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INDEPENDENCE
EDUCATION ORGANIZATION

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OF MINERS**



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EDUCATION INDEPENDENCE ORGANIZATION

MINERS MAGAZINE



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 Communications not in conformity with this notice will not be published.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

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John M. O'Neill, Editor

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

Card of the Homestake Mining Co.

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

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

Department

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 OIL TRUST was "busted" by the Supreme Court of the United States, and immediately Standard Oil stock soared from \$680 to \$1,000.

SIX THOUSAND VOTES in the convention of the American Federation of Labor at Rochester in favor of industrial unionism must have given some of the disciples of craft autonomy palpitation of the heart.

WHEN A GIRL finds that her \$2 and \$3 a week will not pay her living expenses and a man (?) offers to replenish her purse on the usual condition, she is not deliberately a fallen woman. She is simply a helpless victim of this glorious system that we call civilization. Socialism would change all this.—Toiler's Defense.

PRESIDENT MOYER returned to headquarters last week from Rochester, New York, where he had been attending the annual convention of the American Federation of Labor as a representative of the Colorado State Federation of Labor.

THE OFFICIAL RETURNS of the late election show that "Billy" Wilson was defeated for Congress. Wilson served three terms in Congress and was chairman of the Labor Committee. Wilson was formerly a member of the United Mine Workers of America and served as secretary-treasurer of the national organization.

ATTOR, GIOVANNITTI AND CARUSO were acquitted last week at Salem, Mass. The trials were watched with interest by the labor movement of the country, and their acquittal means that capitalism with all its power and influence, did not dominate the judge and jurors, before whom, these men were tried on a charge that grew out of a conspiracy to murder them under forms of law.

THE CHICAGO WORLD secured from one of the largest department stores in that city price lists of 1895, just before the trust movement began, and compared them with the price lists for the present year, and finds that the cost of staples, provisions, fruits, cereals and canned goods has increased on every item and as high as 300 per cent in some instances. A significant feature about the Chicago paper's table is that not a single commodity mentioned is produced by union labor. So the crazy charge by some of the vicious plutocrats and their time-servers that the trade unions are partly responsible for the high cost of living is once more exploded. The trusts cannot hide their robbery by such lies.—Cleveland Citizen.

A WELCOME touch of humor was added to the situation the day after the election by the statement from Professor Wilson that "Business" had nothing to fear from his election.

Why, what on earth should it have to fear? It chose him and nominated him and wanted him, and does anybody out of the nursery imagine that it makes any mistake about such things?

But did you observe any such assurance issued from Princeton to the working class? Yet the working class is to the other as a mountain to a mole hill.

You might think about this sometime if you are interested in noting how much democracy there is in this Democratic humbug.—Coming Nation.

THE FOLLOWING are the names of the grand jurors who have been selected to investigate the killing of the two Greeks at McGill, Nevada, during the late strike.

- From Ely—A. L. Parker, foreman; R. H. Holtzman, L. H. Murdock, J. H. Ludke and John Weber.
- From East Ely—Angus B. McDonald.
- From Steptoe—W. B. Campbell.
- From Osceola—James H. Marriott.
- From Shoshone—Alfred Swallow.
- From Snake Valley—George S. Robison and Alfred Bellander.
- From Lund—A. R. Whitehead and M. W. Harrison.
- From Preston—Chris Jensen and C. Hermansen, Sr.
- From Hamilton—Carl F. Muir.
- From Illipah—Clarence Moorman.

THE PREDICTIONS of coming calamity, which have been aroused by the election of a Democratic administration bent upon revising the tariff and "solving the trust problem," have aroused the resentment of The Commoner.

Mr. Bryan does not believe in letting the malefactors of great wealth threaten panic and disaster without bristling up to them. He is not afraid. "If a few Wall Street financiers can bring a panic whenever they desire and are heartless enough to punish the country for not submitting to Wall Street dictation," Mr. Bryan says, "then the sooner they are driven from political power the better."

Mr. Bryan, we fear, has missed the point. The Wall Street financiers do not create panics with political power. It's their economic power that gives them the ability to open and close mills and curtail or expand credits.

Stripping a financier of his political power offers a means of lessening his economic power if the political power shall be used to that end. But "to drive the Wall Street financiers from political power" and leave them in undisputed possession of their economic power would be quite as effective in preventing Wall Street panics as an operation to remove a citizen's appendix would be to relieve him of gall stones and restore his hair.—Milwaukee Leader.

AT THE SOUTH HECLA MINE located at Alta, Utah, the diet furnished commands but little admiration from men whom circumstances force to become inmates of a fodder factory that is operated for "revenue only."

One of the gentlemen who has had some experience has sent us a communication, and on the first page of his communication we find the following, which is presumed to be a tribute to the joint where miners and muckers are fed:

HOTEL DeBUM.

MENU.

		Dishwater Soup				
Beef	Beef	Beef	Beef	Beef	Beef	Beef
		Raw Spuds, Ala Alta				
		Cayenne Pepper Stew, Ala Sandy				
	Hash Pie		Slab Cake		Sawdust Pie	
	Tea (?)				Coffee (?)	

While the above menu may have a touch of humor for some people, yet, there is an important lesson to be learned from the menu which a miner places at the head of his communication.

The very fact that a company boarding house insults workingmen with a diet that brings forth protests of disgust is absolute evidence that the working class makes it possible for the operators of hash foundries to serve almost any kind of food, and to use a common expression, "Get away with it."

The working class is the prey of all, simply because laboring men have not as yet learned that in "union there is strength." The profit-monger always takes advantages of every opportunity to reap profit, and if workingmen yearn to command wholesome food as well as living wages, they must stand together and give battle to an industrial system that places a higher value on dividends than on human life.

THE MEN and women who will be the criminals of twenty-five years from now are today sweet-faced children.

The man who twenty-five years from now will, somewhere in this world, commit the crime that will set humanity aghast with horror is today a fine, lovable boy.

The girls who will be "walking the streets"—yes, only ten years from now—are today as sweet and pure and as full of love and kindness as God's own angels.

The man who a quarter century from now will be at the head of a great, pitiless business, mercilessly transforming the life blood of women and children into gold—which he puts onto the backs of his wife and daughters—is today a fine, manly little fellow, who belies all that his mother tells him about the value of kindness and gentleness.

Innocence is in the hearts of children; love speaks from baby eyes and God's truths from baby lips.

And so, then, here they are—these criminals-to-be—among the children all about us, fighting as best they know against God only knows how many odds to keep their priceless goodness.

This world already has too many bloodhounds; too many Sherlock Holmeses; too many policemen, to catch the criminal after he has committed his crime.

Now, you have the point. Catch him BEFORE he's committed his crime. Find a loving Sherlock Holmes, you suggest, who can go among the children and track down the criminals-to-be and thus permit us to save them—the sweet little children!

It's a fine idea. But how save them?

Our children today, in the great factory districts like Lawrence and other centers of great poverty and oppression, are crying for help. If you have the right kind of ears, you can hear them.

These children are sinking into criminality.

What does the world do? With its cruel right hand, representing greed and oppression, it thrusts them into the stream. Now and then, with its diamond-bedecked left hand, representing, for instance, the wishy-washy charitable societies that such men as J. Pierpont Morgan and John D. Rockefeller give their money to, it extends a gracefully curved little finger with a make-believe help that makes the drowning all the more terrible.

We know where the criminals-to-be can be found among the children, but we're too selfish to save them; we think it is cheaper to put them in jail after they have become criminals.—Columbus Citizen.

THE MINORITY REPORT on Industrial Unionism as submitted in the A. F. of L. convention at Rochester, New York, and on which the delegates voted was as follows:

"That where practical one organization should have jurisdiction over an industry, and where in the judgment of a majority of the men actually involved it is not practical, then the committee recommends that they organize and federate in a department and work together in such manner as to protect, as far as possible, the interests of all connecting branches."

Ayes—Myrup, Koch, Goldstone, Proebstle, Kemper, Ward, Kugler, Sullivan (J.), Wheeler, Crozier, Barnes, Zuckerman, Cursi, O'Neal, Williams (John), Johnston, Van Lear, Buckley, White (John), Mitchell, Hayes (F. J.), Walker, Lewis, McDonald, Green (Wm.), Williams (J. C.), Scanlan, Young, Cannon, Skemp, Tazelaar, Rodriguez, Arnold, Barry, Halpine, Hart, Wilson (Harry), Sutor, Ryan (M. F.), Weeks, Adames, Paquin, Brown (J. G.), Brais, Biggs, Robinson, Hayes (M. S.), Holt, Moyer, Smith (Jos.), Behrens, Donoghue, Coates, Corcoran, Brockhausen, Schrievner, White (R. H.), Gillispee (G. W.), Hays (C. A.), Diehl, Weber (F. J.), Phillipi, Keane (J. J.), Niven, Morris (J. F.), Simpson, English, Lawler, Weiss, representing 5,929 votes.

Conroy, Rickert, Larger, Daley, Altman, Schwarz, Rosenberg, Dyche, Pierce, Rosenberg (Meyer), Hayes (D. A.), Heritage, Marx, Ring, Nestor, Duncan, Garvey (James), Archie, Lawlor (Martin), Shalvoy, Green (M. F.), D'Allessandro, D'Andrea, Etchison, Marshall, Kenehan, Flore, Sullivan (J. L.), Farrell, Miller (George), Pattberg, McSorley, Taggart, Bailey, Coakley, O'Connor, Chlopek, Neisham, Harrison, Lamb, Wharton, Lowe, Powers, Allen, Call, Daly (T. M.), Leary, Rumsey, O'Sullivan, Crane, Hynes, Walsh, Valentine, Frey, Curran, Langan, Weber (J. N.), Miller (Owen), Carey (D. A.), Winkler, Hendrick, Wright, Carey (J. T.), Wilson (James), Gernon, Sheret, Woll, McGivern, Cook, McDermott, Clark (W. D.), Alpine, Tracey (Wm. J.), Leonard, Murphy, Nelson, Menge, Malin, Dacey, Perham, Brown (W. T.), Miller (J. F.), Gallagher (T. J.), Commons, Furuseth, Hanson, Hylen, Shay, Suarez, Lemke, Freel, Sumner, Short, Jette, McKay, Grimshaw, Heberling, Welch, Connors, Tobin (D. J.), Hughes, Neer, Gillespie (J. M.), Morris (J. J.), Golden, Starr, Wililams (T. J.), Evans, Shilling, Lynch, Morrison, Stevenson, McCullough, Hanley, Cooke, Ali, Birnes, Gallagher (A. J.), Keane (J. A.), Holder, Corley, Sumner (Stephen), Pflieger, O'Brien, Shaughnessy, Donnelly, Ryan (P. J.), Walls, McGrath, Shamp, Vanderveld, Prinz, Egan, Young, Preble, Hoefgen, Creamer, Fitzgerald (T. D.), Cone, Sullivan (James H.), Tharp, McCarthy, Collins, Coughlin, Morton, Mullen, Smith (Frank), Garman, Sause, Cavanagh, Landers, Sontheimer, Privett, Kane, Smith (J. T.), Butler, Fahey, Welch (M. R.), Holland, Hunter, Evans, Norman, Draper, Bryan, McGrath, Brower, Bonner, Hirschberg, Koveleski, James, Lapham, Scharrenberg, Henley, Wood, Bates, Spencer, Snellings, Youhan, Wildberger, Voll, Duffy (Kathryn), Lampa, McAndrews, Cunningham, Woodhouse, Sinclair, Mulkern, Johnson, Beckman, Gold, representing 10,934 votes.

Not Voting—Labraico, Bryan (W. E.), Healey (Dennis), Price (Walter V.), Hannah, Whitehead, Mahon, Taber, Huddleston, Carolan, Curtis, Swick, Lennon, McGinley, Tracey (M. F.), Burns, Elyea, Campbell, Chance, Doherty, Hannon, Stokes, Felio, Purcell, O'Rourke, Morris (E. C.), Bohm, Waldron, Lebowitz, Dunne, Seddon, Smillie, Bruce, representing 444 votes.

