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THE MINERS MAGAZINE

INDEPENDENCE
EDUCATION ORGANIZATION

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



DENVER, COLORADO, OCTOBER 16, 1913
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EDUCATION INDEPENDENCE ORGANIZATION

MINERS' MAGAZINE



Denver, Colorado,
Thursday, October 16, 1913.

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 Communications not in conformity with this notice will not be published.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

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Room 605 Railroad Building, Denver, Colo.

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SUBSCRIBE for the Miners' Magazine for the year 1913. The small sum of \$1.00 will insure you receiving 52 copies of the official organ of the Western Federation of Miners'.

PRESIDENT MOYER left last week for Michigan.

THE SOLIDARITY of the strikers in the copper district of Michigan, commands the admiration of the labor movement of this continent.

THE COAL MINERS OF COLORADO are standing together like a stone wall. The mines are tied up, but the mine barons still declare "there is nothing to arbitrate."

THE CONDUCT of Judge Humphries on the bench is a parody on justice. The men and women who defied his injunction, have made the Caesar look like a clown.

THE KEWEENAW CENTRAL RAILROAD has announced that no trains will be run during the winter. The mails will be carried by stage. The strike of the copper miners has put the railroad out of business for the present.

ACCORDING to the Geological Survey the value of the product of the United States smelters and refineries aggregated more than a billion dollars in the year 1912.

The survey did not mention anything about the bloated bank accounts of the slaves whose labor had created such prosperity for the smelting trust.

THE PRESIDENT of the Federation of Labor at Saginaw, Michigan, was removed from office on account of his doing strike duty in the copper district as a member of the state militia.

A union man never shoulders a rifle to shoot down strikers who are making a brave struggle to wrest a living wage from the iron grasp of greed.

AT NOME, ALASKA, last week a terrible storm resulted in the destruction of 500 houses and the loss is estimated at \$1,500,000. What makes conditions very serious at Nome is the fact that the large refrigerator holding the winter's supply of meat was destroyed, and as navigation has closed, the people of Nome are confronted with a shortage in the necessaries of life.

WHEN JUDGE O'BRIEN of Houghton county, Michigan, dissolved the injunction that was issued by his court, it is probable that he remembered the time, that as a boy, he struggled with poverty and there may have come into his mind the sad remembrance that his father was killed in the mines, simply because human life clad in the rags of wage slavery was cheaper than safety appliances.

J. S. LOWNEY, in a telegram to headquarters makes a correction relative to a statement that appeared in the Miners' Magazine. Board Member Lowney states that the local union of Wardner and Burke voted one day's wage assessment for each month as long as the strike continues in Michigan. The same is true of the other locals visited by Lowney in Butte, Montana and British Columbia. The editor is glad to make the correction.

JAMES McNAUGHTON, the lord of the copper district of Michigan, has established peonage to break the strike. Men are hired in different parts of the country under misrepresentation and when brought to the mines are held under armed guards and forced to work, against their will.

The matter has been brought to the attention of the federal authorities, and we will now see what boasted liberty prevails under the folds of "Old Glory."

THE PUBLICITY BUREAU of the Commercial Club of Utah is made up of fellows who believe in using the hammer on the knocker and as the result of such a sentiment permeating the expansive bosoms of Utah's boosters they concluded to get out a button bearing the inscription: "I am for Utah."

But what did the boosters do? They sent to a manufacturing firm in New Jersey for the buttons and failed to patronize a button factory in Utah.

They likewise patronized a scab firm in New Jersey, and organized labor in Utah is now hauling the boosters over the coals.

STRIKING COPPER MINERS of Michigan are unable to get a fair shake from the daily press, particularly in their locality, and consequently they have issued a paper called the Miners' Bulletin, through which they hope to keep the outside world posted on the progress of their struggle for union rights. The most satisfying piece of news that could possibly appear in the Bulletin would be the announcement that a complete victory had been won over the Boston owners of the Michigan mines, who boast of being descendants of the Revolutionists and Abolitionists who struggled for great principles in the past. In fact, if it could be added that the Boston bunch of barnacles had been bankrupted in the bargain our joy would be unconfined.—Cleveland Citizen.

THE CONVENTIONS of the two I. W. W. factions have adjourned and the "smart set" is breathing easier. Those conventions, one held at Detroit and the other in Chicago, caused capitalism to grow pale, and when the "Bummery" at Chicago closed its proceedings by singing the doxology: "I'm a Bum," a sigh of relief escaped from the pallid and trembling lips of the bankers of Wall Street and the "Millionaire's Club" in the Senate of the United States agreed to pass the tariff measure to reduce the cost of living.

The Detroit convention in its deliberations refused to change the name of the organization and pauperized the English language for invectives to hurl against the "Bummery."

The "Bummery" send words of cheer to the revolutionists of Mexico, refused to abolish the executive board and concluded, as a matter of economy, that their two publications should be merged into one. The earth still moves and Old Sol is still doing business at the old stand.

A GREAT MANY PEOPLE have been swept off their feet by the clever arguments of trained experts who favor commission form of government. Even many of the working people have been led to believe that commission form of government will in some way promote the interests of those who are disinherited and are dependents on jobs. But wherever commission form of government has been tried, the working class has learned that no material benefits have accrued to the victims of wage slavery. Commission form of government is reactionary and undemocratic, as it means the centralization of the powers of government in fewer hands. Experience has shown that there is no economy in commission form of government and the fact that combinations of capital favor such form of government, is unanswerable proof that the great mass of the people can expect no advancement from a form of government that resolves itself into a political oligarchy. The powers of government being placed in fewer hands, makes it less difficult for organized wealth to dominate and control government. Commission form of government, is but a political scheme of the cunning to strangle democracy to death.

LAST WEEK the editor received a lengthy communication from Tonopah, Nevada, bearing the caption, "Tonopah News." The article is well written and contains some interesting news, relative to Tonopah, but the article likewise contains some very caustic comments which may have a tendency, if published in the Magazine, to arouse considerable indignation. The editor has deemed it advisable not to give the article space in the official organ, not an account solely of the caustic comments in the article, but because the writer has failed to reveal his identity.

We did not wish the name of the writer because we desired to make his name public, but it is absolutely necessary that we shall know upon whom to place responsibility in case some one might feel aggrieved.

The writer of the article is a splendid penman and the language used by him, demonstrates that he is a man of fine ability and we regret that we cannot see our way clear to give the article space in the Magazine.

THOSE ORGANS of plutocracy that joyously cheered the unsupported confession of the world's greatest murderer, Harry Orchard, and the criminal claims of Ortie McManigal, a self-convicted agent provocateur, and then turned about and denounced Col. Martin Mulhall as a modern Munchausen, are as silent as the grave since publicity was given to the report of D. L. Frawley, who was employed by the Senate lobby committee to audit the books of the National Association of Manufacturers.

