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# THE MINERS MAGAZINE

INDEPENDENCE  
EDUCATION ORGANIZATION

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



DENVER, COLORADO, NOVEMBER 14, 1912

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EDUCATION    INDEPENDENCE    ORGANIZATION

# MINERS' MAGAZINE



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

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 Communications not in conformity with this notice will not be published.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

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**John M. O'Neill, Editor**

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

## Card of the Homestake Mining Co.

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Occupation  
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Department  
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THE STRIKE is still on at Alta, Utah.

STAY AWAY FROM BLAIR, NEVADA.

**STAY AWAY FROM BINGHAM, Utah.** No worker but a traitor will take the place of a striker!

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

THE STRIKE SITUATION at Bingham, Utah, has not materially changed during the past week.

IN NEW YORK CITY there are 50,000 women who support their husbands. This is conclusive evidence that we are deluged with floods of prosperity.

THE ANNUAL CONVENTION of the American Federation of Labor is now in session at Rochester, New York. The representatives of the Western Federation of Miners are as follows: Joseph D. Cannon, John C. Williams, M. J. Scanlon and Edward Young. President Moyer has gone to the convention as a representative of the State Federation of Labor of Colorado.

SEVERAL MILLIONS of people whose larders are practically empty shout for the flag and denounce Socialism. With these people *bread and meat* should be the great issue.

WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN is estimated to be worth \$3,000,000, and yet, a vast number of people whose purses are lean and emaciated continue to dub him the "Great Commoner."

SEVERAL MILLIONS of working men who have been protesting against the wrongs of our industrial system for the past four years voted on November 5 for a continuation of the hellish slavery that brutalizes humanity.

THE LUMBER TRUST of Louisiana failed to convict Emerson and the other members of the Lumber Workers, who were charged with "conspiracy to murder." The jury returned a verdict of not guilty after deliberating less than an hour. The verdict of acquittal means that laboring men in Louisiana have established the right to organize to advance their individual interests.

THERE is no such thing as unskilled labor, but we all admit that there are unskilled laborers. The unskilled laborer is usually the result of compulsion and environment; he is compelled to do something for which he has no liking and is quite unfit, because he can not get a chance to do that for which he is fit; it is putting the round peg in the square hole. What is skill? Is it the sleight of hand that makes the useful and beautiful possible and plentiful, or is it the sleight of hand that deceives the eye while it picks the pocket?

By reading the papers one is compelled to believe that there are also unskilled bankers, politicians, business men, etc., and I once read of an unskilled preacher.

The postoffice employe must pass a civil service examination, but the postmaster only requires a pull.—Exchange.

THE OTHER DAY an "educated ape" was scalded to death by escaping steam in a baggage car of the Northern Pacific railway. The ape had excellent table manners. At the table it used a fork and drank from a cup without cooling its coffee in a saucer.

The owner of the ape has demanded \$200,000 damages from the railway company for its loss. He may not get it, but we may be sure that he will get a large sum to recompense him for the death of the ape.

An educated ape is worth money.

If the man who owned the ape had been killed by the negligence of the railway company, his heirs might collect \$5,000 in damages, after several years of litigation, if the courts should not hold the verdict to be excessive.

Men who own educated apes should get their lives insured so that in event they shall meet with accident while traveling from one town to another their families may not suffer.—Milwaukee Leader.

SOCIALISM has become one of the great world powers of modern times. In the most advanced countries of Europe the governments shape their policies with special reference to the probable effect on the Socialist movement. Chancellor von Bulow has publicly admitted that fact for Germany; and France, England and Italy have repeatedly made efforts to induce the Socialist parties to assume active participation in the government, by offering cabinet positions to their representatives. One of the most interesting episodes serving to demonstrate the political strength of the international Socialist movement

occurred a short time ago, at the outbreak of the Italian-Turkish war, when the prime minister of Turkey officially submitted a memorial to the international Socialist bureau at Brussels, complaining of the arbitrary and barbarous procedure by which the Italian government forced the war, and asking for the intervention of the Socialists of all countries in behalf of his outraged country. As a matter of fact, the Socialist movement has prevented more than one threatening war within the last decade. It is one of the most powerful modern factors for peace between the nations of Europe.—Morris Hillquit, in the November Metropolitan.

**T**HE GENERAL CAMPAIGN STRIKE COMMITTEE of Los Angeles has made its final report and hands the following jolt to General Otis:

"He is of a species upon which civilization has not, and cannot, have any influence, and it would be expecting too much of a patient and generous Providence to hope for any improvement in him; but this strike relieved him of his poisonous fangs and left him harmless in his senility, unable to further ply his trade of spreading hatred and misery and want among the people of the southern city, who have been so blessed by nature and so cursed by the presence of Harrison Gray Otis."

"The total amount of funds raised from all sources reached \$333,891.61, \$162,898.84 being raised by the San Francisco labor council and its affiliated unions. The state Building Trades Council contributed \$131,141. The total amount raised in California was \$309,592.71. From 2,000 to 6,000 men were at various times on strike, and each man received \$7 a week during the whole time that he was out of employment, the contest lasting approximately eighteen months. The valiant and effective fight conducted by the California unionists is not only commendable but worthy of emulation."

**S**OMETHING of a sensation holds the center of the stage in Pennsylvania. President Maurer, of the State Federation of Labor, who is also the only Socialist member of the legislature, recently charged that Miles Dougherty, an official of the anthracite miners, received an annual Christmas present of \$1,000 from Andrew Carnegie. The statement attracted the attention of the miners, who demanded an investigation. Dougherty denounced Maurer and declared that he would sue the latter for libel. Maurer defies Dougherty to sue, welcomes an investigation, and declares that his authority for the Christmas present story is Dougherty himself, who boasted of his good fortune before a number of witnesses, among them being an officer of the Philadelphia C. L. U. The controversy promises to keep things enlivened in the sleepy old commonwealth for awhile. — Cleveland Citizen.

The charge against Dougherty should be probed to the marrow. If Dougherty is the recipient of an annual gift of \$1,000 from Andrew Carnegie, then Dougherty is not eligible to hold any official position in the United Mine Workers of America, or any other labor organization. Carnegie has never been known to pay any rewards to labor officials for their loyalty to the working class, but there is reason to believe that Carnegie and men of his type are ever ready and willing to pay Judas' money to a traitor. The charges made by Maurer demand investigation, and it is to be hoped that Dougherty will be able to establish his innocence.

**T**HE UNITED MINE WORKERS JOURNAL had the following to say recently on "the situation in West Virginia":

"With the calling off of martial law in West Virginia it has become apparent that conditions that existed there prior to the circumstances that led to the calling out of the militia have passed into history never to recur.

"It is possible now for any man who has a message to deliver to go along the public roads unmolested by the company's thugs. Meetings are being held, the organizers are able to attend to taking care of those who have been thrown out of the companies' houses, to issue strike relief and to speak words of encouragement to the men who are still standing solidly for their just demands.

"At Dorothy, on Coal river, on the edge of the strike field, the men decided unanimously to return to work when offered improved conditions, coupled with the right to organize. Where they were receiving pay for twenty-two hundred and forty pounds of coal they now are to be paid the same amount for twenty hundred pounds. This in itself is a 10 per cent increase. Coupled with that, it is agreed that the miners shall be allowed a check-weighman on the tippie. Any miner who has ever worked where check-weighmen were not permitted to look after the men's interests in the weighing of the coal can well estimate how much advantage has been gained by this concession.

"From well-authenticated reports we hear that the operators on Cabin creek and Paint creek are bickering with each other, and a break is to be looked for in the near future. Altogether, the outlook is very favorable for a successful termination of the strike.

"In the meantime, locals, districts, sub-districts and individuals in the organized fields are responding liberally to the call for funds to carry on the fight. As at the time of the anthracite strike, the miners everywhere are displaying a generosity that only working men who have learned to recognize the cause of their fellow workers anywhere is their concern, could be capable of.

"With such solidarity as has been displayed by the strikers, with such genuine fraternity as has been evidenced by the organized men, there can only be one result. This fight is going to be won."

## The Philosophy of Wilson

**W**OODROW WILSON, toward the close of the political campaign, delivered a speech in the city of "Brotherly Love," and during the course of his address, told his hearers how he intended to give freedom to the American people.

The gems of wisdom that fell from the lips of the Princeton professor are as follows:

"If you make the process by which small beginners are undersold criminal; if you penalize in the same way the discriminations by which retail dealers are punished if they deal in the goods of anybody except the big manufacturers; if you see to it that raw materials are sold upon the same terms to everybody; if you see that the closed market for credit is opened by a radically different banking system, then you have freed America."

The above political philosophy may sound well to the thoughtless, but to a man of brains whose mental faculties are capable of analysing the fragile ideas of the New Jersey statesman, his nostrum for the freedom of the the American people can only evoke a contemptuous sneer.

Mr. Wilson, to bring freedom to the American people, proposes to protect "small beginners by visiting penalties on veterans in our industrial and commercial life, whose economy in production and distribution make it possible for them to undersell the "small beginners" whose limited capital precludes the possibility of competing with the giants in commerce and industry.

In other words, Mr. Wilson is going to protect the smaller sharks by punishing the larger sharks, in case the larger sharks sell their commodities to the people for less than it is possible for "small beginners" to unload their wares on the consumers. Mr. Wilson demonstrated in his speech at Philadelphia that his vision was absolutely focused on small and big sharks, and that he had lost sight completely of that great army of men and women who work for the big and small sharks at wages that merely sustain life. In the protection of the smaller shark from the big one, where does the protection come in for the brawn and bone of America, whose labor produces the products in which big and small sharks deal for profit, and profit only?

Mr. Wilson should "go away back and sit down."

## Aristocratic Righteousness

**T**HE FOLLOWING from Bridgeport, Conn., is worthy of some serious thought on the part of that element of society that wear the robes of righteousness:

"Bridgeport, Conn., October 29.—Moved by circumstances surrounding the murder, a number of women of Bridgeport's underworld have made up a purse for the proper burial of Jennie Botondo, the supposed 'white slave' who was taken in an automobile to Stratford a week ago and shot to death. Her burial will take place tomorrow afternoon.

"The Botondo girl, after being used by the government as a witness to obtain evidence in Chicago against white slavers, was turned loose in New York and allowed to go her way without money or sympathy to start on the right road.

"She went back to her old home in Bridgeport, but the brand of the scarlet letter was upon her. Then she was lured away by the

men who had formerly captured her and held her in white slavery, and was murdered by them to close her mouth against giving further testimony.

"When this murder made a first-page story in newspapers from coast to coast, it brought many moralizing expressions from vice-crusaders, and society women who affect crusading as a fad, but never a dollar did they think of sending to help bury this unfortunate young victim of man's perfidy.

"It remained for the women in the underworld here to display the charity that 'covereth a multitude of sins.'"

It is somewhat singular that in almost every instance the "sisters of sin" demonstrate that they have more real charity in their hearts than that "holier than thou" type of humanity, who generally look with contempt and scorn upon the unfortunate woman whom circumstances may have dragged into the cesspool of immorality. Accord-

ing to the above dispatch from Bridgeport the murdered woman was used as a witness by the government and that just as soon as the government secured her testimony, she was thrown aside to become a victim to the vengeance of assassins whose organization reaches from coast to coast, and the vice-crusaders who pretend that their hearts bleed for the wretches that have been made social outcasts seldom make any personal sacrifices to lift the fallen from the mire of dishonor. Christianity does not consist in attending church, singing psalms and

listening to sermons, for without acts that relieve the pain of aching hearts, Christianity is but a farce.

There is more Christianity in the giving of a meal to a hungry man than there is in the saying of a prayer, the singing of a hymn, or sitting in the pew of a fashionable church listening to a sermon preached by a well-paid minister of the gospel. There is more Christianity in making it possible for a woman to quit the dens of infamy than it is to denounce the brothel and revile the despairing victim who has lost her honor in the brutal struggle to earn the means of life.

## Priest Says Charity Has Failed and That the Church Must Begin to Consider Socialism

THAT THE SOCIALIST MOVEMENT is gaining strength every day and that the people of the United States must prepare to face the movement with intelligence was the warning uttered by Father M. W. Ross of St. Alban's church in his sermon at the afternoon services yesterday, says the Superior (Wis.) Telegram of October 21.

"The man who ignores Socialism today is either misinformed, is not informed at all, or is a coward who does not dare to deal with the issues of the present day," said he.

