent., or 25 per cent., or 75 per cent., if it so chooses, and change these conditions or any other conditions from year to year, so that the people are never sure but that their actual power to enact and reject laws may be taken away from them at any moment, no matter what the constitution may provide as to "principles." In only one particular does the amendment specify a detailed provision, and that is to require that laws proposed by the people must have "the approval of a number of votes equal to the aggregate vote cast for the office of governor at such general election to be adopted." This is practically the same joker as Wyoming and Oklahoma's "majority of all votes cast," and is to be condemned for the same reason as was the Wyoming provision.

But Idaho contains a "limitation" which we must not overlook. The people can initiate *laws*, but they cannot initiate *amendments to the constitution*. Thus, the most important power they can have—to change their fundamental law to suit changing conditions, is denied them.

Utah has had an amendment similar to that proposed in Idaho, since 1900. The legislature has never enacted a law putting it into force. If the legislature of Oregon had had the power to change the provisions of the Oregon system, none of the progress made in that state would have been possible. An amendment should be so framed that it cannot be tampered with and modified *save by a vote of the people*. Every initiative and referendum amendment should specifically and minutely state the powers of the people thereunder, since it has been demonstrated that the legislatures and even the courts cannot be trusted to define the processes and conditions by which the people may make their own laws and constitutions under the initiative and referendum.

If these amendments are adopted in Wyoming and Idaho, they will be dead letters on the statute books and the progress of real self-government in those commonwealths be halted for many years.

Nothing is so dangerous to liberty and progress as fake reforms and fake reformers. It is never safe to compromise on principles. Keep up the fight till the *real* victory is won.

The Power of Plutocracy

GOV. JOHNSON of California, candidate for vice president on the Progressive ticket, is to be recalled. A petition is being circulated by his political enemies calling for a new election. The governor, on his departure from California for the east, stated that he had known for some time that "Pat Calhoun and John D. Spreckles and the clique they represent, were to circulate a petition. Before leaving Sacramento, I was told that they were offering \$5 a name for signers."

The effort to recall Gov. Johnson is proving a sweet morsel to the opponents of direct legislation. The New York World is moved to the comment that:

We have here a clear presentation of the practical working of the law of recall. The charge made by the governor may not

be correct as to the individuals named or as to the amount of the price paid for names, but the essential element of the charge, that it is in the power of wealthy men or wealthy corporations to get petitions of recall circulated whenever they are willing to pay the cost, is indisputable. Moreover, it is just as easy to get petitions for referendum or for initiating legislation as it is to get them for recall.

It is not likely that any serious result is going to develop in this instance. San Francisco reports tend to the conclusion that the petition is by no means so strongly backed as the governor fears. Nevertheless, the significance of the movement should not be missed. When it comes to rivalry in recalling

governors or judges, plutocracy can play the game better than democracy, except in periods of widespread popular discontent; that means an advantage against the people about nine times out of ten.

There is, we admit, force in the World's objection to the recall in the advantage that plutocracy has in employing it as a means of retaining its control of government. The same objection, however, applies with equal force to our regular elections. The World's objection is a confession of the incompatibility of plutocracy and democracy rather than an indictment of the recall.

The power of organized wealth in our elections, its influence in the affairs of government, is testified not only by the acts of government, but in repeated exposures. Concentrated wealth dominates our civilization. In municipality, state and nation, the forces of wealth, making common cause, control the machinery of party and the instruments of government.

It could not be otherwise. For economic power inevitably carries with it political power. With manhood suffrage, it is true, the people may use their political power against their industrial masters, but unless they do so consciously and with the determination to obtain economic emancipation, their political power will prove of little avail.

It is for this reason that reform movements, so far as they seek to curb the power of wealth, fail. Without exception, political bosses and corrupt representatives of the capitalistic interests enter politics as reformers. The old bosses are turned out—but the people get nothing in return from their new masters.

Even where our reformers have been honest they have accomplished nothing of economic betterment for the masses of the people. In Wisconsin it is the exultant boast of Mr. La Follette's supporters that the workingmen and farmers pay no income tax, though the exemptions are low and the law was designed and urged in the legislature as a measure to compel workingmen "who pay no taxes" to share the burden of government. The workingman is asked to find consolation in the excellence of corporate securities as an investment under state regulation of public utilities.

Direct legislation is an instrument. It is an instrument that may be used by the exploiting interests as well as by the people themselves. Unless the people use it to entrench themselves economically, it will prove in their hands a toy rather than a tool.

The initiative, the referendum and the recall are democratic instruments of Socialistic origin. As Socialism embraces democracy and democracy is impossible without Socialism, so their adoption will mean no greater measure of popular government than we have under representative institutions. In either event, capitalism will dominate and control until the masses of the people shall become conscious of their economic interests.

When direct legislation and Socialism go hand in hand the power of plutocracy will be broken. There is no other way. For the power of plutocracy is economic and economic power is master in its own household.—Milwaukee Leader.

An Arraignment of William Flynn

To All Workingmen of the State of Pennsylvania:

Mr. William Flynn is a political factor in your state. He is one of the stalwart supporters of Theodore Roosevelt, the Progressive candidate for president. Your votes are necessary for the success of the Progressive candidates in your state. Mr. Flynn's record in Nevada as an employer of labor stamps him as a reactionist. In the camp of Blair, Nevada, on June 1, 1912, Mr. Flynn reduced the wages of his employees to the Goldfield scale because, as he said, the mine could not be operated successfully under the union scale known as the Tonopah scale, but a dividend of \$480,000 was declared a few days before the notice of the reduction in wages. Does the size of the dividend not belie the statement? Mr. Flynn in telegrams received by Blair M. & S. Union made the assertion that the cost of living was the same in Blair as in Goldfield, but duplicate orders for the necessities of life proved that the company store in Blair maintained prices 28 per cent higher than in Goldfield. Demonstration of facts are stronger than assertions. Look into the statements of the Pittsburgh Silver Peak Gold Mining Company

a short time previous to the panic of 1907 and you will find the statement that the debts of the company were reduced from approximately \$900,000 to \$300,000 in round figures. Shortly after election the debts increased, but at an astonishing rate again. Did the officers pay personal or political debts out of the revenue of the company of which Mr. Flynn is president? We would like to know, hence we ask the question. Is it fair or just that poor management shall be charged to the men employed by the company?

The "steam roller" of the Republican party was used on Mr. Theodore Roosevelt, William Flynn and others of the Roosevelt party. They went on strike immediately and we are still on strike, against the exercise of an unjust and arbitrary power. Mr. Flynn has the assistance of deputy sheriffs to enforce his orders at Blair. The "steam roller" was wrong at Chicago when used against Mr. Flynn, but it is RIGHT at Blair because it helps Mr. Flynn. Can you expect anything from Mr. Flynn or the party to which he belongs. Digest these facts and let your reason dictate the conclusion. Flynn is not a friend of labor and is not entitled to your support.

Glorious Civilization

EARL ROGERS, the attorney who took the leading part in defending Clarence Darrow at Los Angeles, was formerly, as is well known, the chief agent of the open shoppers. In a bitter attack upon his erstwhile companions, Rogers divulged much interesting information. "When I was in the employ of the Merchants and Manufacturers' Association," he declared, "I had a man in every union in the town and I had a stenographic report of every meeting of every union two hours after it was held. I was working for a corporation of business men who wanted information, and they got it." Again: "I tell you, when all men in this country get their rights, when all have work, when all are equal, there will be no dynamiting. But so long as there are hungry babes, while others are living on the fat of the land, there will be violence. I do not favor violence. I have fought the labor unions all my life. I drew up the famous anti-picketing ordinance. Yet, if I had walked the streets all day long, offering to sell my hands or head to feed my hungry, crying baby, and couldn't work, and knew there were others living on bees' knees and humming birds' tongues, and giving monkey dinners, I'd commit violence. I'd tear the front off the First National Bank with my finger nails. In this country of ours there are many things that must be settled, and settled quick. We can't go on like this! We can't do it!"—Cleveland Citizen.

It was but a few years ago when Earl Rogers, the attorney who

defended Darrow, was the salaried lawyer of the Merchants and Manufacturers' Association. As the attorney of the exploiters, there was no invective or epithet too lurid or vile for him to hurl at the membership of organized labor. Attorney Rogers did not hesitate to snatch from his vocabulary the most vitriolic words to denounce the men and women united in a movement to halt greed in its invasion upon the domain of human liberty.

Mr. Rogers was *paid* for his legal services to a Merchants and Manufacturers' Association, and it can also be said that Judas was *paid* when he betrayed Christ. The system under which we live debauches men and forces them to strangle to death their honest opinions. Earl Rogers is a lawyer of *ability*, and having *ability*, a Merchants and Manufacturers' Association purchased that *ability*, and Rogers, to earn his salary, did everything within his power to legalize the acts of a combination of sharks while using that same ability to poison the public mind against a *movement* of the workers whose aims and objects were for the uplifting of the race.

Earl Rogers was paid for defending Darrow, and the compensation that he received for defending the Chicago lawyer on the charges of bribery, was the *incentive* that *moved* Rogers to defend a man whom the Merchants and Manufacturers' Association yearned to convict.

Glorious civilization!

Bishop Carroll Again Hysterical

A READER of the Miners' Magazine of Butte, Montana, has sent us an issue of the Butte Inter-Mountain of September 5th, containing a synopsis of a sermon delivered by Bishop Carroll of Helena, Montana, at a convention of the Ancient Order of Hibernians held at Anaconda, Montana. It seems that Bishop Carroll is delivering his old stereotyped sermon at every gathering before which he is invited to speak, and his sermon against Socialism is becoming so familiar through its frequent repetition that many of his auditors will soon be able to repeat it verbatim.

The editor of the Miners' Magazine takes no special delight in answering the fallacies of priests, bishops or ministers of the gospel, who

are so mentally twisted by obsolete ideas that they are unable to break away from the hoary prejudices of a past age.

Verbal tirades against Socialism or misinterpreting the doctrines enunciated by Socialism will fail to stem the tide that is sweeping over the earth and causing men and women of thoughtful minds to give due weight and consideration to the propaganda of a political party whose philosophy has commanded the attention of the most profound thinkers of every nation.

The Butte Inter-Mountain gives the following condensed report of the bishop's address:

"Bishop Carroll said that the Catholic church has ever been in all history the staunch friend of the laboring man, protecting him in his rights, securing for him the rewards to which his labor entitles him and

has always guarded him with the laws of the church, even when civil laws were against him.

SOCIALISM FOE TO RELIGION.

"Socialism has for its foundation principles enmity toward religion and the family, declaring that these elements of life are in themselves hostile to the welfare of the laboring man. For this alone it is only in the nature of things that the Catholic church and all churches who would uphold the foundations of society should oppose the growth of doctrines so pernicious. Socialistic advocates endeavor to throw dust in the eyes of the laboring men by putting forward as other principles ideas stolen from the true friends of men, doctrines that all right-thinking leaders agree upon and reforms that all concede are desirable, but they use these to cloak the inner foundation of their system.

"This system would destroy all ambition in the worker. He would provide nothing for the future, would take no thought of his old age or for his family. His brawn and brain are reduced to a dead level and his ambition quenched. Further, Socialism destroys the marriage bond and makes nothing of the family, and makes the holy tie one that may be dissolved at the wish of either party. Free love, the death of the soul, are its doctrines, and they lead to materialism.

ENEMY OF THE IRISH RACE.

"Socialism is the special enemy of the Irish race. It would restore the landlordism system established by England centuries ago, when an acre or two of land was allowed the farmer, while hunting grounds made a pleasure resort for the absentee landlords."

In the first paragraph of the bishop's address, he assumes the position that the Catholic church "has ever been in all history the staunch friend of the laboring man, protecting him in his rights, securing for him the rewards to which his labor entitles him," etc. The bishop is either ignorant of the facts or else he presumes on the ignorance of his hearers.

What proof does the bishop advance to support his statements? None.