Mr. Frawley's sworn statement shows that between 1903 and 1913 the association paid \$245,000 to Martin M. Mulhall for legislative and campaign work. The audit confirmed in many particulars Mulhall's testimony to the committee. The association spent more than \$2,000,000 in those ten years for all of its various activities.

When Mulhall began his tale of corruption the union-smashers and their organs the country over ridiculed his claims as lies, despite the fact that he had thousands of letters, telegrams and other documents to substantiate his charges.

Now the N. A. M.'s own books positively confirm the general accusation brought against that organization, viz.: that it was engaged in the detestable and criminal practice of coercing and corrupting legislation.

The name of the National Association of Manufacturers smells to high heaven and the leaders of that organization are discredited before the nation for all time to come.—Cleveland Citizen.

EMMETT FLOOD, organizer for the American Federation of Labor, has been in the strike zone of Michigan and addressed the strikers. The Miners' Bulletin pays a high tribute to Flood as a strong and forcible speaker. The Bulletin gives the following synopsis of Flood's address to the striking miners:

"Why did you join the Western Federation of Miners? Because you recognized that you could do nothing alone. The day of individual action is gone by. It is only organization that counts. The hope of the metal miners is in the Western Federation of Miners. No other society, political party or religion can do for you what the union will."

He looked over the vast throng, and said: "The employers complain that the union interferes with their business; why, they have not got any business. Their business is here, there can be nothing done without you," and cheers long and loud greeted. "Labor power is the greatest thing in the world. It's the mightiest force in the world, it is all that you have to sell. You will find the best market for it in the Western Federation of Miners. Stay with it and the mine owners will pay for this vacation.

"There is nothing worth having, so far as the working class are concerned, that has not come in some such way as this. Every step forward has been through sacrifice.

"When the movement for organization began in Chicago I was a teamster, working fourteen hours a day for \$11 a week. After I had been there for about six months I asked the boss for a raise. He says: 'How long have you been here?' I told him. He pointed to a man and says: 'There is Paddy Ryan, he has been here for twenty years and he is getting \$12 a week.'

"When I climbed down off the teamster wagon to go to organizing for the American Federation of Labor, we had an eight-hour day, a half-holiday Saturday, and twenty thousand teamsters were getting better wages than you miners."

"The working class of this country, and particularly the metal miners, have their eyes fixed on you. They will go the whole route with you and if you keep up your fight no child will be without a shelter or go to bed hungry.

"The thugs are brought in here to beat you up and kill you. Ferris sends in the militia to protect them. If you stick to the federation, long after Ferris and Abbey have gone where there are no snowballs, men and women will talk of the great struggle you engaged in, the benefits that came as a result of your strike, and the banner of the federation will float over the entire mining industry.

"Business! There would not be any business if it were not for your wages. The mine managers of this section don't want any other industry; no place where you can get a job except from them. In this so-called 'free country' there is no freedom except with a union card. You can't get away from the struggle; you will have to fight.

"I want to leave this with you: Before there are better conditions, the industry must be under an organization. You want to have the spirit of the boy who saw a sign in front of a store, 'Boy Wanted,' and took the sign in. The merchant said: 'What are you going to do with that sign?' The boy replied: 'I am going to take the job!' You want to stay out until you get your job back. Woe unto you if you sneak back, cowed, to the bosses' feet!

"The flag carried in your parade this morning means as much to the cause of liberty as the flag of the Revolution."

Another "Friend of Labor"

GOVERNOR FOSS of the State of Massachusetts during the past year has established a reputation that will receive no tributes from the membership of organized labor. Foss is a heavy stockholder in the mills of Massachusetts, and several months ago the impoverished slaves of the mills in which he is interested, were forced to strike against the miserable wage which meant slow but sure starvation.

Pathetic appeals were made to Foss to give recognition to the conditions under which his employes worked, but Foss was obdurate and showed by his lack of consideration for the welfare of the poverty-stricken victims imprisoned in his mills, that *profit* was his religion and that *gold* was his God.

Foss was at one time hailed as "a friend of labor" but his official conduct during the strike in the mills, forever stamps him as a heartless tyrant whose ears are deaf to the moans of distress and whose eyes are sightless to the misery of over-worked and ill-paid toil.

But Foss has recently furnished further proof that he is an arrogant and purse-proud despot. When this plutocrat in public life learned that the engineers and firemen employed on the New York, New Haven & Hartford railroad were voting on the question of a strike, his *Official Highness* sent the following letter to the officers of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers and the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen at New Haven, Conn.:

"I am informed that the principle question at issue between your organization and the New Haven railroad is whether the promotion of employes and the assignment of duties shall be governed solely by the rule of seniority, or whether fitness as well as length of service shall be taken into consideration.

"Looking at the matter from neither the standpoint of the railroad or its employes, I desire to remind you that this question is one

which vitally affects the people of Massachusetts and, indeed, of all New England. Promotion and the assignment of duties according to seniority, without regard to fitness, lower the efficiency of the labor force, make it impossible for the railroad to maintain discipline, and impair the ability of the railroad to serve the public.

"The real issue is not between the railroad and its employes, but between the employes and the people of this commonwealth.

"If this strike is called it will become my duty to take such measures as are within my power to protect the people of this commonwealth. To that end, if the strike is called, I shall ask the council to join me in summoning a special session of the legislature to enact laws which after providing effective remedies for all grievances of employes, shall prohibit absolutely strikes of railroad operatives employed within the commonwealth."

In other words the governor of Massachusetts threatens to summon the legislature into extra session to place a law upon the statute books which will prohibit railway employes from declaring a strike. Foss contemplates by legislation to make the declaration of a strike unlawful, and to brand as a criminal every man who dares to rebel against the mandates of a railway company.

The governor of Massachusetts proposes by such legislation to wrest by law the weapon of last resort from the hands of labor, and he hugs the delusion to his breast that men suffering the wrongs and injustice imposed by railway magnates, will revere and respect a law that strips labor of the most potent weapon to fight the combinations of industry that hesitates at no means or methods to enslave humanity.

Governor Foss will discover in due time that the spirit of independence is yet alive in the hearts of the toiling millions of this country, and that any law that has for its object the taking away of the right to strike will be treated with contempt.

How They "Got" Them

NOW THAT THE MICHIGAN STRIKE has the center of the stage and the arrogance of the mine owners is developing the militancy and class consciousness of their wage slaves, it may help some to call the attention of the man who has no title, even to his job, to the manner in which the masters acquired their title to this mining property.

In Vol. II of Myers' "History of the Great American Fortunes" is a chapter on "The Seizure of the Public Domain," which should be read by all those who have a superstitious reverence for titles.