"Socialism is a movement which is shaking the foundations of all Europe, a movement before which kings and emperors tremble, and which is gaining strength in this country every day. We must prepare to face the fact.

"We as Christians are looking for the coming of a day when our Lord Jesus Christ will be recognized as King, and Lord of Lords. Looking out over the world, and recognizing the strength of this movement, if it is true as has been said, that it is anti-religious, then it is the duty of every man to go forth and fight the movement even unto death.

"It has been said that Socialists are bad men, that they are infidels who hate, revile and seek to destroy the sanctity of the home.

"Even if this were true, if every man in the Socialist movement led an evil life (which is not true), that would not make Socialism bad. If I knew that every Socialist in this country was bad and that the theory of Socialism was right, I would nevertheless have to give my allegiance to the movement without question.

"But the charge that Socialists are evil in their lives is a lie. I have among my personal acquaintances men of pure and honorable character who are as enthusiastic for the movement as any Socialist orator who ever stood on a soap box—men who are giving their time, thought and money to build up the movement.

"It is true that there are bad men, who live impure and unwholesome lives, but that is no argument for condemning Socialism. If we accepted this as an argument we would be forced to condemn Christianity itself.

The thing we must look to is the principle of the movement and not the character of the men in the movement."

Father Ross also held that the fact that those in authority were opposed to the Socialist movement did not condemn it, for Christ himself had been opposed by leaders of His time.

"It is also argued against Socialism that it will overthrow the present state of society.

"This is absolutely true. But let us consider—is the present state of society such as to develop all the good there is in man? Does it give him all that his Creator intended? Does it bring justice, or does it not rather foster injustice?

"It is said that Socialism means many things. It is a fact that the name is applied to many movements, from mild efforts at social

reform to the theory which advocates direct action, the destruction of the present social state by violence if need be to make place for the new.

"But the fundamental principle on which all Socialists agree is that Socialism is a movement to bring about a condition where the people as a whole own the tools of production and distribution.

"This is the essential thing. Along with this men build up different theories. However, the differences are in the non-essentials, the fundamental principles they all agree on. The thing for us to determine is whether or not this thing will bring about a condition more favorable to Christian life than that of the present day. If so, it is our duty to do all in our power to further this movement."

Father Ross told of his investigations while in New York city this summer, of the great organizations which had been built up to alleviate the misery of the poor in that city.

"But with all these wonderful organizations in that great city, where millions are spent each year, they do not begin to meet the needs. There are thousands of people in that city tonight who are starving. Because of the inadequacy of the provisions for the alleviation of these conditions, the charity workers must investigate before giving relief—and while they investigate the people die.

"When I asked the workers in these organizations what they thought of Socialism I found that the great majority of them believed in it. They believe it to be the only solution of the terrible conditions now existing. The consensus of opinion among the workers who come in actual contact with these conditions is that the coming of a Socialist state will remedy these conditions.

"We as Christians must face these facts. If Christ were living today among men, as He did once, would He not take an interest in these matters?

"If we have read the Gospels we know that he would.

"The charge is made by Socialists that organized Christianity is against them because it is largely supported by the rich, those who pile up wealth at the expense of the poor. They say that it doles out charity instead of justice.

"This is sometimes fearfully true. But the church as a whole does not tolerate injustice. It is the fault of the individuals that this condition exists, not that of the organization as a whole.

"After a study of this question I have reached the conclusion that it is the duty of the man who believes in the Eternal God and the All Merciful Christ to stand out on the firing line and fight for the cause of the working people.

"This question deserves your consideration and it is possible that after a study of this greater world-wide movement, which is an attempt to bring order out of chaos, that you will reach the conclusion that instead of being antagonistic to Christianity it is the ray of hope shining down into the present darkness, and that it will hasten rather than retard the coming of the Kingdom of the Compassionate Christ."—Social-Democratic Herald.

## Darrow, the Enigma

CLARENCE DARROW is a riddle. The American people have not yet worked it out; but there is no disputing the fact that year by year more and more of them grow interested in the Darrow Enigma. A fighting non-resistant; an advocate of the law defending labor leaders accused of terrorist methods; a passionate lover of liberty, brought to the very gates of the penitentiary, Darrow has appealed to the imagination of an ever growing public, until today he challenges national attention.

In a short sketch it would be impossible to do more than suggest this personality. Moreover, it is a personality which seems more elusive the more it is studied. Like life itself, such a varied nature baffles analysis. Like life itself, it offers tares with wheat, the rainbow of bitter tears with shining joy, the thorns with the flowers. Also like life, in all its inconsistencies this nature is consistent, ever unfolding in a logical development.

To the critic, small and irritable, Darrow's faults blot the entire page of his history. Little men, virtues, faults and all might crawl through the hole in the fence left by one of Darrow's peccadillos. As for his blazing virtues, such little critics creep away blinded by them, to seek the comfortable darkness. Human, all too human, this man has suffered much in his individual life: Depending upon the public

for the chance to do his public work, his career, too, has been injured by the earnings of venomous critics. Yet here he is at fifty-two still laying about him and attacking with victorious blows the mighty powers which ever threaten Justice, Liberty, Fraternal Love.

Darrow was born in the Western Reserve of Ohio of a father who gave up the ministry to run a country store that he might "feel surer of what he was doing." At nineteen young Darrow taught school and later had one year at college, which was "all he wanted." Early in the twenties he went to Chicago to study law, and there he has built up a brilliant reputation at the bar, serving at one time as corporation counsel for a great railroad, but later preferring the defense of such men as Debs, Kidd, the anthracite coal miners, and Moyer, Haywood, and the McNamaras. Also the artist and the philosopher were growing apace, through these years, in this many-sided personality. Evenings, Sundays and vacations were spent in delivering lectures, writing essays, stories and novels, and furthering every form of movement tending to ameliorate conditions for the poor and oppressed. No one can begin to understand this man who has not heard him speak in private, intimate conversation and public lectures and orations—who has not read his writings from the earliest to the latest. The ideas he utters today were rooted in his boyhood when his susceptible nature was under the influence of Garrison, Kelley, Foster,

Pillsbury and other devoted abolitionists who inspired him with ideals of liberty and fired him with bitter hatred of tyranny.

Fully two-thirds of Darrow's time has been given to preaching or practicing his doctrines of Justice, Democracy, Liberty and Love.

For eighteen years the law firm of Altgeld & Darrow, on Clark and Randolph streets, was to the poor and outcast of Chicago a lighthouse to wrecked mariners on a turbulent sea. And after Altgeld died Darrow shouldered his partner's burdens with his own. His office in the center of six squares of the richest district of the city, bounded by the fashionable Michigan boulevard, the famous Auditorium hotel, by the wealth of Marshall Field & Company, stood out the one protest against the tyranny of the money power.

Twelfth floor! The elevator man knows. That was where the flagging is worn by the ceaseless tread of rough-shod feet of the poor and the heavy-laden. They come from every nook and corner, seeking in the proud and cruel metropolis the one gleam of beckoning hope. The bench of Darrow's outer office was always crowded by men in overalls, their arms in slings; by women huddled in shawls and threadbare clothes, wan-faced, waiting for Darrow. "He'll fix you up," their friends had promised.

And out he would come to them, one by one, the novelty of helping the weak and unfortunate long since worn off. He was just going on because "some one must help these people." His tired eyes took in the long waiting line; his great chest heaved a sigh; he smiled to them in turn, a pitying smile, and beckoning the nearest, slouched back to the inner room to add new cares to the bent shoulders' burden. One of his younger partners would sometimes protest: "My God, we are overwhelmed with important matters. You can't see Darrow." But the people knew better and waited, and Darrow only whistled a puzzled note or two before deciding that the "important matters" must wait, rather than the poor.

The sight of those wan faces and warped and mangled figures, the tales he heard, the bitter wrongs which were unfolded in that inner office have sunk lines of pain, pathos and revolt in the face of the great lawyer. "Inasmuch as ye have done it unto the least of these my children, ye have done it also unto me." Their experiences became his experiences, plowing up his soul and springing into expression in his writings and speeches.

Darrow's theories and sympathies have been expounded in pamphlets and books, which are unique in the literature of our time. In "A Persian Pearl and Other Essays," he discusses with a poet's insight, "Omar Khayyam," "Walt Whitman," "Robert Burns." "Realism in Literature and Art," and "The Skeleton in the Closet." "The Skeleton in the Closet" is a favorite phrase of Darrow's, symbolizing the secret in almost every life, which enables us to understand the frailty and sufferings of others. Remembrance of our own skeletons will wipe out the spirit of vengeance, or bitter judgment of others, will make us sympathetically understand the McNamaras and even "criminals" of less noble mistakes than theirs. "An Eye for an Eye," another of Darrow's books, communicates the psychology of a murderer and makes one feel the injustice of capital punishment. "Resist Not Evil" advocates Tolstoi's doctrine of non-resistance. In "Farmington" he voices the sense of failure which comes to most men at one time or another. "All my life," it concludes, "I have been planning and hoping, and thinking and dreaming, and loitering and waiting. All my life I have been getting ready to begin to do something worth the while. I have been waiting for the summer and waiting for the fall; I have been waiting for the winter and waiting for the spring, waiting for the night and waiting for the morning, waiting and dawdling and dreaming, till the day is almost spent and the twilight close at hand."

But it is not in his written works, but as an orator that Clarence Darrow finds his best expression. After the office door was closed upon the routine of daily life, in the evenings and Sundays, he would tuck the loose notes of a favorite theme into an overcoat pocket and scurry off, late, to teach Tolstoi from the platform of any church or lecture hall to which he was bidden, or to meet some eager group and discuss the deep humanity of Robert Burns, or to agree with Henry George "as far as he went" at a Single Tax gathering, and with Carl Marx, "modified," to an angry audience of orthodox old-school Socialists. He will talk till long past midnight to a handful of Jews in the Chicago Ghetto Club with the same ardor with which he addresses a theater full of well-dressed attendants of the Ethical Culture lectures. He will dwell lovingly on the Bonnie Brier Bush tales with a half dozen friends in the park; or clash swords in quiet anger with the host at a fashionable dinner party. He will "line up" with the

inmates of the county jail, where once he delivered his famous lectures on "Crimes and Criminals." There is no such thing as a crime, as the word is generally understood. I do not believe there is any sort of distinction between the real moral condition of the people in and out of jail. In one sense we are all equally good and equally bad. We do the best we can under the circumstances. There is only one way to cure so-called crime, and that is to give the people a chance to live. There is no other way." And in "Resist Not Evil" he had written: "We do not blame the dwarf for his stature, the deaf because they cannot hear, the blind because they cannot see. The felon is my brother not alone because he has every element of good that I so well recognize in myself, but because I have every element of evil that I see in him.

"How great a difference is there between making a sharp deal with your neighbor, getting more from him than you give him, and taking outright what is his? Yet one is business and the other is a felony. Why should the man who kills another in the heat of passion be dealt capital punishment while owners of factories who kill men and women by unsafe tools, are justified?"

Darrow's fame as an orator is widespread. His name is one to conjure with wherever an audience is wanted. Whether Darrow was to speak or not, his name was always announced for a program designed to draw a crowd. And especially the poor would flock to hear him. The man's love of the people is the intense passion of his life, and the poor know.

Let us follow the crowd to a great meeting at Cooper Union, New York, where Darrow has been advertised to speak.

The huge hall is crowded to the ceilings and hundreds are turned away. The chairman introduces the man who has become beloved as the "Great Defender" of the leaders of the masses, and Darrow rises modestly and simply to all his great height. For fifteen minutes the crowd applauds and waves and cheers and cries out in wild acclaim: "Darrow! Darrow! Darrow! three cheers for Clarence Darrow. A ten thousand-voiced roar of applause and appreciation of 'the only Clarence Darrow.'" And the man standing there waving them to silence with such modest deprecation is clearly moved by their greeting, to the depths of a sensitive soul. He stands there simple and plainly dressed as any workingman, indifferent to personal appearance and the conventional trifles of life, he ponders larger issues. He has been described in the St. Louis Mirror:

"A man of more than average height, with well rounded limbs and body, a deep chest which drops into a general bearing of relaxation while the whole frame ambles with toes kicking up in the process of walking. On the broad shoulders a round head, delicate at the back, but marked in front by an oppressively full brow, which over-arches the face like a crag. Underneath the brow, eyes of gooseberry size and color, which roam restlessly or else assume a fixed expression as if looking through a stone wall or into the secrets of fate; a shallow, leathern-like complexion with flesh hanging loosely over the cheeks and jaws and shot through with heavy lines, a varying expression, at times lowering into saturnine sorrowfulness, at times melting into smiles and wreathed in good nature and irresistible charm—a rounded, boyish face."