The bishop must entertain the opinion that the exalted position which he holds in the Catholic church makes it almost impossible for an audience of Catholics to question the truth of his statements. But for the benefit of the bishop and Catholics who are partial to prelates of the church, let us deal with facts, even though facts are sometimes not relished by prevaricators.

If the Catholic church "has ever been in all history the staunch friend of the laboring man," then why has Ireland, the land of the bishop's ancestry and the birthplace of the majority of the Hibernians, been such a land of sorrow and suffering for more than 700 years? If the church guarded labor with the laws of the church when civil laws were against labor, then why has the Irish race been driven to every clime?

What labor unions did the church launch in Ireland?

Mexico is a Catholic country, and if the laws of the church guarded labor when civil laws were against labor, then why do we find labor in peonage beneath the spires of the Catholic church in Mexico?

Spain and Italy have been Catholic nations for centuries, and will the bishop state specifically what the Catholic church has done for labor in these crumbling nations, where labor groans in bondage and poverty?

France was a Catholic country, and if the Catholic church guarded labor it is strange that the Catholic church became loathed and despised by the great mass of the people, and her prelates placed under the ban of contempt.

The bishop declares that Socialism "would destroy all ambition of the worker." The bishop is wrong, for Socialism would *destroy* exploitation of the worker. Under the present industrial system, the worker, according to federal statistics, receives but 17 per cent of the value which his labor creates, while Socialism would give the *worker* the *full social value* of the product which his labor created.

Would giving the *worker* the full social value created by his *labor*, *destroy* his ambition?

But the bishop says: "He would provide nothing for the future, would take no thought of his old age or for his family."

Under the present industrial system, upheld and supported by the bishop, the vast majority of the workers are unable to place anything in the family larder to provide for old age or the family.

As a result of such a condition, 2,000,000 children are in the mills and factories, and more than 6,000,000 women are struggling for a pittance in the thralldom of wage slavery.

Under Socialism the *worker* would be free from exploitation, and receiving the full social value of the product of his toil, he would not only be able to provide for old age and his family, but his family, through want would not be forced to abandon the school room in their boyhood and girlhood, to make dividends for a master class.

Socialism will not reduce brawn and brain to a dead level, but Socialism will *lift up* the downtrodden and oppressed workers to a plane of liberty and equal opportunity, where the worker will not be haunted by the fear of hunger and want.

The bishop declares that Socialism "would restore the landlordism system established by England centuries ago, when an acre or two of

land was allowed the farmer, while hunting grounds made a pleasure resort for the absentee landlords."

The bishop must admit that *Socialism* did not *prevail* in Ireland centuries ago, and he must likewise admit that the Catholic church was all powerful in Ireland "centuries ago," and if the church guarded labor with its laws when civil law was against labor, then will the bishop explain how it was that the *worker* had only an acre or two of land while the absentee landlords had *pleasure resorts* and *hunting grounds*?

The bishop's vagaries on other matters pertaining to Socialism are so puerile as to be unworthy of discussion, but we trust that the bishop will continue his crusade against Socialism, for his denunciation of Socialism without proofs or logic will arouse his hearers to make an investigation.

Socialism courts the fullest investigation, for upon investigation intelligent men and women become champions of the economic truths enunciated by Socialism.

Must Strike at the Cause

IN THIS ISSUE of The Miners' Magazine appears a lengthy article from the pen of J. G. Schwalm on "Denver's Vice Crusade." We do not agree with all the sentiments expressed in Schwalm's communication, nor do we agree with the efforts that are being made by a few of the Denver ministers of the gospel who maintain that the enforcement of the law will stamp out the social evil in the "Queen City of the Plains."

The "Red Light" district of Denver, which has brought about so much discussion in the daily papers and which has moved a number of ministers to deliver sermons on the social evil, is but the *effect* of *wrong economic conditions*. The minister of the gospel who insists that the scarlet woman shall be driven out of Denver is as bereft of sympathy as is the brothel bereft of chastity. The woman of the red light district is but a victim of the merciless system that denies her a living wage in a calling that is looked upon as honorable and respectable. The social evil in Denver, as well as other large cities, has grown to such a magnitude and assumed such a dangerous and threatening aspect, that the ministers as well as other church-going people can no longer ignore the danger nor keep silent on the spreading cancer that jeopardizes the moral life of thousands. It may be that enforcement of the law may wipe out the "red light" district, but the abolition of a "red light" district does not reach the *cause* that drove girls and women into dens of shame. "Necessity knows no law," and "self-preservation is the first law of nature."

As long as *Greed* demands that woman doomed to toil for another through poverty, shall accept such meager wages as the callous heart of capitalism reluctantly concedes to the slave, just so long shall the ulcer of the social evil affect the moral fibre of our civilization.

Economic freedom will banish the "red light" district by removing the *necessity* that drives women to dishonor. Until men and women win the heritage of industrial liberty, it is but a farce to talk about wiping out the social evil. The social evil is but the product of the hellish and soulless profit system, that demands dividends even though such dividends are minted from the honor of womanhood. Wrong economic conditions produce a "red light" district in the same manner that unsanitary conditions breed disease. Men and women who yearn for a nobler manhood and a purer womanhood, must strike at the cause.



JAMES J. BURNS.

Wanted, to hear from James J. Burns, resident at Silverton, Colo., during October, 1909. Address No. 425 First National Building, Denver. 2t

NOTICE TO PERCY W. YOUNG.

Mrs. Anna B. Young of Homestead, Park, Homestead, Pa., wishes a reconciliation with her husband, Percy W. Young. Anyone knowing the present whereabouts of Percy W. Young will do a great favor to his wife by acquainting him of this notice. Address Mrs. Anna B. Young, Homestead, Park, Homestead, Pa.

CLAY PRODUCTS IN MASSACHUSETTS, \$1,700,287.

The value of the brick, tile, pottery and various other clay products made in Massachusetts in 1911, according to the United States Geological Survey, was \$1,700,287. This is almost the exact figure of production as reported for the preceding year.

INFORMATION WANTED.

The Miners' Magazine.

Butte, Mont., Sept. 4, 1912.

Information is wanted of the whereabouts of my brother, Charles G. Skogsborg, 36 years old, black hair, parted on the right, height five feet ten inches. Since 1898 he has worked in the mines at Jerome, Globe and Bisbee, Ariz. Anyone knowing his present address, please write to A. Skogsborg, 500 East Park street, Butte, Montana.

EQUAL SUFFRAGE ENDORSED.

Bisbee, Ariz., Sept. 7, 1912.

To the Officers and Members of the Bisbee Miners' Union, Local No. 106, of the Western Federation of Miners, Greeting:

Whereas, There is an amendment pending to the constitution of Arizona known as the equal suffrage bill, and as the voters of Arizona will be called upon to express themselves as to the merits or demerits of the said amendment in a referendum vote at the fall election, held on November 5, 1912, therefore be it

Resolved, That Bisbee Miners' Union, Local No. 106 of the Western Federation of Miners, endorse the equal suffrage bill, and that we call upon all of our affiliated trades and all locals of the Western Federation of Miners in the State of Arizona to support and co-operate with us in our efforts to establish equal suffrage in Arizona, and be it further

Resolved, That a copy of this resolution be sent to all locals of the Western Federation of Miners in Arizona, to our affiliated trades in Bisbee: a copy to the Miners' Magazine for publication, and that we ask the support of our national office in the equal suffrage campaign in Arizona.

GEORGE A. POWELL,
WALFRID HOLM,
HARRY COLLINGS.

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.

By Oscar Ameringer.

The declaration of independence was written by Thomas Paine and credited to Thomas Jefferson.

Thomas Jefferson, the founder of the Democratic party, was an aristocratic Democrat and a liberty-loving slave-holder. This combination of remarkable qualities was inherited by his party and in time produced the beautiful harmony of interests and principles for which this organization is famous.

It is said that Jefferson read the declaration of independence to his slaves to find out how it took before presenting it to the continental congress to be signed up. There can be no doubt that the slaves felt wonderfully inspired at such stirring phrases as "All men are created free and equal with certain inalienable rights, and among them are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness." Whether the slaves really appreciated the subtle humor of the document is to be doubted. Even educated Anglo-Saxons have been known who never saw anything funny in a "declaration of independence" that was written by a slave owner and signed by men half of whom were either slave owners or slave traders.

Benjamin Franklin never owned black slaves. As a rule he only purchased white working people or indentured servants as they were called then. These workers were not only cheaper, but also more ambitious. Instances are on record where some of that kind accumulated sufficient wealth to purchase their freedom. It was for this class that Franklin wrote the immortal verse:

"Early to bed and early to rise
Makes a man healthy, wealthy and wise."

Only envy will deny that this little gem of poetry has done as much for the productivity of American labor as the invention of the alarm clock.

The first man to put his "John Hancock" under the declaration of independence was John Hancock himself. This gentleman, while proclaiming himself a republican, was really the first great free trader in this country. He even spurned the idea of a tariff for revenue only. In fact, John Hancock derived most of his revenues by paying no duty at all. As a stern patriot he defied English laws, customs and custom-house officers by landing his cargoes in the dark at lonesome spots far from the haunts of men. The brutal and tyrannic English government called this "smuggling," and a number of British hirelings were even then in pursuit of Mr. Hancock. Consequently when he saw something in the declaration about "life, liberty and the pursuit"—he slammed his name down without waiting to read the rest. Other gentlemen engaged in the same industry hastened to do likewise. And so the document was signed and sealed before any of the signers got caught.

The bone of contention of the American revolution was not a soup bone, but no bone at all. It was tea—a luxury that only the very best people could afford in colonial times. The tax on the tea dealt a staggering blow to tea parties, pink teas and other fashionable functions. Therefore it was not the common herd, but the most cultured and refined people, such, for instance, as the daughters of the revolution, that rose against the tyranny of King George III.

Another galling tax was a stamp tax on notes, stocks, bonds and mortgages. If this tax had been levied on the people who paid the interest on these papers no substantial citizens would have protested. But to place taxes either with or without representation on the shoulders of the very best and most substantial citizens is an injustice that no self-respecting property owner will stand for.

In his youth, we are told, George Washington could not tell a lie. But since he was not a lawyer or storekeeper this failing was no serious hindrance to him.

Since the signing of the declaration of independence our beloved country has made remarkable progress. Transportation then was by oxcart. Where one driver was killed then by oxen we kill ten thousand by railroads who man our splendid facilities. In 1774 we had not a single penitentiary in this country. Now even the smallest state can boast of them. The little water mill has given way to the multitude of flour mills, rolling mills, cotton mills and divorce mills which turn out more people and produce more wealth, widows and orphans in a single day than the revolutionary war produced in eight years.

This is a wonderful and glorious country. Even the chattel slave has been freed and placed in a position where he can compete on free and equal terms for the job of the man who freed him. No longer can a crowned monarch set to naught the will of our sovereign people. The free born American citizen, unrestrained and unhampered, makes the laws that are declared unconstitutional by the highest tribunal of the nation.

Even the poorest can go barefooted and hungry without lord or lady interfering with their freedom. We have built more jails, insane asylums, Keely cure sanitariums and orphan homes than all the monarch-ridden countries of Europe together. Even this feverish building activity is unable to supply the ever growing demand.

Neither do the strained relations with the mother country exist any longer. The ties of blood that bind us to dear old England have been strengthened by ties of marriage. The richest and most beautiful American heiresses have given their lives, bodies and fortunes in holy matrimony to the scions of English nobility. And millions of American workers are toiling in mines and mills to furnish the wherewith to re-establish the ancient splendor of Great Britain.

The government by kings has been supplanted by a government by injunction. The hired Hessian has lost his job to the Irish policeman. Morgan, Carnegie, Rockefeller and Baer have taken the places of dukes and lords.

The declaration of independence is the most revolutionary document ever conceived by men. Like the gospel of Christ, it has never been put in practice. Let every free born patriot join with a full heart in the jubilee in this honor.