The above is the record on roll call, and this record may be valuable in the future to those who are fighting for an industrial organization.

Four Years from Now

THE ST. LOUIS DISPATCH, a short time ago, published a cartoon portraying the situation of the Democratic party nationally. The cartoon showed a fat, sleek jackass up to his knees in clover. The election of a Democratic President and Congress has given a satisfied look to the old jackass that was once pictured as lean, hungry and emaciated. But the jackass will have a troubled look ere another four years have rolled around, and it is probable that the old Democratic

mule at the close of the year 1916 will have a forlorn appearance brooding in a patch of thorns and thistles.

No one will dispute the fact that we are nearing a crisis in this country. The great mass of the people are being driven closer to the breakers of adversity. The comparatively few—the class of privilege—are even more ravenous for profit, and there are symptoms of discontent which indicate a rebellion against the wrongs from which the

many suffer. The question arises, will the coming Democratic administration grapple with the problems that are demanding a solution, or will the administration merely apply those worthless nostrums that prolong the agony of the victims of exploitation?

If the Democratic administration fails to give the relief expected by the people, then the jackass will be no longer the emblem of hope, but will become the most scorned animal among the breed of quadrupeds.

To observing men, the future has but little of the blush of the dawn of prosperity. The revising of the tariff downward will not solve the problems that must be solved ere the citizenship of this country can "enjoy life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness." The class that is clothed with economic power, regardless of tariff or no tariff, is master of the situation, and while this class holds in its custody the

means of life, that class can levy a tariff on the masses of the people.

Freedom for humanity cannot be found in the profit system. A civilization that breeds masters and slaves has no liberty worthy of the name, and until equal opportunity becomes the heritage of the whole human race it is idle to expect that prosperity anticipated by the deluded who have faith in the Democratic party. Men of thought and intelligence are glad that the Democratic party has made a clean sweep and that no barriers are in the way to prevent a Democratic President and Congress from making good the pledges made to the people.

The people will be disappointed, and four years from now the vision of those who are disappointed will be clearer and they will then be ready to join hands with the membership of a political party that makes no compromise with the hellish system that enslaves man.

American Federation of Labor Convention

LEADERS OF REGULARS AND INSURGENTS IN BATTLE ARRAY AND FISTIC ENCOUNTER IS NARROWLY AVERTED—GOMPERS HAS DIFFICULTY IN MAINTAINING ORDER.

THE CONVENTION of the Federation of Labor came within less than ace of breaking up in a merry riot and free for all fight this morning. During a bitter and sarcastic attack upon industrial unionism, James P. Egan, delegate of the Ohio Federation of Labor, a member of the Typographical Union and a correspondent for one of the leading Toledo papers, characterized those who advocate the industrial system as "paper mache revolutionists, advocating free love and Fletcherism."

He got io further in his speech. Socialists from all over the hall sprang to their feet with hisses and shouts. President Gompers rapped in vain with his gavel and shouted for order. John Walker, the chief advocate of the industrial system, failing to make himself heard above the uproar, stalked across the front of the hall to Egan, who still remained standing, waiting to finish his speech.

The delegates noticed his belligerent attitude and quieted down. President Gompers orderd Walker to take his seat, but Walker paid not the slightest heed. Pointing one finger in the direction of Egan, the enraged champion of industrial unionism exclaimed in a voice that could be heard by all, "I want to be near and hear him say that again."

"Sit down," thundered Gompers.

"Go on," sid Walker to Egan. "Say that again."

Delegates from the rear of the hall rushed to the front, either to participate in the fight that seemed imminent, or to part the contestants. Egan, who is little more than half the size of Walker, stood his grounds.

Gompers again insisted that Walker sit down, but again he was completely ignored. Walker said no more, but stood waiting for Egan to continue. At last the president succeeded in quieting the other delegates and Walker and Egan were left the center of the scene.

"Mr. Walker," said Gompers now quietly, "I respectfully but firmly insist that you take your proper seat in this convention."

After a moment's thought, Walker consented and returned to his table.

"I repeat," continued Egan, as soon as Walker had departed, "that this movement for industrial unionism is founded in a body that lies outside of the organization of labor men, that it is proposed with no idea that it can be passed. It is the propaganda of a body whose chief contention is free love and Fletcherism."

His words were met with hisses and cat calls, but there was no further demonstration.

The smoke of battle from yesterday afternoon's conflict still hung low over Convention Hall this morning as the delegates cleared for action and the discussion of industrial unionism, which, by special order, was slated for today's session. Industrial Unionism in the Federation is a pet Socialist project. It is, therefore, opposed by the regulars with a new water pitcher on the stand to replace the one shattered by President Gompers in the heat of combat yesterday, and with the two factions eager to follow up victory and recover from defeat of yesterday, the session when called to order promised to be interesting.

Industrial unionism is the organization of working men with their industries as the unit, as opposed to craft unionism, which has as its unit the different departments of an industry.

Thus, under the system of industrial unionism, the shoe industry would be organized as a whole, the association would include all men engaged in making shoes; under craft unionism, the system in vogue, the cutters, sewers, etc., would be combined in different organizations. The committee on resolutions reported in opposition to industrial unionism. A motion was made to accept a minority report favoring industrial unionism.

The moment the motion was made President Gompers put it to vote without calling for debate. A dozen men sprang to their feet and demanded discussion. "I am glad I have wakened some delegates," said President Gompers, and the discussion opened with a short speech by Paul Scharrenberg, a member of the Longshoremen's delegation, in opposition to industrial unionism and in favor of the majority report of the committee.

He was followed by many other speakers. Frank Hayes, a member of the United Miners of America, an organization in which the system has been tried and proved successful, spoke forcefully for the system. He stated that the slogan of industrial unionists is "an in-

jury to one is the concern of all" and that the system gives to the smallest craft as much attention as the larger, that it does away with internal dissension within the Federation, and that it stands for power by united action.

John Mitchell Speaks.

John Mitchell, the president of the United Miners, one of the foremost labor men in the country, who is considered the most powerful orator in the Federation, spoke from the floor for the first time during this convention. "The fact that my organization has declared for industrial unionism is sufficient reason why I should stand for it now; but that is not the only reason why I shall cast my vote for it. I have voted for it in every convention in which it has been brought to the front. I believe in it. I am not one of those who believe that men can be picked up here and set down there, as one moves checkers on a checker board. I believe that men will decide this question in accordance with what their experience has taught them. My experience with it in the United Miners leads me to support it."

He then launched into a flowery and effective defense of the move in which he explained numerous incidents in which the form of organization had saved the United Miners from embarrassment. He was roundly applauded at the conclusion by both factions. Mitchell is in a peculiar positioi, in that he is actively supporting a move which is radically opposed to the policy of the "organization" of which he is supposed to be one of the most powerful members. It is said that he takes this attitude simply because he is under specific instructions from the organization which he represents, but those who heard him speak this morning, and are unprejudiced, have no doubt as to his sincerity in this question, at least.

John Walker spoke in favor of the industrial system. He drew up the minority report of the committee, which recommended non-concurrence with the resolution, and presented an excellent defense of his position. His address, however, was less effective than Mitchell's, for the reason that it was more bitter. He went so far as to threaten the powers that be in the Federation with defeat if they did not support the demand for the new system. "Those of you who stand in the way of this move," he said, "will soon have to conform to the wishes of the majority of the workers who want it, or you will have to make way for others."

"Afraid of Majority."

He stated that the system was opposed because many did not have confidence in the judgment of their co-workers. The industrial system would mean that you could not go on strike if those who are effected by it believed that the cause was not just," he stated. "The opposition means," he said, "that you are afraid of the majority of your fellow workers."

Another uproar was caused when, at the conclusion of the speech, a delegate moved that discussion be closed. President Gompers put the motion and declared it carried amid the protest of those who were clamoring for the floor. The protest was so marked that the president again put the question and declared it lost. The meeting was then reopened for debate.

But few speakers, comparatively, were heard in defense of craft organization. Their main contentions were that it fosters dissension, that it is impractical and revolutionary, that it deprives labor men of self-government, and is therefore unjust, and that the present policy of the Federation, which provides for the organization of men by crafts and gradual amalgamation into larger bodies is sufficient. Debate had not closed at the conclusion of this morning's session, but it is believed by the wise ones that the motion to adopt the minority report favoring industrialism will be lost.

Afternoon Session.

Samuel Gompers, boss of the Federation, and Max S. Hayes, one of the leaders of the Socialist forces, in a one-round bout on the floor of the convention, was the main attraction at yesterday afternoon's session. Both men have lots of punch. Both know how to handle their tongues, and when the smoke of battle rolled away and the fighters retired to their corners, the champion belt still remained in the ring, a trophy for future contention.

The fight was all over proposed actions of the Federation in regard to the Sherman anti-trust act. Max S. Hayes recommended the Socialist party as a medium through which the labor men may express their desire to amend or annul the law which, it is claimed, is working

injustice upon labor unions that was never intended by the framers of the law. It was especially in regard to the famous hatters' case that the discussion arose.

President Gompers reviewed the work that the Federation had carried on, and the agitation that it had started all over the country. Turning to the Socialist leader, and speaking in general to all the Socialists, he thundered, "And where were you during that agitation?"

"I'll tell you where we were," came the response from all over the floor, but Joseph D. Cannon of the Western Federation of Miners made his voice heard above the others. "I'll tell you where our organization was," he shouted, "It was levying an assessment of 25 cents on each one of its members for the defense of the hatters. That was not hot air; that was money."

"I'll tell you where I was," shouted Max S. Hayes. "I was in New York city for two weeks during that agitation, talking to union men and men who were not in the union, at four and five meetings a night, trying to arouse them to a sense of their duty in the matter."

"Yes," shouted back Gompers over the din of other Socialists who were trying to tell where they were. "Yes, but in opposition to the policy formulated by the American Federation of Labor. You took and have taken the opposite side of every one of our policies just as you opposed me in your speech of last Sunday. As president of the American Federation of Labor, as a delegate to the convention or as a private citizen you may join any political party you choose, but I have said to you time and again, and I repeat it now, that when you

run counter to the expressed policy of the American Federation of Labor, you will find at least me waiting to fight you on the floor of this and every other convention, even unto hell."

He brought his fist down upon the table with force to upset the pitcher of water standing there. He smiled a little as he dodged the deluge, and the incident relieved the strain of the meeting. Order was soon restored and the discussion continued.

The attitude of the Socialists in regard to the hatters' case was to reimburse the men who had suffered through the operation of the law, and for the Federation to take the fight upon its own shoulders. President Gompers and his followers were not in favor of such action, not because, as they stated, they were not in thorough sympathy with the men, but because they did not wish to throw the whole responsibility upon their own shoulders. The question was referred to the committee on president's report for consideration.

In another part of his speech Gompers again reiterated his policy of keeping the Federation a non-partisan body. He took upon the shoulders of the Federation the responsibility for the recent defeat of President Taft. "Don't you know," he said at another time, "that if John Mitchell would have given his consent he could have had the nomination for the vice presidency? Would you have voted for him?" This to the Socialists. "No," shouted a voice from the rear of the hall. "I knew you wouldn't," returned Gompers.—Rochester Telegram.

The Sentiment Is Growing

IN THIS ISSUE of the Miners' Magazine there appears a lengthy report taken from the Rochester Telegram on the debate which took place on the floor of the A. F. of L. convention on the question of industrial unionism.

That the debate was tropical and even acrimonious at times, no one will dispute who reads the report in the reproduced article from the Telegram. The delegates who spoke for industrial unionism had all the best of the argument, but lacked the numerical strength in the convention to make industrial unity an accomplished fact in the policy of the American Federation of Labor.

The opponents of industrial unionism advanced no logical arguments to prove the efficacy of craft and trade autonomy, but labor leaders jealous of their particular craft reservation and with their vision focused on their jobs were able to postpone the time when industrial unionism shall triumph and supplant the policy which keeps regiments of labor from coming into a great invincible army.

The "labor leaders" who stand for the policy which divides labor on the industrial battlefield must have felt the force of the storm in the recent convention of the American Federation of Labor and must have realized that in the near future, craft unionism must give way to that sentiment that is daily growing stronger for the solidarity of the working class.