Among other ways of seizing the public domain was that of land grants given by the United States government for "canal projects." From 1824 to 1852 grants were given aggregating over four millions of acres. Among these grants was one of 750,000 acres given to the St. Mary's Falls Canal Company and one of 400,000 given to the Portage Lake and Lake Superior Ship Canal Company. Concerning these two grants let us quote from Myers' history, Vol. II, pages 26-27:

"In his annual report of 1885 Commissioner Sparks of the United States General Land Office told (House Executive Documents, 1885-86, Vol. II.) how, by 1885, the Portage Lake "canal" was only a worthless ditch and a complete fraud. What had the company done with its large land grant? Instead of accepting the grant as intended by Congress, it had, by means of fraudulent surveys, and doubtless by official corruption, caused at least one hundred thousand acres of its grant to be surveyed in the very richest copper lands of Michigan.

"The grants originally made by Congress were meant to cover

swamp lands; that is, lands not particularly valuable for agriculture uses, but which had a certain value for other purposes. Mineral land was strictly excluded. Such was the law; the practice was very different. . . . Commissioner Sparks wrote that the one hundred thousand acres appropriated in violation of explicit law 'were taken outside of legal limits, and that the lands selected both within and without such limits were interdicted lands on the copper range.' (page 189). These stolen copper deposits were never recovered by the government, nor was any attempt made to forfeit them. They comprise today part of the great copper mines of the copper trust, owned largely by the Standard Oil Company."

The St. Mary's Falls Canal Company likewise stole large areas of rich copper deposits. This fact was clearly revealed in various official reports, and particularly in the suit a few years ago of Chandler vs. Calumet & Hecla Mining Company (U. S. Reports, Vol. 149, pp. 79-95). This suit disclosed the fact that the mines of the Calumet & Hecla Mining Company were located on part of the identical alleged "swamp" lands granted by Congress in 1852.

The holding of these mines as private property to exploit the whole people, like the holding of natural resources in general, is a colossal bluff put up by the fellow who got there first.

There is a rule in poker, so we are told, that the fellow who is caught bluffing loses the pot. What is the matter with the government calling the bluff of these mine owners?—Montana Socialist.

The Coming Battle

THE COAL OPERATORS of West Virginia have made arrangements to raise a fund of \$1,000,000 to fight Socialism. Eastern capitalists who are heavily interested in the mines of West Virginia have become alarmed at the spread of unionism and Socialism in a state where the *dictum* of corporate might was *law*, and now propose to fight the *inevitable* with the usual *weapon*—*money*. There is no question but that the Operators' Protective Association which has been organized to crush unionism and stamp out Socialism will find plenty of missionaries who will bid for the plunder and use their pens and tongues to deplete the fund that has been raised by organized greed to hold human beings in the fetters of economic slavery. But the hirelings and chattels who sell themselves to Mammon and prostitute their convictions to maintain and perpetuate the hellish system that uses thugs, state militia, federal troops, courts and every professional lick-spittle that panders to capitalism, will be met by unanswerable logic, and from the battle the slave will have a clearer conception of the

wrongs and infamies that are spawned from the profit system.

The power of money may be thought to be omnipotent by that class of privilege that has lived in splendor and luxury on dividends minted from industrial slavery, but the organizations of labor and the Socialist party are no longer children that can be awed or intimidated by the economic power of a master class.

The labor movement and the Socialist party have a press of their own, and these organizations of men and women have thousands of missionaries who have graduated in the school of experience who will only be too glad to measure steel with the paid defenders of exploitation.

The message of unionism and Socialism will be carried to the millions of men and women who are the victims of commercial and corporate greed, and when the smoke of battle has cleared away, the horizon will be tinted with a rosier dawn of that coming sunburst of economic freedom, in whose light the malaria of slavery cannot live.

He Is Paying the Price

GOVERNOR SULZER of New York has fallen a victim to the system that corrupts and debauches men in official life. Sulzer with all of his political ambition, hungered for the almighty dollar, and in his greed for money, sacrificed a political career that was full of promise.

Sulzer offended Tammany and the political chiefs of New York whose power make and unmake politicians, decreed that Sulzer should be assassinated politically and laid away in the morgue.

Sulzer was not guilty of committing worse crimes than Tammany. He was not decapitated by the powerful political combination of New York because he had appropriated campaign funds to become a gambler on Wall Street, but because he failed to play the game according to the rules established by Tammany, it was decreed that he should meet the fate of every man who fails to so conduct himself officially, as to furnish revenue for the insatiable political octopus that demands that it shall be fed on the fodder in the public crib.

Sulzer, had he been brave and courageous, and took the bit in his teeth," could have given his political enemies a battle that would have

made history in the state of New York and given Tammany a blow that would have put the job-trust of the Empire state in the hospital.

But Sulzer realized that his official toga was smirched by the spoils of corruption and he followed in the footsteps of Adam who placed the responsibility of his weakness on the woman.

The vast majority of people in this country have but little admiration for the man who foists his infirmities on his wife, but have some respect for the man who stands from behind the skirts of a woman even though that woman is responsible, to give battle to the gluttons of graft who conspire to isolate him, simply because he failed to make it possible for them "to live in clover" on the spoils of public plunder.

Sulzer was recognized as a man who had some sympathy for the common people. He was looked upon as a fighter whom official life had not deadened to the wrongs of the oppressed, but now, his political sun is setting and in all probability the man who was once so popular as to become the chief magistrate of the greatest state in the Union will be relegated to political oblivion, bearing up on his record the indelible stigma of dishonor.

Fourteen Cents for a Girl's Life

BECAUSE the doors were locked, 142 girls were roasted to death in the Triangle Shirtwaist factory fire in March, 1911. For days the press shrieked for vengeance. For weeks indignation meetings and editorial writers howled about punishing the guilty. For months reformers talked about the necessity of law enforcement.

Then the trial came. Legal technicalities freed the proprietors with trifling punishment.

But upon one thing all save a few Socialists were agreed. Horrible as might be this accident, it would make impossible another like it. The terrible sacrifice of these lives would not be "in vain," smug moralists informed us, because it would lead to precautions against similar horrors in the future.

Last week the very same man who had been guilty of the deaths of these 142 girls, committed identically the same crime of locking his employes up in another fire trap. Here was deliberately plotted mur-

der for greed, in the face of the most fearful warnings conceivable by the human mind.

It taxes the imagination to conceive of a more hideous crime than this which Max Blanck was guilty. It showed a depth of human depravity, a callousness of human suffering, an absolute lack of remorse for crimes committed—in short, every characteristic that marks the degenerate beast in human form, the reversion to type, which would demand that the unfortunate victim should at least be placed beyond further power to injure human beings.

This man was brought before an alleged court of justice in New York City. He was proven guilty of the charge.

If ever there was a case where the infliction of the death penalty would have been justified, this would seem to have been the case. This was no crime of passion, no sudden outburst of uncontrollable temper, no question of a desperate choice between starvation and crime. It

was a coolly calculated action based on an estimate of the profit to be obtained by keeping girls locked up in a fire trap.

Justice Russell listened to this evidence, recognized the fact of the guilt and then imposed the minimum penalty of a \$20 fine. It is recorded that Blanck grinned as he pulled a thick roll of bills from his pocket, peeled off one and handing it to the judge walked out.