Let rich and poor, high and low, landlord and tenant, capitalist and wage slave unite in celebrating the anniversary of the birth of equality, even if it didn't live to grow up. Let the salvation army give fresh air outings to the children of the slums. Let the rich give meals to all Americans who are poor and deserving. Prepare banquets in every jail and prison of this land of liberty. Let every hired man and hired girl and every landless tenant obtain permission from boss, master and landlord to join in the festivity. Above all things, let us remember that all men are born free and equal, with equal rights to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

DENVER'S VICE CRUSADE.

By J. G. Schwalm.

It is not the intention of the writer of this article to cast undue reflections on the Christian religion, nor to denounce any particular individual, but rather to call attention to some recent utterances of various persons who claim to be followers of Jesus Christ, but who are as widely separated in their views as to what Jesus stands for as it is possible for them to be.

For instance, take the position of George Creel and his official associates, besides several others who have expressed themselves through the columns of the papers, and we observe that they are passionately defending their course by quoting what they think is the true interpretation of the teaching of Jesus.

On the other hand again are many of the ministers, and especially H. G. Fisher, president of the Christian Citizenship Union, and J. H. Woodroof, president of the Anti-White Slave Society, defending a proposition entirely different.

Creel and his kind call attention to one set of admonitions and Fisher and Woodroof to a set in complete opposition.

There is, however, good reason to believe that any literal application of the teachings of Jesus, either as pointed out by one or the other parties, is entirely impossible. George Creel may dream of the beauty of his pet phrases but he cannot and will not use them in conducting his office. The idea that evil should not be resisted has no place in sane thought.

"Let him who is without sin cast the first stone," or "If one strikes you on the right cheek turn to him the other also," are sayings which would, if lived up to, turn over the world to the thief and murderer. Protection and defense either on the part of the individual or of society is the foundation of life. Did not society step in and call upon the offender to desist from his evil ways on penalty of his liberty, what reason would there be for him to refrain from any or all crimes? While the up-keep of our life is beset with much hardship and while some have always been more or less unwilling to honestly provide for their needs and as long as these conditions will continue to exist, there will be need of the police power to keep the offender within restricted limits as much as possible.

But while Creel reads his Bible and gets visions of a world without police clubs, Mr. Woodroof sees things quite differently. From him we learn that Jesus does not stand for anything like charity for the wicked, but awful and frightful denunciation and punishment. And Mr. Fisher would drive those who sin out of his sight without tolerance or mercy.

"Woe unto you scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites," quotes Mr. Woodroof. "Ye generation of vipers. Woe unto thee Chorazin! Woe unto thee Bethsaida! And thou Capernaum which art exalted to heaven shalt be brought down to hell!" "The son of man shall send forth his angels and they shall gather out of his kingdom all things that offend and them which do iniquity, and shall cast them into a furnace of fire: there shall be wailing and gnashing of teeth." "Bind him hands and feet and cast him into outer darkness." "But these mine enemies bring hither and slay them before me." "Depart from me ye cursed into everlasting fire."

I wonder if Creel ever read these fine humanitarian sentiments? Fisher is a Christian. He sees how Jesus cleaned out the temple and drove the offenders out with a scourge. Some time ago such as Fisher and Woodroof took especial delight in using fire to purge the world of unbelief. They will have to descend a tremendous distance in the scale of civilization until they will be able to comply with the standards of the "Son of Man." How fortunate that Christian standards are not in power and that those who advocate a return to Christian rule have written on their forehead in letters of blood superstition and atrocity.

How fortunate that the union labor movement has but few Christians in its ranks. How fortunate that the founders of our country and modern civilization were "worldly" and not Christian men. Christian and god-like men are death to liberty. Taking as their guide the speculations of an ignorant and cruel age, they are forever in the pitfalls of advice wholly unsuited to our time.

Present day problems need present day remedies. Neither Jesus, Paul or all the gods are of any value when modern laws and ordinances are to be enacted. Only the conditions which are to be changed must be considered and from this consideration alone can practical and effective measures be derived. What was said and done some thousands of years ago is of little consequence. Obviously, if any person or society succeeded in availing themselves of the customs and teachings of those ages they would become as barbarous and unlearned as those whose lives they would imitate.

For the social evil the past has no remedy to offer, and on the liquor question, the industrial question, currency and tariff, Moses, Jesus or Paul has nothing to offer. And what Paul says about immortality is likely to be as mistaken as when he speaks about the rights of woman.

The quarrel between the followers of Jesus in connection with the present crusade in Denver is only another of the countless proofs that the Christian religion is a mass of confused doctrines upon which no sane or practical system of government can be founded, and that because of its visionary and intolerant demands it continually creates strife and ill will among men.

To travel 15,000 miles for the purpose of hunting crime as Mr. Woodroof says he has done, counts for nothing, and to explore Market street with a Bible under his arm, as Mr. Fisher does, is the work of fanatics.

Tomorrow the son of the house of Woodroof may meet the daughter of the house of Fisher. It may be on the steps of a church or in the parlor of a pure home. After a while there will be an applicant at a Florence Crittenton Home (because Christian wrath drove out a fallen child) and later another denizen on Market street.

We are told that the "Lord" deported his fallen children from Eden—that Jesus drove these of a different opinion from himself out of the temple and that by and by the whole non-Christian world is to be cast into a lake of fire. Well may those who believe in these things countenance almost any cruelty towards those not of their prejudice. Had such as Fisher and Woodroof power, what laws would they not enact! How their efforts would be crowned if they could make the world sexless, drinkless, liberty-less, merciless and prohibit every sport!

These are the things upon which the heart of the crusader is set. His ideal of life is a crushed heart and to hold in contempt all pleasure. His great examples, after which he would fashion human existence, are John the Bap-

tist, Lazarus the beggar and Jesus the dreamer, who believed the stars would fall from the heavens and the moon turn to blood, who had no place to lay his head and whose eyes were wet with weeping. To think of either of these with a smile on his face would be "blasphemous," and to imagine them in a play, game, athletic stunt, or kissing a pretty girl—what would that be?

The groan of fear, the cry of distress and the sigh of sorrow are chiefest among Christian virtues. True enough, there is much pleasure even in Christian society, and when a large denomination seriously considers the removal of the ban against the dance, cards and sports in general, it is a good sign that the Christian spirit is about petered out.

What a better knowledge and the application of scientific principles will do with the so-called social evil the future alone can tell. The probability is that, like religion, dress, free thought and free speech, it will become largely a matter of personal privilege, and just as we cannot forbid the enjoyment of free thought, free speech and free religion, so may we not forbid the free intercourse of the sexes.

Setting aside violence, excesses and transgressions against youth, the voluntary intercourse of the sexes, either for succession or for pleasure, is not harmful. The romances of love are the spice of life, and the ultimate object of love is sex intercourse. It is nature's way of keeping the race alive. But while the object of love is offspring, so, the object of our brain and hands is to provide food, but we are not abusing them or call it lust when we play ball, wear jewelry or read a story. It appears that any harmless pleasure should be considered legitimate, even if tradition puts its disapproval upon it. The church has thundered its anathemas against free thought and free religion and has fought it with fire and dungeons as a great wickedness, yet today free thought and free religion is universally conceded to be a personal privilege. And just as those who persecuted the free thinker are now held in contempt, so those who are at present engaged in the suppression of personal privileges in dressing, in drinking and sex intercourse will be in contempt a little later on.

POETICAL

WHY DON'T THEY?

(Republished by Request)

I stood upon the sidewalk and viewed the passing throng
Of union men, in uniform, who proudly marched along,
With flags and banners flying—how sweet the bands did play,
It was a scene that once a year occurs on Labor day.
The thousands who were looking on kept up a constant cheer
As union after union passed—how fine they did appear,
I thought, while gazing on the scene; I'm thinking yet, today—
Why don't they vote together as they march on Labor day?

The Allied Printing Trades passed by—a splendid set of men;
Their metal has been tested, and they stood together when
The outlook seemed extremely dark, and yet they never flinched,
But pulled together with a will till victory was clinched.
The people had a welcome for "the men who build the town."
The unions in the Building Trades had often won renown.
I thought as they went marching by; I'm thinking yet to-day,—
Why don't they vote together as they march on Labor day?

The boys from mill and factory, comprising every trade
Which goes to make a city great; were in the grand parade.
No one could help but be inspired at such a splendid sight,
For all admire the men who stand for justice and for right.
Fraternalism reigned supreme—'twould do a person good
To see the workers marching on in one grand brotherhood.
I thought, while gazing on the scene; I'm thinking yet, to-day—
Why don't they vote together as they march on Labor day?

—THOMAS H. WEST.

SONG THAT STIRS THE HEARTS OF WORKING MEN THE WORLD OVER

The Marseillaise.

Ye sons of toil awake to glory.
Hark! hark! what myriads bid you rise,
Your children, wives and grandsires hoary,
Behold their tears and hear their cries,
Behold their tears and hear their cries.
Shall hateful tyrants, mischief breeding,
With hireling hosts, a ruffian band,
Afright and desolate the land,
While peace and liberty lie bleeding?

Chorus:

To arms, to arms, ye brave!
The avenging sword unsheathe,
March on, march on, all hearts resolved
On victory or death.

With luxury and pride surrounded,
The vile, insatiate despots dare,
Their thirst for gold and power unbounded
To mete and vend the light and air,
To mete and vend the light and air.
Like beasts of burden would they load us;
Like gods would bid their slaves adore,
But man is man, and who is more?
Then shall they longer lash and goad us?

Chorus.

Oh, liberty can man resign thee,
Once having felt thy gen'rous flame?
Can dungeons, bolts and bars confine thee,
Or whips thy noble spirit tame?
Or whips thy noble spirit tame?
Too long the world has wept bewailing,
That falsehood's dagger tyrants wield,
But freedom is our sword and shield,
And all their arts are unavailing.

Chorus.



THE AMERICAN FLAG.

No doubt the opponents of Socialism will object to the Socialists claiming our national flag as the emblem of Socialism. Nevertheless, the component parts of the emblem symbolize the principles of Socialism very completely.

The seven red stripes in the national flag stand for the same idea as the red flag of our party, "the symbol of the common red blood which flows in the veins of all mankind;" in other words, international unity.

The six white stripes are the symbols of purity in national, state and municipal government; purity in politics, purity in social and domestic life.

The field of blue is the emblem of loyalty and fidelity to principles and truths and our highest conception of justice and right under all conditions; and the stars in the field of blue symbolize the unity of nations and the common interest of all.

These are the principles for which Socialism stands, among all nations and all good peoples, and we are proud to own allegiance to the flag which symbolizes them.—M. Herbert Sommers in Appeal to Reason.

IRIDIUM A RARE METAL.

The smooth writing qualities possessed by gold fountain pens may be attributed to the tiny bit of white metal—iridium—fastened to the tip of the pen. Iridium is an exceedingly rare metal, according to the United States Geological Survey, not more than 5,000 ounces being produced each year, of which perhaps about 500 ounces are recovered in the United States, mostly from imported platinum sand and from copper ores and bullion. The price demanded for iridium has been increasing rapidly, and in 1911 it ranged from \$60 to \$64 an ounce for pure metal.

Owing to its unique qualities, iridium finds a fairly extensive use. Most of the metal produced is probably used for hardening platinum. It is further used for various scientific and technical purposes, such as standard weights, pivots, contact points, and as previously stated, for gold-pen points. Iridium black, an oxide of the metal, is highly valued as a pigment for decorating chinaware.

According to the bureau of statistics, 3,905 troy ounces of "iridium and iridium in native combination with platinum metals," valued at \$210,616, were imported into the United States in 1911.

A FAIR DAY'S WAGE.

How often do we hear this expression? What does it mean? What is "a fair day's wage?"

One of the pet expressions of the politicians who pat the workingman on the back before election and kick him on a certain spot of his rear anatomy after election, is "every man should get a fair day's wage for a fair day's work."