His voice is a wonderful instrument, always musical and ranging from the winsome tone of kindly intimacy to a trumpet blast calling to arms for revolution.

He begins with incisive, epigrammatic, moderate sentences always. And the scathing sarcasm, bitter denunciation and rousing appeal toward which he rises, are concerned not with persons, but with principles. He is a lover of all men. He is a fierce hater not of any man, but of inhuman qualities found in men, in any form of hypocrisy, pretense, tyranny or cruelty.

In a typical speech he develops many sides to his nature—in turns something of the unassuming child, the panther, the lynx, the lion, yet always compassionate, hating no one unless while he is an oppressor or conventionally observing the letter of the law while outraging the spirit. Against tyranny and hypocrisy he ever hurls a great storm of invective. His words rumble and toss, crash and flash and go muttering off, leaving behind an overwhelming sense of awe, a fresh vision through the clouds of some old superstition or dark wrong. And after the storm comes the rainbow—tears and laughter and a calm, philosophic peace. His audience weeps with him, laughs through tears at his irresistible wit and humor, and comes away tied to the man, Darrow, heart and soul, thinking of him ever after as "Clarence," so intimately have they shared his great experiences, so completely has he won their affection.—Exchange.

## Eloquence Will Not Break the Shackles

**D**URING THE CLOSING hours of Congress, Congressman Fowler of Illinois, delivered an eloquent speech, and his peroration was a tribute to labor, which was as follows:

"The next great task for labor is a struggle for an equitable division of profits. While complete relief cannot be expected to come all at once and everywhere at the same time, yet it may be attained more readily by the enactment of wise laws directing the course to be pursued by both labor and capital. The world owes a duty to labor which has not been faithfully discharged by legislative bodies in the past. In my opinion, Mr. Speaker, the time is now ripe for prompt action in this respect, for upon the success of labor depends the success of our institutions of liberty and learning. The mighty Roman empire crumbled and fell because of her abuse to labor. Her play-

houses of crime lie in monumental ruins to remind the world of the magnitude of her sins against labor. Let us take warning from this sad example, and in the sweat of our legislative duties accord to labor a just recognition of its rights, so that it may have an equal chance in the race of life for prosperity and happiness. We owe much to labor. It is our staff of life. It is our storehouse of supply. Yes, more—it heard the voice of God in judgment against sin, and answered the righteous sentence in the sweat of its face for the adequate supply of human wants. Indeed, Mr. Speaker, labor found man in the jungles of barbarism and blood, conducted him safely through the winding, misty valleys of superstition and ignorance, pointed out the fruitful fields of knowledge, led him up the sober heights of judg-

ment and reason, placed a crown upon his head, and transformed him into an intellectual and moral god."

The above language uttered by Fowler on the floor of Congress, will be accepted by millions of laboring people as a beautiful tribute to the brawn and bone of a nation; but adulation from polished orators on the floor of Congress will not break the chains that hold labor in the prisons of servitude.

It will require more than an eloquent speech to break the shackles of wage slavery, and while millions of workingmen may feel an appreciation for the eloquent words of the orator of Illinois, yet thoughtful men in the ranks of labor know that a master class will never concede freedom to the worker until *Labor, united*, shall rise in its giant strength and destroy the infamous system that holds the working class in slavery.

## Intelligence Will Crush Tyranny

IN THIS ISSUE of the Miners' Magazine we publish extracts from a sermon delivered by Father M. W. Ross at St. Albans church on the subject of Socialism, and it is somewhat wholesome and refreshing to find a Catholic priest who discards denunciation and approaches Socialism with that serious thought and consideration which every question of weight and importance deserves. Father Ross, in his sermon, demonstrates very conclusively that he is opposed to meeting the logic of Socialism with slander and abuse.

He knows that condemnation and vilification are not arguments, and that Socialism cannot be crushed or annihilated by verbal torrents of lurid invectives.

His sermon urges his hearers to investigate the doctrines of a movement that is felt in every part of the civilized globe, and in doing this, Father Ross is displaying the wisdom of a man who knows that *error* cannot prevail under analytical investigation.

If Socialism is wrong the Catholic priests who manifest alarm and who declare that Socialism is a "menace to the home," have nothing to fear through investigation, but these men who revile and spew their slime on Socialism, know that their declarations are falsehoods

and that a study of the truths enunciated by Socialism will brand them as calumniators.

Every movement in the history of the world that has had for its object the amelioration of the sufferings of oppressed humanity, has been fought by a ruling class, and by all the henchmen that this class of privilege could summon to its assistance.

The royal loafers of the Old World are fighting Socialism and so are the majority of the dignitaries of the church in America. It is somewhat strange that royal parasites and robed disciples of Christ have joined hands to wage war upon a movement that proclaims economic liberty to the race. Strange that men who pretend to labor for the spiritual salvation of man, join hands with a rotten nobility to perpetuate a system that puts the *loafer* in a palace and the *worker* in a hovel.

But the hoary traditions of a past age are being dispelled by the sunlight of intelligence, and the man who has used his *hands* to plant roses in the wilderness of nature, is now using his brains to unlock the prison doors of wage slavery and live in an atmosphere where *liberty* shall be the common heritage of the race.

## "Man's Heart Is in His Weapons"

YESTERDAY, AT BROOKLYN, in the presence of many thousands of people, was launched the super-dreadnought New York, claimed to be the latest word in naval construction for the purpose of naval destruction. This vessel is nearly 600 feet long, weighs 27,000 tons, is equipped with engines that will drive her twenty-one knots, or nearly twenty-four miles per hour, and carries ten monster guns, each weighing some eighty tons and each firing a shell 1,400 pounds in weight, capable of piercing sixteen inches of steel armor at a range of five miles. The vessel will probably cost, when complete, some \$12,000,000, will require the services of 1,100 men while in use, and will cost some \$2,000,000 annually for maintenance and repairs.

The first New York, built about 1776, is described as a "gondola," which means a small gunboat propelled by oars. She was floated on Lake Champlain, carried three light guns and forty-five men, and was destroyed in action with the British naval forces on the lake.

There is no way of comparing the relative force, size and cost of the two vessels. Figures cannot do it. There is nothing common to both except the name and the fact that they floated in water.

One gun alone of the 1912 New York would in all probability weigh twice as much as the first New York, ship, crew, stores and guns, all told. And in all probability the three guns of the original New York, if cast in the form of a shell, would fall something short of making a 1,400-pound projectile for one of the guns of the new ship.

We are fond of comparing the crude implements of production of the revolutionary period with the wonderful productive machinery of today, but the contrast between the implements of destruction of that day and the present dwarfs the other into absolute insignificance. There is an immensely greater disparity because the two New Yorks than there is between, say, the weaving loom of 1776 and that of 1912.

"In the arts of peace," says George Bernard Shaw in one of his plays, "man is a bungler. I have seen his cotton factories and the like, with machinery that a greedy dog could have invented if it had wanted money instead of food. I know his clumsy typewriters, his bungling locomotives and tedious bicycles; they are toys compared to the Maxim gun and the submarine torpedo boat. There is nothing in man's industrial machinery but his greed and sloth; his heart is in his weapons."

The character into whose mouth these words are put is the Devil, who thus delivers his opinion to Don Juan in the famous play of "Man and Superman." And there is much truth in the statement, even though the source of it is the reputed "Father of Lies."

At the same time, the Devil does not tell the whole truth. For

the "heart" that is put into the construction of these incomparable forces of destruction finds its stimulating power in the greed of the ruling classes, and the desire to maintain their system of robbery intact. The "heart" action is quickened by the greed and necessities of capitalism, by the prostitution of "patriotism" to its own ends. And it may be noticed that at the launching of the tremendous vessel referred to, the secretary of the navy, in his address, confined his remarks almost exclusively to stimulating the "patriotism" of the builders, from the chief designer down to the commonest navy yard laborer. And after the launching, Taft made an address of a somewhat similar character at the Naval Young Men's Christian Association.

The sneer of the Devil may seem justified in this connection, but, in the last analysis, it is not man's "heart" that is at fault so much as his head. The capitalists themselves, whose supremacy is conditioned on the continual construction of these instruments of death, part very reluctantly with their plunder to defray the expense of their building, and even while they continue to build, declare that the whole procedure is a craze, an obsession, an insanity. Nevertheless, they never fail to stimulate the latent destructiveness which lies more or less dormant in the minds of the builders, and which must be aroused if these implements of death are to be produced at all. For the building of a merchant vessel, an instrument of production, no such incentive is needed.

The "heart" of the capitalist is not in these gigantic murder contrivances. It is in his money bags instead. He has no "heart" for actual fighting, and never by any chance exposes his precious life to the risks of battle, murder and sudden death in any of these floating instruments of destruction. He stimulates the "hearts" of others to take that risk just as he stimulates the "hearts" of those who construct his implements of murder.

The "heart" of man will remain in "his weapons" only so long as he can be induced to fight the battles of those who rob him and use him to defend them against capitalist robbers of other groups. When that inducement fails, as it will fail, his "heart" will turn to perfecting the instruments of production instead of those of destruction, when the atavistic impulses of his "heart" are conquered by the development of his brain and he perceives the insensate folly of permitting himself to be used as a cut-throat and a bully in the service of hypocritical and cowardly exploiters who can only maintain themselves by appealing to his meanest and basest passions under cover of a prostitution of "religion and patriotism." Or, in short, when he discovers that Socialism means life and capitalism means death, and he deliberately chooses life and all the possibilities that the term implies.—New York Call.

## Slow Starvation

WE ARE LIVING in an empire which we boastfully proclaim as the greatest that ever happened. That great achievements have been attained by the British people along all lines that are considered great by the bourgeois world, none can deny. By the exercise of all the acts of diplomatic cunning, backed up whenever necessary

by open-handed brigandage, the world has been conquered and made subject to British rule and rapacity and the emblem of her trade and commerce may be seen in every land and upon every sea. Her "morning drumbeat rolls round the earth." The world pays tribute to her power and greatness and pays that tribute in an endless stream of

wealth poured into the British Isles from the harassed and tortured victims of her conscienceless rule in other lands.

And by what token is this plunder of the earth made possible? By what magic can a world be made to pay tribute in huge volume to the British Isles and a large proportion of the population of those isles be held in subjection to slow starvation in the very presence of that wealth?

When Rome conquered the then known world, this was made possible because of the tireless skill and industry of her working population. The Roman workingman was at that time the most highly skilled and productive on earth. Upon his skill and productive power Rome depended for equipping and maintaining of her armies and that dependence was not in vain, for her armies were made invincible and all-conquering by the skill and industry of Roman workmen in fashioning military equipment and other necessities to successful conquest. But as Rome conquered the world she poured into her home dominions the spoils of that conquest, largely in the shape of slaves, and the fairly comfortable conditions that had for long surrounded the Roman workmen were gradually broken down and thousands of those workmen eventually perished by "slow starvation," or were ruthlessly slaughtered by the soldiery when they had the temerity to revolt against the awful conditions.

And now it is Britain's turn. In point of skill and industry the British workman needs take a back seat to no other that ever lived. For the last thousand years he has been in the forefront on the industrial field. With a rapidity that is startling, he has improved and perfected the tools of industry and tremendously increased his productive power thereby. So great has been the volume of his production, over and above the actual necessities of his own being, that a large surplus has been available to be shipped to other lands. Goods so shipped away return in the shape of other goods for which they have been exchanged, these in turn to be disposed of in the home market or to be worked up into other forms for still further shipment abroad. Thus has British trade and commerce been builded up and by this process it is still building. By this process is Britain reaping the fruits of her conquests.

The fruits of her conquests eventually react upon her own workmen much as the fruit of Roman conquest did upon the Roman workman in the days of old. So long as ample markets could be found abroad to absorb the surplus accruing from British industry, the workmen would be kept fairly busy and their wages at least sufficient to make conditions tolerable. But when outside markets begin to contract, or at least fail to expand in the same ratio that production increases, trouble begins. So long as exports exceed imports, things move along fairly well. This means that at least a portion of the wealth exported remains in some foreign country, there to be fastened upon the people of that country, as capital. This tends to keep home industry going. But when matters turn the other way and imports en-

croach upon exports, the effect is soon felt by the workers. If the volume of imports should exceed that of exports the capitalists might find themselves in possession of an increased mass of wealth, but industry would tend to slacken off and workers find their wages cut and employment curtailed.