The fact that Samuel Gompers declared in stentorian tones that

"you will find at least me waiting to fight you on the floor of this and every other convention, even unto hell," will avail but little. The sulphuric language of Gompers will not halt the champions of industrial unionism in their missionary work, for the men and women in the labor movement who have discerned the weakness in the armor of craft organizations will go on preaching the message of industrial and political unity until even Gompers at the mouth of "hell" will be forced to capitulate and run up the white flag.

The rank and file who bear the brunt of battles on the industrial field, who bear the insults and outrages perpetrated by murderous thugs and who frequently look into the barrels of rifles in the hands of state militia and federal troops, will little longer give their approval or maintain an organization whose policy courts defeat in almost every conflict between employer and employé.

The labor organization of the future must be so constructed that every employé, regardless of his craft or trade, must be a member of the industrial department to which he rightfully belongs, and the various industrial departments must be cemented together by the ties of class interest, so that men and women under the banner of organized labor, will neither *scab* politically or industrially.

The labor organization of the future will be a *real labor union*, under whose flag labor will stand shoulder to shoulder, using its political and economic power to end the system that makes it necessary for "labor leaders" to declare: "We will reward our friends and rebuke our enemies."

The A. F. of L. Convention

THE PRESENT CONVENTION of the American Federation of Labor at Rochester, New York, is the most interesting, dramatic and significant in its history.

An epoch-making fight is going on that is the clearest revelation extant of the universal drift of our times. A fight is going on that started years ago and that has grown and grown in importance until at this convention, for the first time in the history of organized labor in this country it has become the main event.

It is the great fight between two distinct elements in the labor movement. On the one hand are the pure and simple trade unionists who want things to remain as they are, who want politics kept out of the unions, and who believe in the existing system of industry where labor is nothing but a slave and an understrapper for the capitalist class.

On the other side are the trade unionists who do not want things to remain as they are, who want all union men to unite in a political party of the working class and who want to use the unions as one arm of Labor and the political party as the other to do away with the present evil conditions and bring forth a new and better system where labor shall rule and enjoy all the products of its efforts. In other words, the present fight in the A. F. of L. convention is the struggle between the forces of Capitalism on the one side and Socialism on the other.

Gompers and his well-constructed and well-oiled machine is the loyal defender of Capitalism. The increasing number of representatives sent each year by the revolting rank and file are the forces of Socialism opposing him. If there are any people in the world whom Gompers hates, it is the Socialists, for he knows when they become a majority in the A. F. of L. machine rule and Gompers rule is at an end. He hates them far more than he hates the big employers and corporations who are attempting to destroy labor; in fact, so close is the relationship between Gompers and his henchmen and the big capitalists who are fighting labor, that Gompers' side of this fight is championed by every capitalist daily paper in the land, and a general thrill of rejoicing proceeds from Wall Street to every corner of the country whenever

"another victory is recorded for Gompers." In fact, Gompers and his friends and the exploiters of labor can afford to rejoice over the same victories," for in common they are defenders of the same system against the Socialists.

But the Socialists are not worried. As surely as the sun rises they are becoming a dominant force in the world of Labor. Labor will not always defend the system that bruises and robs it. Year after year the Socialist contingent increases. This year they were so strong in the convention that Gompers has been forced to the defensive, and Socialism has become the main issue.

It will not win this year because Gompers' vest pocket is too large—he carries too many proxies, but it has forced Gompers into a most humiliating position: It has forced him to take a stand against the initiative and referendum and against any class conscious political action of the working class. This makes him so palpably the defender of machine unionism and capitalism that this convention really constitutes the date he signs his death warrant.

But if Gompers can shame-facedly oppose the referendum and political action, he can scarcely withstand the new force of industrial unionism.

John Mitchell and all the leaders of the United Mine Workers have introduced a resolution jointly declaring against the organization of labor by crafts and calling for its organization by industries. This is a long step and a mighty one, and when it is considered that such an ultra-conservative as John Mitchell has at last become its advocate, one begins to comprehend what tremendous pressure from the rank and file has been brought to bear to bring about this change; for these two great victories—one for political Socialism and the other for industrial Socialism—are really victories of the rank and file over the officials.

Gompers' days are numbered. The same battle that was fought and won by the Socialists in Europe years ago in the labor conventions is being fought now, and the last defender of Capitalism in the ranks of Labor will soon meet his Waterloo.—Inter-Mountain Worker, Salt Lake.

Will Co-operate as One

SAMUEL GOMPERS in the convention at Rochester made the statement that nearly a year ago John Mitchell, formerly president of the United Mine Workers, was offered the nomination for vice president of the United States, and then, Samuel towering to his full height, bellowed to the so-called radicals in the convention: "Would you fellows vote for him?"

He was answered by a thunderous "No!"

Mr. Mitchell was offered the nomination by the political hirelings of capitalism. The nomination was proffered to Mitchell, not because he was a member of organized labor, but because the henchmen who do the bidding and carry out the instructions of organized wealth had reached the conclusion that Mitchell as a candidate of a party dominated by a master class, could rally the labor vote to the political standard of that party who used Mitchell as the bait to catch the votes of the working class.

The Socialist does not *scab* at the ballot box.

The real union man never *scabs* on the industrial field.

The real union man is loyal to his class politically and industrially and could not dishonor himself by voting for a candidate who received his nomination through the dictum of a master class, who use courts, police, thugs, state militia and federal troops to suppress labor when fighting a battle for justice.

The fact that Mitchell or any other man holds a card in a labor organization is not proof positive that Mitchell or other men holding cards in labor organizations are loyal to the class to which they belong.

The fact that *labor* is in the *majority* and that *privilege* is in the

minority and that *privilege rules* is conclusive evidence that labor, consciously or unconsciously, is guilty of treason to itself.

This is harsh language to use, but the facts speak for themselves, and we believe in telling the truth as we see it, even though the membership of organized labor who divided their ballots between Taft and Wilson, tear their hair and hurl their indignation against the man who dares to question their loyalty.

The membership of organized labor who voted for the same political party as Boss Sullivan of Chicago and Boss Murphy of New York, and the same political party as James Peabody of Colorado and Governor Oddie of Nevada, cannot be loyal to the principles for which labor is fighting. Gompers has spewed his malice and hate against the Socialists, but let us remind our friend Samuel that the Socialists whom he looks upon as his enemies are not responsible for the fact that he, Mitchell and Morrison are before the courts, but the fellows whom he "rebukes as our enemies and rewards as our friends" are the gentlemen who have made labor dig up the "mazuma" to keep the trinity of labor officials from serving time in prison.

The Socialists in the labor movement have contributed as generously as the most loyal idolaters of Samuel, not because they are afflicted with that weakness known as "hero worship," but because they felt that the charges brought against Gompers, Mitchell and Morrison were assaults on the labor movement.

A few more years and the Socialist and labor movement will be as one, co-operating with each other, for even obstinacy and prejudice must give way before arguments that cannot be successfully met by the defenders of a *policy* that fails to solidify labor, either industrially or politically.

Prayer in the Herkimer Jail

(Offered During Sunday Service by Robert A. Bakeman, Charged With Assault With Intent to Kill.)

Heart of the Infinite, no matter by what name men address Thee, Thou who art not mystified by the confusion of tongues but art sensitive to the aspirations of every human heart, we would rise above the accidents of birth that make us to be called Italians and Poles and Slavs and be conscious of our common brotherhood.

We would remember our splendid Comrade Jesus of whom so much has been said this afternoon. We would be patient with those who have failed to catch the thrilling vision of the Jesus whom they worship, who took his place within the prison walls rather than be untrue.

We would remember the Jesus who accepted ridicule and misunderstanding and abuse, and the fierce, hot hatred of the privileged class rather than betray the oppressed and exploited. We would remember the Jesus who pictured so vividly the folly of pretending to follow Him and leaving out one of the least of His brother men.

Confused though we are in the darkness of this prison pen, surrounded by iron bars and impenetrable walls on every side, with the clank of the doors of steel and the noise of the heavy keys in their locks

always sounding in our ears, we would realize just how powerless they all are.

Into what insignificance bolts and bars and mighty locks and massive masonry and armed guards all sink and fade, as they attempt to stay the progress of ideas with the compelling force of the universe behind them!

May we, right here, deprived of our physical freedom, lose sight of these prison bars, in the realization that we are a part of this great movement that will not cease until man is freed from slavery and oppression.

For those who are on strike at Little Falls, we pray. Strengthen them against the insidious powers of greed and force that conspire each day to crush by brute strength their brave efforts to get a living wage. Forgive those in authority, for they know not what they do.

Bless, we pray, the fathers and mothers and wives and children of all us boys, stunned and perplexed as they are by the happenings of these weeks that have gone; and may this dark dungeon be lighted up through every hour of day and night by that inward light that always burns when man is trying to be true.

In the name of a humanity greater than the limits of race or color or creed, we ask it all.—The Citizen.

A Losing Game

IT IS A WELL-PLAYED GAME, that of the West Virginia operators, but they are up against a combination they can't beat this time, a combination of absolute necessity, backed by memories of ruthless exploitation. The miners will never give up, because their very existence depends on their resistance. Years of slavery, unprotected by any organization, hounded and harassed by the Baldwin thugs, have taught a lesson that cannot be effaced. But, as we said in the beginning, it is a well-played game the operators are playing.

When "martial law" was discontinued the operators hired most of the officers and many of the privates to serve as guards on the creeks.

Clad in the uniform of the national guard of the state of West Virginia, these tin soldiers, for a paltry amount of temporary remuneration sought to overawe the miners by an assumption of power that was not given them by the state or county officers or any other legitimate authority.

And now the governor, prevailed on by accounts of riots, instigated and carried out by agents of the operators, has again declared martial law.

And who is to maintain the peace and law of the state?

These men, lately the hirelings of the operators; alive with that kind of gratitude to the operators that the cynic described as "keen appreciation of favors still to come."

But the strike will not be settled by any display of force, however it may be used in favor of the mine owners.

They cannot dig coal with their Winchesters or machine guns. Neither can the poor derelicts they are bringing in from New York dig any of the coal for them.

Their only purpose is to induce the men who belong there in the mines, who can dig the coal, to return to work; to make those believe that they can get men to fill the mines.

But there is no coal coming down the creek. Never will the men of Paint creek, of Cabin creek, submit to such conditions as were thrust upon the unorganized men of West Virginia. The operators, in their greed, their ruthless exploitation, have taught the lesson too well.

Some day coal will again be dug on Cabin creek, on Paint creek, on Coal river.

When that time comes men will dig it who will be allowed the freedom of their own homes. And that was denied them in the dark days that have passed; the sheltering of a relative was often made a cause for summary eviction.

The miners who dig the coal will demand the right guaranteed by law—that their own representative shall see that the coal is fairly weighed. They will have the privilege of trading where they wish; they will demand that the officials who enforce the law shall be chosen by the majority of the citizens of the community.

They will demand the privilege of freemen, to speak on any subject they see fit; to listen to whom they please, on any subject they wish to listen to.

All these elemental rights have been denied them in the past. But in the past it will remain. The future is bright for the miners of West Virginia. They have asserted their manhood, and their demands must be heeded before permanent peace can be restored.—United Mine Workers' Journal.

Brightens Skies in Ely

INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM was defeated of adoption by the American Federation of Labor at the Rochester convention now in session. This fact brightens the local outlook because, had that policy been adopted by the Federation, it would surely have meant another general strike in this district. The radical element of the A. F. of L. voted solidly in favor of adopting the principle of industrial unionism, but the total vote they could muster was just about one-third of that cast on the question.

Adoption of the principle of industrial unionism by the A. F. of L. would mean that whenever one craft affiliated with the federation had a grievance that could not be amicably settled with the employer, and a strike should be called, all other crafts also affiliated with the A. F. of L. would be forced to join in the strike and practically make the grievance of the one craft their grievance. It is opposed to the principle of autonomy or independent self-government for each craft, which means that crafts affiliated with the A. F. of L. are not compelled to support another craft engaged in a strike unless they shall choose to do so by voluntary determination of the members.