We Socialists also say that every man who works should have "a fair day's wage." But we differ with the supporters of capitalism as to what constitutes a "fair day's wage."

The word "fair" means that all dealings shall be in accordance with justice; that there shall be no robbery or extortion. If I have a pair of shoes that I know to contain a paper insole and I trade it to you for a pair that I know to be made of the very best material throughout, I rob you and the deal is not "fair." That is merely business. When the employer hires you to work for him at the prevailing wage, or what he knows he can get others to work for, and your labor produces more value than he pays you, he is not paying you a fair wage.

When labor creates \$2,471 per year, as Labor Bulletin No. 150 shows, and the average wage is only \$437 as the same bulletin also shows, somebody is being robbed. Labor is not getting a fair wage.

When one man draws a salary of \$10,000 per year through his ability to extract that much from the labor of other workers, the capitalist system and its supporters lauds him as a successful man and says he earns all he gets. Perhaps he is worth that much to the system, but he is robbing somebody, and neither he nor they are getting a fair wage.

The earth and all its natural resources are the natural heritage of the human race. Man's invention has made him master of his environments. He is enabled to provide in abundance for all the wants and needs of the race. Yet thousands are destitute and few revel in luxury, which no labor of theirs. Neither is getting a "fair wage."

As long as such a system exists whereby the products of the labor of one can be appropriated by another, through a false claim of ownership, just so long will a fair wage be a phantasm. A fair wage will be the full value of the product of the toil of the laborer. Anything less than that is not fair.

Socialism stands for a "fair day's wage" for all. If you do, your place is with us.—Indianapolis Register.

WORRIED ABOUT SOCIALISM.

The capitalist press is certainly badly worried about Socialism. The effort of Roosevelt to steal the Socialist thunder while hanging tight to capitalism's shelter has mixed up the poor muddled brains of the capitalist editors in the most astounding manner.

The New Orleans Times-Democrat notes with regret that "proposals once abhorrent to him he has learned to endorse and at last embrace." The Great Falls, Montana, Tribune thinks "that Roosevelt has taken a long step toward Socialism in his endeavors to again be elected president." The Brooklyn Citizen congratulates itself that, "only the out-and-out Socialists, the actual believers in a Socialist state will stick to their party, and the number of them is not alarming."

A few papers are honest enough to quote Debs' comment showing that Roosevelt's platform is a vote-catching affair and that while he steals words from the Socialist platform he keeps carefully away from the essentials and on the fundamental trust question is thoroughly reactionary.

A number of Catholic officials are having a bad quarter of an hour over Socialism but the Denver News notes that Cardinal Gibbons is at least "able to change his mind," and that whereas a few months ago "the venerable prelate attacked Socialism with extreme vigor, and spoke against the initiative and referendum and recall as calculated to upset and disturb the national equilibrium, it is a greatly changed cardinal who speaks to-day. He refuses to discuss Socialism on the ground that there are many kinds of Socialism, and

that it is necessary to know the exact kind before it can be intelligently and fairly considered."

Whenever a capitalist editor starts to argue on Socialism look out for humor. The Roanoke, Virginia, Times thinks it has answered Socialism when it says: "This element of selfishness is a solid fact and must be considered." Of course, it never heard of the materialistic conception of history as a basis of Socialism. This brilliant editorial concludes with the strictly original suggestion that "it would be a good and paying scheme for all nations of the earth to buy and clear three large islands or sections of continents; and send all the anarchists to one, all the Socialists to another, all the woman suffrage people to another; segregate them carefully, leave them to work out their own theories and await the results."

The Minneapolis Journal discovered that Socialism "is compelled to assume that wealth is the product of manual labor," and adds that "whenever the Socialists have recognized any other kind of labor they immediately get into difficulties."

The Rochester, New York, Post-Express climaxes a column of dull drivel on Socialism with the dramatic question, "Do men working for the state give their best service?" While we do not see that this question has anything in particular to do with the subject, yet for the enlightenment of the Post-Express editor we would suggest that he cast his eyes down towards Panama and then see if he can find any railroad job in the country, where as good service is being given.

He also betrays that pristine blankness of mind on the question of Socialism so characteristic of the capitalist editors with the question, "If the world is enslaved it is by individual selfishness and not by class greed, for what class of men is not putting forth its best efforts for itself?"

If he had even glanced within the covers of the literature of Socialism he would have known that this doctrine of the class struggle is the very basis of the philosophy that he intimates ignores the existence of such a struggle.

Always, when we read these editorials, we wonder if the people really are as foolish as the average capitalist editor thinks they are.—Coming Nation.

**A BRILLIANT ADDRESS BY FRANKLIN H. WENTWORTH, DELIVERED
AT CARNEGIE HALL, NEW YORK, FEBRUARY 27TH.
SUBJECT, "THE WOMAN'S PORTION."**

In writing or speaking upon the subject of woman one treads upon perilous ground. Not only is the subject of man's relations with woman the one about which gather the bitterest prejudices of the darkened mind; but owing to the panic misrepresentation of every sincere and honest word uttered upon this subject today, one is frequently reluctant to speak for fear of being misunderstood even by those who are nearest to him. But we can help each other only by saying the utmost word that comes to us to say; and if there be among us today those to whom my words may seem at variance with established convictions, yet I know if they value truth they will be glad to listen to one, who, differing from them perhaps, unhesitatingly tells them what seems true to him.

There is a fairy legend of old Greece; about a youth called Rhoecus, which has been put into enduring verse by the American poet, Lowell.

One day while wandering in the wood he saw an old oak trembling to its fall, and feeling pity for so fair a tree, he propped its gray trunk with admiring care and loitered on.

But as he turned he heard a voice behind that murmured "Rhoecus." 'Twas as if the leaves, stirred by a passing breath, had called his name.

He started, and beheld with wondering eyes, within the green glooms of the shadowy oak, a woman's shape—yet far too fair to be a woman's.

"Rhoecus, I am the dryad of this tree," she said, "ask me what'er thou wilt that I can give, it shall be thine."

Then Rhoecus with a flutter at the heart answered, "What is there that can satisfy the endless craving of the soul but love? Give me thy love, or but the hope of it!"

After a little pause she said again, but with a touch of sadness in her tone, "I give it, Rhoecus, though a perilous gift. An hour before the sunset meet me here." And straightway there was nothing he could see, but the green glooms beneath the shadowy oak.

Back through the city gate went Rhoecus to await the shadows of the afternoon. He scarcely could believe he had not wings; earth seemed to spring beneath him as he walked.

But meeting some comrades who were playing at the dice, he joined them and forgot all else beside.

The dice were rattling at the merriest, and Rhoecus, who had met but sorry luck, just laughed in triumph at a happy throw, when through the room there hummed a yellow bee that buzzed about his ear as if to light. And Rhoecus laughed and said—feeling how red and flushed he was with loss—"By Venus, does he take me for a rose?"—and brushed him off with rough, impatient hand.

But still the bee came back, and thrice again did Rhoecus beat him off with growing wrath.

Then out through the window flew the wounded bee, and Rhoecus tracking him with angry eyes, saw a sharp mountain peak of Thessaly against the red disc of the setting sun. And instantly the blood sank from his heart. Without a word he turned, and, rushing forth, ran madly through the city to the gate.

"An hour before the sunset," she had said.

Quite spent and out of breath he reached the tree, and listening fearfully, he heard once more the low voice murmur, "Rhoecus."

But nothing could he see: naught but the deepening glooms beneath the oak. Then sighed the voice, "O Rhoecus, nevermore shalt thou behold me. Me, who would have blessed thee with a love more ripe and bounteous than ever yet filled up with nectar any mortal heart. But thou didst scorn my humble messenger, and sentst him back to me with bruised wings. We spirits only show to gentle eyes; and he who scorns the least of Nature's works is thenceforth exiled and shut out from all. Farewell!"

Then Rhoecus beat his breast, and groaned aloud, and cried, "Be pitiful. Forgive me yet this once, and I shall never need it more."

"Alas!" the voice returned, "'Tis thou art blind, not I unmerciful. I can forgive but have no skill to heal thy spirit's eyes."

'Tis thou art blind, not I unmerciful!

There is an exquisite pathos about this old Greek tale.

The woman yearning to love and bless, shut into the gloom by man's ignorance; the man hungering for the love his blindness robs him of.

Out of the shadows that shroud the race's childhood shine the peerless brows of Greek goddess, and sibyl, and Norse and German seeress and prophetess. Over vast reaches of ignorance and tyranny and human suffering, which the world calls civilization, look these grand untamed eyes of primal woman;—the equal and the mate of man. Like Rhoecus in the fable we have had one fleeting glimpse of an exalted womanhood, only to lose it at the gaming table. Our problem is Rhoecus' problem; his cry is our cry, too.

How are we to get her back—this grand creature who is more than woman! who is Love's interpreter to man; through whom a love may grow for bird, and bee, and flower; without whose radiant eyes and gentle touch, quickening long-latent springs of inmost being, we may never reach the land of Heart's Desire?

How are we to raise her out of the intangible mists of centuries long since gone? By what magic searchlight are we to find her in the being who

plods wearily beside us at the loom; in the being faded and soul-quenched by household drudgery; in her, who, beribboned and bespangled, chatters inconsequently in gaudy drawing rooms; in her, who hollow-eyed and hunted, passes under the city lamps at night?

For under these disguises still lurks the dryad of the tree—the ideal woman.

These baffling but familiar forms are but the green glooms of the oak. In the heart of the tree, biding its moment of apparition, flutters the pure ideal. It waits for us in yearning, but our spirit's eyes are blind.

And ever until that day when she shall walk again with fearless, fetterless, primal tread; ever till then, from the oak's deep heart must come the dryad's sigh, "'Tis thou art blind, not I unmerciful. Wouldst thou have me in the hidden glories of thy ideal? Then open wide thine eyes; and set me free!"

This woman; our fellow creature; enslaved, degraded by long ages of man's abuse, yet carries buried in her heart of hearts those high and lofty attributes which shadow forth man's noblest destiny. Out of her primal past there has enough survived to point the high peaks of the possibilities she yet may reach.

Sympathy, heroic mother-love; the subtle flame of intuition are survivals of inherent powers and virtues, which, once brought to flood in a ransomed common life, shall shed enduring luster on the world.

As we regard the ready sympathy of woman; as we read countless tales of self-denial and sacrifice of mother-love; as we detect in the rare gift of intuition with which she is so generously endowed,—a wondrous spiritual faculty whose possibilities are beyond our ken,—as we regard these ineffable gifts, we are lost in wonder that they have not long since changed the brutal aspect of the world, and ushered in a reign of peace and love.

Why have not these tendencies and superiorities which we all acknowledge to be good; before which we all must bow in admiration; why have they not long since dominated our social life and redeemed us from barbarity? How is it possible that one child in all the world can utter an unheeded cry while a single mother-heart beats anywhere? How is it possible that beardless boys still stand with woman's kiss upon their lips in soldier-ranks to kill their brothers whom they do not know, while any woman lives whose hands have clenched in agony at a man child's birth? Ah, fatal error!

It is because around every woman's life there has been raised an invisible wall of mental tyranny, that has turned her noblest attributes to selfish ends, and met with harsh resentment every effort she has made at higher living.

Behind this barrier woman has been locked in what is called her "sphere"—a region vast in pettiness and futility, until the slow mental grinding of the centuries has dwarfed her mind, enfeebled her body, and shrouded her soul in webs of superstition.

In all the world today there is never so dire an enemy to social growth and initiative as the petty, pious woman, who has been all her married life an admiration society for some shallow-pated man. By her very dependent position she is prone to adopt the opinions and imbibe the prejudices of the man who feeds, and clothes, and calls her his. Into the minds of her sons she pours those ideals of masculine success which whet their appetite for human exploitation. While they are yet but babes she buys them whips, and wooden swords, and drums, and soldier-toys, turning their innocent play into thoughts of murder; while the literature of their growing youth is filled with heroic combats in the lists of blundering blockheads bolted up in hardware.