It has long since become absolutely impossible for the capitalists of Britain or any other country to employ all of the working force of the land. It is becoming each day more difficult to dispose of what is being produced by that portion of the workers now employed. Every advance along the line of improvement in the mechanism and technique of industry still further aggravates the situation. More workers are dispensed with and they are turned over to the tender mercies of "slow starvation." This is the best that capital can do for the workers.

The token by which Britain and all other capitalist nations attain to their boasted greatness is the enslavement of labor. The magic by which the world's wealth is turned into capitalist pockets and a multitude of workers held in submission to "slow starvation" in the very presence of plenty, is the ignorance of the workers as a class. It is only an ignorant class that can be held in shackles, either spiritual or material. It is only a densely ignorant class that can be held in bondage when the enslaved outnumber the masters an hundred to one. No only is such a class densely ignorant but cowardly as well.

The conditions pictured in London demand earnest and careful consideration by every workingman wherever he may be. Like conditions exist everywhere, varying in degree only. That which has brought so many British workmen to such dire straits will eventually land the rest of us in the same "slough of despond." The same accursed rule of capital prevails here in Canada as in the British Isles and by the same token and the same magic will the Canadian worker be forced to eventually tread the path of starvation, either slow or otherwise. Thousands of Canadian workmen are not far from that path even now.

No palliative reform or patchwork nostrum can solve this problem. Its solution calls for action most drastic and severe upon the part of the slave class against the master class. The rule of capital must be broken and the lordship of labor over its own product asserted against all the world. This calls for the earnest and best efforts of every member of the working class and as enlightenment brushes the cobwebs of ignorance from the workers' mind those efforts will be forthcoming and bear fruit. Millions are already seeing the light and there are more to follow. If we would avoid the "slow starvation" route let us act like men, by doing all in our power to arouse our class to intelligent action in its own behalf. Some of us may meet death in the struggle, but there are many ways of dying that are preferable to "slow starvation," and that is the culmination of all that capitalism can do for the working class.—B. C. Federationist.

## The National Election

ANOTHER NATIONAL ELECTION has passed to history and the Democratic party has swept the country.

Woodrow Wilson, governor of New Jersey, will become an incumbent of the White House March 4th, 1913.

The Democratic President will be supported by a Democratic House and Senate, and the party that has promised great things for the people will be presented with the opportunity of "making good."

With a Democratic President, House and Senate, the great masses of the people will be able to render a verdict as to the efficiency of a National Democratic administration.

The party that has been swept into power can offer no valid excuses for its failure to meet the expectations of the people. The party in power cannot place the responsibility of failure on the opposition of the Republican party, for the Republican party is powerless to prevent the Democratic party in enacting that legislation which has been pledged and which is claimed will bring universal prosperity to a continent.

But the question arises, will the coming four years bring in any changes that will result in the masses of the people becoming the beneficiaries?

Will the anticipations of the people be realized?

Will there be more sunlight in the home of the man whose hands bear the scars of manual toil?

Woodrow Wilson, as governor of New Jersey, has made no record that will cause observing men to believe that as President of the United States he will inaugurate any measures that will lift the burdens from the shoulders of that class, whose labor has made it possible for the comparatively few to revel in indolent luxury.

Mr. Wilson, in his speeches, has not appealed very strongly to the intelligence of the economic student. Putting big criminals in jail because such big criminals crush out weaker competitors, will not solve that great problem, which must be solved, ere the American people shall bask in the radiant splendor of economic freedom.

Mr. Wilson, with all his pretended sympathy for the masses of the people, will make no assault on the murderous system of exploitation, which puts the few in palaces and the multitude in hovels.

Under Wilson's administration there will be just as many banquets for monkeys and as many diamond collars for dogs.

There will be just as many Bradley-Martin balls and just as many poverty-stricken wretches bidding for the crumbs that fall from the tables of charity.

There will be just as many multi-millionaires sneering at the rags of poverty and just as many hopeless victims of want seeking rest in the grave of the suicide.

Two millions of children will still be in the prisons of wage slavery and 6,000,000 of women, through poverty, will be asking for the privilege of earning the pittance that prolongs the agony of a joyless life.

Under Wilson's administration the strike will still be looked upon as an insurrection, and the armed force of state and nation will be held in readiness to serve the interests of industrial oppressors.

There can be no real liberty for the brawn and bone of America until the doors of opportunity are unlocked and opened wide to every man, woman and child of this country. There can be no prosperity worthy of the name, until the *whole people* shall dwell beneath the dome of a republic where master and slave shall be no more.

## What Every Baby Needs

THE DOINGS of the Vanderbilt baby are of absorbing interest to every one. Though not yet christened, it has gone out and acquired a model dairy for its own exclusive use. This dairy will have select cows, producing select milk; and the men who attend the cows will be thoroughly sterilized. The Vanderbilt baby has not omitted one detail that makes for plenty, comfort and safety. For a baby

only a few days old to have the forethought to acquire a dairy for its own use, shows that the superior brains of the owners of this country begin to work at an early age.

Ordinary babies, without forethought, initiative and resourcefulness, are content with dip-milk that just barely measures up to the low standard required by law. That is why so many of them die.



Sometimes the milk is fairly good, sometimes it is rank poison. Now, if these babies would get a move on and each of the few millions of them acquire a special, select dairy, there would not only be plenty of milk but it would be of a safe quality.

There are eight of the Vanderbilt baby cows and two men look after them. On this basis, if we have 2,000,000 milk-drinking babies, all we need would be 16,000,000 milk cows. There are less than 6,000,000 in the country. But that is the fault of the babies. Then it would require 4,000,000 men to look after the cows, if the babies had them. Besides the babies would need each day a night nurse, a physician and a governess or tutor. That would be 8,000,000 more people looking after them, or 12,000,000 in all.

If each baby could not consume the milk of eight cows, then some of it might be given to children or to the adults who looked after the cows and the babies. This, however, would tend to make them dependents, and would lower their standard of self-independence. They should each go and get eight cows, which would simply mean 720,000,

000 for the ninety or so million people in the country. It seems like a tremendous herd, but if the Vanderbilt baby needs eight, why don't the others? And if the Vanderbilt baby can get eight, why can't the others? If at the age of a few days a Vanderbilt baby can get possession of eight cows, why can't an adult do it?

These are serious questions, for those eight Vanderbilt cows have set a standard. No respectable baby can ever have fewer, and all babies who intend to be respectable should get a move on and acquire them.—New York Call.

Since the above editorial appeared in the Call several millions of men who work for others, and who are the fathers of children, have gone to the polls and cast their ballots for Woodrow Wilson, and there is no doubt that when the Princeton Preacher takes his seat in the White House that babies who are thirsting for bovine fluid will be taking baths in cream.

The professor will so arrange matters that all the babies will enjoy the luxuries of the Vanderbilt epicure. " 'Nuf ced."



#### INFORMATION WANTED.

Information is wanted of the whereabouts of Joseph Hall, commonly known as "Cockney Joe." Anyone knowing his present address will please write to William Hall, 14 Marsh street, Askam-in-Furness, Lancashire, England.

#### INFORMATION WANTED.

Information is wanted of the whereabouts of John Harrington, who left the Couer d'Alenes about six years ago. He came to the Couer d'Alenes from the copper district of Michigan seven years ago. Anyone knowing his present address will please write to Denis Harrington, General Delivery, Mullan, Idaho.—3t.

#### THE WORLD MAKER.

(By Berton Braley.)

I am Discontent.  
I am the Foe of Things as They Are.  
The Fighter for Things as They Ought to Be.  
It was my unrest with Chaos that brought about the ordered Universe.  
And my presence in the brain of the Anthropoid Ape was the beginning of Human Progress.  
Through the ages I have burned in the hearts of men, driving them ever forward to better things.  
I have been the Inspiration of poets, the Urge of warriors, the Impulse of statesmen and the Ardor of martyrs.  
Greed and Tyranny and Sloth and Privileges have ever reviled me, for they held me in fear, knowing me for their inevitable doom.  
Kingdoms and Empires have risen and fallen because of me, deserts have blossomed for me. Creeds and religions have come and gone for my sake.  
I am the spirit of Invention, of Achievement, of Reform.  
I am the lover of True Order, but the hater of Established Evil and Vested Injustice.  
I am the flame in which the Dross of things is consumed that the Pure Metal may remain.  
I make the Thinkers think and the Dreamers dream.  
I am Doubt, I am Change, I am Progress.  
I am Discontent.

#### A SERIOUS PROBLEM FOR THE A. F. OF L. CONVENTION.

San Francisco, October 31st, 1912.

To the Labor Press:

Gentlemen—The controversy existing between the two factions of the Electrical Workers and the revocation of the charters of central bodies by the American Federation of Labor because said central bodies refused to unseat that faction not affiliated with the international has caused a storm of protest from the rank and file on this coast.

The San Francisco Labor Council vigorously protests against the revocation of the Alameda Central Council's charter by the American Federation of Labor, and is unanimously on record that steps shall be taken immediately to amend the law of the American Federation of Labor so that the central labor councils may no longer be at the whim or caprice either of international officers or subordinate officers to the A. F. of L. The law on the subject is discriminating to the extent that it does not work uniformly: i. e., that as long as international officers do not see fit to protest the seats of delegates of an unaffiliated local in a central body, then such delegates are permitted to remain undisturbed, but just the moment some international officer wishes to pick out a central body, or when such international officer takes the notion that this or that central body should unseat a local, then just that moment is the whole machinery of the A. F. of L. started in motion to force a central body to obey, and this is done in most cases regardless of where that central body may be located or what disruption such order to unseat may cause; nor is the fact that such central body may be extremely loyal to the A. F. of L. taken into consideration. If central bodies are the "bulwarks of the American labor movement," then great care should be exercised that they are not thrown suddenly into turmoil and factional strife because of these orders from the A. F. of L. to unseat. They are entitled to just as much consideration as are large internationals.

The delegates from the San Francisco Labor Council are instructed to protest against the revocation of the Alameda Central Labor Council's charter on the floor of the coming A. F. of L. convention, and to support any amendment that will amend the law in accordance with the above.

Respectfully and fraternally,

JOHN I. NOLAN.

(Seal.)

Secretary San Francisco Labor Council.

#### NEW WORLD LESSONS FOR OLD WORLD PEOPLES.

##### Lessons in English for Foreign Girls.

Thousands of immigrants come to America every year. Some of them have belonged to labor organizations in the old country; many of them have not.

Most of the girl and women workers do not know much about factory life. They do not understand the high cost of living in America. They have never heard of labor unions. And because they do not speak English, a wall separates them from their fellow workers who might explain things to them.

There are now many private agencies for teaching foreigners English. The funds for these schools come largely from the pockets of manufacturers. The textbooks used do not tell the girl worker the things she really wants to know. They do not suggest that \$5.00 a week is not a living wage. They tell her to be respectful and obedient to her employer. They never mention labor unions.

The labor movement will suffer if these girls are taught by the capitalists to become scabs and strike-breakers. But if we teach them, they will fight on our side. They will become the staunchest supporters of the labor movement.

The Women's Trade Union League, 43 East Twenty-second street, New York City, has published the right kind of English lessons for foreign girls. They are called "New World Lessons." They teach the simplest principles of trade unionism. They tell what the factory laws are, and how the workers, through organization, can enforce them. The titles of the lessons are:

Looking for Work.  
Learning a Trade.  
Home Work.  
A Trade Without a Union.  
A Trade With a Union.  
Joining the Union.  
Fire.  
Factory Laws.

No union or labor organization in a trade where there are foreign girl workers can carry on better propaganda than to teach the workers English by means of these lessons. They were written by a trade union member who has taught in a night school for years. They are good both as lessons and as propaganda.

Four stories in simple English go with the lessons. The lessons and stories are printed on separate sheets and come in an attractive blue folder. They cost 10 cents for a set of eight lessons and four stories.

They are worth seeing.

Send 10 cents for a copy to the Women's Trade Union League, 43 East Twenty-second street, New York.