The question as to the adoption of the principle of industrial unionism was considered by the committee on education of the Federation which submitted two reports: the majority report was adverse, while the minority report favored it. The vote on the question of adoption of the minority report was the first test of strength between the radical and conservative wings of the Federation. The crafts voting to adopt the minority report were the United Mine Workers, Western Federation of Miners, Bakers and Confectioners, Iron, Steel and Tin Workers, Printing Pressman, Railroad Carmen and Journeymen Tailors, represented by 142 delegates casting 5,592 votes. Opposed to the adoption of the minority report favoring the principle of industrial unionism were all other crafts represented in the convention by 249 delegates casting 10,983 votes. The United Mine Workers cast 2,670 and the Western Federation 506 votes. The defeat of the minority report is a victory for President Gompers, who ably defended the present policy of the Federation which is based on the principle of autonomy for each union. —Ely Daily Mining Expositor.

The above appearing on the editorial page of the Expositor should furnish food for the mental digestion of the worker. There is no ques-

tion but that the Expositor is somewhat jubilant over the action taken by the American Federation of Labor on the question of industrial unionism. The Expositor is thoroughly cognizant of the weakness of craft unionism, and the workingman who is gifted with the ordinary faculties of perception knows full well that the Expositor is not a sheet that espouses the cause of organized labor.

The question, then, arises on what grounds does the Expositor base its satisfaction on the defeat of industrial unionism in the recent convention at Rochester? The Expositor knows that labor-fighting Employers' Associations, Manufacturers' Associations and Mine Operators' Associations with a craft organization, while all the other crafts remain at work, is powerless to wrest any concessions from the combinations of capital that see no dividing lines of autonomy when battling against the demands of a craft or trade organization.

Craft organizations cannot grapple with the solidarity of organized wealth, and the Expositor is joyful that labor when fighting against greed, will continue to go down to defeat through labor being scattered and divided into regiments.

If craft and trade autonomy in a labor organization is beneficial to labor, then state autonomy should be beneficial to this nation and should be advocated by those sheets which express satisfaction when labor refuses to break the shackles that bind it to the policy of craft autonomy.

To show the false pretense and hypocrisy of the Expositor, let us suppose that the state of New York became involved in a difficulty with Canada which presaged war. Would the Expositor insist that all the other states of our Union remain neutral or indifferent while Canada backed by England administered a thrashing to the citizenship of New York? Would not the Expositor contend that the people of New York were a part of the citizenship of this country and demand that 90,000,000 of people should come to the rescue and save New York from being overwhelmed by defeat?

Would not the Expositor contend that an injury to New York was an injury to the nation, and if that be true, is it not logical to contend that an injury to one craft is an injury to all crafts and that all crafts and trades should stand as the nation to defeat the enemy?

"What is sauce for the goose should be sauce for the gander."

The Tide Is Sweeping Onward

IN THIS DAY AND AGE, when we boast of intelligence, it is somewhat strange and singular how skim-milk reformers are able to hoodwink the masses of the people with their worthless nostrums for curing the ills that seriously affect the victims of poverty.

We are told that Socialism menaces the home, regardless of the fact that in New York city alone 50,000 women and girls have no homes save the dens of shame.

We are told that Socialism threatens the sanctity of the marriage tie, regardless of the fact that our courts are grinding out 70,000 divorces annually and that even states are contemplating the enactment of laws making divorce so easy that "Reno colonies" can be established to swell the profits of our respectable men in business.

The perpetual scream is shrieked from the fevered lips of fanaticism that "Socialism will destroy the home," when we are confronted with the fact that 7,000,000 of the gentler sex have been snatched from the home to become slaves of exploiters and that even 2,000,000 of children have been forced to work to appease the insatiable cupidity of industrial monsters who profess a belief in God and a world beyond the grave.

The politician and preacher and the parasite and exploiter have joined in the chorus to denounce the coming of a new civilization that will make it possible for the disinherited class to have homes, and

strange it is that the victims of want listen to the calumnies that fall from the foul lips of truthless hypocrites.

Crime is rampant and vice has its plague spot in every community, and yet our moulders of public opinion in press and pulpit are shouting to the people to uphold the damnable civilization that makes criminals of humanity.

Our prisons, poorhouses and asylums are crowded, and yet we hear the pleas and prayers of well-fed and well-groomed mendicants clamoring for the continued reign of a system that bequeaths its legacy of hunger to the wealth-producing class of the world.

Men and women who are honest are fighting a battle to end the system that builds poorhouses and prisons, that breeds masters and slaves, that maintains standing armies on land and puts floating machines of murder on the seas, and for these people who are waging war against the system that makes brutes of men, are minted the foulest invectives and epithets, in the hope that indignation can be aroused to stem the tide that is destined to sweep capitalism from the face of the earth.

Falsehood and slander cannot prevail against truth, for "truth crushed to earth will rise again." The emissaries of capitalism may retard the march of humanity towards economic freedom, but the goal will be ultimately reached and man emancipated from the profit system can exclaim: "The world is mine."

The Balkan War

THESE ARE THE DAYS in the Balkans when the war god is in his element. As far as the actual war is concerned the Balkan states could never by any remote chance be at a loss for any "decent" excuse for declaring war, and the Servians found the seizure of a train-load of munitions of war upon Turkish territory excuse enough for their severance of friendly relations with the Sublime Porte.

The great advances which Turkey has made in progress within the past decade are hardly sufficiently realized. They have established representative government, and blessed themselves with one of the most radical constitutions in the world. In addition the young Turks have adopted a policy of encouraging the growth of trade and the development of industry on a scale hitherto undreamed of.

That's one side of the story.

On the other side are the Balkan states with a peasant population which rapidly exceeds the limits of support as far as their own country is concerned. A healthy active race they increase and multiply beyond the resources of their land, for, not unlike other lands, the

right of private property has excluded from the soil many who should have access thereto if they are to live in comfort and decency.

Cooped up in the native states the industries of the country nevertheless by no means languish, but Turkish rivalry in Macedonia and Albania and in various adjacent markets prevents the ambitious expansion of the people of the Balkan states, so much as they desire. These economic facts are, however, lost in the obvious symbolism of race and religious hatred between Slav and Turk, Christian and Mohammedan, and one begins to think that these emotional factors and not the economic ones are the cause of the war.

However, that is very far wrong. Even in the beginning of their independence they fought against Turkey because Turkey's ways were not their ways, and their well being was not identified with that of Turkey.

They would as leave settle it among themselves, but the powers have long since agreed to protect Turkey by quarrelling among their own jealous selves. Capitalists in various countries have interests in Turkey which they do not want to see disturbed one way or another.

England has got the Imperial Ottoman bank, the Imperial Tobacco Co.; Germany has her Imperial Turkish railroad system, and Russia has an eye on Turkey as a future section of the Czar's domain. With such conflicting interests maintaining peace, the people of the Balkans were obliged to strangle their hopes of expansion at the will of the powers. They did so, until at last their hopes of expansion and the absolute necessity of their spreading out became a force far greater than the dominant wishes of the powers.

There is a whole lot of sentiment mixed up in this war. Race

hatred and religious fanaticism, patriotism and the rest do their work; but it is as has been often the case, a war of economic interests one way or another. The patriots with souls full of emotional energy took the field and shed their blood for the sentiment that was in them; those who did not fight will reap the benefit, and therefore encouraged a sentiment that is productive of gain to them. The money fat capitalist of the Balkan states and the Turkish usurer will reap a harvest from the governmental insanity that appeals to the sword to settle a dispute that should be settled peaceably and for all.—Exchange.

Their "Pride and Dignity" Must Be Maintained

CARNEGIE has come to the front with an annual pension of \$25,000 for ex-Presidents of the United States. Mr. Carnegie has declared that ex-Presidents must not become financially embarrassed and they must be supplied with a sufficient amount of the "filthy lucre" so that they will be able to maintain their "pride and dignity."

The generosity of Carnegie in granting an annual pension of \$25,000 to ex-Presidents has started an agitation to create a place in Congress for ex-Presidents at an annual salary of \$17,500. Ex-Presidents are to be known as "statesmen-at-large," and while such pensioners are to have no voice or vote in Congress, yet as national figureheads they are to receive \$17,500 annually, if the contemplated bill which is being drafted is enacted into law.

Presidents of the United States at an annual salary of \$75,000 and perquisites, when retired from official life, are liable to be so reduced financially that their "pride and dignity" may suffer, and for this reason it becomes necessary that they shall become the beneficiaries of a pension.

Mr. Carnegie is grateful and remembers the fact that he has been the recipient of favors from our government which has made it possible for him to become a broated bondholder.

A pension of \$25,000 annually from the private vaults of this giant of the steel trust will maintain the high standard of an ex-President's "pride and dignity," but were a pension granted to a slave who had worked year after year until he was worn out and could no longer produce profit for a master, such generosity would be branded as "paternalism" and an insult to the "pride and dignity" of the physical wreck whose poverty made him eligible for admission to the poorhouse.

Though our poorhouses are filled with the ragged and penniless wretches whose health and strength have been sacrificed to glut the appetite of greed, yet we must make it possible for ex-Presidents to be amply supplied with funds, so that their "pride and dignity" may not be impaired.

Glorious civilization!

Interesting Admissions

UNDER THE CAPTION "A Record for the Legislature," the Rocky Mountain News had a lengthy editorial in which the News pointed out the necessity of the members of the coming legislative body of Colorado being loyal to the interests of the people.

The following two paragraphs are taken from the editorial to demonstrate that the News sees "the handwriting on the wall."

"The Democrats carried Colorado in the last election—not by a majority, but a plurality. It was a heavy plurality, yet the result developed that had the Republicans and Progressives united they would have the state. Besides, the Socialist vote must be counted on in the near future; not that the Socialist party will stand a show of carrying the state for many a year to come, but it is growing, and if the causes for discontent shall continue or become aggravated, it will grow more rapidly than in the past.

"These things are mentioned only to call the attention of the new state administration to the fact that through them the Democratic party is largely on trial, and the future of the party in the state will depend almost wholly on the fidelity with which every department will serve the people. The last election also emphasizes the fact that the average Colorado voter is the most independent one on earth, and that

he will put up with no nonsense, merely for the sake of a party, from those who are in office."

The above editorial paragraphs are significant when appearing on the editorial page of a journal that espouses the cause of the Democratic party.

The News admits that the Socialist vote "must be counted on in the future," and the News further admits that "if the causes for discontent shall continue or become more aggravated, it will grow more rapidly than in the past."

The Democratic party nowhere in its platform, either in state or nation, makes an attack on the causes that give birth to discontent.

The Democratic party, as well as the Republican party, deals with effects and closes its eyes to the causes that result in swelling the vote of the Socialist party. The Socialist party may not carry the state of Colorado for many years to come, for when either the Democratic or Republican party is threatened by the rapidly growing Socialist vote, the two old parties will combine their forces to defeat that party whose doctrines attack the causes that breed discontent.

But, regardless of the amalgamation of the forces of the two old parties, the vote of the Socialist party will increase, for the causes that the News speak about will remain unmolested and will not be removed until Socialism puts the profit system in the morgue.



SECRETARIES, TAKE NOTICE!

Randsburg, California.

All local unions please take notice and be on the lookout for men leaving this camp without paid-up cards.

E. A. STOCKTON,

Financial Secretary Randsburg Miners' Union No. 44.

GREAT GOLD RESERVE IN SIBERIA.

The Russian empire, including Siberia, was fifth in rank in the world as a producer of gold in 1911, according to the United States Geological Survey. The output is stated as \$24,865,000, which is, however, a decrease of more than \$10,000,000 compared with the figures for 1910. This decrease is due mainly to the shortage of water in 1911 in the placer workings in Siberia. The Russian production of gold has been generally increasing and a vast placer gold field undoubtedly awaits development in north Siberia, although this development may be long delayed.

LARGE VALUES IN MARBLE.

The commercial output of marble in 1910 was valued at \$6,992,779, and that in 1911 at \$7,546,718, according to the United States Geological Survey, a gain of \$553,939. This production came from Vermont, Georgia, Colorado, Tennessee, New York, Alabama, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, California, Alaska, Oklahoma, Maryland, Arizona, North Carolina, Kentucky, New Mexico, South Carolina, Utah and Oregon, named in order of value of output.