She it is who draws away her skirts from her sister of the street; that sister, who may have made struggles for purity which her owned and sheltered life can never comprehend. Do not expect the woman whose husband has always kept her fed and clothed; who has never walked the street hungry, uncared-for and alone, always to understand that vegetation is not virtue. Her mind is made by her condition. All growth stop together.

Stuffed in this fog of pettiness; her province marked out for her by others than herself; the upper-class woman becomes a fashion-plate; the middle-class woman an upper servant; and the working-class woman a slave companion of her slave husband.

As with men, so with women;—the bulk of human misery is achieved by the married women of the working class, for added to the unassisted care of their families are often bitter poverty and periods of haunting fear.

From the time when man got upon his hind feet and swung his hickory club over a bit of land which he called his own, woman has crouched at his feet and done his bidding. Every fetish, every superstition, every cowering fear that has sent him quaking before an image in his brain, has found in her an intense and quivering echo. Every enslaving idea that has spun a web about the chambers of his mind has double-locked her more receptive brain.

Every god he has made with which to fright his foes has had for her a terror all her own. More delicate, more sensitive, more imaginative and more tender than her peerless knight of the smoky brain to whose wrist she has been chained, she has climbed with him to his heights and plunged with him faithfully to the depths of his degradation. When he declared in his manly pride that all was his own which his prowess could subdue, woman fell on her knees in the circle of his other chattels.

Woman's enslavement and degradation began when private property began. Mine and thine were the words which sealed her fate in centuries of servitude; the words which shut her out from the warm, palpitating, universal life and love of the world and chained her as the chattel of a being vastly inferior to herself save in the instincts and the powers of the brute. Within the wigwam door was shut her tender light; and brother fought with brother in the outside darkness where they could not see.

Only by the fitful flame of social cataclysm, when the institution of private property has been shaken by enraged mankind have we had hints of the power of woman in the state.

It is in France, when the patriots of the revolution have confiscated the lands of the church and no form of privilege remains unchallenged, that we see the brilliant minds of the women of France flashing amid the ebb and flow of events like lustrous diamonds in a scarlet crown.

I am not one of those who believe that there is, in a disqualifying sense, any sex in intellect.

Already in architecture, in medicine, in art, in the many occupations or professions in which woman has forced a foothold she rises easily the intellectual peer of her masculine rival. And this new force and influence is coming to be recognized as of vital significance to the established social order. With the coming of economic opportunity comes a woman who rises to her full height and does not sell herself for board and clothes. To gain the free woman as a mate it will require something more than the ability to buy her; man will have at last to deserve her. He will have to deserve her to win her; he will have to deserve her to hold her. The free woman will laugh at the laws he has made to restrain her as at tales to scare a child.

Through the confusing tangle of our present social order this truth is beginning slowly to force its way, and all those persons who are too small in spirit to accept its evolutionary significance are thrown into a panic at the thought.

The free woman! What a fearful image lurks behind the phrase!

We are noting today on every hand a marvelous public solicitude for the preservation of the family. Beautiful, idyllic pictures are painted of the group within the sacred walls of home, around the shaded library lamp in the atmosphere of art and music; and the Socialist is bitterly censured as the iconoclast who would ruthlessly shatter all this ideality.

But we who are working for Socialism know that the vast majority of the workers have never known such a home in all their history. We know that the home of the worker is a barren place in which every refining influ-

ence is purchased at a sacrifice. The working class home is only too often four walls! only a sordid shelter afforded to collective discomfort.

When the retainers of capitalism therefore cry out from their platforms and pulpits for the preservation of the family, we may perhaps be justified in inquiring, "Whose family?" They surely do not mean the family of the working class, for they have proved their indifference to this by centuries of careless neglect. When their own lamp has had oil to burn they have never cried out; when their own door has been shut the world has not seemed cold. Yet the family comforts and delights so dear to them, the working class has never known.

Now in their hearts the privileged classes know well that it is not because the Socialist does not desire to preserve the home that sets them quaking with concern; it is because at last he does.

For the first time in history the workers of the world are now evincing a determination to preserve their own families,—to preserve them from exploitation. And when the worker actually begins to preserve his own family and demand for their consumption the product of his labor, the idler knows he will have at least to bestir himself to preserve his.

Indeed, who can not see that as the family of the working man rises at last out of its collective misery, the idle, the parasitic family, so long secure in its unproductive uselessness, must cease to fatten at the cost of the families of the poor?

It is not strange that the Socialist criticism of the parasitic family should be distorted by the enemies of progress into an alleged attack upon the honest relations of men and women. It is so easy to push the truth over the precipice where it takes on the aspect of a lie. The oldest and most effective weapon of established privilege, used whenever bald force becomes inadequate, is the trick of confusing the issue.

We naturally, therefore, now find privilege engaged in a cunning effort to cover up its economic plundering by turning the cannons of middle-class prejudice upon the Socialists. Their conscious and deliberate tactic is to divert attention of the people from their own stealthy and immoral appropriations to subjects of religion and the relations of the sexes. They know too well that these are the subjects about which cluster the blindest feelings of prejudice, which prejudice they hope to awaken as a strong and subtle foe to reason. For, if the economic proposition were fairly and honestly met, they know that unclouded reason would quickly see and define the moral leprosy of their own position as spenders of the life-substance which they do not help to produce.

It is the middle class which is now being industriously set going in alarm for the welfare of the family—for it is in the middle class that all that is most feudal in the family, still survives. The middle-class woman, shut within four walls with her household cares for company, has developed a psychology hateful and unnatural to the large and sympathetic nature of woman. Her sympathy, which should be as wide as the world, finds expression outside the family only in works of petty charity. Her mother-love is degraded into sublimated selfishness—she loves her children as a tigress loves her cubs—because they are her own.

All her natural universal sympathies are drawn into a petty private circle, and her children, reflecting her own mind, look out upon the world as the feudal spirit always does, as a field for plundering for selfish ends. She teaches them to look upon women as she herself looks upon herself—a chattel; and her sons go forth strong in the will to perpetuate her serfdom in other younger women.

If we wish to realize how wholly woman has been effaced to a cypher we have only to look at the political constitutions under which the government of so-called civilized nations is administered. In none is she recognized as a human being. The middle class founders of the American Republic never even thought of her. The only political constitution ever promulgated by men in which woman is recognized as other than a chattel is the constitution of the Socialist party.

And as every social institution is but the outgrowth of its economic foundation we find the church, the law, and the marriage tradition all conspiring to keep woman-kind in slavery. "Women, obey your husbands." This abhorrent doctrine has been preached to suffering women with drunken husbands; it has been preached to young and innocent girls sold in hideous property marriages to old and reckless rakes; it has been preached to every woman whose nature has ever rebelled against the indignities of slavery to man, and always in the name of right behavior and the god she was expected to love and reverence.

I used to say before the Socialist philosophy came to me with its hope and consolation, that if I were an abused woman I would do the same thing that I would do if I were an abused horse:—I'd kick everything to pieces and take my chances.

But it is not the women who rebel who are the objects of our deep concern. It is the women who are mentally so enslaved that they think it is wrong to rebel—that they see no reason to rebel and look with virtuous reproach upon their rebellious sisters. The direst aspect of the tragedy of woman is that her efforts at emancipation find their bitterest opposition from her own enslaved sex.

In Plato there is a fable of one who goes up out of the darkness of a dungeon in which he has lived with others all his life. The brightness of the sun blinds and hurts him, but when he finally bears it and learns to look upon the radiant glories of the world, his heart yearns to bring his life-long companions out of the dungeon, too. So, shuddering and shrinking, but with his heart full of love and sympathy, he goes down again for them. But now, having grown accustomed to the light, he can not see any longer in the darkness; and his mates in the dungeon will not consent to go up with him to the light, because they believe that he, having been in the light, has lost his eyes; and when he pleads that they themselves are blind they turn upon him in a rage and slay him.

So with modern woman in the mass. She does not want the ballot. She does not want her rights. She wants to be let alone so long as she can find a man to keep her, and she looks sullenly at the woman who has risen to the light as one, not who would help her, but who would rob her of her slave privileges and give her nothing in return.

If we regard first the great enslaved but satisfied mass of womenkind smiling at each other in ignorant distrust of her who would free them; and then, on the other hand, the rare and limited few who are the objects of this vulgar apathy, one's heart would sink in discouragement if this were all. But it is not all.

The most compelling force in human society is now beginning to operate in conjunction with these brave spirits who so long have struggled to bring their sisters to the light; this force which even of itself will slowly overcome all old habits of mind and breed a desire on the part of woman for the ballot.

This is the power of economic determinism—sheer necessity.

Steadily, surely, relentlessly woman is being forced into the struggle for a livelihood with every stage of industrial evolution. In every walk of life she is colliding with the facts and forces that will bring her at last to see that the ballot is imperative if she is ever to enjoy common justice.

When woman goes to work to earn her own living in the competitive, she takes her first step toward a goal she does not see—the goal of social revolution.

In Chicago there is an organized body called the Teachers' Federation. It is made up of working women from families of the middle class. A year or two ago the teachers were threatened with a reduction of their pay. The politicians declared that the reduced revenue of the city demanded it. The teachers hired an attorney who proved that the reason the city was short on funds was that the great corporations of Chicago were not paying taxes. They were not even assessed for them. The teachers, when the newspapers took

no notice of their discovery, took the matter into the local courts and forced a recognition of the facts; and the board of assessors was ordered to do its duty. It coolly ignored the order because it had not been appointed to do its duty, and it knew it had the big corporations to support it in its official insolence. The teachers then appealed to the Supreme Court of the state to make the assessors do what they were paid to do, not by the corporations, but by the people. After a long delay the Supreme Court issued the writ and the assessors were directed to assess. Still, they did nothing. It was only when they were threatened by arrest and confinement for contempt of the court's order that they finally made the assessment.

And when they finally made the assessment the corporations refused to pay it. They secured an injunction from the Federal Court, taking the matter out of the state courts altogether, and putting it where the teachers could not follow, in the hands of the corporations' friends.

The attorneys for the corporations said that the teachers were nice girls with considerable push and energy, but that they did not know very much.

Wiser perhaps, but not yet discouraged, the teachers then started out among the organized clubs and societies of Illinois to find some one which would help them to get justice. They appealed for assistance to every body of men of any prominence in Illinois, from the Bar Association to the Kennel Club, and met from them every one a cold hand-shake or a stony stare. The women had no vote; and the politicians looked at them and smiled.

The teachers then began dimly to see that the men whom they had looked upon as good and worthy citizens and supporters of the law, were really not good and worthy citizens at all; that they knew that the laws were being violated by the rich and they raised not a hand to stay them. The teachers began to see that the law was of no use to the Teachers' Federation, because the rich men owned the men who administered the law. Their own case proved as clear as day that the law is often simply a bulwark behind which the rich do violence to the poor—a thing of their own creation; a barrier of judges behind which they take refuge with the plunder which they filch from those who toil. The teachers saw that although the rich were very anxious that the poor should respect the law, the rich themselves nudged each other and laughed at it.

So, finally, after they had exhausted every middle-class resource and had met with naught but indifference, the teachers turned at last to their true resource—the working class. It was the Chicago Federation of Labor that took an interest in their welfare and the justice of their cause; and the teachers joined it in a body as one of the federated unions.

No such luminous lesson in class consciousness had ever before been taught the people of Chicago.

The teachers found at last that they were not middle-class favorites enjoying privileged professions; but that they were girls of the working class working for wages. It wasn't positions they held—it was only jobs. They found when they attempted to better their condition that the capitalist class, to which hereofore their sympathies had been attached, cared nothing at all about them, and cared less about education—the less education, the better.

It was the working class that cared about education, and the working class alone which would vote and work for the justice of the teachers' cause.