The grin was not surprising. A justice court had given him the right to burn up young girls at the rate of a little over 14 cents apiece for those he had previously cremated.

It has been several days since this ghastly judicial farce was enacted. We have waited in vain to hear of any hint of a congressional investigation, of protest by high church dignitaries or of an outburst of indignation from the National Association of Manufacturers.

There is on talk of "shielding law breakers," of "encouraging violence" of "reckless disregard of human life," of "disturbing law and order." But then these girls were not killed while striking for better conditions of living for themselves and their class.—Milwaukee Leader.

The Strikers Standing Firm

THE MINE BARONS of Michigan not satisfied with all the outrages perpetrated against the strikers by hired thugs and state militia entered the courts and secured an injunction prohibiting strikers from picketing and parading, and in fact from doing anything that might be construed as inimical to the interests of the lord of the copper district, one James McNaughton. An injunction was secured from the District Court of Houghton county, but after mature and calm deliberation on the part of Judge O'Brien, from whose court this mandate was issued, practically destroying all the rights of the miners on strike, the judge after hearing logical and convincing arguments on the part of the attorneys of the Western Federation of Miners on the injustice of such an injunction, dissolved said injunction and then the wrath of the mine barons leaped beyond the boundaries of reason and the action of Judge O'Brien was brought before the attention of the Supreme Court of the state.

An application was made before the highest judicial tribunal of the state demanding that Judge O'Brien should re-issue his former injunction and the robed disciples of Blackstone, sitting in the state's highest "temple of justice" issued an order commanding the inferior court to yield obedience to the demands of the exploiting combination that have realized \$121,000,000 of dividends on an original investment of \$1,200,000.

Every department of government in the state of Michigan is arrayed against the strikers. Legislative, executive and judicial seem to be owned and controlled by the copper magnates and do the bidding of those economic masters, whose will is law, and whose economic power make servile chattels of the "servants of the people."

The strikers, regardless of thugs, state militia and courts are standing firmly on their feet with their face to the foe, determined that human rights shall be recognized in Michigan's Siberia.

Wasting Their Energies

IN THE CITY of Detroit, Michigan, 2000 women of the underworld have been told that they must vacate their dens of shame, and away out in San Francisco the order has gone forth that the red light district must be abolished.

In nearly every city throughout this country the same action has been taken to remove the pestilence that shocks the moral fibre of our Christian people. It may be that in Detroit and in San Francisco the brothels that knew the scarlet women will know them no more, but the fact that they are forced by a dictum of law to vacate their "palaces of sin" will not remove the awful crime of prostitution.

The abolition of the "red light" district in any town or city only means that the social outcasts will take up their residence in other parts of those towns or cities, where the red lights of shame have become eye sores to those holier than thou "people who hug the delusion to their breast that prostitution can be wiped out by the enforcement of law.

The abolition of a "red light" district by the order of a mayor clothed with the authority of law does not touch the *cause* that drove the woman to a life of shame.

Prostitution is bred from an economic system that places a higher value on dividends than on the honor of womanhood.

The abolition of the "red light" district does not make the mill, factory, department store or sweat shop where girls and women are

employed pay a wage that insures the safety of a woman's virtue.

What efficacy is there in the abolition of a "red light" district while millions of girls and women are forced to work for a wage that bids for dishonor?

Hundreds of thousands of girls and women in all parts of this country are struggling to preserve their purity on \$5 to \$6 per week, and though they shrink from a life that is worse than death, yet, brutal necessity knows no *law* and the pangs of hunger must be appeased.

The prisons of profit in which girls and women are employed, where the wages of slow starvation are grudgingly and *reluctantly* paid by economic masters, are but the recruiting agencies that build "red light" districts and populate them with Mary Magdalenes. The army of social outcasts is increasing, and with all the superficial efforts of surface reformers, who strike at *effects* instead of *causes*, prostitution has spread to such an extent that it has alarmed society, and the *law* is now being invoked to cure the ulcer that comes from the diseases in our economic life. These reformers might as well learn now, as in the not far distant future, that prostitution is but one of the products of capitalism, and that until the profit system is overthrown, the social evil will grow to more colossal proportions and that prostitution can never be banished or reduced to a minimum until the *cause* is removed that forces the impoverished Eve to tear the crown of honor from her brow in exchange for bread.

He "Talks Like a Fish

THOMAS MANN, the great labor leader of England, has been touring America for the past two months, endeavoring to impress upon his auditors the necessity of taking up his infallible remedies to wipe out the wrongs from which labor suffers. Mann has been identified with the labor movement of England and Australia for a period of thirty-three years. During his missionary work in the labor field he has visited France, Germany, Belgium, Sweden, Norway—in fact, nearly all the European countries where the labor movement has taken a foothold.

Mann came to Denver, and regardless of the fact, that Mann was lauded as one of the greatest labor leaders of the Old World, yet, little more than 200 people gathered in East Turner hall to listen to the man who crossed the wide Atlantic to sow the seeds of progressive unionism in the dormant brain of the American workingman.

The arguments of Thomas Mann in behalf of industrial solidarity are unanswerable and will meet with the prompt approval of every man and woman, who through observation and experience, have learned that craft and trade organizations can no longer cope successfully with the power of organized greed.

Men and women, who are members of craft and trade organizations and who have borne the brunt of battle on the industrial field, will not contend for a moment that labor scattered and divided into regiments is able to measure steel with the "captains of industry" who are united into one compact body to resist every demand of the working class.

Mann's arguments urging industrial solidarity are logical and appeal strongly to men and women of intelligence, but when Mann attempts to prove that nothing has been accomplished through legislation and that the ballot is a worthless weapon in the hands of the working class, he falls down and makes himself appear ridiculous in the eyes of men

and women who know something about history and the potency of the ballot.

Mann in his address spoke about the guilds in England centuries ago, and declared that the *solidarity* of the guilds gave the workers control of industry at that time.

But Mann seemed to forget himself, and afterwards in his address told how the guilds were destroyed and how thousands were deported through the dictum of the reigning monarch.

The king on the throne of authority shattered the *solidarity* of the guilds and exiled thousands of men and women to reservations that were set apart as prison-domains for those who rebelled against the impositions of economic masters. Strange that a king vested with the authority of *law* could destroy the *solidarity* of guilds, if there is no power in legislation.

Mr. Mann, the great labor leader of England should know, that the capitalist class of every nation on earth is using all its cunning and ingenuity to devise schemes to covertly lessen the voting power of the working class and to disfranchise the worker, and if the ballot is a helpless weapon in the hands of labor, then will Tom Mann, the great labor leader of England, tell us why the capitalist class is using legislative bodies and courts to lessen the political power of the workers? If there is no potency in the *ballot*, if it is but a *paper wad*, then why do the exploiters raise a fund of millions of dollars in every national campaign in this country to place their political henchmen in office?

Does Tom Mann entertain the opinion that capitalism has no brains in recognizing the fact that the ballot is a potent weapon?

Does capitalism throw away its money in political campaigns to elect its agents to office merely for the joy of spending the *mañana*?