The production of Vermont in 1911 was valued at \$3,394,930, and that of Georgia at \$1,088,422.

The value of building marble, rough and dressed, as sold by the producer, was \$2,910,267 in 1911, an increase of \$552,472 over the value for 1910. Monumental marble was valued at \$2,170,981 in 1910 and at \$2,621,213 in 1911, an increase of \$450,232 in 1911. Vermont, Tennessee, Alabama, Colorado and Massachusetts produced most of the marble used for interior decorations, the total value for 1911 being \$1,545,963, as against \$2,001,646 in 1910, a loss in 1911 of \$455,683. Rough stone for other uses includes waste marble sold to lime burners, to carbonic-acid factories, to pulp mills, to iron furnaces for flux, and that used for road making, etc.; the dressed stone includes stone for mosaics, electrical work, etc.

NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON LABOR LAWS.

Announcement of its sixth annual meeting, to be held in Boston, December 27-28, has just been issued from its headquarters in New York by the American Association for Labor Legislation.

Topics to receive most attention in the discussions this year are the planks in the association's immediate legislative program. "Factory Inspection and Labor Law Enforcement," "Protection Against Lead Poisoning," and "Notification of Industrial Industries," as the proposals for uniform state legislation. The plan for congressional legislation includes a new federal employes accident compensation law, and Oscar S. Straus, former secretary of commerce, will lead the discussion.

Among the speakers at these sessions will be John R. Commons, member of the Wisconsin Industrial Commission; John Fitch, author of "Old Age at Forty"; Edward F. Brown, investigator of children in the night messenger service; Robert Emmet Chaddock, of Columbia university; Henry Sterling, a prominent labor leader of Boston; and Charles Summer Bird, who will speak on "An Employer's View of Factory Inspection."

"The Minimum Wage" is the subject for a joint conference with the American Economic Association, led by Prof. Henry R. Seager of Columbia university. Among other topics to be discussed are, "Hours in Continuous Industries," by Mr. Charles M. Cabot of Boston; "Home Work," by Miss Mary C. Wiggin; "Unemployment," by Mr. William Hard; and "Occupational Diseases," by Dr. John B. Andrews of New York, the secretary of the association.

COAL MINED LESS THAN A CENTURY.

The first mention of the occurrence of coal in the United States, according to the United States Geological Survey, is made in the journal of Father Hennepin, a French Jesuit missionary, who in 1679 recorded the site of a "cole mine" on Illinois river, near the present city of Ottawa, Ill. The first actual mining of coal was in the Richmond Basin, Va., about seventy years after Father Hennepin's discovery in Illinois, but the first records of production from the Virginia mines were for the year 1822, when, according to one authority, 54,000 tons were mined. Ohio probably ranks second in priority of production, as coal was discovered there in 1755, but the records of production date back only to 1838. The mining of anthracite in Pennsylvania began about 1790, and it is said that in 1807, fifty-five tons were shipped to Columbia, Pa. Reports of the anthracite coal trade are usually begun with the year 1820, when 365 long tons were shipped to Philadelphia from the Lehigh region. Prior to this, however, in 1814, a shipment of twenty-two tons was made from Carbondale, also to Philadelphia, and in the following table the production is considered to have begun in that year. It is probable that the actual production prior to 1820 was between 2,500 and 3,000 tons.

The production for 1911 was 496,221,168 short tons.

VAST COAL RESERVE.

United States Has Exhausted Only One-half of 1 Per Cent of Available Supply.

The known coal fields of the United States embrace a total area, according to the United States Geological Survey, of 310,296 square miles, to which may be added something over 160,000 square miles of which little is known, but which may contain workable coals, and about 32,000 square miles where the coal lies under heavy cover and is not considered available under present conditions. The supply of coal before mining began is estimated to have been 3,076,204,000,000 short tons, of which 1,922,979,000,000 tons were considered to be easily accessible and 1,153,225,000,000 short tons to be either so deep or the beds so thin that they are accessible only with difficulty. Classified according to the character of the coal, the original supply consisted of 21,000,000,000 short tons of anthracite, 1,661,457,000,000 tons of bituminous coal, 650,157,000,000 tons of subbituminous coal and 743,590,000,000 tons of lignite, the supply of bituminous coal being something more than what that of all other grades combined.

The total production of coal to the close of 1911 has amounted to 2,270,798,737 short tons of anthracite and 6,468,773,690 tons of bituminous coal, or an aggregate of 8,739,572,427 tons. This total production to the close of 1911 represents, including the waste of coal in mining, an exhaustion of the beds equal to 14,181,980,000 short tons, or somewhat less than 0.5 per cent of the original supply. In other words, the quantity of coal still remaining to be mined amounts to 3,062,022,020,000 short tons, or a little more than 99.5 per cent of the original supply. The annual rate of exhaustion at the present time as represented by the production in 1910 and 1911 is 0.025 per cent of the supply. The quantity of coal still in the ground at the close of 1910 was 6,000 times the production of that year, or, estimating a half ton of coal lost for every ton recovered, the supply is equivalent to 4,000 times the present annual rate of exhaustion.

BISBEE SENDS FINANCIAL AID.

Bisbee, Ariz., Nov. 25, 1912.

Donation for the benefit of Bingham strikers from members of Bisbee Miners' Union No. 106:

Mat West	\$ 2.00
J. P. Magner	2.00
John Gildart	2.00
James Hopkins	2.00
P. H. Finn	2.00
Walfrid Holm	2.00
John Aylard	2.00
James Coleman	2.00
John Pfaffe	2.00
Wm. Aylard	2.00
Art. Steavens	2.00
Gabriel Stone	2.00
A. Swanberg	2.00
Henry Sherer	2.00
John Berry	2.00
Albert Malley	1.75
John Kulberg	2.00
E. W. Boggs	2.00
Thos. Shene	2.00
Geo. Powell	2.00
James Rogers	2.00
T. W. Cooper	2.00
Albert Vieti	2.00
Ed. Murtha	1.50
H. F. Davis	2.00
Carlyle Reynolds	2.00
A. S. McDowell	2.00
Ed. Donnelly	2.00
Henry, Steen	1.75
J. P. Murphy	2.00
Vick Bostrom	2.00
James Sweeney	2.00
G. S. Routh	2.00
Dan McGowan	1.50
Ed. Tracy	2.00
J. Simmons	2.00
Total	\$70.50
Cash	5.00
Cash	2.00
Total	\$77.50

THE DEMOCRATS AND THE BREAD QUESTION.

By J. O. Bentall.

Can the Democrats answer the bread question? If not, what better are they than the Republicans or Bull Moosers? Governments are established to settle the bread problem. If they fail in this they fail in everything. The United States government has so far failed to settle the bread problem and has therefore failed to be a government in the true sense. All governments are owned by the class that owns the industries. The United States government is owned by the owners of the industries. The servants in every government must obey the owners of the government.

The Democrats are now largely the political servants in this government. They must therefore obey the big owners of the industries—the owners of the nation's bread.

And what do the big owners demand? They demand that all legislation and all court decisions and all official acts shall be in their favor. The big owners demand that when there are labor disputes the servants of the government shall stand with the interests and against the workers. Will the Democrats be true to their masters? They have to. Will the Democrats fight the workers and knock them down if the big owners so demand? They have to. Who elected the Democrats to office? The workers. Who told the workers to elect Democrats? The big interests. Why did the workers do what the big interests told them to do? Because the workers didn't know any better. If the workers had elected the Socialists to office from the President down, what would happen?

The Socialist officials would then take steps to make the whole people the owners of the industries. After the people become the owners they will become the rulers. When they own the industries they will own the government. When the workers own the industries and the government they will have access to the things necessary for them to live on. They will have access to the bread basket.

If they create bread they will be able to get bread. Today the workers create bread but cannot get it. The bread created is given over to the big owners and they cannot use it nor will they let the people use it. You will understand that by "bread" I mean all the necessities of a real, genuine, wholesome, broad life.

The Democrats believe that the big owners should be in possession of the bread basket. They believe that the workers should work and take the crumbs that the big owners dole out to them. There is now a famine in the land. This famine is not because there is no bread but because those who have made the bread cannot get it from the big owners.

When they try to get it the Democrats who belong to the big owners, shoot the workers. Thus there arises a big problem, the problem of bread. That problem is not solved by shooting the hungry bread makers. But the Democrats think it is.

You will get just as hungry during the Democratic administration as during the Republican. Ignorance means hunger and death. Use your intelligence so that you may have abundance and live.

Unless you think you are lost. If you think, you will realize that the only hope of the world is in the people's ownership of the earth. When the people own the earth the bread problem will be solved.

The Democrats cannot solve the bread problem. They are not hired for that purpose. They are hired to protect the few big interests who own the bread industry and who own the jobs of the workers and who steal most of their earnings.

The Socialists understand the situation and know how to solve the problem. The Democrats don't.

APHORISM FROM THE UNIVERSITY.

By Samuel W. Ball.

That Socialism is more than the protest of inefficient and incompetent members of society against success merited by superior brains or energy is evidenced by the attention it is receiving from men of learning. Whether they accept the theories underlying the philosophy of Socialism in whole or in part, at least they cannot ignore the importance to society of a frank and thorough discussion of the questions raised by the rapid growth of Socialism.

It requires some courage for a workingman who is dependent upon the favor of a master to openly advocate a social change that would destroy this relationship between himself and his employer. But it requires, perhaps, still greater courage for a man in the employ of an educational institution which gives him not only economic support but endows him with dignity, prestige and influence in matters of public welfare, to challenge the wisdom of the acknowledged schools of thought.

The attitude of Professor Albion W. Small, of the department of sociology in the University of Chicago, toward Socialism is therefore of peculiar interest. In an article recently contributed by him to the American Journal of Sociology under the title of "Socialism in the Light of Social Science," Professor Small discloses a very friendly attitude toward the scientific phases of the Socialist position.

Immediately after the article was published, the capitalist press seized upon a few statements which, when disconnected, might be interpreted to be severely critical of the Socialist movement, and gave them wide publicity without mentioning the favorable comments which make up the body of the article.

Professor Small is perhaps the only recognized profound thinker on social questions that has given Karl Marx due credit for accuracy in the analysis of society.

Several prominent sociologists have practically advanced the Marxian theories without acknowledging Marx as their discoverer, or in any way recognizing the value of his contributions to social science.

In his aphoristic style which is so characteristic of Professor Small, he says of Marx: "Marx was one of the few really great thinkers in the history of social science."

"Men in dignified academic positions still refrain in public life from giving Marx his due. Accordingly he (Marx) was a constructive agent in the same sense in which the engineers were who bored into the floor of Heli Gate to prepare the way for the dynamite and dredges.

"Marx's program was to deepen and widen and straighten the channel. In other words, nobody since Martin Luther has done as much as Karl Marx to make the conventional minded fear that our theories of life may need a thorough overhauling. The longer that overhauling is postponed the greater will be the repute of Marx after the crisis is passed and the more fatuous will the interests appear that are meanwhile repressing the inevitable.

"The books and essays that have been written to prove that Marx did not say precisely, and that so far as he did say he was not correct, amount to a considerable library.

"Marx said in substance that there is not a private business on earth that could exhibit inconsistencies as glaring as the industrial system of every modern nation presents, without being due for reorganization or the receiver. The only remarkable thing about this proposition is that there are still intelligent human beings of adult age who have not discovered that it is a commonplace.

"He (Marx) fought gallantly for neglected phases of truth. "We do ourselves no credit in blaming him (Marx) for not seeing the whole truth. We shall do well if we see as far into the truth as he did.

and if while avoiding some of his errors we add even a little to his wisdom. "I confidently predict that in the ultimate judgment of history, Marx will have a place in social science analagous with that of Galileo in physical science.

"He (Marx) is still a voice in the wilderness, but for one I have no more doubt that he was essentially right, and that conventionality was essentially wrong, than I have that Galileo will hold his place to the end of time as one of the world's great discoverers."