I do not mean to say that there were no teachers in the organization who protested against joining the Federation of Labor. Some of them, who still enjoyed having poverty on the one hand and the luxury of the capitalist mind on the other, resigned from the organization rather than identify themselves with the teamsters and street car drivers of Chicago. But to their everlasting credit be it said that the majority-body of the teachers stuck by the unions and at once began to demonstrate the purifying influence of women by vigorously putting on the defensive every unprincipled labor leader in the Chicago Federation.

Thus we see that a single sweep of economic determinism converts two thousand women to class consciousness and the ballot, where a century of exhortation might have made no impression.

But as we see economic necessity bringing women to ask for the aid of working-class men, so do we also see these very men forced to appeal for aid to working women. The entrance of woman into every trade and occupation for which she is not physically disqualified has introduced a problem with which every labor union will soon be compelled to grapple. They must either take care of these women and keep them out of the business, or submit to lower wages because of their competition. There is no other alternative.

In Chicago there is a labor organization affiliated with the Federation of Labor called the Commercial Artists' Union. Its members are employed by firms who produce book and pamphlet illustrations and advertising matter of an illustrative kind. They have found that their livelihood has been gradually but steadily encroached upon by the young women who are studying at the Art Institute. These are mostly poor girl students of the middle class who eke out their living and tuition at the institute by doing work in off hours for the illustrating firms at cut-rates.

Thus the commercial artists have seen their bread taken away from them by these girls in ever-increasing proportion.

At last, encouraged by this disintegrating influence, the advertising firms announced a cut in wages, and the commercial artists struck. Theirs was skilled labor and the bosses had to compromise, but the lowering of the wage scale forced the artists to the conviction that the woman question must be reckoned with.

As one having access to art circles in Chicago, the officers of the union came to a woman I know to ask her to assist them, and she undertook to see what she could do. She prevailed upon a few of the leading women engaged in the work to call a meeting of the others; and thus a number of meetings were effected at which she labored long and earnestly to perfect an organization. But they were not ready to organize. They knew nothing about organizations, nor did they comprehend the uses of them. They knew nothing of organized labor; nothing of its trials and its sufferings; they were as guiltless of any thought of responsibility toward other lives as if they had been born last night. They were timid and afraid even to rise in their seats and address each other. A more hopeless task than their organization never confronted mortal woman.

It was through their woman's sympathies that my friend finally gained their attention. She told of the men struggling for justice and a living wage against an encroaching commercialism, fearing for their families and their future; and how every dollar cut from their wage meant that some little child must be further robbed of comfort and opportunity; some sister-woman condemned to harder household drudgery and deprivation. Through sympathy thus awakened they were led on to a forecast of their own future and the future of all such work; and gradually the most alert among them began to see that the cut-rate work they were doing was bound eventually to cripple their own futures by lowering permanently the price that ever would be paid for work of that character.

It was like a revelation from a distant planet; their narrow middle-class minds had never before ventured so far into the realm of thought; but warmed by their sympathies their ideas slowly awakened, suffering world of the dis dimly and as through a mist the great struggling, suffering world of the dis inherited to which they owed a sister's obligation. Slowly they came vaguely to comprehend that they were individuals of a class which had a common interest, and today in Chicago the Woman's Commercial Artists' Union is weakly struggling upward toward the light.

Thus, as we see the women teachers appealing to the working men, we also see the men artists appealing to the working women; and gradually out of the ebb and flow of these forces at work deep in the social fabric must evolve a woman who shall stand erect in her place, a necessary and considerable factor in the coming social order. Man can not much longer continue to pass her contemptuously by. Her narrowness and prejudice will pull

him down and utterly defeat him if he does not bend every energy to fit her forcefully and fearlessly to survive. And when she shall but once come into a state of economic independence she will rend into ribbons every cord that today binds her as an inferior being. Statesmen will regard her with new and seeing eyes, and the politicians will cringe and truckle for her vote. Political utterances will take on a new complexion, and for the first time in human history the nations of the world will build constitutions which, in their paragraphs on human liberty, will not weakly lie in the face of half the members of the human race.

Now as we may clearly see that the determining motor of all this progress is not the exhortations of the reformer, but the evolution of economic necessity, so also we Socialists are compelled to admit that the place of woman in our platforms and programs is not the result of any extraordinary chivalry on our part. Indeed, to be quite honest, we are obliged shamefully to acknowledge that a few of the men who are active in Socialist organizations still maintain the attitude of the feudal capitalist mind toward their sisters and their wives.

But it must be obvious on a little thought that the man in the Socialist movement who thus discards or neglects to apply the utmost logic of his philosophy, is the one who must fall behind in his opportunities for service. The man who is fitly and nobly to serve the cause we love; the man to whom we will turn for worthy service when service will be a privilege and an honor, is the man who is most completely a Socialist; the man who has banished from his heart and mind every idea of oppression and inequality.

The man who best can help the cause of man is the man who never has failed in the cause of woman.

Now, I am not blind to the fact that in every social revolution there are instances where the wife has the conventional psychology and is in no sympathy with the social vision of the husband, and that in consequence of this fact great unhappiness results. Sometimes, too, the woman first gets the social vision, and the man remains in the dark. With such circumstances no one can fail to sympathize, but my experience shows that where there is one man who labors to interest his wife in active work for the movement, there are many who manifest no interest in the matter whatever. This is a serious and fatal error which we must soon foresee and seek to remedy. To attempt to go forward without our women is to attempt to go forward seriously crippled. If we were to win the co-operative commonwealth tomorrow we would find ourselves unfitted to enjoy it in the most essential particular.

We must deliberately and purposefully make our wives and our sisters an integral part of all our social effort; and the man who professes indifference to such effort is of short-sighted and paralyzing influence—the apostle of unwisdom. Our sister-comrades must be helped to express themselves by a courteous and respectful attention. They are timid and inexperienced in public speaking, but where they have thought upon the matter at all their ideas are forceful and pertinent.

Are our sisters to go forward with us hand in hand, helped and cheered by us to visions of our common freedom, or are we blindly to leave them to the intriguing influence of the enemies of our cause? Would we even now enrich our own lives and increase beyond calculation our present domestic joys? Then let us raise the intellectual and spiritual atmosphere of our homes to the level of our noblest aspirations. The world holds no such compensation for the whips and scorns of time as that exalted love which reigns in the hearts of a man and woman fighting shoulder to shoulder in a holy cause. Men and women who turn from the struggle of the race life to the selfish contemplation of their own affairs only lose the precious thing they most desire. They lose one another by exhausting one another. They eat each other up. Day after day they look into one another's face with ever-growing weariness and satiety, until at last the man turns to the saloon or club for his inspiration and the woman sinks into the sullen loneliness of isolation. He, coward that he is, escapes to outside interests; she, chained to the wheel at home, pines in dreary solitude, not daring to go forth as he goes forth lest all society rise in its holy wrath to brand her as a wanton.

But once let these lives be lit by the flame of a common aspiration, and out of their homeliest experiences will spring a new-born joy. They will long throughout the day for the evening hour which they may pass together, in which the comfort and the sustaining power of unselfish love may arm and equip them for the next day's tasks. Each brings new matter for the one to ratify, rich experiences from the world of men, shot through with the illumination of a high purpose, until their union widens and deepens into a broad river of comradeship that shall overflow the barriers of death at the world's end and pierce the unknown blackness unafraid.

This is the true marriage—the marriage that will endure as long as man is man, as long as woman is woman. But the world does not know it yet. Only here and there we catch a hint of it in radiant lives. The buying and selling of women in the market-place; the alliance of dollar with dollar; the yoking together of men and women without love, in fact, the institution which the beneficiaries of capitalism are so afraid the Socialists will destroy, is too often not marriage at all, but a hateful slave-compact which degrades the name of marriage. It is only private property expressed in human lives.

Marriage can be only where man is free, and woman is free.

I do not fear the free woman. I fear only the enslaved woman. The man who fears to see his mate walk the earth a free and untrammelled being is himself at heart a slave, unworthy of his mother's agony.

I do not know what woman will do when she is free. I am willing to trust her. I do not even know what man will do when he is free! But what I do know is that all outworn institutions of human tyranny that fear the free man are the same ones that doubly fear the free woman; and every weapon which revolutionary logic can give me for my own salvation, I will glory to place in my sister's hand for her salvation, too.

One has but to read the newspapers on Monday mornings, when they print the sermons of the pulpites, to see that the retainers of capitalism have never the faintest conception of the depth and breadth of this economic evolution which is determining woman's attitude toward society and its institutions. What the Socialist is beginning to recognize and will soon co-operate with as the inevitable result of economic determinism, these shallow persons believe to be the logical result of the Socialist propaganda.

Indeed, I wish that our propaganda were so potent; but it is not. The reason that the National Grange declared for the universal suffrage of women is because its farmer membership was pushed to this declaration by the rebellious women upon its own rolls.

It has now come to pass without any initiative on our part, that every effort made toward freedom on the part of women is today branded as Socialism by the unsympathetic press.

Whether we will, then, or whether we will not, the cause of woman's emancipation is to be placed upon the shoulders of the Socialist. Capitalism put it there; we have no other choice but to assume the sacred burden. I, for one, am proud and glad that it should be so. To fight for man, to fight for liberty, is joy indeed; but to feel, thrilling through every nerve, that every blow we strike for man is at last a blow for woman, too, this throws about our quest the quickening light of romance and chivalry and turns the class-conscious workman fighting for his cause into a Galahad, a Parsifal, a knight of the Holy Grail.

But we must have the foresight of great wisdom if we would ably meet our high responsibility. We must equip our columns thoughtfully to bear the shocks of bitter warfare that soon will be waged against us. Every effort is even now being made to poison the minds of the people as to the attitude which the Socialist holds toward home and women. When, therefore, the cohorts of capitalist culture, in a cunning effort to obscure the economic issue, hurl against the Socialist movement the charge that the Socialist holds a loose and disintegrating idea of the relations of the sexes; then our own wo-

men, noble, fearless, class-conscious, strong in their sense of purity and right, must rise all as a single voice and brand it as a lie.

We must bind our women to our hearts with hoops of steel. Every privilege we enjoy we must hold back not an instant from them. For every woman left at home to drudge, her mind unlighted by the Socialist flame, we will miss another voice and heart in the day when we'll need both.

We must never for a moment neglect the propaganda work we can do within the walls of our own homes; for until the women enter heart and soul into all our councils and all our efforts, I can not bring myself to have great hopes for Socialism, and I know that capitalism will have small fears of it.

We must not fear the logic of our philosophy.

We have gotten rid of the king business in our political ideals, let us get it out of our domestic life, also.

For our women are to be free; evolution decrees it. If we are not big enough and generous enough to help them, they will gain their freedom without us, to our everlasting shame. I do not fear that woman's emancipation will endanger anything whatever that is worthily dear to the heart of man.

Now we do not know all the special institutions that may have to be abolished or amended in the emancipation of our sisters, but we may safely predict that any institution, whatever it may be, which either stands against her liberation, or is incompatible with the fullest expression of her individual freedom, that institution will be swept out of existence, as it ought to be. And in the abolition of these chains which have so long bound both her and us in hopeless slavery, woman will at last rise to her feet a new and glorious creature.

Out of the green glooms of the oak will yet arise the glorious shape before which Rhoecus stands in joyous wonder. A comrade-life will come to birth, more rich, more rare, more greatly good, than all the past has known. Out of the full, free mating of the emancipated man and the emancipated woman shall come a new world; a world of love and liberty. We shall know the name of bird and bee and flower; we shall liberate the beasts and wire the forces of the air to do our will. No longer shall the hunted creature of the wood flee from the man-child as his enemy; the antlered deer trustfully shall place his cold muzzle against the cheek of man; and down deep in the eyes of the ox we shall see the human soul look out at us, and stay the arm that slays him. Once more the singing birds shall leave their mountain homes and glad the haunts of man with bursts of melody; and sword and gun, and every instrument of hideous death shall lie deep-buried neath the snow-white monuments of peace.