#### RESOLUTIONS OF PROTEST.

To the Officers and Members of Organized Labor in the State of Arizona:  
Greeting:

We, a committee appointed by Bisbee Miners' Union No. 106, Western Federation of Miners, to draft a resolution protesting against appropriating any money by the State of Arizona for the exhibition to be held at San Diego, California, in 1915, submit the following report:

Whereas, An exhibition will be held in 1915 at San Diego, California; and  
Whereas, The Panama canal exhibition or the World's Fair will be held in San Francisco, California; and

Whereas, The San Diego exhibition will be in opposition to the World's Fair in San Francisco; and

Whereas, San Diego, like New Orleans and other cities, lost out in the fight for the World's Fair; and

Whereas, This being a fact, San Diego has no more right to hold an exhibition conflicting with the World's Fair in San Francisco than has any city in Arizona, if it should give or enter in opposition; and

Whereas, H. G. Otis, Merchants' and Manufacturers' association and other large interests were instrumental in bringing about this opposition to the World's Fair; and

Whereas, The State of Arizona is about to participate and appropriate a large sum of money for this exhibition at San Diego; and

Whereas, H. G. Otis and the M. & M. have carried on one of the most vicious and un-American campaigns ever witnessed in the United States against organized labor in San Diego and on the Pacific Coast; and

Whereas, The appropriations from Arizona will come from the sweat of the brows of organized as well as unorganized labor; and

Whereas, This money will be used to crush the organized labor movement in San Diego and in Southern California, by employing non-union men in the erecting of an Arizona building at the San Diego exhibition; therefore, be it

Resolved, That Bisbee Miners' Union No. 106, W. F. M., enters a protest against appropriating any money from Arizona to the exhibition in San Diego in 1915; and be it further

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be sent to the Governor of the State, President of the Senate, and to the Speaker of the House; and be it further

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be sent to all local unions of the Western Federation of Miners in Arizona and affiliated trades in Bisbee, urging them to file similar protests against any appropriation to the San Diego fair, from Arizona, by the state government; and be it further

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be spread on the minutes of this meeting, and a copy be sent to the Miners' Magazine for publication.

WALFRID HOLM,  
GEO. A. POWELL,  
W. H. THOMPSON,  
Resolution Committee

## ONLY ONE WAY TO THE FUTURE.

(By Wilbur Sheron.)

New occasions teach new duties; Time makes ancient good uncouth;  
They must upward still, and onward, who would keep abreast of truth;  
Lo, before us gleam her campfire! we ourselves must Pilgrims be,  
Launch our Mayflower and steer boldly through the desperate winter sea.  
Nor attempt the Future's portal with the Past's blood-rusted key.  
—"The Present Crisis," by Lowell.

The history of the world is one long narration of constant, changing change. Systems and institutions have arisen, flourished, then passed away that their successor might find employment for a season until ingenious development should make it obsolete.

With the passing of each old order and the advent of its successor new duties were forced upon those whose interests were involved. Fundamental truths which were held to be good under the old philosophy faded and disappeared before the logic and reasoning of the new. It necessarily followed that better principles should be enunciated.

When, after a due lapse of time, the wheels of change precipitated a religious conflict and made it imperative that ancient rites and ceremonies should decline and pass away, it became the duty of the champions of the new arrangement to institute another moral code and to inaugurate a better plan of worship. What is true of the institution of religion is equally true of all other human institutions—educational, political, etc.

Today an industrial institution of bygone generations has nearly run its western slope of time. Looming above the eastern horizon there appears the increasing momentum, the structure of a new organization. A conflict is raging and truths of yesterday are being cast adrift as useless and obsolete. Individual enterprise is being forced to the wall by co-operative methods. Competition in trade is losing its prestige. Those who work but receive not are pressing demands on those who receive but work not.

Once more the unsheathed swords of Armageddon are flashing and crashing on the battlefield of contending systems. Once more the battalions of conflicting classes are marching, camping and counter-marching in the struggle to determine the question of right and wrong. Today, as in the ages gone, the champions of the passing order are fearlessly and persistently endeavoring to stay the onward sweep of progress. Recklessly they heed not the prophecies of history which proclaim that the best must eventually conquer. Zealously, but with ignorance, they build their castle upon the sand and know not what they do.

The Socialist hosts of all nations, united under one banner and responding to the same bugle call, form the other contending army in this colossal conflict. To them belongs the new and honored duty of arranging a more perfect industrial organization, and it is their philosophy that looks into the future for material with which to solve the future's problems rather than harking back to the days of "unrestricted competition" or "the controlling of the trusts" as a means of laying a better foundation upon which future generations will build their social structure.

## BROKEN-WINGED BUTTERFLIES.

By Herbert Kaufman.

When the first stars drop from the hands of God to light the dusking skies they march forth to conquest.

When the first rays of dawn blush the east they slink back to their warrens—nymphs of the Scarlet Diana—Little Sister of Shame—Children of the Empty Heart.

Fair nights and foul, they tramp their tragic way—the legions of lost love, bleeding within their brazen mail—perish forever without the gates of paradise—butterflies with tattered spangles and shattered wings.

And some are old below their youthful masks of rouge, and some are young beneath their olden masks of vice.

Tears have washed the last rainbows from their skies.

Behind them wondrous dreams lie molding in the muck. Before them yawn the black pits of despondency and hunger and remorse; women without womanhood—unsexed by sin—outcast by their kind—bruised, brutalized—terrible toys of love—the saddest blots that stain civilization.

Theirs is the path along which none return—the way lies ever onward. Repentance cannot wipe the scars from memory. The bruises on their self-respect can never be quite cleansed.

Time spills their sands with lavish hand; age comes upon them with a rush of years. Lashed by necessity, spurred by need, they may not pause to rest.

Conscience hags them in their prime. Disease gnaws at their vitals. No gentle word falls healing on their ears.

The harbor lights glow upon them as they toss rudderless in storms; but there is no port to which they may set course and rest at anchor; one by one they drift upon the rocks and sink from sight.

Of course, it's not a pretty picture. Neither is it a nice subject. But if the thought hurts, how about the reality?

What can we do to help—that is the important question. The problem is big—as big as life.

Science and sanitation are constantly loosening knots that were problems to yesterday.

Bit by bit, physician and engineer and educator are lighting new torches in old darkness.

We have trampled out plague and pestilence. Our wills and skills have dominated many a disease, injustice and cruelty; but the battalions of the lost do not diminish. They grow with our growth. They maintain pace in face of our vaunted progress and flaunted advancement.

And foolish virgins will continue to lose their lamps until parents fulfill their obligations and guard innocence and weakness from the temptations of great cities and little men.

So long as mothers send their girls beyond the influence of home; so long as fathers permit unguided and unguarded children to challenge the world; so long as they make ostriches of both their offspring and themselves and neither teach the plain truths nor give such counsel as will rouse the instinct of self protection; so long as they bury their own heads in cowardice, neglecting to inform themselves where and how their daughters live and work, the streams will ever thicken in the gutters of shame.

## A ROTTEN FORM OF SCABBING.

Let us quit our scabbing! Especially the forms that hurt most.

The capitalist press is used by the master class for the purpose of keeping the toilers in ignorance, and also to mold public opinion against the political and industrial movements of the working class. For instance, let us not forget the nation-wide efforts of the capitalist press to influence public opinion against unionism in connection with the McNamara case, that great "dynamiting case." Everybody heard or read of it in the capitalist newspapers.

You have got that, haven't you?

Well, now, why don't the capitalist papers make as big a sensation out of the "dynamiting conspiracy" of Lawrence, Mass.? Why are these papers as silent as they can conveniently be concerning the latter conspiracy and so noisy about the former? Simply because the men implicated in the former

case belong to the working class and those connected with the latter case to the capitalist class.

You notice that the capitalist papers, as a rule, did not give the whole truth about the outrages at San Diego, California, nor about the massacre of union men by capitalists at Grabow, La. These papers engage in a conspiracy of silence, or else they distort the news, when the criminals belong to the capitalist class. But when any member of the working class makes a false step, the masters' papers make sure that every one in the country knows of it.

To get reliable news that concerns our own class, my brothers, we must read Socialist and labor publications.

You will always find ads for scabs and strike-breakers in the capitalist papers, but never in the Socialist or labor publications. If you wish to read clear and authentic accounts of the rottenness of capitalistic publications, their sly trickery, and the means they use to strangle the cause of labor, let me refer you to a pamphlet, entitled, "Tricks of the Press," 10 cents a single copy, by "The National Rip-Saw," St. Louis, Missouri.

Of course in the capitalist press there are some rare exceptions, but they only emphasize the rule.

In the present strike of the Guggenheim employes at Bingham, Utah, and at Ely, Nevada, the capitalist papers are following out their usual plan to influence public sentiment against the strikers.

Now, brothers, why, oh why? do you support the masters' press, when you know it is used as a weapon to injure our own class interests? WHY DO YOU DO IT?

Some people (who are not well posted on the class struggle) say: "We must take the capitalist papers to get the news!" To you who think this way let me say, Are you going to continue to take papers just to get the news that is misleading? After reading the capitalist dailies, you don't know what you have got so far as the truth is concerned, for you have too often learned afterwards that the news you read were contradicted later by the facts of the case; so what good do you gain by reading news of the variety on which you cannot depend? If you would give the same amount of support to the Socialist and labor papers they would soon be able to give as much news as the capitalist dailies, and far more reliable.

Whenever you subscribe to capitalist papers you simply furnish the ammunition with which the enemy crushes the cause of labor. And thus you act the part of a traitor to the cause of your own class. In effect, your action of supporting the capitalist press does more injury to you and your own class than the act of taking a striker's place, which is commonly called scabbing.

Remember that the class struggle is continuous, and will continue as long as you furnish the ammunition for your enemy, and until the profit system is overthrown by a co-operative commonwealth.

It is therefore quite plain and logical that any member of the working class who supports the capitalist papers acts the part of a scab and a traitor to himself and his own class. That is (next to voting the capitalist tickets) the worst kind of scabbing.

Brothers, let us all discontinue such action. Take our support away from the enemies' press and give it to the Socialist and labor papers. By that action we down our foe and at the same time raise ourselves. Then you will see the circulation of the capitalist papers take a sudden drop, and their power to do us harm correspondingly diminish.

Let each and every workingman act along the lines above stated. All of you who are Socialists should agitate the matter in your local meetings; you will get lots of support.

Instruct your delegates to the central bodies and all other meetings of the working class. Do all you can to get your organizations to act collectively as well as individually. Let every workingman forsake the capitalist press and support the Socialist and labor publications. In other words, let us all quit our scabbing and support those who help us.

Passing resolutions does not accomplish anything. We must act with actions that speak louder than words, and the sooner the better.

Just think for a moment what a vast difference it will make when we—the working class—shall own and control the means that are now being used by the exploiting class to turn public opinion against us, politically, industrially and socially.

Don't forget to do your part and instruct your delegates in this matter. Go, ahead, brothers, and carry out this program. Don't be held back and intimidated by corporation spies and other reactionaries who carry union cards in their pockets, but who lack the principles of unionism and manhood in their hearts. Brush them aside and let us all pull together in this movement. The writer is going ahead and will do all he can, whether you do your duty or not, and he will keep up this agitation until support will come freely in the future, so let every class-conscious man do the same.

Now, brothers, please listen. Don't simply read this and then go to sleep again, but act upon it, in your home, in and out of the shop, or wherever you work, and don't forget your delegates at the next meeting and all subsequent ones. Keep it up! Be persistent! Keep on going until the press is eventually taken out of the hands of our exploiters, then they will be shorn of one of the great powers by which they keep us in ignorance and slavery. Show this article to every worker you know or meet, especially to every progressive one, and don't forget to instruct your delegates.

A CLASS-CONSCIOUS WAGE-SLAVE

## AN ADVERSARY THAT SOCIALISTS RESPECT.

(The following is from a speech by the Hon. Charles Russell, son of Lord Russell, and a noted Catholic leader in England.)

The first thing we have to consider is the question: "What is the origin of the present Socialist movement?"

It is to be found in the present deplorable and appalling state of society. We have, on the one hand, prodigious growth of wealth in a few hands; nearly three-fourths of the land of England is held by 10,000 people, while 12,000 men own two-thirds of our industries. Accompanying this we have amongst the rich an unparalleled growth of luxury and extravagance; on the other side we have a tremendous growth of poverty and destitution, a want of work and increase of sweating and misery among the poor.

The race is deteriorating, and we have to admit that out of a population of 45,000,000, 12,000,000 are on the verge of starvation. We have the greater part of the owners of great wealth doing nothing to remedy the evil condition of the poor. As Cardinal Gibbons has said: "No friend of his race can contemplate without painful emotions the heartless monopolists and the grasping avarice which has dried up every sentiment of sympathy, and the sordid selfishness which is deaf to cries of distress."