Continuing, Professor Small says about the class struggle, one of the principal Marxian theories:

"More crocodile tears have been shed over Marx's recourse to class conflict than over any other mooted conception in the whole field of social science. It is a grieved and indignant denial that such a thing as class conflict exists in the world. We need not stop to parley with this inanity.

"Marx was right, as a social tactician, in believing that the class consciousness of wage earners must be mobilized for life-and-death against the impersonal force of capital.

"There is an irrepressible conflict in modern society between the pre-suppositions of capital and the paramount value of humanity.

"The only people who are generally understood or respected today are those who think they have rights and accordingly fight for them.

"The classes that have fought their way into the security of our property system show themselves either hypocritical or stupid when they blame the backward classes for declaring war for the same kind of conquest.

"Both ingenuous and disingenuous men have tried to distract attention from irrepressible issues between present classes by exposing the wickedness of stirring up industrial strife.

"Our most influential classes are making a mistake today precisely parallel with the mistake of the corresponding classes during the decade previous to the Civil war.

"The fact of class struggle is as axiomatic today as the fact of gravitation."

In regard to Socialism and Socialists, Professor Small has the following to say:

"Roughly speaking, the ability of the majority to voice its feelings has steadily increased throughout historic times. There have always been men who called themselves by some equivalent of the term Democrat. They have had in common some variation of the pre-supposition that the world belongs to the many, not to the few.

"In human affairs that party is always morally right which demands further investigation of debatable questions.

"It is part of the indicated process of life to keep our inherited institutions under vigilant scrutiny, and to use all the knowledge and skill at our command in adapting our institutions to existing conditions. The people who call themselves Socialists are simply in their own way responding to this obligation and exerting this right.

"Socialism has demonstrated its claims to standing in court. It starts with the principle that men are more important than capital, and that all political and legal and economic practices must be held accountable for that principle. * * * Whatever be our cast of thought on specific questions, we are hopelessly on the losing side if we refuse to acquiesce in the fact that human life is a going concern. * * * It would improve the mental stock, and it would promote social progress, if there could be more cross-breeding between presumed scientific discretion and actual democratic zeal for humanity. * * * It is a symptom of our social punk-mindedness that all our best equipped thinkers are not as seriously intent as the Socialists are upon the unsolved problems of society."

WOODROW WILSON, BRYAN, TAFT—STATESMEN OR POLITICIANS—WHICH?

By R. A. Dague.

Recently Vincent Astor celebrated his twenty-first birthday anniversary and his coming into legal possession of \$65,000,000 left him by his father, the late John Jacob Astor, who was lost in the Titanic shipwreck. The foundation for the gigantic wealth of the Astors was laid by the shrewd grandfather, who loaned money to working people at a high rate of interest, and as they failed to meet their payments, foreclosed his mortgages and acquired the ownership of their cottages for a trifle. He also built small houses and sold them to workers, and in a few years owned hundreds of the homes of the working people, which cost him only a small outlay. The history of three generations of Astors shows clearly the defect of our present economic system through which a selfish, greedy shlock can exploit thousands of industrious citizens and amass a great fortune, not by honestly earning a dollar of it, but by extortion and taking advantage of worthy people. And yet so-called statesmen and ministers of the gospel defend this unjust system and oppose Socialism on the ground that the shlocks might lose their incentive if Socialism should prevail.

Young Astor gets \$65,000,000 for nothing. His father and grandfather gathered that colossal sum from working people and others without returning an equivalent for it. Mr. Workingman, let me ask you—you who toil hard, and skimp, and save—how much will you leave your boy? Are you satisfied that the present system of economics, the chief cornerstone of which are interest, rents and profits, is the best system that can be evolved? Are you willing that your boy and thousands of boys of industrious, honest people, shall be born penniless that a system of economics may be perpetuated under which the children of the stock-watering, mortgage-foreclosing "captains of industry" may not have their incentives in any way restrained? Are you hilarious over the fact that you are a stand-patter, and always vote the old party ticket straight, that you are opposed to all new-fangled ideas? Are you quite proud over the reflection that, during the late campaign, you were again humbugged and made to believe that the tariff was the only important issue before the American people? Don't you know that political demagogues fooled your father and your grandfather on the tariff issue? Are you still ignorant of the fact that in all countries of the world, some of which have tariff laws and some do not, that the working people are oppressed as you are? Are you happy because, at the late election, you voted to continue an economic system under which a million of boys of working people are born paupers that one Vincent Astor may inherit mountains of wealth and live a life of luxurious idleness?

A year or two ago, King George of England gave a banquet to a lot of his flunkies. The gold plate on the table was valued at \$10,000,000, yet there are in England more than a million of old, worn-out men and women who subsist by begging, or on the crusts they find in swill barrels and on garbage dumps. You are being tricked out of about two-thirds of your honest earnings as they were. We have, in America, richer and more powerful kings than George of England.

Not long ago Mrs. Cornelius Vanderbilt gave a ball to a bunch of the "upper class." The women who attended wore \$10,000,000 worth of jewels and the dinner alone cost \$175,000. Do you say whose business is it how the wife of Mr. Vanderbilt spends his money? But wait! Mr. Vanderbilt employs many thousands of men on his railroads at \$1.00 to \$1.50 per day, and they are treated like slaves.

Congressman Clyde H. Tavenner, a reliable statistician, has shown that the Vanderbilts and other "captains of big business," have watered their railroad and trust stocks to the amount of \$30,000,000. He says:

"On this stock, dividends of about \$1,500,000,000 are being paid yearly,

amounting to approximately \$18 a person or nearly \$100 per family. To pay these dividends on watered stock, the trust magnates must hold down wages below what they should be, or raise prices artificially high on the necessities of life."

Mr. Workingman, are you so stupid that you do not know that the cost of that jewelry and the money expended for that grand ball, was exploited out of you? Those butterflies of "high society" never honestly earned a dollar of that money. Do you know how and why these great extremes of riches and poverty exist? Let me tell you. It is because railroads, coal mines, iron mines, steelworks and other industries of a public nature (that class of property used in creating wealth) is owned by individuals who operate them for private profit. Socialism says: "Air, sunshine, water, land, electricity, steam power, machinery—the things that God or Nature created—should be collectively or co-operatively owned and operated by all the people; that they should not be owned by individuals for selfish uses; that individuals have the natural right to own only what they individually produce or its equivalent in value, fully paid for by their labor." Under Socialism the idle rich and those who will do nothing useful, would be prevented from enslaving the industrious classes and extremes of poverty and wealth would disappear. But Woodrow Wilson and William J. Bryan say: "That would be Socialism, and that would never do," and W. H. Taft says: "Socialism lacks common sense, and is a menace to good government."

These great statesmen (?) fear that the incentive of the Astors and Vanderbilts and kings and queens and the stock-watering and speculating philanthropists might receive a check and that they would have to go to work at some honest occupation for a living. They contend that if you abridge or curb man's selfishness so that he cannot get something for nothing, and he has to earn by honest labor what he receives, that he will have no incentive to do anything and civilization will recede. I do not believe they are right, do you, Mr. Worker? They admit that Socialism holds up high ideals and is right, but is not practical. My answer to that is, that the right is always practical—the wrong always impractical.

Our Tafts and Woodrow Wilsons and Bryans are personally nice gentlemen, but are genuine stand-patters. That is because they gained wealth and prominence under the capitalistic system. They are well fed and happy and think that everybody else is equally so, or if not, then "they are lazy, shiftless malcontents." These highly esteemed and most courteous statesmen (?) seem to be in blissful ignorance that a new mile-stake has been reached by civilization, and that a new era is about to be born owing to the fact that improved machinery, within sixty years, has enormously increased the production of wealth; that now one worker by the aid of the machine creates as much wealth as fifty workers could produce two generations ago, but that the capitalists who do no work pocket the colossal profit while the worker gets little more for his labor than his grandfather received, while the cost of living has about doubled.

They seem to be ignorant of the demands of the working classes in all the enlightened countries of the world, that a readjustment of our industrial system should be made under which the toilers would receive a greater share of what they produce. These great statesmen (?) apparently do not know that the problems growing out of the relations of capital and labor, of plutocracy and democracy, of the exploiter and the exploited, are looming up mountain high and clamoring loudly for solution—so threateningly that thrones are tottering, widespread revolutions are rapidly assuming formidable proportions, discontent and unrest are seen everywhere, old customs and beliefs are being discarded, and the law of evolution is pushing civilization out of the old order of things into a newer and better system. We must go forward or be destroyed as was ancient nations. Stand-patism is stagnation, decay, death. Our fathers had their problems to solve, and we have ours. We can no more go back to the days and methods of Thomas Jefferson than the chicken can go back into its eggshell. The stand-patter says we must "smash the trusts, restore the old system of competition and send the big monopolists to the penitentiary." That is idle talk, if not pure demagoguery. Trusts are built on the co-operative plan. They are the legitimate fruits of industrial evolution. They are most efficient and useful industries. The evil arising from them is only that they are owned and operated for private profit. The Socialist says: "Let the nation own the trusts," and the immense profits arising from their operation be distributed among all the people.

The contention of the Tafts and Wilsons and Bryans in the late campaign that the tariff was the paramount issue in America, is cause for hilarity on the part of those who love a joke and enjoy seeing stupid people fooled; but the sober, thoughtful students of history and those who see the antagonistic relations of capital to labor in all parts of the world—in short, who see the world-wide conflict growing fierce between organized capital and organized labor, and the man and woman who love peace and possess tender hearts, and who have sympathy for the millions of propertyless, homeless toilers—such ones are saddened and grieved that our so-called statesmen should in this critical period of the world's unrest deal out to the American people the exploded and threadbare platitudes about the tariff—arguments used by politicians at every national election for the last century to mislead the honest voters.

When, oh when, Mr. Workingman, will you awaken from your stupor and indulge in a little earnest investigation of the industrial situation, and do a little serious and independent thinking on your own hook?

Creston, Iowa.

THE SOCIALIST.

By Alfred Pomeroy.

'Tis he who, looking back across the field of time,
Observes the toiler, slave and others of their kind
Bound, like stupid oxen, to their masters' mind;
Who sees the wealth of generations past,
The land and homes held firm and fast
By those who neither toil nor spin,
And never helped this wealth to win;
Who knows that title deeds to land were written by the sword.
Dipped in human blood, by those who went abroad
To loot and plunder foreign lands and rule "by right Divine,"
And gave no thought of golden rule of mine and thine.

'Tis he who sees the rust and blight,
Wrought o'er the world by brutal might
Of those whose hearts care nothing for the right;
Whose eyes see naught but lust of gain,
And nothing care for right, if gain they can attain;
'Tis he who claims the world belongs to all
Of those who dig and delve and toil;
Who sees no need of right to crowns and thrones and those who claim in trust
The world to own; whose king is all mankind with scepters of the just;
The right to live and love and worship whom we please,
To land and home and opportunity, and die at least in ease" (?)

THE HALFBREED.

Beside a stream that coax'd a stretch of ground
To yield a crop despite the desert's heat,
A squaw man hid and lived, as if he found
In circling wastes and silence the retreat
That gave his life the meaning that it sought:
His nature ask'd the task that Quiet taught.

His early life was spent 'mid scenes of wealth;
His parents lavish'd gold to guide his course
Toward the goal where Greed and Business stealth
Inscribe the texts that give their ethics force.
His virtuous mind, however, was not bent
To rules whose practice wholesale thieving meant.

He scorn'd the Greed, that, glutt'd, still did bite
And tear the flesh to lap the blood it drew.
He took an Indian maid and sank from sight;
Alone with Love he started Life anew,
And when his son was born he trained his mind
To hate the wrongs he'd seen among his kind.

The years, a peaceful train, did hurry by
Until the boy (still Nature's child) the man
Evolved whose mental vision queried, "Why
Not move away from where my life began
To scenes where sages, great of mind, have taught
That love of man should guide all deed and thought?"