And ever by our side, Love's glad interpreter, her matchless gifts so long in shadow now shining forth and lighting all man's paths in glory, shall walk with springing step and glaucous eyes. Creation's noblest triumph: Woman

"A Woman—in so far as she beholdeth
Her one Beloved's face;
A mother—with a great heart that enfoldeth
The children of the race;
A body free and strong, with that high beauty
And justice reigns with love;
A self-poised royal soul, brave, wise and tender,
No longer blind and dumb;
A human being of an unknown splendor
Is she who is to come."
A mind where reason ruleth over duty,
That comes of perfect use—is built thereof.

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LIST OF UNIONS

LIST OF UNIONS

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ALASKA						
150	Douglas Island	Wed	C. J. Road	F. L. Alstrom	188	Douglas
194	Knik M. U.			Frank Brown		Knik
152	Ketchikan	Thurs	A. R. MacDonald	G. E. Paup		Sulzer
240	Nome	Sat	John A. Wilson	A. S. Embre	209	Nome
193	Tanana M. W.	Tues	Emil Pozza	Daniel McCabe		Fairbanks
188	Valdez	Tues	Geo. Wagner	C. F. McCallum	252	Valdez
ARIZONA						
106	Bisbee	Sun	P. L. Savage	G. S. Routh	2178	Bisbee
77	Chloride	Wed	Fred Berndt	C. A. Parisia	53	Chloride
89	Crown King	Sat	Eric Bloom	O. A. Tyler	30	Crown King
150	Douglas M & S	Tues	C. J. Roed	John L. Golden	211	Douglas
60	Globe	Tues	E. C. Bright	A. J. Bennett	1809	Globe
116	Hualapai	Fri	H. M. Buck	J. E. Allen		Golconda
79	Jerome	Thur	Wm. J. Grey	James Presley	725	Jerome
118	McCabe	Sat	Jas. E. O'Brian	A. E. Comer	30	McCabe
70	Miami M. U.	Wed	H. T. Gregory	Keneth Clayton	836	Miami
228	Pinto Creek	Wed	Frank Lyon	J. A. Gibson		Bellevue
124	Snowball	Wed	John Mullen	H. A. Mathes	446	Goldroad
110	Tiger	Thur	Fred Erickson	Jas. M. Farley	24	Crown King
BRIT. COLUMBIA						
216	Britannia		Neil Haney	A. O. Webb		Vancouver
182	Goose Bay M. U.			R 216 Labor Temple		Goose Bay
180	Grand Forks	Wed	Wilson Fleming	J. N. Currie	M	Grand Forks
22	Greenwood	Sat	Fred Axam	William Ross	124	Greenwood
161	Hedley M & M	Wed	O. M. Stevens	L. R. Willey	375	Hedley
69	Kaslo	Sat	Thomas Doyle	L. A. Lemon	391	Kaslo
100	Kimberly	Sat	E. C. Hines	M. P. Villeneuve		Kimberly
96	Nelson	Sat	C. Harmon	Frank Phillips	106	Nelson
8	Phoenix	Sat	Dan Paterson	D. A. Vignaux	294	Phoenix
181	Portland Canal	12th	Dan Bartholomew	Cas Davis	255	Stewart
38	Roseland	Wed	Samuel Stevens	Herbert Varcoe	421	Roseland
81	Sandon	Sat	A. J. McGillivray	A. Shilland	K	Sandon
95	Silverton	Sat	Chas. Isevor	Fred Liebscher	85	Silverton
62	Slocan City	Sat		D. B. O'Neil	90	Slocan City
113	Texasda	Sat	B. E. Thornton	Andy Shields		Van Anda
106	Trail M & S	Mon	R. P. Moore	J. A. MacKinnon	26	Trail
85	Ymir	Wed	A. Burgess	W. B. McIsaac	506	Ymir
CALIFORNIA						
135	Amador Co. M. M.	Fri	Jas. Stapleton	James Giambruno		Sutter Creek
61	Bodie	Tues	F. T. Roach	J. M. Donohue	5	Bodie
55	Calaveras	Wed	W. E. Thompson	W. S. Reid	227	Angel's Camp
141	French Gulch	Sat	T. J. Simpson	Wm Maguire	12	French Gulch
90	Grass Valley	Fri	John H. Pascoe	C. W. Jenkins	199	Grass Valley
91	Grass Valley Surface Workers	Fri	T. H. Brockington	W. J. Martin	497	Grass Valley
169	Graniteville	Sat	W. E. Kyle	A. C. Travis		Graniteville
99	Hart	Tues	Chas. Fransen	J. M. Snorf	37	Hart
174	Kennett	Thur	Geo. Simington	N. N. Enemark	N	Kennett
93	Nevada City	Wed	Thos. Haddy	Wm. Angwin	76	Nevada City
44	Randsburg	Sat	J. Delany	E. A. Stockton	248	Randsburg
211	Skidoo	Thur	Frank Moore	J. N. Mattocks	355	Skidoo
73	Tuolumne	Thur	John Peepo	Ed. Climo	101	Stent
127	Wood's Creek	Alter	Fred Daniels	C. L. Anthony	16	Chinese Camp
COLORADO						
64	Bryan	Sat	Jas. Penaluna	James Spurrier	82	Ophir
142	Castle Rock M & S		Steve Trefon	Frank M. Nigro	527	Salida
33	Cloud City	Mon	Axel E. Lind	Abe Waldron	3	Leadville
20	Creede	Fri	Cash Powers	Geo. Fultz	543	Creede
234	Cripple Creek D U	Wed	Wm. Nolan	John Turney		Victor
56	Central City	Thur	J. W. Driscoll	John Gorman	537	Central City
130	Dunton	Sat	Chas. A. Goble	Robt B Lippincott	9	Dunton
41	Eight Hr. M & S U		Tony Poblasco	M. M. Hickey	933	Denver
34	Kerber Creek			P. J. Byrne		Bonanza
197	La Platta M. U.			A. J. Stephens		Manco
48	Nederland	Tues	E. C. Payne	Hans Nelson	3	Nederland
15	Ourray	Sat	John Kneisler	A. M. Pryor	1111	Ourray
6	Pitkin County	Tues	W. R. Cole	Geo. W. Smith	1046	Aspen
43	Pueblo S. Union		Steve Carlino	Chas. Pogorelec	755	Pueblo
36	Rico	Sat	John A. Shaver	Harry E. Fry	470	Rico
185	Rockvale	Sat	Jim Bertolli	French Faoro	50	Rockvale
26	Silverton	Sat	Theo. A. Boak	R. P. MacKenzie	168	Silverton
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198	Trinidad	Sun	Robt. Uhlich	Mike Livoda	387	Trinidad
59	Ward	Fri	Lew Nichols	J. D. Orma	126	Ward
IDAHO						
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11	Gem	Tues	Chas. Goranson	N. L. Lindsten	117	Gem
9	Mullan	Sat	A. H. Carver	B. G. Yocum	30	Mullan
66	Silver City	Sat	John T. Ward	Henry Olson	67	Silver City
45	Murray	Sat	Edw. C. Schmidt	Walter Keister	124	Murray
17	Wallace	Sat	Geo. M. Turner	Herbert Johnson	107	Wallace
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237	Dearing S. U.		George Morrison	Geo. W. Morrison	146	Collinsville
239	Pittsburg S. U.					Pittsburg
238	Altoona S. U.		John Morrison	W. J. Green		Altoona
247	Caney S. U.	Tues	W. R. Frick	B. Hobson	74	Caney
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245	Criggs M. U.		Holt Warrens	H. C. Gregory		Owingsville
MICHIGAN						
214	Amasa, M. W.	1-3 Su	Victor Peltonen	John Kivimaki	184	Amasa, Mich.
204	Bessemer	Wed	Matti Kevari	H. B. Snellman	381	Bessemer
203	Copper	Suam	Peter Jedd	John E. Autila	26	Calumet
195	Crystal Falls, 1st & 2d	Sun	Joe Bittner	Axel Kolinen		K Crystal Falls
200	Hancock Copper	Sun	Peter Seulatti	Carl E. Hietala	217	Hancock
177	Iron Mountain			Axel Fredrickson	323	Iron Mountain
153	Ironwood		Lorence Verbos	Emar Tossava	13	Ironwood
222	Ishpeming	Sat	Chas. Cowling	Ed. Harper		Ishpeming
215	Mass City M. U.	1-3 Su	A. A. Toivonen	Jacob Vainioupaa	91	Mass City
128	Negaunee	Sun9a	Antti Luttinen	John Maki Labor Temple		Negaunee
209	Palatka	Sun	V. B. Mason	Fahle Burman	441	Iron River
196	South Range	1-3 Sat	John Kallistaja	Henry Kaski	202	South Range
223	Winthrop M. W.	Mon	Aug. Sjolholm	Thos. Clayton	74	National Mine
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230	Doe Run	Thur	James Mitchell	W. E. Williams		Doe Run
242	Elvins M. M.	Thur	Phill. Rattz	Rufus Willack	236	Elvins
225	Flat River	Mon	J. S. Larned	J. L. Johnson	574	Flat River
205	Fredricktown M & S	S	M. M. Walker	F. Z. Guettar		Fredricktown
249	Herculaneum					Herculaneum
217	Joplin	Thurs	Willard Lackey	A. L. Hill	123	Herculaneum
			O. L. Bailey	John A. Lackay		Joplin
				2417 Carter St.		
236	Leadwood	Tues	Jos. Neel	E. M. Davis	191	Leadwood
192	Mine La Motte M	U	J. C. Spray	D. L. Abby		Mine La Motte
232	Prosperity		Sam Blackledge	D. A. Johnson	27	Prosperity
226	Webb City		C. E. Paxton	G. Paxton	323	Webb City
219	Zinc Lodge			I. M. Sidenstircker		Neck City
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117	Anaconda M & S	Fri	Bernard McCarthy	Martin Judge	473	Anaconda
57	Aldridge	Wed	Alex Hynd	Theo. Brockman	121	Electric
23	Basin	Wed	Henry Berg	D. R. McCord	156	Basin
7	Belt Mountain	Tues	Fred Maxwell	J. J. Stewart	57	Neihart
1	Butte	Tues	Dennis Murphy	James Cassidy	1407	Butte
			Martigan, Rec. Secy.	Soc'y. Treas.		
83	Butte Engineers	John	W. T. Sodden	A. C. Dawe	229	Butte
191	Corbin M & M	Wed	Al Smitchger	James Belcher	3	Corbin
82	Garnet	Thur	Nels Sedin	Michael Miller		Garnet
16	Granite	Tues	M. McDonald	Al. Hollander	280	Phillipsburg
175	Iron Mountain	Tues	Alfred Bordsen	A. B. Pettigrew	1720	Great Falls
107	Judith Mountain			John McMullan		Superser
112	Maryville M. U.	Sat	M. M. Dryden	James H. Lane	557	Maiden
138	Mt. Helena	Sat	Geo. Schenk	Bernard Moran	56	Maryville
111	North Moccasin	Sat	Jas. Taylor	Geo. Sutherland	453	Helena
131	Pony M & M	1-3 Sa	Wm. A. Cameron	E. J. Holder	68	Kendall
120	Radersburg	Mon	E. M. Freeman	J. F. Milligan	205	Pony
208	Ruby L & D W	2nd & 4h Sat	Ed. Slavins	John T. Taylor	137	Radersburg
			Louis Miller	O. O. Sweeney		Ruby
25	Winston		R. F. Whyte	Geo. Ballentine	A	Winston
190	Zortman	Tues	A. D. Beaton	E. L. R. Snow		Zortman
NEVADA						
30	Austin	Wed	Ed Ingram	O. P. Bakka	8	Austin
252	Blair M & M	1-3 Tu	John Inman	S. H. Hartwig	83	Blair
235	Bonanza	Sat	A. J. Gingles	J. B. Williams	14	Rhyolite
246	Bullion	Tues	Wm. Kidd	Al Morgan		Hilltop
265	Eureka	Tues	William Gibson	J. H. Jury	18	Eureka
243	Fairview	Thur	William Dunne	J. A. Herndon	26	Fairview
54	Gold Hill	Mon	James McKinley	F. L. Clark	115	Gold Hill
251	Lane	Thur	Wm. Fiddes	Arthur McDonald	28	Kimberly
261	Lyon & Ormsby Co	2-4 Mo	Hugh Farley	Henry S. Rice		Mound House
248	Lucky Boy	Thurs	Wm. McCall	Paul B. Missimer	90	Lucky Boy
241	Manhattan	Tues	Chas. B. Cameron	Frank Clinton	158	Manhattan
262	Mason	d Fri	H. Young	Earl Jensen	54	Mason
264	Millers	Wed	Chas. Sheaff	A. G. Pace	5	Millers
254	National	Sat	J. G. Westberg	W. S. Bretz	56	National
263	Pioche	Mon		W. B. Martin		Pioche
247	Round Mountain	Fri	Harry Thomas	Richard J. Ryan	F	Round M'tn
164	Searchlight	Thur	Frank Hoine	Chas. Owens	76	Searchlight
92	Silver City	Tues	W. D. Robohm	J. W. Hickey	71	Silver City
253	Silver Peak	Tues	Joe Gynot	J. S. Norman	90	Blair
233	Steptoe M & S	Mon	W. T. Sylvester	A. J. Couzens	338	McGill
225	Thompson M. & S.	1 & 16h	J. E. Donohue	J. V. Bonner		Thompson
121	Tonopah	Tues	Stephen S. Clark	Thos. McManus	11	Tonopah
31	Tuscarora	Wed	Chester D. Lamar	B. Trembath	67	Tuscarora
256	Vernon	Fri	Amy Milroy	W. J. Lavey	14	Mazuma
46	Virginia	Fri	Jas. P. Sullivan	Wm. O'Leary	1	Virginia City
250	Wonder M. U.	Fri	A. A. Smith	J. K. Henderson		Wonder
NEW JERSEY						
266	Franklin Fur. M. S.		Mark Sedusky	Mike Zagarsky		Franklin Furnace
267	Perth Amboy S. U.		Adam Sznysks	Victor Pencosz		787 Parker St
NEW MEXICO						
32	Mogollon M. U.		H. A. Amott	C. A. Eckert	1	Mogollon
OKLAHOMA						
132	Bartlesville M & S	Mon	Jos. Irick	Wm. Ransom	515	421 Cheyenne
133	Collinsville S. U.	Wed	J. W. McWilliams	W. J. Green		Collinsville
ONTARIO						
146	Cobalt	Sun	A. Mailloux	A. Nap Gauthier	446	Cobalt
140	Elk Lake	Sun	F. G. Macleod	Geo. Christie	348	Elk Lake
154	Gowganda	Sun	Stewart M. Ney	Pat Dwyer	610	Gowganda
145	Porcupine, M. U.	Sun	James Dogue	Wm. Thompson	521	So. Porcupine
148	Silver Center	Sun	H. J. Murphy	Jos. E. Redmond		Silver Center
OREGON						
186	Cornucopia	Sat	M. A. Christensen	Chris Schneider	6	Cornucopia
42	Bourne		C. B. Shaw	J. N. Gambs		Bourne
SOUTH DAKOTA						
3	Central City	Sat	E. Flow	Jas. Barss	23	Central City
21	Copper Mt. M & S		Henry S. Poole	Glen Peterson		Hill City
84	Custer	Fri	M. Connelly	M. J. Foley	337	Deadwood
14	Deadwood M & M	Thur	Chas. Larson	E. L. Delaney	51	Galena
68	Galena	Wed	Wm. Christiansen	Thos. J. Ryan		Lead City
2	Lead	Mon	John Sanford	J. A. Sanford		Maitland
19	Maitland M & M	1 Thur	Terry Peak	John Pearson		Terry
UTAH						
159	Alta M. U.	Wed	Mark Germo	Peter Michels		Alta
67	Bingham	Sat	Wm. McCartney	E. G. Locke		N Bingham Cn.
201	Salt Lake M & S	Tues	Matt Alfirevich	Marion Leake	802	Salt Lake City
151	Tintic District	Sat	James B. Hanley	J. W. Morton		Eureka
199	Mercur	Sun	Wm. Treloar	P. J. Kelly	415	Mercur
144	Park City	Thurs	Maurice Lowney	John T. Leahy	891	Park City
202	Tooele	Tues	L. P. Des Aulniers	F. C. Bentley	226	Tooele
WASHINGTON						
224	Loomis	Sun	Fred Till	Geo. Bowers	62	Loomis
28	Republic	Tues	A. B. Orary	Geo. B Paul	164	Republic
WISCONSIN						
213	Hurley M. U.	1-3 Su	Armando Endrizzi	Emanuel De Meio	4	Hurley
212	Pence M. U.	1st & 3d Sun	Jim Peralla	Felix Barbacori	24	Pence