In the language of the street, Tom Mann "talks like a fish."

The Czar of Seattle

JUDGE HUMPHRIES of Seattle, Washington, has received considerable attention from the press recently, and his official acts on the bench brand him as a judicial autocrat. Humphries has practically declared, that as a judge, his power is almost unlimited. He has not hesitated to send men, women and babies to jail on the grounds that his dictum is supreme and must be obeyed. Judge Humphries went so far in his official attempts to throttle free speech that judges of the Superior Court became alarmed and reached the conclusion that it would be dangerous to not call a halt on this judicial Caesar, whose despotism on the bench makes the czarism of crazy "Nick" of Russia look like the veritable "thirty cents."

Humphries decreed that Socialists should not be permitted to speak on the streets of Seattle, and through an injunction issued from his court, concluded that legal rights and constitutional liberty would become a joke. But the men and women against whom his injunction was issued refused to yield obedience to his mandate and bluntly told

"the lion in his den" that his official declaration against the rights of free speech would be treated with contempt. It is but a short time ago that Judge Humphries declared that "the people must be governed by fear" but he has discovered that men and women who are fighting a battle against the wrongs of organized greed and for that industrial freedom that will lift man and woman to a higher plane of civilization, cannot be stayed in their mission to right the wrongs of centuries.

The working class of Seattle are not yet ready to concede that the frenzied fanaticism of a judge on the bench, expressed through an injunction, can destroy the rights of the people to free assemblage and to the free expression of those convictions that have been forced upon them through the tyranny of an industrial system, that in its haughty arrogance dominates the legislative and executive departments of government and prostitutes the judiciary to serve the interests of Mammon. The people will not be governed by fear nor will they concede that a judge upon the bench is above the law and the constitution.

Hearst, the Hypocrite

WILLIAM RANDOLPH HEARST, owner of a syndicated press and continual aspirant for President of the United States, got a solar-plexus blow from organized labor in Chicago on September 29th.

The Examiner of Chicago for several weeks announced that the management would get out a *Trades Union Edition* and that some of the most prominent labor officials of Chicago would do the literary work.

The Examiner had secured the services of a few labor skates of Chicago who were clever with the pen to enter into an agreement to furnish a number of signature articles for the *Labor Edition* of the Examiner, but union men of Chicago, remembering that Hearst had locked out the Pressmen more than a year ago and that he had absolutely refused to give their grievances the slightest consideration

reached the conclusion that the time was ripe to hand Mr. Hearst a quietus.

Representatives of organized labor visited the labor unions of Chicago and reviewed the history of Hearst's record in Chicago, San Francisco, Boston, the Black Hills and other places, and the result was that Hearst was unable to foist a *Trades Union Edition* on the working people of Chicago, and he never will be permitted to play unionism in Chicago for revenue until he demonstrates by acts that he is willing to treat labor with fair consideration. Hearst has played the role of the hypocrite for years with considerable success. He has been able to veneer his duplicity and treachery by a smooth and suave policy that has deceived thousands of laboring men, but the mask which he wore has become transparent and Hearst with all of his cleverness and sophistry can no longer drug unionism into the belief that he is even a "friend to labor."

A Question Answered

THE QUESTION has been asked hundreds of times why it is that a vast portion of laboring men absent themselves from the church? There are some who entertain the opinion that it is due to a growing indifference on the part of the workers, but there is a substantial reason why men who struggle for the means of life have lost interest in the so-called temples of God.

The great majority of laboring men have the highest veneration for the teachings of Christianity, but in the school of experience, these men have observed that there is a vast difference between Christianity and Churchianity. They have discovered that the exploiter who extracts his dividends from the sweat and suffering of ill-paid toil, is courted by the dignitaries of the church and that when conflicts arise between the exploiter and exploited the church, through its robed representatives, is usually found arrayed against the impoverished victims of industrial slavery.

They have discovered that the Biblical quotation: "Blessed are the poor for they shall see God" is but an opiate to drug the mentality of the wronged and suffering and to placate the spirit of rebellion that rises in indignation against the infamies that grow out of economic servitude.

They have learned that "Come all ye that are weary and heavy-

laden and I will give you rest" is used merely to lift thoughts of the enslaved from the material things of earth and fasten their vision on the promised mansions of an invisible world, that they may forget the hellish profit system that knows no God but Mammon.

They see prelates of the church dwelling in mansions and palaces, riding in automobiles, and when traveling, enjoying the luxury of a special car and then their thoughts go back for nearly two thousand years to contemplate a Christ who "had not whereon to lay his head."

They ask themselves the question: "are these men who wear the robes of religion and pretend to follow in the footsteps of the Nazarene, worthy disciples of that Redeemer who was born in a stable at Bethlehem, wept in the Garden of Gethsemane and gave up his life on Calvary in atonement for the sins of man?"

When the laboring men behold the influences that enslave labor dominating the church, it is idle and but a waste of time for men of intelligence to ask the question as to why the working class is becoming indifferent to the church.

When the church shakes off the influences that have debauched the church to sanctify exploitation, and becomes an institution in whose pulpits the teachings of Christ are upheld and honored then will the pews in the temples of God be filled with the men and women who wear the livery of labor.

W. J. Bryan Becoming Socialistic

By R. A. DAGUE.

IS WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN gravitating toward Socialism? It would appear that he is, from the following extract taken from his contribution printed in the Chicago Record-Herald of October 5, 1913. Discussing trusts and corporations, he says:

"The corporation is a step in advance. It enables people to do things jointly that they could not do alone. It relieves those who co-operate of the embarrassment of partnership and it substitutes larger opportunities and thus facilitates the work of exchange. No one who has estimated with intelligence the usefulness of the corporation will for one moment think of destroying the power that the corporation gives for co-operative effort. * * *

"Go into different lands and you will find people speaking many languages; you will find differences in dress; you will find differences in tradition; you will find differences in religion, and you will find differences in government; but there is one problem that is universal—you encounter it everywhere—it has no latitude, it has no longitude. It is not the problem of today or yesterday or tomorrow; it is the problem that has existed since man's race began and will exist while time endures. That problem is the adjustment of the rewards of soci-

ety. Upon the settlement of that problem a right depends the future of mankind.

"Is there a divine measure of rewards? I believe there is. What is that measure? It is the divine measure; it is the law of that God stamped upon the world and impressed on man; it is the law by which society must be governed if governed aright; and this law is that every citizen shall draw from society a reward proportionate to the service that he renders to society. And in proportion as we approximate the right solution of that problem we will place progress upon a sure and permanent foundation."

Now, that is pure, unadulterated Socialism, with the word Socialism left out. It was not very long ago that Colonel Bryan stood with his party and demanded that corporations and trusts be "smashed!" I am glad that our distinguished Secretary of State has abandoned the "smashing" theory and adopted the socialistic philosophy. Bryan says:

"The law of God and justice is that every citizen shall draw from society a reward proportionate to the service he renders society."