A plot of ground (that countless years of storm
Had slowly built from out the sand they'd licked
With tireless labor from the ancient hills),
For ages laid the toy of changing moods
That restless Nature, tied to time, express't.
A splot of earth it knew no yoke that man
Devised, (unless the Indian tepees reared
Their flimsy structures, ghostlike, on its breast
As warriors spoke of peace to end a war
That swam in blood) until the paleface came,
When, touch'd by the magic of a monarch's will
It lost its wild estate, and felt the plow
Of owners rend and tear its aged crust.

The whims of kings that gave a grant of land
To ducal rakes because they liked their make
Or shady acts, attach'd a loss of rights
To countless hosts of men till then unborn?
The rights of yesterday are wrongs today
And yet they steal, by legal vice upheld,
Into our lives to rob them without stint
Of privileges mistaken times betray'd?

A foot of ground was worth a princely sum,
So merchants eager to show their brand of wares
Beside the gutter of a busy street
Erected piles of steel and stone that rose
Like towers of Babel—round which struggling men
With noisy bluster, bark'd in hostile rivalry
For bones and follies that the public coin
Contain'd for them if it could just be had.
The air, once fresh and free to aid the health
Of men, now felt restraint within the walls
That markt the darken'd streets and left its weight
Of dust in plague spots on the lungs of those
Who crawl'd like dwarfs beside their handiwork.

The "brute" who track'd his prey in virgin woods
Did work with zeal to stock the tribal board,
But Christians, slighting ethics "born of God,"
Enslav'd their souls to feed the gut of Self!
The savage loved his friends and gave his life
To shield their weal: the white betrayed his kind.
So barren gold may shape a selfish dream.
The white man's school but fitted youths to mould
Their thoughts consonant to a master's will,
For there they learnt that All that was in life
Was weigh'd in silver won in noisy brawl
At bargain counters placed within a mart.

The manly man, who markt the drift of things
And voiced a warning 'gainst the grinding ills
But followed where the Fathers well, had led,
Was chain'd and whipt in his quest for bread.
By forces dominant over all the ways of life:
An outcast he whose notions, heaven-born,
Did lead his actions far to aid his kind.
The maxims ravish'd Right one day had given
To guide the feet of men, the claims of trade
Ignored, and cast the "reds" who spoke them
All wrecked on the shores of life to starve.

The desert man, confused by men and ways
He'd never seen, did by his manner draw
The newsboy's jeer upon his head; the crowd
A moment slack'd its pace to size him up
And crack'd a smile at antics countryfied.

A stately church, all laden with the rich,
A hymn of thanks of sweetest music sent,
Toward the throne in praise of goodness which
Did shield the poor and grace the innocent.
Outside, a beggar from its shadows sped
And cried: "I die! O give, oh, give me bread!"

A girl, who found the pittance humans gave
Their kind for hours of hard and cruel toil
To be the pick that shaped the early grave,
Did sneak, in tears, to haunts where Vice did soil
For pelf the mind and life that would have risen
To sunlit heights—if earth had proved no prison.

A man in seedy coat, with earnest tones,
On soapbox perch'd, besought his fellow men
To note how brutal laws and plumed drones
Enthroned by Wrong, consigned to lousy dens
And meals of hardened crusts the faithful slave
Who toil'd for those to whom his love he gave.

A sincere man, say, sages, what is he
But mortal laying bare the soul of things
Despite old customs' jeer or man's decree?
A giant rising from the deep who brings
The hidden fact so groping man may learn
The cause that dowsed the light he sought to burn.

The city dads advised the poorhouse chief
To clip the widow's mite so voters may
When polling was espouse a fond belief,
That cant of council cut expense away.
The charity of towns, a thing with measly wad,
Gave cheapest fare—it, too, was money mad.

A worker striving fiercely in a trench,
O'ercome with heat, a moment quit the pace
To clear his throbbing head, but from the bench
A storm of words, the drippings of the base,
Did force his fainting frame to grasp its task;
No court for him in which reprieve to ask.

The blood that boiled at sight of Freedom bound,
And scorn'd to knee, when bid, before a foe
Did leap resentfully forth to flood the wound
That tore the Indian's heart when there he saw
A white man humbly bear a master's lash
To gain a meal, a bed, and scanty cash.

He spake:

"Inside my father's humble shack, that stands alone
Amid the tests that turn the tide of men away,
I read the white man's books for years and years and found
Express on every page the praise of holy Love;
A fitting feast for Gods—those thoughts that fed my life."
"The men whose minds had made of Truth a burning brand
That set the letters, 'exile,' on the hide of Wrong,
To see at home I left my parents' quiet place,
To find them wolves, with bloody fangs, that war for gold.
Their words are wings that carry mortals far beyond
The things of earth; heralds giving voice to Truths
That Love suggests; their deeds are acts that bleed the race
And draw from out the worth of man the human traits.
A Judas grins! and uses Virtue's aims to gain
A purse of gold so Self may thrive, and hundreds die.
The scarlet wench, the stunted child that works in mills,
The starving widow left to fight her way alone
Against an hostile world, are facts that trace, 'Tis false
To dream so,' cross the works the sages, well have wrote.
"I'd rather take my mule, a patient, kindly beast,
And like my fathers brave the desert's angry moods,
And stir, with blister'd feet, the ashes of the dead
Who died to blaze a trail where hell and famine bide,
Than I would live the white man's frenzied line of ills;
Away from city strife to where Goodness holds a cup
To beckon back to life a dying soul—I'd go
To die where moon and stars would cast a silvery light
About my form when sleep 'did kiss my eyelids still,'
Were better far than dragging out the cheerless years
Of slaves who toil for crusts beneath a master's eye,
In hot and slimy trenches.
I would be free.

—JOSEPH ROGERS, Salt Lake City.

REPORT OF J. C. LOWNEY ON THE SITUATION IN UTAH.

Bingham, Utah, November 27, 1912.

Editor Miners' Magazine:

I will endeavor to give a brief outline of the strike situation as it exists in Bingham and Garfield at this time, and also some of the things that have transpired to date.

During the first three weeks of the strike the companies involved made no effort to operate. They loudly proclaimed that they would not import strike-breakers, claiming their own men would soon return to work. During this time, however, the Utah Copper Company had their agents in all the important centers of the country recruiting gunmen and scabs.

The Waddell-Mahon Strike-breaking Agency sent several hundred men to the camp. The entire country was searched for the most disreputable characters which could be found to act as gunmen, 750 of these degenerates being at one time on the payroll of the Utah Copper.

When Jackling found that the men on strike had no intention of returning to work on his terms, his gunmen were turned loose on the community, and a reign of lawlessness ensued, which has seldom been exceeded anywhere in this country. The sheriff of Salt Lake deputized all of those gunmen, and a few instances of how they upheld law and order will suffice here.

A Greek miner was held up on the street by a bunch of deputies. After searching him, he was allowed to proceed about forty feet, when one of them took deliberate aim and shot him, one of his legs being amputated. Several houses were entered in broad daylight by gangs of those deputies, furniture destroyed, all the money and valuables stolen. One night several deputies shot up a Greek coffee house, killing one man and wounding two others. When the police attempted to arrest the murderers, one of them lost his job and the others were warned not to interfere with the good work being performed by the deputies. A dozen of the men in the coffee house were arrested and thrown in jail for inciting riot and are held under heavy bonds.

In the earlier stages of the strike the deputies confined their activities to shooting and arresting men, but lately the women are coming in for their share of attention, several of them being brutally beaten. When they ask for redress from county officials there is nothing doing. Suffice it to say that incidents such as the above are almost of daily occurrence. The deputies are loaned to the other companies by the Utah Copper without cost.

All the professional Waddell-Mahon gunmen and strike-breakers have left here. They became indignant and quit when required to work. One of the methods adopted by the Utah Copper is to throw a bunch of Greeks into jail, charge them with murder or some similar crime, then send agents among the Greeks, tell them the union would do nothing for those in jail and promising to release their friends if they returned to work. This method was successful in some instances, and men charged with murder were released on condition of returning to work.

This may seem incredible to the average citizen living in a civilized community, but Bingham and Utah are not controlled by modern civilized conditions. The Guggenheims, through their puppet, Jackling, controls Utah, and the agency through which this control is held absolute, is the Mormon church, the church heads being interested in practically all the industries of Utah.

Therefore the Guggenheims find Utah an ideal place to force upon the workers the most intolerable conditions existing anywhere in this country. No one, not even the mine owners, contend that the demands of the strikers are not just, but they don't want to do business with the union. They had

splendid opportunities in the past to deal fairly with the workers, the unions not being a factor in the Utah Copper plants, but they refuse to consider the grievances of their employes until they organized, and then handed them a paltry increase to discourage further organization.

Jackling says he never did or would do business with organized labor. Jackling's reputation for truth and veracity is well known in Utah, and it is not good. I offered his Salt Lake newspapers proof that he did business with the Butte Miners' Union, but they told me that they didn't care to brand Jackling a liar. This animosity is especially directed against the Western Federation of Miners, solely because the vast majority of the low-paid men are members of that organization and any improvement in their condition would interfere with dividends.

Jackling announces from time to time that conditions are normal or nearly so. Early in October he stated that production reached more than two-thirds' capacity. Later, he and McNeill reported they were near normal. Two days ago they were 80 per cent; yesterday they were normal, according to this morning's papers quoting Jackling. The Associated Press sends such statements throughout the country. They are accepted by the public as true—that public including some of our membership.

Let us analyze those statements, and in doing so give an idea of the present conditions. From a statement furnished us by an agent of the immigration bureau, the Utah Copper employed 2,741 men immediately preceding the strike; this force comprised twenty-two nationalities. They have been importing large numbers of Mexicans during the past month, but notwithstanding those importations, there are at present not more than 800 working in the Utah Copper property, not including deputies, who number about 500.

The Utah Copper reports just out show the production of copper for August, 1912, to be 11,841,144 pounds of copper. The same report shows production for the month of October as 2,128,792 pounds, a little less than one-fifth of the August production.

Hayden, Stone & Co., brokers for Utah Copper, said that the losses of Utah Copper were enormous, amounting into the millions, but added this significant statement, that when the Miners' Union was whipped the company's profits would increase enormously, a condition which could only obtain by imposing still worse conditions on those who are unfortunate enough to work for this outfit.

If Utah Copper is running normal, why should 2,741 men be employed before the strike where 800 is now sufficient? But the copper production report tells the whole story; figures in this instance don't lie. I am giving these details, because in visiting some locals recently I found reports sent out through the press to be accepted without question by some of our members.

About 400 men were employed underground by Utah Copper before the strike. This week they started this department with some Mexicans and Greeks, mostly unskilled, sixty being employed. There are no impertinent inquiries into the cause of accidents or deaths. No coroner's inquests where the curious public may pry into the private affairs of corporations, where accidents and deaths totaled more than one a day before the strike. We hear rumors now that some are shipped to Salt Lake under guard and buried in the potter's field. Others are left buried in the mine—too much labor to get them out.

The other companies operating here have made a dismal failure of scabbing their properties. The Highland Boy made the most vicious effort to import and recruit scabs, the management acting as thugs and gunmen, aiding the deputies to terrorize the inhabitants of that district. With 556 men employed before the strike, eighty-seven are at present scabbing. The International Smelter at Tootle treated the ore of this company, but since the strike was called, refuses to treat any of it.

Bingham N. Haven had 189 men employed before the strike; thirty-five are at present scabbing.

The Yampa did not attempt to start; neither did the Utah Metals. Apex had 232 employed before the strike; have fifty-seven at present. U. S. Company have 150 Greeks at present; had 400 men before the strike; present force incompetent. Ohio Copper, Heinze's property, had 130 in mine and 150 in mill before strike; at present fifty are scabbing in mine and a bunch of farmers recruited in the valley are working in the mill. The other smaller properties working in the district are fair to organized labor, about 100 being employed.

This is in detail the conditions existing in the Bingham district on the 27th of November, 1912.