Their whole aim is to realize large dividends, without regard to the claims of justice and charity. These trusts and monopolies, like the car of Juggernaut, crush every obstacle that stands in their way; they compel their operatives to work for starvation wages, especially in mining districts and factories, where protests are but a feeble effort and are easily stifled by intimidation.

That is the state of affairs which has brought about the rapid growth of Socialistic views, and is it to be wondered at that thoughtful men should seek a new remedy and should have come to the conclusion that the present conditions of affairs must be ended and cannot be mended? Of course, if all the world were to live up to the teaching of the Master, things would not be as they exist, but the human race, being what it is, a remedy remains to be found.

I do not for a moment suggest Socialism as the remedy, but this is true. I think, that except upon the lines of Socialism THERE IS AT PRESENT NO OTHER REMEDY PROPOSED. THE BURDEN IS UPON ANYBODY WHO DENOUNCES SOCIALISM TO SUGGEST AN ALTERNATIVE, BUT UP TO THE PRESENT MOMENT SOCIALISM ALONE HOLDS THE FIELD.

Now, Socialism is denounced by many of our Catholic priests and Catholic laymen as something abominable, which no Catholic can support or tolerate, and Socialists are declared to be fools or knaves, and that is the attitude which I wish you to examine today.

Again, I repeat, I am not a Socialist, but I want to ask you whether this attitude toward Socialism is either just or wise?

Its definition is well known and admitted: It is the municipalization of the sources of production and distribution, or, in other words, it is a system under which the state is to own all the productive business and manufactories in a country, instead of being owned, as at present, by a fortunate and favored section of the community.

Now, in the first place, a moment's reflection will at once reveal this: that Socialism is not a thing which can be brought about by either violence or revolution. Being a state of affairs which means a complete change in the habits and thoughts of mankind, it can only be achieved by a slow, gradual change. It must be accomplished by evolution, not revolution.

In the next place, may I point out that at first sight, and, indeed, I may say at second sight, THERE IS NOTHING ON THE FACE OF THAT PROPOSITION WHICH IS CONTRARY TO CHRISTIANITY OR CATHOLICISM.

Indeed, in this and other Christian countries we have gone a good way along the road which leads to the ultimate realization of that condition. The state in different instances owns telephones, water supply, tramways, gas supply, telegraphs, the postal service and the tobacco industry, and I must confess I have not noticed any material change for the better or worse taking place in the religion or morals of the tramway officials or the passengers or of the telephone operators, since those systems have been transferred to the state. n what, then, can it be said that Socialism is un-Christian and un-Catholic? One way in which this is endeavored to be established is the assertion that it means the expropriation without compensation by the state of private properties of individuals, but this is not necessarily so, and the leading Socialist parties of this country do not advocate for a moment any such proceeding. They are, in fact, strongly opposed to it. We have already arrived at the municipalization of industries representing tens of thousands of millions of money without adopting such a course. But even supposing that Socialism did mean the expropriation without compensation (which it does not), I am tempted to ask, is it therefore either anti-Christian or anti-Catholic? It is admitted that the state has a right to tax property of the subject, but does not a tax involve necessarily a right to take, if it should be for the public good that the property should be taken? It is perfectly moral and right to take a twentieth part of a man's property, as is done by income tax at present, or a tenth part, as is done often by death duties, or a fourth part, as is done by increment tax. But if it be admitted that it is right and proper to take a twentieth, a tenth, a fourth for the good of the state, why is it un-Christian and immoral, if the state needs it, to take the whole? Where does virtue cease and vice begin? I submit that it must logically follow that the right to tax must necessarily involve the right to take.

Test the matter in another way. Does anybody deny the right of the state to insist upon its subjects becoming soldiers and giving up their lives for the good of the state?

If the state can take a man's life when it is for the good of the nation to do so, surely it has also the right to take his property for the same object. Again, I wish to repeat I am not a Socialist. I strongly object and protest against Socialism being fought upon wrong lines, and to my mind it is fighting on wrong lines to denounce it on the ground of RELIGION AND MORALITY.

It is not only unfair fighting, but, like the rest of unfair fighting, it is a very foolish procedure, because if all the forces of religion are turned against Socialism, it will inevitably follow in course of time that all forces of Socialism will necessarily be turned against religion, whereas if Socialism is met, as it ought to be met, and fought on the battle ground of economic principles, we will then be meeting it and fighting it on a fair field with no favor.

Of course I am quite aware of the argument which will be mentioned against me: That I should have referred to the writings and speeches of individual Socialists who denounce religion and discourse upon a grotesque morality of their own. Those are the views of individual Socialists. Those views are to be deplored and denounced, but they are the views of individual Socialists.

It is a mere confusion of the very serious and grave issues at stake to rely upon them in a discussion like this.

It would be as logical to denounce the medical profession because many of them abuse their knowledge, or artists and poets because so many stoop to use their talents to pander to vice.

It would be as reasonable to denounce liberalism, the liberal party, because John Morley is an avowed agnostic, or Toryism because Mr. Balfour to a large extent shares the same views. The enemies of religion and the enemies of morality are to be found in all ranks and in all parties. It is a curious thing today that the most violent anti-church politician in France is also the most violent anti-Socialist leader; I refer to M. Clemenceau.

Now, as I have said, let us meet Socialism and fight with the proper weapons. Let us point out the evils of Socialism, the impracticability of Socialism; that it must necessarily destroy all incentive to effort and invention. These and kindred arguments which it is not our business to go into tonight are those which are to be employed to battle Socialism, but I protest most strongly against fulminations of religious thunderbolts, even when they are delivered by our genial friend, Father Vaughn, from a select platform in Queen's hall, a duke in the chair and Rothschild's band discoursing sweet music. Persuasion sometimes makes converts—denunciations never.

Nothing you can say or do will prevent the mass of the nation listening to the teachings of Socialism. The people know and feel the moral disease from which they are suffering, and they will listen to all serious people who propose a remedy. They will listen, too, to you if you are prepared to show the falseness of the remedy; but mere wholesale abuse and denunciation will merely make them turn away in disgust and drive them in the direction from which you wish to divert them.

#### LABOR CONVENTION HAS DELEGATES SHOW LABELS.

At the recent annual convention of the Michigan State Federation of Labor the action of one year ago, when the preceding session was in convention, was repeated in the appointment of a committee to ascertain the number of union-made garments worn by the attending delegates. When this committee reported the result of its investigation it was found that the number of garments bearing the label was slightly in excess of the number at the last convention. There were seventy delegates present, and the number of union labeled garments worn by them was as follows: Overcoats, 53; dress coats, 50; vests, 54; trousers, 34; shirtwaists and shirts, 49; collars, 41; separate cuffs, 11; collar buttons, 13; cuff buttons, 6; ties, 34; undershirts, 40; underdrawers, 39; socks, 30; shoes, 66; hats, 58; watches, 4; fobs, 2; suspenders, 41; garters, 12; armbands, 5; nightshirts, 17.—Minnesota Labor Advocate.



#### THE CRIME OF STRIKING.

I hope every working man in America will give thoughtful heed to the latest verdict in the Danbury Hatters' case.

The union is now soaked for \$250,000 damages for the injury it caused to a firm of scab hatters in a strike.

Not the treasury of the union; the individual members—their homes, if they happen to have any, and their bank accounts, if such there be, are all under attachment today to pay this judgment, which now affirms in this emphatic way the principle of the Taft-Vale decision in England.

Under this ruling every man that engages in a strike does so at the risk of losing everything he possesses.

In England the Taft-Vale decision was promptly overruled by an act of Parliament.

In the United States the American Federation of Labor has for five years asked for similar legislation and has been unable to get even a hearing.

But in England a large part of the working class was united and accustomed to vote for itself.

In the United States a large part of the working class continues to vote not for itself but for its masters.

That is all the difference.

Some day the working class in the United States also will get tired of voting for its masters and begin to vote for itself.

Will you see any Danbury Hatters decisions then?

No, but you will see a large contingent of fat souled gentlemen of the better orders getting hastily out of the saddle and making hot foot for the woods.—Coming Nation.

#### A TOAST TO THE LADIES.

We are indebted to the Irish World for the following exquisite toast of Captain J. W. Crawford, poet-scout of the west. This gem is surely worth preserving.

Some time ago in Boston at a banquet one of the young ladies passed a glass of wine across the table to him with the request that he "drink a toast to the ladies." The poet-scout's hand and voice trembled as he said, after taking the wine from the jeweled hand and looking into the laughing blue eyes of the young lady:

"Miss, this is a difficult task you have given me, but a soldier's duty is first to obey orders, and I shall try to drink a toast to woman—not in that, however, which may bring her husband reeling home to abuse where he should love and cherish—send her sons to drunkards' graves, and perhaps her daughters to lives of shame. No, not in that, but rather in God's life-giving water, pure as her chastity, clear as her intuitions, bright as her smile, sparkling as the laughter of her eyes, strong and sustaining as her love. In the crystal water I will drink to her that she remain queen regent in the empire she has already won, grounded as the universe in love, built up and enthroned in the homes and hearts of the world. I will drink to her, the full-blown flower of creation's morning, of which man is but the bud and blossom to her, who in childhood clasps our little hands and teaches us the first prayer to the great All Father; who comes to us in youth with good counsel and advice, and who, when our feet go down into the dark shadows, smoothes the pillows of death as none other can; to her who is the flower of flowers, the pearl of pearls. God's last but God's best gift to man—woman, peerless, pure, sweet, royal woman—I drink your health in God's own beverage, cold, sparkling water."—Exchange.

#### THE VALUE OF COURTESY.

Life is never too short nor man too busy to even have the slightest excuse for being discourteous.

If you get it into your head as a business, professional or man in public life that you are too busy to receive even the most humble caller with at least common politeness, you may rest assured that by and by you won't be quite so busy, for you won't have so much business, and then you will have an ample sufficiency of time to reflect in your cobwebbed place of business as to the why and wherefore of the red flag of the sheriff hung outside your door and to regret that you could not spare the time to be at least commonly courteous.

It is claimed the great asset of politeness has dwindled since the days of chivalry—when armored knights fought with sword and lance for the supremacy of chivalrous courtesy. This should never be. Courtesy is the next step to nobility. The happy link that makes the whole world kin.

Lord Lytton, the polished novelist and gentleman, tells us: "What a rare gift is that of manners! How difficult to define—how much more difficult to impart!"

The receipt is given by Emerson in these few words: "Good manners are made up of petty sacrifices."

Not big sacrifices, but petty sacrifices. It is the little things that tell, and the courteous man is careful to do little things to help his friends and please them.

But if we would fully appreciate the charm of courtesy, we should view it in contrast with that most abhorrent churchliness by which some portion of humanity seem to like to be distinguished. Let us be courteous ourselves and learn our manners from the unmannerly.—Exchange.

#### CHINA.

The Socialist message spreads over the eastern world with a rapidity almost equal to its advance in western lands. China now has a Socialist daily paper. Its editor is Ma Su, who is a private secretary to Mr. Sun Yat Sen. The China Republican—that is its name—in an article, "To the Public," in its first issue, says:

"At the outset we may at once state that we propose shaping our policy on the lines of 'defense, not defiance,' and our guiding principle, so far as possible, shall be constructive rather than destructive.

"There can be no two opinions regarding the need that undoubtedly exists for an organ which shall interpret current events from the Chinese viewpoint. That this need does exist we have no doubt will be admitted on all sides possessed of reason and sound judgment, and in issuing this, our first copy, we have but ventured to step in and fill the void created. We hope to make the Republican the channel through which to ventilate our views in a calm.

reasonable manner, with restraint and judgment.

"That China has at last awakened from the centuries of lethargy in which she has been sunk is today a potential fact which is irresistible in its practical and stern reality. Her children have thrown off the heavy yoke of medievalism and the trammels of superstition as they would a cumbersome and useless mantle, and are now alive with a keen desire to include themselves among the nations that count. They have ambitions, aspirations and a desire to see the land of their birth honorably take her place in the scheme of the world's nations. Of these legitimate aspirations, of the people's hopes and fears, it shall be our proud duty and constant aim to treat from time to time, and, if need be, explain. In these days of empty platitudes and applauding ignorance, it is essential that erroneous impressions should be forthwith removed and errors in general corrected."—Exchange.

#### FOUR DOLLARS A WEEK.

To testify against the owner of a Washington café on the charge of selling liquor to a minor, appeared a young girl, 18 years old, last week.

"I work from 8 o'clock in the morning until 6 o'clock in the evening every week day with the exception of Saturday, when I am compelled to stay at my place of employment until 9 o'clock at night," she answered timidly when questioned by counsel for the defense. "I earn \$4 a week and keep myself on these wags," she continued.