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POVERTY, CRIME AND BLOODSHED.

With the disappearance of our present system of struggling for material wealth, selfishness would be unknown, and war would be a barbarism of the past. Above all, poverty and crime would disappear, and their attending satellites—ignorance, sickness and misery—would be known no more; and the latent germs of reason and truth would rise, like Phoenix, from the ruins of decaying superstition.

With all the progress that has been made in science, art and the invention and development of labor-saving machinery, no advantage has accrued to the laboring classes. They are in a worse position to-day than twenty years ago; more people are out of employment and poverty is more general; and never in the world's history has crime been so prolific or widespread as in the United States to-day. The subject matter of our daily papers is more than half a record of crime, and thousands of courts are kept busy trying criminal cases. The criminal class is not confined to the lower strata but has invaded the precincts of education and refinement, and includes many who hold positions of trust in banks, insurance companies, large corporations, and houses. Bank wrecking, forgery, defalcation, and many minor crimes are of almost daily occurrence among this class. No man is trusted, honesty is at a discount, and bonds are demanded to insure against dishonesty; and it only needs incentive and opportunity for the average individual to develop into a first-class criminal. Is this not a terrible state of affairs, when honesty has grown so cold and decrepit that bonds are demanded to insure against its downfall? Is there not something radically wrong in a system that breeds dishonesty?

Crime is an effect, the cause of which must be removed before we can hope to rid society of its presence. Punishment for crime is only local in effect, and does not in any sense reach or remove the cause; and laws might be made from now to eternity for the purpose of restricting crime, but as long as competition for material wealth existed crime would flourish.

In the distorted features of humanity you can see the results of centuries

of competition. Avarice, greed, brutality, cunning, and all the other hideous deformities of the mind are mirrored on the face of man, and depict with unflinching accuracy the mind within. Under the state of equal opportunity to work and full remuneration for value created, as would be the case under Socialism, every individual would put on a look of intelligence, genius and beauty. The distorted features of crime and poverty with their furrows of anxiety and care would fade away before the brilliant light of a new found happiness and freedom. The mind within would spring upward with a bound, when relieved of its load of oppression and the chains of slavery which have bound it down to a life of toil and drudgery. Then, in its free and natural condition, it would expand and blossom into unconceivable beauty and power; and earth would become a heaven beyond the ideal imagination.

The mind is naturally virtuous, ambitious and progressive. It is not made of material that turns backward. But, under our present business and social system, it is hemmed in by circumstances over which it has no individual control; and, there being no unity of action, the result is a chaotic system, which necessitates an endless system of laws. The only remedy is such a change as will recognize the rights of the community as a whole, anterior to the rights of individuals, which would remove the possibility of poverty. Without this change, all the power of the law and all the preaching and charity in the world can make no headway against the constantly increasing tendency to crime. Criminal acts are but symptoms of the diseased condition of our system; and it is a long road to travel for moralists who wish to eradicate disease, to try to do so by curing symptoms, when the cause itself is continually breeding its pestilential germs.—Adapted from K. C. Gillette's "The Human Drift."

FALSE DOCTRINES.

Through countless ages humanity has hewn its progress through jungles of false doctrines. With man's pristine conception of homogeneity, he imbued that egotism which caused him to regard his clan superior to others, and history fails to record the time when tribal chiefs first taught their subjects that those holding leadership were a law unto themselves.

Thus the doctrine, "divine right of rulers," had fastened itself upon the race when the world was young. As the social fabric became more thoroughly organized, it was not in the direction of solidarity, but, paradoxical though it seems, humanity became a heterogeneous mass. Moses reached the culmination of that idea when he discovered that his people were God's elect.

Another doctrine retarding human progress is the generally accepted division of society on economic lines, which, in its last analysis, resolves the whole social structure into two parts—the producers, who support themselves and enrich others, and the parasites, who enjoy themselves and live off others. Rather a blunt way of putting it, of course, but what shall we gain by ignoring the fact that society today regards itself as constituted of an upper and a lower stratum?

Standing between is the wall of gold—a barbarian relic of a time when man first learned to rob his brother of the fruits of his toil. Its adornment of titled puppets and useless millionaires holds its lofty pedestal by the grace of popular ignorance, moral cowardice, and dollar worship. But the "mills of the gods grind slowly but surely" and the people are beginning to regard this awe-inspiring doctrine of superiority as an ancient superstition.

It is time to call a halt. The aristocracy of wealth is ever growing and the common people find its heavy hand a greater burden than was ever the king's imposition of "taxation without representation." With all due reverence for the wisdom of our forebears, our generation vigorously protests against the established code of property rights which has enabled a few dozen men to amass inordinate wealth while millions are starving for a wholesome meal.

The present doctrine of property rights was written into our federal constitution with good enough intent, but it no longer fits our needs. Then, to make it plastic, as it were, our judges are giving it interpretations that would make Jefferson turn in his grave.

That this right invading all other rights makes a mockery of justice, again proves that rights arbitrarily established are often founded on error. Let some brute beat his helpless wife into insensibility and he will probably be sentenced to sixty days in the workhouse; but, if a devoted father should steal a loaf of bread to feed the hungry children, he might get two years years in a penitentiary.

How long will we cling to the doctrine of putting the dollar above the man? The rights of the few are wrongs to the many. Let them perish! Only such rights can survive as are founded on truth.

Another fallacy is the supposed right of public service corporations to do business as they please and make profits for investors. The contention is even carried into courts, where it receives serious consideration. In the newer conception of things we regard the regulation of such utilities as a concomitant of government. We demand that efficient service must be the first consideration, and profits must come afterwards, if at all.

But where both ends are impossible of accomplishment, public sentiment is rapidly focusing on government ownership. Here we come into conflict with established institutions and vested interests struggle for retention of the old regime while the populace seeks to exercise its sovereignty.

Is it revolutionary to say that fossilized courts should not be permitted to determine whether or not the whole people shall have laws which meet present demands? Since no man can take his property to the great beyond, is it treason to hold the rights of one generation may conflict with those of another? As we are living in the eternal present, are we irreverent when we insist that past generations should not define our rights?

Another pernicious doctrine is that every employer has a right to run his business as he pleases. The principle is self-evidently a sham, because the customer must be pleased. Hence it is meant only in its application to the worker.

The worker denies that right whenever it encroaches on decency, fairness, humanity, or justice. As employers often transgress these limitations, their pleasure becomes the grievance of the worker. But the doctrine of sacred property rights has precluded the government from exercising its paternal supervision in the interests of workers, so they resolved to protect themselves. Hence the modern trade union.

False doctrines hold sway for a time, but all must succumb. The hordes of privilege will try to retard the multitude by superstitious cant over their gods of gold. They will hurl epithets at us and feign horror at our desecration of established institutions, but they are the scarecrow of retreating privilege.

They will be pushed aside as humanity moves onward and upward. True to history's traditions, our leaders to-day are stigmatized as demagogues and agitators, but that does not change the fact that the people, who demand truth and justice here and now, are not carrying the red flag of anarchy, but the torch of progress.—Robert C. Kroll, in American Federationist.

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The Miners Magazine

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