Socialism says:

"Every worker with head or hand, in every useful pursuit, should receive the full value of his labor."

\$1; Matt Loukka, \$3; Antti Wesaja, \$2; A. Field, \$1; Ben Martin, \$5; Mike Cholakovich, \$1; John Roberts, \$1; N. P. Rasmussen, \$1; W. D. Baney, \$1; John N. Sarvela, \$2; Chas. Wesaja, 50 cents; John Aho, \$2; Chas. Charlson, \$1; Alex Thompson, \$2; Victor Kukkola, \$2; Steve Muris, \$1; Milos Yankovich, \$1; Obren Popovich, \$1; John Kivi, \$2; A. A. Whittier, \$2; Johan Holm, \$1; Gust Olson, \$2; Carl G. Olsson, \$1; H. Radke, \$1; Frank Yama, \$1; George Mitsu, \$1; Victor Johnson, \$2; Ed Holmes, \$2.

Total, \$80.

Please acknowledge receipt through Miners' Magazine. Wishing success for the Michigan strikers, I remain, Fraternally yours.

(Signed)

F. L. ALSTROM,

Secretary-Treasurer, Douglas Island Miners' Union No. 109.

A LETTER FROM JOS. D. CANNON.

Chicago, Ill., Oct. 9, 1913.

To the Miners' Magazine:

Brothers Terzich, Romeo and Corpa, with me were sent through the Iron range of Minnesota for the purpose of combating the misrepresentations sent broadcast concerning the Michigan strike and at the same time endeavor to raise funds for the financing of the same.

We found but one union organized in the entire district, the bricklayers and plasterers. This is a district union, not of any one locality. We did not have the chance to ascertain just what kind of a union it is, but it is safe to say that it must be composed of pretty good material, else it would not exist as the lone exponent of organized labor on the industrial field of this cursed steel trust duchy.

Our meetings were arranged and handled almost entirely by the Finnish Socialists. At Hibbing they were ably assisted by the Slavonian Socialists, and at Aurora the same nationality through their Socialist branch took quite an active part in making the meeting a very successful one.

Our first meeting was held at Eleventh, and as there was some misunderstanding about the date, it was not as successful as it otherwise would have been, but it was a satisfying meeting just the same, and we feel indebted to the Finnish Socialist branch for the able manner in which it got out such a good meeting on such short notice.

Virginia was the scene of our next meeting. There was no hitch of any kind there. The hall in which the meeting was held, is the most beautiful I have ever seen. I have seen many on which far more money was spent and which are much more elaborate in finish, but for perspective, or proportion and simplicity in arrangements and architectural beauty and artistic finish, it surpassed anything which I have heretofore seen. There was not a corner of the hall in which one could not read fine print with ease, and at the same time there was no glare of light to hurt the eye or make it weary. Lights everywhere, but all subdued, and every wall in the building seemed to give us welcome and wish us all success in our mission, and as far as that part of it is concerned, all the halls in which we spoke, all belonging to the Finnish Socialists, the same welcome seemed evident to us, and all these halls were furnished for our meetings free of charge.

Hibbing, Chisholm, Nashwauk, Aurora and Ely, all held successful meetings, and at all these places, the Socialists took the entire responsibility of making them successful.

At Duluth, a meeting was advertised for the armory hall, and it was not successful, as not more than a few hundred turned out. The same is true of Superior, but while the meetings at both places were small, those who did come out were earnest, and the strikers will not be entirely forgotten in either place as friends will see that there is some assistance forthcoming while the strike lasts.

Chicago, will be heard from favorably in giving support to the strikers. Many of the local unions have contributed liberally and some of them far better than we anticipated when we came here. A plasterers local, last night, because their constitution prevented them from making any contribution direct from their treasury, called a special meeting for next week, and stipulated in the call that the meeting was for the purpose of deciding whether or not the assessment they will levy for the Michigan strikers, shall be for 50 cents or a dollar a member. The local has from eighteen to twenty-two hundred members.

This is the spirit which makes it possible to achieve such a victory as we are winning in Michigan. Organized labor is rapidly realizing its duty to itself, and when part of its forces are engaged in conflicts hereafter, the balance will not content itself with merely offering moral support.

JOS. D. CANNON.

DONATIONS RECEIVED FOR THE MICHIGAN STRIKERS.

Total of donations previously acknowledged, \$27,085.65.

October 6.—Broom and Whiskmakers' Union No. 1, Mauwilkee, Wisconsin, \$5; Drustoo Sv Pi Paval, Gilbert, Minnesota, \$31.75; Plumbers' Union, No. 189, Great Falls, Montana, \$25; Painters' Union, No. 260, Great Falls, Montana, \$25; Carpenters' Union, No. 286, Great Falls, Montana, \$25; Will County Central Trades and Labor Council, Joliet, Illinois, \$10; Hod Carriers and Building Laborers' Union, No. 134, Atlanta, Illinois, \$10; Brotherhood Electrical Workers, No. 209, Anaconda, Montana, \$15; Central Labor Union, Bellows Falls, Vermont, \$5; International Longshoresman Association, No. 38, Tacoma, Washington, \$25; Globe M. U. No. 60, W. F. M., Globe, Arizona, receipts from dance, \$84; Lerbo Orthodox Congregation of Chisholm, Minnesota, \$10.

October 7.—United Garment Workers of America, No. 139, Denver, \$5; Socialist Local, Trinidad, Colorado, \$2.30; International Association of Machinists, Unity Lodge, No. 134, Chicago, Illinois, \$25; Central Labor Union, Millinocket, Maine, \$2; Local No. 339 P. D. and P. of A., Everett, Washington, \$10; Amalgamated Sheet Metal Workers' International Alliance, Local No. 176, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, \$5; Painters, Paperhangers and Decorators of America, Local No. 137, St. Louis, Missouri, \$25; Local No. 188, United Brotherhood Carpenters and Joiners of America, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, \$25; the Granite Cutters' International Association, Victoria, B. C., \$16.

October 8.—Local No. 36, Sheet Metal Workers' Alliance, St. Louis, Missouri, \$15; Douglas Island Miners' Union, No. 109, Western Federation of Miners, Douglas, Alaska, \$80; La Salle Trades Council, La Salle, Illinois, \$5; Wood, Wire and Metal Lathers' Union, No. 65, San Francisco, California, \$10; Lodge No. 969, International Association of Machinists, Escanaba, Michigan, \$5; Steve Oberlo, South Range, Michigan, Western Federation of Miners, \$5; Cigar Packers' Local Union, No. 281, C. I. U. of A., St. Louis, Missouri, \$3; National Croation Society, St. Nicholas Assembly, No. 25, McKeesport, Pennsylvania, \$15.75; Boston Central Labor Union, Boston, Massachusetts, \$50.