Think over that last statement. This girl works from 8 to 6 o'clock on week days and until 9 o'clock on Saturday, on her feet all the time, and she gets a wage of \$4 a week!

You "social reformers" who are looking for the causes of the white slave traffic, read over this testimony. This is just one girl out of thousands who work in the department stores of this and other cities. She gets \$4 a week. On that amount she is expected to provide herself with food, clothes and shelter, and on what she has left over she may satiate her soul with art, music, jewels, entertainments and automobiles! Think of living in a civilization—so called—which compels women and girls to exist on a wage of \$4 a week!

Yet there is never a word of protest in the capitalist dailies of the big cities. Why? Because department stores are the largest advertisers in the daily newspapers. Look over your newspaper and see how much space is occupied by the department store advertisers. Figure for yourself the immense revenue which pours into the newspaper from department stores. Do you expect that newspaper to reveal the facts of wage slavery as they exist in your home town?

Here is capitalism, the system of private profits, the system which enslaves the many for the benefit of the few, poisoning the very sources of information upon which you must depend for facts.

Is capitalism worth while at such a cost?—National Socialist.

#### CAPITALISM'S TREATMENT OF GIRL WORKERS IN AMERICA, "HOME OF THE FREE."

Evidence brought out at a hearing given the manager of the Spreckles Sugar Refinery at Philadelphia last week, showed how the girl workers of that big city are exploited by the millionaire class in order that the millionaires, their sons and daughters, grandchildren and great grandchildren, may likewise become millionaires and live without work.

In defiance of the state factory law seven girls under the age of 18 years had been employed all night for eleven hours each, in the Spreckles refinery for many months. The manager of the fine refinery, haled before a Republican gang magistrate, was "fined \$50 and costs." Describing the hearing, the Philadelphia newspaper said: "Three of the girls seemed mere children as they took the stand to testify. Anna Bond, 15 years old, of 107 Federal street, was in short dresses and wore her hair in a plait down her back, as did Amelia Foley, 15 years old, of the rear of 110 Carpenter street. The other girls who testified were: Rose Foley, 17 years old, the sister of Amelia; Mary O'Malley, 17 years old, of 196 Sigel street; Jennie Reilly, 16 years old, of 1336 South Howard street; Irene Flynn, 17 years old, of 127 Manton street, and Margaret Mathos, of 1421 South Philip street."

Manager Otto J. Peterson, who was himself surprised at the small fine imposed, had "thought that he was doing the girls a favor" by allowing them to work at night.

They were able to earn \$7.50 a week working at night, he said; their wages when they work at daytime being but \$5.50 a week.

Anna Bond told that, although she worked at night she seldom made more than \$6.25 a week, as most of the time she did not work Saturday nights and Sunday mornings.

According to the state law there could have been fines totaling \$8,400 imposed, yet the magistrate thought that "\$50 and costs" was enough.

And still people wonder why girls turn to prostitution in order to make a living.—Torch, Harrisburg.

#### IS BRYAN, THE GREAT COMMONER, NOW A PLUTOCRAT?

William Jennings Bryan is known as "The Great Commoner," and has long been recognized as the foe of plutocracy and the champion of the common people. But an incident occurred at the late Democratic convention at Baltimore which was well calculated to cast a shadow upon his title of defender of the downtrodden and enemy of the oppressors.

Delegate Stanchfield of New York, a leading figure in the convention and a fellow Democrat of Mr. Bryan, took the platform and denounced "The Great Commoner" as a plutocrat himself, as being worth \$3,000,000, all of which he made out of politics, and as being the "greediest money grabber" in the convention. To use his exact language we quote from the press dispatches as follows:

"Mr. Stanchfield told the convention that Mr. Bryan was the richest delegate attending the convention, with the exception of Mr. Belmont and Mr. Ryan, whom Mr. Bryan wanted ousted, and that Mr. Bryan himself was the greediest money grabber of them all, and that he was worth now over \$3,000,000, all made out of the advertising received from his political races. Several of the delegates called to Mr. Bryan to state what he was worth, but he ignored their request. However, its effect on the delegates was perceptible. This, together with several other things which happened, served to put the great commoner in a bad mood, and he never got back his smile again during the convention."

It is well known that Mr. Bryan went into politics a poor man, and if in the sixteen years he has been the champion of the common people he has been able to lay up \$3,000,000 for a rainy day it is something akin to sarcasm to dub him "The Great Commoner."

Delegate Stanchfield made the charge to Mr. Bryan's face that he was a plutocrat, that he had made \$3,000,000 out of politics, and that he was a hypocrite and a humbug for trying to read Belmont and Ryan out of the convention because they were rich, and from all over the convention requests were made of Mr. Bryan to state how much he was worth, but for once the great commoner was stumped. He has the readiest of tongue, but he had not a word to say. He took the terrible castigation of Stanchfield without a murmur, and his silence can be construed only as evidence of the truth that he is himself a plutocrat, in his accumulations, and that while he has been preaching the doctrine that the common people ought to drive out pluto-

cracy, he has been coining his notoriety into the gold and silver of the realm and now belongs by right of possession to the plutocratic class.

When hereafter Bryan is called "The Great Commoner" it must be by some enemy of his who has in mind the \$3,000,000 Bryan has found the time to pick up while championing the cause of the common people.—Appeal to Reason.

#### A TRICK QUESTION.

A man was once asked to answer "yes" or "no" to the following question: "Have you quit beating your wife?"

If the man answered "yes" he would confess that he had beaten her, and if he replied "no" he would indirectly say that he made it a policy to assault his "better half."

This trick question is on a par with the demand of certain people who insist that the American Federation of Labor "declare for industrial unionism."

A resolution of this character, coming from Vancouver, British Columbia, was before the Toledo Central Labor union at its last meeting, and delegates showed that if it were adopted it would charge the A. F. of L. with not favoring the closest federation of workers. It would also create the impression that the A. F. of L. constitution does not permit national or international unions uniting any time their members see fit. If it was defeated, the cry would be heard: "Aha, we told you so—more Gomerism and reaction—join OUR crowd." The Toledo Central Labor union refused to "bite" at this trick question, and returned the resolution to its authors, with the suggestion that they study the history of the American labor movement, and that they especially "book up" on the constitution of the American Federation of Labor.

The Ohio Federation of Labor, at its recent convention, took the same position when it refused, by a vote of every delegate, except one, to concur in a resolution calling on the A. F. of L. to "amend its constitution and permit national and international unions to amalgamate." The convention insisted that nothing could be found in the A. F. of L. constitution that debarred such action, and unions could amalgamate at any time. The resolution was buried in an avalanche of votes, with not a word of protest from those who have taken other views, but who were silenced by the solid arguments and facts that smashed visionary theories.

The men who have made the Ohio Federation of Labor and the Toledo Central Labor union the substantial, progressive movements they are were not swept off their feet by wind-jammers who imagine they can weaken the A. F. of L., and who, as part of that program, are creating the impression that the A. F. of L. is an organization that denies the widest and wildest latitude of its affiliated bodies, providing said action is taken in an orderly and constitutional manner.

Asking the American Federation of Labor to declare for industrial unionism is about as silly as to demand of a trade unionist that he pledge himself to the principles of trade unionism.

Many people believe that the writers of political platforms are slippery propositions, but these writers have "nothing on" certain elements in our unions, who invent tricky questions and call them "educational propaganda."—Toledo Union Leader.

#### LABOR PARAGRAPHS.

Capitalism stunts the child; Socialism will develop it. Capitalism mis-educates the child in prejudice; Socialism will teach it to think for itself.

It is of no use preaching change of heart to a man whose stomach is empty.

Socialism means development, development of the latent talent and better nature of the entire human race.

A reactionary is a man who has been bought, while the "progressive" is open for sale. The revolutionary is seldom out for himself.

The Tory alleges that the Socialist wants everything to be divided up. Don't the producers now divide up with the non-producers?

First free the mind, then shackles will fall from limb and soul.

If you love your wife and children you would sooner share the value of your product with them than with an employer.

Discontent when ignorant means disruption; when enlightened, advancement.

Socialism does not live upon dogmas. It is alive and vigorous and feeds upon living facts.

The fear of Socialism destroying religion is due to lack of faith. If religion is true and right it can not be destroyed.

A thing accepted as right today may be regarded as wrong tomorrow. Right and wrong do not change, but the understanding of people does.

Capitalist art is painted chiefly with a whitewash brush.

After all, Socialism may destroy incentive to commit suicide.

A fair exchange is no robbery, but where a profit goes with the exchange a robbery is perpetrated.

Interesting to hear the capitalist, who doesn't produce anything, ask what will be done to check loafing under Socialism.

Why should men fight for the products of labor, when one man can produce enough for ten?

The man who lives on the wages of prostitution is little worse than the man who pays wages that drive girls to prostitution.

Socialism means independence—*independence* from dwarfing drudgery and debasing deprivation, independence from want, worry and wretchedness.

Socialism will mean an opportunity for all children, healthy surroundings, education, playtime and an opening in the world when grown.

When precedent becomes an excuse for injustice it is time to set a new precedent.

The tick of the clock of the ages may be heard beating the funeral dirge for capitalism, and marking time for the grandest forward movement of the centuries.

The renaissance is being repeated, but a greater one than before. It means an awakening. The first awakening was in Europe four centuries ago. The present one is confined to no land or continent. It is world-wide.

The secret ballot is a wise institution, but it is capitalism's most striking condemnation. The secret ballot shows that men are not yet free, even in thought. The secret ballot is a standing disgrace to employerdom.—Exchange.

#### THE CHILDREN'S FATHER.

A prominent woman was talking with motherly pride of the good qualities of her eldest daughter, and with that soft light that comes into the eyes of a good mother and wife on occasions where her pride is touched she said: "You see, I gave her the right kind of a father."

This woman had, when she was very young, been married to a man much older than herself, but he was a man of many fine qualities and attainments; a man who always worked in the interests of those less able to bear the burdens of life than himself, and his children were still very young. But the quality of the man is shown in the reverence in which the woman who had known him best of all the world held his memory.

But that is not the point. It is the woman's statement that she had given her daughter a good father. That is the greatest gift any woman can give the child she brings into the world, and yet it is the last thought of

the girl looking towards marriage. Of course, every girl wants the man she marries to be all that he should be, but she doesn't exert herself over much to find out that he is.

In fact, too many women about to enter the married state permit their affection and their emotions to perform the functions of judgment, and, unfortunately for far too many of them, they have a day of awakening. Even the known vices, small though they may be, are likely to be overlooked, if they are not condoned, by the girl who is about to be married. She argues something like this: "If I can put up with them, it is nobody's business." And so she marries with the partial hope in her breast that when she is his wife she can "reform" him. It is a pretty good gamble that if a man won't do a thing for love of a woman before he marries her, he won't after she is irrevocably his. And so we find women eating their hearts out through disappointment at their failure.

If most girls would stop to think that marriage in most cases presupposes the advent of children in the home and the future and the welfare of these children in life largely depends upon the kind of "father she gives them," she would not be so ready to make sacrifices for the man she thinks she loves.

A woman will suffer every kind of inconvenience, sacrifice and abuse at the hands of the man she marries, but the last straw is reached when his indignities extend to the children, or when his shortcomings bring the deprivation and suffering to them. And a woman never hates a man quite as much as when she realizes that he has inveigled her into giving her children a bad father.

Some may think it indelicate for the girl about to wed to think out the problems of possible motherhood and all that, but it is the only rational thing for the prospective wife to do. If more girls did this there would be fewer unhappy, few broken homes and less work for the divorce courts, because there would be greater circumspection on the part of men. Of course, the man of right type doesn't want to blight any life, and long before he thinks of marrying he is trying to curb whatever unsatisfactory tendencies he may have. Such a man deliberately sets out to find the kind of woman who will be the "right kind of a mother" for the children he expects to have. And so we are pretty likely to find an ideal home established when he does marry.—Katherine Kip, in Knickerbocker Press.

### THE BALKAN WAR.

War once more! In spite of Hague conferences and tribunals, czar's rescripts and arbitration treaties, the development of international interests and the growing conviction that the gain of conquest is a "great illusion," war has again broken out, and Slav and Turk, Christian and Moslem, are at each other's throats.

That it will be possible to keep the other partners to the Balkan alliance out of the conflict no one appears any longer to hope, and there is some anxiety lest some of the great powers be drawn into it and the struggle develop into a great European war.