We will now revert to the relations of organized labor to those conditions: The Bingham Miners' Union had 2,114 members when the strike was called. The craft organizations were thoroughly organized prior to the strike. The Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen and Brotherhood of Trainmen took a strike vote with the other unions; it carried by a large majority. They appointed committees to co-operate with the others. Later on they withdrew their committees, but asserted they would not scab or work under guard. When the time arrived and they were requested by the Utah Copper to go on the engines, this gang of organized scabs not only went to work, but each one of them carried a gun, and is carrying it today. It is this gang of scabs that makes it possible for the Utah Copper to make a semblance of a showing in the working of its mine. Contrast their action with the Steam Shovel men who had no grievance in this fight, who sacrificed a \$200 job, are out and will stay out to the finish.

The Machinists, Boilermakers, Blacksmiths, Steam Shovelmen and Miners are pledged to stand together until the grievances of all are satisfactorily adjusted. Comparatively few of the strikers went scabbing. Each of the unions involved had some traitors among them. The Carpenters' local here, like the three tailors of Tooley Street, recently declared the Utah Copper fair. There was a few scab jobs showed up.

The strike at the smelters at Garfield is giving the Utah Copper more concern than even the mine end of it. Six hundred mechanics, composed of electricians, molders, patternmakers, machinists, boilermakers and blacksmiths, are standing firm. Comparatively few of the common laborers responded to the strike call. They are herded as practical prisoners within the works. So desirous is Jackling to get those mechanics back that he offered some of them, notably the molders, \$7 a day if they would return to work, but there was no response. We expect to see smelter operations still further crippled shortly, when machinery in mills and smelters gets out of repair or perhaps those 600 mechanics were kept for ornament.

The majority of the Bingham strikers have left for other fields where conditions are at least a little more tolerable, about 1,000 of the miners yet remaining. The Utah Copper Company has met a severe jolt in its tyrannical career, and they are squirming under the enormous shrinkage in profits, so that McNeill and Jackling howled aloud against agitators interfering with their contented slaves.

The greatest solidarity so far shown by the workers anywhere has been shown here, and that fact has struck more fear in the hearts of the Guggenheims and their tools than even their loss in profits, and were it not for the scabbing tactics of the railroad workers, victory would have perched on the banners of the workers long ere this.

The peculiar feature during the earlier period of the strike was the comments of some labor papers. Before even a scab appeared on the horizon some labor editors knew all about the strike, and the further away they were the more they knew about it. One coyote howled from Nome that the strike was lost, only to be echoed from Lead later on.

This strike is not lost and cannot be lost, even if the Utah Copper was willing to spend millions more before this struggle was concluded, as this struggle only shows the possibilities of united labor in their future conflicts against the oppressor. This is the first time the Guggenheims were up against a real

fight in their chosen ground, and the end is not yet, and no matter what the end of this strike may be, we will continue along this line until victory full and complete perches on the banner of the workers. Yours,

J. C. LOWNEY.

A WASTE OF WEALTH.

Vermont was once accounted the richest state in the American union—rich, not in its natural resources and wealth, for it is mountainous and unproductive, but in its men.

When the West was being settled, there were no sturdier men than those who came from the mountains of New England. They were big men—big men physically and big men mentally—keen witted and strong armed.

Things have changed "up in Vermont." Many of the old families died out when their sons and daughters moved westward. In the place of the Yankees, the French-Canadians, a virile race, were first to set up their household goods. Then came the Italians to the marble and granite quarries, and then a mixture of races to the textile mills.

The social service commission of the Episcopal diocese of Vermont, which has been investigating industrial conditions in that state, in urging the need for a law to limit the hours of work for women and children in factories, reports that in the textile mills ten hours constitute a work day, but in many instances, when the mills are rushed, women and children are worked seven days a week and twelve and thirteen hours a day.

The commission, in showing how defenseless the workers are, instances the case of a 15-year-old girl. She was employed thirteen and a half hours a day, for a month, without any let up. One Sunday, a sub-foreman came to her house between 2 and 3 o'clock in the morning and ordered her to report for work at the mill. She refused and was immediately discharged. The report states that the only alternative the workers have is to obey every order of the mill owners or invite unemployment and the suffering which it brings.

With such conditions existing in Vermont, there is little likelihood that Vermont will be distinguished in the next generation for the men that it produces.

Fifteen-year-old girls who work continuously in factories thirteen and a half hours a day are not likely to prove the mothers of men who will conquer the wilderness or resist tyranny or prize liberty, as did "the Boys of '76."

In our mind's eye we can see those glorious patriots, the embattled farmers who followed Ethan Allen in his descent upon Ticonderoga.

We can see the brave men who shouldered their muskets and marched away with General Stark to Bennington and under Washington to victory at Trenton.

We can exult with them in their victories and sorrow with them in their privations and reverses.

But conjure our imagination, excite it with all the tricks that may be employed to arouse an emotional and sentimental nature, and we can not by any possibility imagine or conceive that from the cotton and woolen mills of the Republic.

The greatest wealth in all the world—the wealth of strong virile men—is being wasted and destroyed in the textile mills of New England and the South.—Milwaukee Leader.

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There are a few copies left of the revised edition "Industrial Wars in Colorado," which includes both editions of "The Cripple Creek Strike," giving a detailed history of the famous strike, including the political campaign of 1904 and the unseating of Alva Adams. "Labor's Greatest Conflicts" is included as an appendix, and all bound together, making an illustrated volume of 600 pages, bound in cloth, sent postpaid, \$1.50, while they last. Write the author.

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REFORMERS.

By P. S. Nagle, in Oklahoma Pioneer.

Food, clothing and shelter are the things Socialists are fighting for.

The civilized world is divided into two classes—those who own the machinery that produces food, shelter and clothing and those who have no part in the ownership of such machinery, but are compelled to work with such machinery for a wage.

This wage is fixed by the class who own the machinery and is one-fourth of the wealth the workers produce.

The working class are now fighting through the agency of the Socialist party to obtain the ownership of the machinery with which they work.

It is not because of high tariff or low tariff, high taxes or low taxes, hot winds or cold winds, that the working class are poor and miserable as a class. It is because that of the wealth they produce they receive only one-fourth.

With this one-fourth they are unable to buy back any part of the other three-fourths. Consequently, the market becomes "glutted" and with a "glutted" market the workers are thrown out of employment—out of employment they seek work at other places—but the "crisis" is nation-wide.

Soon they become tramps and hoboes and are "shanghaied" by the police officers around water tanks, depots, railroad yards, etc. Then they are "kangarooed" in a police court, refused a jury, "fined" and set to work on the streets or at a stone pile.

And what, then, becomes of the wives and daughters of the working class? Ranschenbusch, in his "Christianity and the Social Crisis," says:

"During the great industrial crisis in the '90s, I saw good men go into disreputable lines of employment, and respectable widows consent to live with men who would support them and their children. One could hear human virtue cracking and crumbling all around."

These conditions are not caused by "hot winds" or because "there was a famine in the land of Egypt"—they exist not because the working class do not produce enough, but because they produce too much—more than they can buy back with the wage they receive and more than the ruling class can dispose of on the home and foreign markets.

These are social ills. They can not be remedied by electing "good men" to office. A "good man" advocating or representing a bad cause lends respectability to that cause.

It is childish and foolish to attribute existing social evils to "bad men" or to say they can be abolished by putting "good men" in charge politically or industrially.

Stonewall Jackson, Robert E. Lee and Jefferson Davis were "good men"

but they stood for a bad cause—the "institution" of chattel slavery—and they lent respectability to it.

In the South before the Civil War an "institution" existed called slavery. The slaveholder ordered his white slavedriver to hang up the nigger, naked, by the wrists, and give him 150 lashes with a loaded blacksnake. At each blow the loaded twisted leather sunk deep into the negro's quivering flesh. His screams of agony on a still morning could be heard for miles. After the whipping the slave overseer rubbed salt into his bloody back to "heal him up."

Such occurrences brought the southern "reformer" on deck. This "reformer" advised the slaveocracy that he was the best friend the "institution" had, but that such occurrences would bring the "institution" into disrepute and eventually lead to its destruction.

This reformer advised that the negro should not be tied up by the wrists—that he should be shackled and laid face downward with his mouth over a hole in the ground to muffle his screams—and that instead of 150 lashes only 75 should be given.

The "reformer" inveighed against snatching the child from the breast of the slave mother and selling it separately on the auction block—that the human thing to do was to sell the mother and child together.

Some of these reformers even went so far as to insist that aged and decrepit negroes should receive food and medical attention and not be turned out to die like crippled animals.

But none of those "reformers"—no, not one, ever attacked the institution of chattel slavery.

And these "reformers" were a valuable asset in the hands of the slaveocracy. And the slaveocracy paid them, and paid them well—with a "cut" out of the wealth produced by the labor of slaves.

But the institution of slavery died the death and was buried in the same graveyard with the serf economy and the ancient chattel slave economy.

Slavery was followed in this country by another "institution" called "capitalism." Under the slave economy the ruling class appropriated the entire labor of the slave—but "found him" in food, shelter, clothing and medical attendance, such as it was.

Under the "institution" called "capitalism" the ruling class appropriates only three-fourths of the labor of the working class, and the worker must "find himself" in food, shelter, clothing and medical attendance—and this also for his wife and children, if he has any.

What does this ruthless robbery spell for the working class? It spells "no breakfast" for hundreds of thousands of school children. It spells child slavery. It spells woman slavery. It spells sweatshops, slums and the white plague. It spells poverty, crime, prostitution, drunkenness, suicide, insanity, death and a grave in the potter's field.

These conditions breed swarms of "reformers." The most prominent political reformers are Roosevelt, Bryan and Wilson.

These gentlemen are all advising the ruling class that if something is not done, quickly, and along their particular line of "reform," the existing order will be destroyed by the onward sweep of Socialism. They talk just like the reformers before the war who tried to save slavery.

Roosevelt says: "My policies and my platform is an antidote for Socialism." Wilson says: "We must either have a constructive policy or make way for Socialism."

But none of these gentlemen attack the "institution" of capitalism—they want to reform it and make it respectable.

Men like Thad Stevens and Joshua R. Giddings had nothing but the utmost contempt for the "reform" under slavery. Socialists have the same feeling for the political reformer under capitalism. These political reformers like Roosevelt, Bryan and Wilson are a valuable asset for the capitalist class—they strive to ameliorate the condition of the working class in order to make the "institution" of capitalism long-lived and respectable.

They are "good men" and they are appreciated by the capitalists. They are paid—they get a "cut" out of the wealth produced by the workers. In fact, Wilson demanded his "cut" from Carnegie, before he went into the business of "reform."

The difference between the reformer and the revolutionist is this—the reformer is satisfied with the existing relations in society but wishes to make an improvement in order that his "institution" may run more smoothly and be more respectable. The revolutionist wishes to wholly dissolve the existing economic relations in society and adopt wholly new relations.

In the South before the war a certain relation existed between a white man, a negro and a tract of land. It was this relation that constituted the "institution" of slavery. When this institution was destroyed the white man, the tract of land and the negro remained—it was the relation that had existed between them that was dissolved and destroyed.

Under the institution called "capitalism" a certain relation exists today between power driven machinery, the class who owns that power driven machinery and the class who works with that power driven machinery.

The Socialists do not propose nor do they desire to destroy the power driven machinery, neither do they propose or desire to destroy the individuals who compose the class that owns or the class that operates the power-driven machinery. They simply propose to destroy and dissolve the relation that now exists between them. And Socialism further proposes to destroy the relation that exists between the tenant farmer, the land and the man who owns the land held for exploitation.

And, unless we are disfranchised, this revolution will be brought about peaceably at the ballot box. All we ask is that the working class be allowed to vote and that the vote be counted as cast.

In Memoriam.

Trail, B. C., Nov. 27, 1912.

Whereas, Death has removed from our midst our brother and co-worker Gustave Byberg of Trail Mill and Smeltermen's Union No. 105, W. F. of M., therefore be it

Resolved, That we extend our heartfelt sympathy to the friends and relatives of our deceased brother, in their sorrow and bereavement; and be it further

Resolved, That as a mark of respect for our deceased brother, our charter be draped for a period of thirty days, and that a copy of this resolution be spread on our minutes, a copy sent to the relatives of the deceased, and to the Miners' Magazine for publication.

FRANK CAMPBELL,
HENRY SORENSON,
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Committee.

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