October 9.—Rockville Branch Granite Cutters, Rockville, Minnesota, \$9.50; Brewers and Malsters' Local Union, No. 6, St. Louis, Missouri, \$50; Local Union, No. 129, Cigarmakers International Union of America, Denver, Colorado, \$25; Local Union, No. 620, United Mine Workers of America, La Salle, Illinois, \$10; Carriage, Wagon and Automobile Workers' Union, No. 174, Chicago, Illinois, \$10; John A. Young, Cordova, B. C., (Western Federation of Miners) \$5; Coeur De'Alene District Union, No. 14, Western Federation of Miners, Burke, Idaho, \$245.30; Everett Trades Council, Everett, Washington, \$25; Local No. 187, International Hod Carriers and Building Laborers of America, Missoula, Montana, \$25; So. Slavic Socialist Org., No. 77, McKees Rocks, Pennsylvania, \$20; Hoisting Engineers' Local, No. 59, San Francisco, California, \$25; St. Johnsbury Branch Granite Cutters International Association of America, St. Johnsbury, Vermont, \$3; Everett Union, No. 562, United Brotherhood Carpenters, Joiners of America, Everett, Washington,

\$10; Local No. 24, Bakery and Confectionery Workers, San Francisco, California, \$25; San Diego Branch Socialist Party, San Diego, California, \$5; Local No. 43, I. L. A., Escanaba, Michigan, \$10; Wausau Central Body, Columbia Band and Orchestra, Wausau, Wisconsin, \$5; Ottawa Trades and Labor Assembly, Ottawa, Illinois, \$5; Local Union No. 483, U. B. of C. & J. of A., San Francisco, California, \$25; Painters and Decorators' Union, No. 144, Perth Amboy, New Jersey, \$25.

October 10.—Milwaukee Stereotypers' Union, No. 90, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, \$5; Musicians' Mutual Benefit Association, Local No. 2 St. Louis Missouri, \$10; Central Labor Council, Anaconda, Montana, \$15; Local Union No. 1082, Carpenters and Joiners of America, San Francisco, California, \$5; Larium Socialist Local, Houghton County, Michigan, \$27; Bottlers and Canners' Union, No. 10535, San Francisco, California, \$25.

October 11.—Members of Leadwood Miners Union, No. 236, Western Federation of Miners, Leadwood, Mo., \$116.25; Germania Lodge, No. 394, I. A. M., St. Louis, Missouri, \$5; Local No. 726, Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America, Houghton, Michigan, \$25; Cigarmakers' Union, No. 179, Bangor, Maine, \$10; Seattle Typographical Union, No. 202, Seattle, Washington, \$25.

October 13.—Geo. Bruce, 805 K. St., Sacramento, California, \$4; Lodge No. 68, I. A. of M., San Francisco, California, \$10; Collection by donations from individual members of Leadwood Miners' Union, No. 236, Western Federation of Miners, Leadwood, Missouri \$27.45; Voluntary donations, members of Castle Rock M. & S. U., No. 142, Western Federation of Miners and friends, Salida, Colorado, \$18; South Slavonian Socialist Labor Party, Cleveland, Ohio, \$6.50; Local Union No. 80, Hod Carriers and Building Laborers' Sheboygan, Wisconsin, \$5; Local Union No. 44, Cigarmakers' International Union of America, St. Louis, Missouri, \$50; St. Louis Printing Pressmen's Union No. 6, St. Louis, Missouri, \$25; Local Union No. 184, B. D. & P. H. of A., Chicago, Illinois, \$25. Total, \$28,622.45.

THE PLUNDERERS.

See that mill owner sitting in his auto, surrounded by every comfort that wealth can command; notice the hard lines in his face; he is cursing the multitude of workers who have struck for more pay and better working conditions.

"The damn fools don't know when they are well off; I give them steady work and pay them the going wage; what more do they want?"

He looks at me in astonishment as I mention that he might find it very inconvenient to live on the wages he pays his workers.

Would he be satisfied with \$2.50 per day, docked for every moment lost, pay stopped in case of sickness, when it can least be spared?

Would he be happy to live as his workers have to live, with the fear of want continually hanging over his head like the sword of Damocles?

His workers have produced all that he has, which is the lion's share, and they having eyes to see, are beginning to understand that his waste is their want.

Few of us have awakened to the fact that through the peril of the uncontrolled self we are all plunderers and our own ignorance makes possible oppression.

Take the crowd on a city's street, isn't the talk pretty much on selling real estate, or getting a special privilege of some sort to buy and sell and thereby make a bunch of money; don't this money represent wealth produced by some worker who has plundered through subtle ways of exploitation, not only of most that he has produced but his manhood as well. Every individual in that crowd has the unconscious desire for profit and profit means plunder and plunder means sorrow for the plundered and the plunderer as well.

Through this desire for profit we deny each other that universal happiness which is the natural heritage of the race.

Every palliative measure for the relief of the oppressed, every effort for greater justice to the mass of workers is opposed by powerful interests and back of these interests are men; go into their homes and meet them socially and you will find them kindly men even as you and I, you would never imagine them plunderers.

The plunderer like ourselves, means well when it costs nothing more than words, but to actualize thoughts, words and ideals and give justice a chance to redeem the race, that's the task.

In a bunco game the victim is a bigger crook than the bunco man; he is victimized because the bunco man preys upon his cupidity; he thinks he is going to get the goods.

He is a victim, not of the bunco man, but of his own ignorance and selfishness.

Today we have political freedom in a large part of the world, but we are not yet socially awakened to its proper use, we allow ourselves to be governed by political grafters who, much like the bunco man, prey upon our ignorance and selfishness, get into office and serve the "interests" that make slaves of us, the workers.

An enlightened "Spirit of the Hive" means a socially awakened citizenship that will not only demand co-operation and social justice, but will actualize them as well.

Our daily conduct toward each other in the commonplace of field, factory and shop shows how far we have progressed in this actualization.

W. E. G.

AN ENCOURAGING LETTER FROM LOWNEY.

Wallace, Idaho, October 6, 1913.

Editor Miners' Magazine:

I left Calumet, Michigan, two weeks ago, to present the copper miners' strike situation to the membership of organized labor in some of the Western mining districts. I have never known of any other strike in the history of organized labor in this country where such generous and unanimous sympathy and support has been tendered as towards the striking miners of Michigan.

I first visited Butte, where the miners and engineers had already voted a day's wage in support of the strike. At the meeting which I attended the miners, by unanimous vote, decided to make the day's wage continuous as long as the strike lasted. All the other unions of Butte, in addition to making donations out of their treasuries, assessed themselves monthly during the continuance of the strike. The Anaconda smeltermen also voted a day's wage.

I then went to Fernie, B. C., to confer with J. W. Bennett, former editor of the Fernie Ledger, the official organ of District No. 18 of the Mine Workers. Mr. Bennett was requested by District No. 6, W. F. M., to tour British Columbia in behalf of the Michigan strikers. I accompanied Mr. Bennett to Kimberley and Moyie, and the same intense interest was shown in the Michigan strike as I encountered at Butte. Both at Kimberley and Moyie the locals, by unanimous vote, decided to give a day's wage each month until the strike was won.