We think there is little ground for such apprehension. The aged Emperor of Austria, who appears to have been genuinely desirous of peace all through, now says that although the maintenance of peace between Turkey and the Balkan states now appears to be impossible, the war will certainly be localized. And he may be expected to know, as the immediate cause of an extension of the conflagration would be a quarrel between Russia and Austria over the prey which Bulgaria and her allies are expected to drag down, or at least bring to bay.

This emphatic declaration that the war will certainly be localized suggests that once more these two robber powers have agreed beforehand not to come to blows over their respective shares of the booty, and that some concession is to be made to the Pan-Slavists in consideration for Austria's successful coup over Bosnia and Herzegovina. However, that may be, it is quite certain that none of the nationalities immediately concerned in the war will be allowed to profit by it. Turkey is not to be allowed to reap the fruits of victory even if she should be successful in beating off the present attack; that is always distinctly understood; and any conquest by any of the Balkan states will go, we may be sure, either to Russia or Austria.

Meantime worthy men of God in this country are endeavoring to stir up religious bigotry against the Turks, and in favor of the Christian states who have been hustled into this war, not by the wrongs of their fellow Christians, but by the sinister diplomacy of the great powers, by whom they are being used as catspaws.

The wrongs of Macedonia, the alleged persecutions of the Christians, are the most hollow subterfuge. In no country, probably, is there more toleration and less religious persecution, as such, than in Turkey. The feud between Turk and Christian in the Christian provinces of Eastern Europe has always been economic, not religious. And the immediate occasion of the present war, in which, be it noted, the Balkan states have been the aggressors, was not the wrongs of the subject races of Turkey, but the simple fact, as pointed out by a Servian comrade in "Vorwaerts," that Turkey is, as ever, a backward, feudal, unprogressive state. She has not come "into the swim" of international capitalism, and has not afforded the scope for capitalist enterprise, as Russia has done, and so must be broken.

With the revolution and the advent of the "Young Turk" regime it was hoped by the capitalist interests that this would be altered. But the Young Turks appear to have changed nothing except in the direction of becoming more intolerant to new ideas. Thus they have failed to make friends, either with the friends of genuine progress or with the capitalist mammon of unrighteousness. Working in conjunction with this fact, we have had Russian and Austrian intrigue and counter-intrigue, aided and abetted by the foolish and criminal Russophil policy of Great Britain.

Had that policy been inspired by anything save the most slavish subservience to the most cruel and bloodthirsty despotism in the world, how very different the situation might now have been! As at once the disinterested friend of Turkey and the Balkan states, England might have taken advantage of the revolution to have enforced such reforms as are now the excuse for the present outbreak, and have aided that democratic federation of the Balkan states which would have made them really autonomous and independent, and a bulwark against Russian aggression. As it is, our government has to add to the many crimes of its foreign policy this wicked, cruel and unnecessary war in the Balkans, with all the horrors, in bloodshed, outrage, ruined homes and unspeakable human misery it must entail.—London Justice.

### CAPITALIST SYSTEM ANALYZED.

Capitalism Is the Science of the Toolless' Exploitation by Those Who Own the Tools of Production.

The human race today is clearly divided into two great sections. No matter what part of the world you may go to, whether it be in the so-called barbaric state, or whether it is suffering under the scientific form of barbarism known as "civilization," you will find that men can only be called by one of two names; either they are wage slaves or capitalists.

What is a wage slave?

A wage slave is a man who creates wealth to the value of, say five pounds and then hands it over to another man who returns him a fraction of the amount in the form of wages.

The Port of London docks was built by the labor of hundreds of workmen; it is now a source of revenue to a few men who had nothing to do with its construction. The men who put the value into the docks by the exercise of their skill and labor power, these men have not the slightest claim upon the finished work of their hands. They are wage slaves, forced by the system of capitalism to sell their only thing of value, that is their labor power.

Year by year the class of the capitalists grows smaller; year by year the number of wage slaves increases. The system of capitalism requires men who are skilled in the use of their labor power, and, to obtain this end, to make labor power both accessible and mobile throughout the world, it will be necessary that every spontaneous and natural institution, such as the family, the trades unions and the various castes that are separated by differences of religious thoughts; all of these must disappear if capitalism is allowed to reach full development.

Capitalism is a science, the science of organized production and distribution in the interests of a few who own the implements of manufacture. Like other sciences, it has one or more fundamental propositions.

The pivot upon which the whole science turns is the well known formula: "Labor power applied to the resources of nature produces wealth." This proposition was recognized by the men who acquired the control of machine industry more than a hundred years ago.

That was the beginning of the system of private ownership, and never has a system of government developed so rapidly or become so formidable in so short a time. The men who, at that time, possessed wealth, realized the infinite possibilities of increasing wealth by developing private ownership on scientific lines.

The great obstacle to the development of capitalism was that the most important element in production, that is labor power, could not be reduced to the same level as other materials.

When the rigid laws of competition were brought to bear on the labor market, excluding numbers of people from the means of life, it was found that these sellers of labor power protested, separately and incoherently, against being made subject to the laws that regulate the raw materials of production.

They were useful to the capitalists, in fact they were invaluable, so the capitalists connected Parliament into a "National Dispensary," and its function ever since has been to legislate for the invalids and malcontents by the capitalist system.

Capitalism is woven into the texture of society like wire that is woven into silk. It is a metallic wire that will tear the fabric of society into shreds, and the fabric of society is flesh and blood. But capitalism carries the germs of its own extinction within itself. Capital is concentrating into fewer hands. The intermeditae, semi-intelligent class of small merchants and producers is being absorbed into the class of propertyless wage slaves. Intelligence is forced down to industrial subjection, but intelligence is also rising, and soon it will reach the level that Socialists are waiting for, the level when it can perceive its usefulness individually, and will instantly become a genuine economic body.

See how the capitalists organize. Observe the power of the trusts. Concentration of capital makes the capitalist supreme. Concentration of labor power will make the worker supreme. Never did men have a clearer road to travel; never was a revolution accomplished so easily as this can be. Labor power creates wealth; what it creates it can hold; what it creates it is entitled to.—G. L. Bryant, in The New World.

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## POETICAL



THE CAUSE.

By Bert Ullad.

Behind the scarlet shadow, behind the ages' blight,  
My eyes have caught a vision, a silhouette of night,  
And all that stupid cavil, and all that vain discourse,  
Can never stem the fury, for I have seen the source.

Let preachers prate about it, they earn their bread thereby;  
Let solons legislate, and let the "moral" hue and cry,  
As long as blood brings riches, as long as might makes right,  
The world shall hear the tramping of the Army of the Night.

As long as Labor's protest is heard and counts for naught;  
As long as legal vultures prey and judges can be bought,  
As long as special privilege can hold the Master's gold,  
The terror of the centuries our children shall behold.

As long as men shall struggle for power over men,  
As long as justice crawls to wealth and brands the false as true,  
As long as men shall struggle for power over men,  
The scourge shall sweep its madness, in spite of sword or pen.

As long as blind contentment can dull a Nation's mind;  
As long as men shall bow to laws that fetter them and bind;  
As long as foolish legions go searching for a cross  
The earth shall cry for freedom from this destructive force.

Oh, you who talk of evils, I say, come out with me,  
For life is worthy to be seen and there is much to see;  
Behold the children toiling beside the irksome loom  
And see the women young, yet old, within the factory room!

The slaves of mine and sweatshop, the toilers of the deep,  
And all the homeless thousands who beg for food and sleep.  
Come to the great dark prisons, where hope is misery—  
Oh, I shall show you sorrow, if you come out with me.

Come, see the lofty buildings where girls and mothers toil,  
Where bloated plutocrats take gain as pirates did their spoil,  
And dare to ask a reason why they have sought the street  
When at the close of day they scarce have food enough to eat.

Come, see the darkened hovels where human creatures dwell,  
The noise and din, the stifling heat—a miniature of hell;

Come, see the narrow alleys, come, see the crowded street,  
Where human beings cry for life, for life is fair and sweet.

As long as man shall worship a system red with rust;  
As long as man shall fly at wrong and talk and preach at lust,  
As long as want and sorrow shall curse the unborn child,  
The lives of thousands shall be crushed and millions be defiled.

As long as girls must labor and be denied their bread;  
As long as idle ease shall wait to be bedecked and fed;  
As long as men in bondage shall struggle to be free,  
The children of the system must take their bitter fee.

THE STRUGGLE FOR BREAD.

By Martin J. Connolly.

Fierce and more fierce grows the battle of life  
Women and children take part in the strife.  
A horrible struggle—a struggle for bread,  
That each day does number some one hundred dead.  
Oh, fearful the slaughter. Factories run gore;  
For every one killed there are wounded a score.  
Awful the struggle, and to the last breath  
They struggle for life. They get only death!

See the great army spread over the land:  
Three million children—a pitiful band,  
Pale little toddlers of most tender age  
(The blackest spot on all history's page!)  
Millions of children are toiling for bread—  
Robbed of their childhood, all hope from them fled.  
O God! they toil on, bereft of all joy,  
While millions of MEN are seeking employ!

Of women, six millions engage in the strife,  
Becoming unfitted for station as wife.  
Their wage is so meager, their bodies they sell,  
This to 'scape hunger. They'd rather chance hell  
When by so doing they can get their bread.  
(Oh, better, far better, for them were they dead!)  
Some six hundred thousand in this land today  
Their bodies sell daily on the great white way!

Shame on that nation that murders its young—  
And this for profit! The tears that are wrung  
From these tender children make dividends swell—  
The rich golden stream that will float us to hell!  
Distilled is the blood of these women to gold—  
Body and soul to the devil they're sold—  
To the devil are sold to make dividends swell—  
That rich golden stream that will float us to hell!

DEFINITION OF A SOCIALIST.

Who is a Socialist? It is a man  
Who strives to formulate or aid a plan  
To better earth's conditions. It is he  
Who, having ears to hear and eyes to see,  
Is neither deaf nor blind when might, roughshod,  
Treads down the privileges and right which God  
Means for all men, the privilege to toil;  
To breathe pure air; to till the fertile soil;  
The right to live, to love, to woo, to wed  
And earn for hungry mouths their meed of bread.  
The Socialist is he who claims no more  
Than his own share from generous nature's store.  
But that he asks, and asks, too, that no other  
Shall claim the share of any weaker brother,  
And brand him beggar in his own domain  
To glut a mad, inordinate lust for gain.  
The Socialist is one who holds the best  
Of all God's gifts is toil, the second, rest,  
He asks that all men learn the sweets of labor  
And that no idler fatten on his neighbor,  
That all men be allowed their share of leisure,  
Nor thousands slave that one may seek pleasure,  
Who on the Golden Rule shall dare insist;  
Behold in him the modern Socialist.

—Ella Wheeler Wilcox.

MARCHING SONG.

By Berton Braley.

If you're game to fight with no end in sight and never a band to play,  
If you're fit to toil with no hope of spoil and the toiling itself for pay,  
If you'll bear the irk of the thankless work of making the dream come true,  
If you'll march along through a hooting throng that bellows its oath at you,  
If you'll learn to meet each new defeat with the gritty old grin of yore,  
And lift your lance in a new advance with hardly a chance to score,  
Then you're just the breed that we sorely need; you're one of our kith and kin,  
So get the swing of the song we sing and join in the march—fall in.

We promise no loot to the young recruit, no glory or praise or fame,  
No gold you gain in this long campaign—but plenty of jeers and blame.  
The quarters are mean and the rations lean; the service is harsh and grim,  
The war is on from dark to dawn, from dawn to the twilight dim;  
But there's ever the cheer of a comrade near, and the touch of his sturdy arm,  
And his help in call if you faint and fall where the harrying foemen swarm.  
If you scorn reward for the fight that's hard, if you'd rather be right than win,  
Just get the swing of the song we sing and join the march—fall in!

If comradeship of heart—not lip—is more to your taste than cash,  
If ancient frauds and tinsel gods are idols you long to smash,  
If your patience breaks at the honored fakes that the pursy priests have  
decked,

If you're not content till the veil is rent and the temple of lies is wrecked,  
Then your place is made in our stern brigade that never can halt or pause  
Till the war is done and the fight is won—the fight for the human cause,  
So take your place and our step and pace in spite of the old world's din,  
And get the swing of the song we sing and join in the march—fall in!

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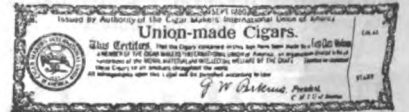
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