I regretted not being able to visit the other locals of British Columbia with Mr. Bennett, but I am sure he has met with the same generous response throughout the district as he met with at Moyie and Kimberley.

I went from Moyie to Burke, Idaho, and this old local, famous for its loyalty to the principles of unionism, voted unanimously to give a day's wage each month as long as the strike lasted.

I then visited Wardner, the home of the Bunker Hill and the scab industrial union, and I found the most active and live bunch of union men which I have met anywhere. This is all the more gratifying, as Wardner was sup-

posed to be forbidden ground to union men for a great many years. The Wardner local was organized two months ago, and has a membership of between three and four hundred and is growing rapidly. After presenting the strike situation in Michigan to them, they voted unanimously to contribute a day's wage each month until the strike is settled.

I will visit the other locals of the Coeur d'Alenes before returning to Calumet, and I am confident they will show the same generous spirit as those already visited.

I would urge upon all locals of the W. F. M. to take similar action as that described in this letter. It should not be necessary to have a personal representative visit each local to show the importance of this struggle in Michigan to organized labor and the necessity of contributing all they can to support the men, women and children, who are enduring all the hardships and privations which a great industrial struggle brings upon them, and who will never surrender except they are starved into submission.

Let it never be said that the tyrannical and despotic mine owners of Michigan were able to whip the brave men and women "who are struggling for a little of that justice so long denied them," through the negligence and indifference of the workers of this country.

J. C. LOWNEY.

INDIAN CHIEF'S OPINION OF CHRISTIAN CIVILIZATION.

By R. A. Dague.

"Bishop Whipple of Minnesota said the Dakota Indians once held a war dance near a mission house. He went to Wabasha, the chief, and said: 'Wabasha, you asked me to send you a missionary, and I sent him, and now you are having a scalp dance. You killed an enemy and the Great Spirit is angry with you and will send you to a bad place.' The old chief drew his pipe from his mouth, and replied: 'While man goes to war with his own brother and kill more men than Wabasha can count all his life. Great Spirit smiles, and says: "Good white man. He heap good. He has my book. I have good place for him by and by. The Indian is a wild man. He has no big spirit book. He kills one bad Indian enemy, and has scalp dance. Great Spirit heap mad and says Bad Indian. Me put Indian in bad place and burn him heap much, by and by." Ugh! "Wabasha don't believe what white brave says."'

For good reasons not only the Indians but the "Heathen Chinese" and wage slaves and the propertyless people, both white and black, have lost their faith in the profession of Christians, so-called. They preach kindness, and brotherhood, and peace, but they have always practiced the slavery and exploitation of working people, and have shed rivers of blood by wars prompted by greed. For nearly two thousand years Christians (?) have persecuted Jews unto death, and deluged the earth with Hebrew blood. They kidnapped and enslaved millions of negroes. They have enacted laws in every Christian country under which working people are robbed out of nearly three-fourths of the products of their labor that an idle, non-producing aristocracy might riot in profligacy and debauchery by reason of their great wealth filched from the people who create it. In every so-called Christian country on earth these professed Christian kings and statesmen are armed to the teeth and are ready to spring at each other like demons and blow the brains out of each other for spoils or to open up markets for goods stolen from the workers.

Several years ago Christian England forced the "heathen Chinese" to open her markets to the opium trade, and the Emperor plead on his knees and with tears, that his people be spared, and that opium be kept out of China. England replied with cannon and grape shot, and the awful opium curse was fastened on that country. Christian Europe sent missionaries to the heathen with Bibles, but also provided with guns and powder.

Recently a Chinese statesman declared that the enforcing opium upon them had cursed his countrymen beyond all estimate. Our American Christian captains of industry now enslave two millions of poor white children in our shops and factories, maintain an individualistic competitive system of industrialism under which more than fifty millions of our people have become propertyless; they maintain a private army of ex-convicts to shoot to death working people who strike for a living wage; they organize millions of innocent boys and college students into Boy Scouts and militia companies and plant the murderous war virus in their tender minds and then they pass the hat and collect the nickels of the poor to be expended in sending Bibles and missionaries to the "heathen Chinese" to tell them about the Dear Jesus.

The fact is that in many respects China is practicing more genuine Christianity than the so-called Christian nations.

China invented the compass and printing. Her laws require children of any age to honor, obey and tenderly care for parents. There are thousands of hospitals for the homeless and unfortunate. Even public hospitals are maintained where worn-out animals are cared for. That country has been at peace with the world for centuries. They are peaceful, industrious, frugal and hospitable, and had but little drunkenness till England flooded them with opium and whisky. They have great libraries and universities and art galleries, and they are skilled in manufacturing chinaware and beautiful textile fabrics. They have but few paupers and but little crime.

Learned and trustworthy American travelers testify that strangers are courteously treated in every part of China and that robbery and violence and crime are very rare. How is it in Christian countries? We have the enormously rich and the groveling poor. Our laws are enacted to uphold the right of the few to own all public utilities and rob the working people of every dollar of their earnings above what is necessary for them to expend for the bare necessities of life.

Drunkenness, gambling, prostitution, grafting, speculation, fraud and crime and curse Europe and America like a scourge.

In every church in the land the Lord's Prayer is repeated every Sunday: "May Thy Kingdom come and Thy Will be done on earth as in heaven." But on six days of the week the church people teach and practice competition and oppose Socialists who are trying to have that prayer answered. Socialists say: "Let us usher in a government of righteousness through a universal brotherhood and universal peace and the rewarding of every worker with the full value of his labor."

But the thrifty Christian capitalist says: "No, none of that; on with the mad scramble for dollars; let every fellow look out for himself and let satan take the hindmost. We will establish the Kingdom of God on earth by policeman's clubs, and jails, and cannons, and swords, and bayonets. Down with Socialism; it is impractical; up with competition. To the victor belongs the spoils!"

Who will say that the old Indian chief was wrong in his opinion of the religion of the white man?

Creston, Iowa.

INTERNATIONAL NEWS LETTER.

A Synopsis of Facts Relating to the World's Trade Union Movement—Issued by the International Secretariat of National Trade Union Centers.

Berlin, September 19, 1913.

The Joys of the Wages Boards.

An organization of railway and tramwaymen was some time ago struck off the lists of trade unions by one of the judges of the wages board, because the secretary had dared to protest against the appointment of this judge, who, by his previous judgments had proved himself to be prejudiced. A hostile organization was at once registered by the society in the place of the first organization, which, with the help of the wages board, had secured duly legal-

ized wages and working conditions for 15,000 members, and whose conditions were rendered null and void. In order that this advantage should not be forfeited, the organization effected its re-entry on the register as "Transport Workers' Federation." Thereupon the judge, very much annoyed, decreed that the organization be excluded, as same had gained admittance in a surreptitious manner and because there was already a duly approved organization for the workers in question. The 15,000 railway and tramwaymen will have to obtain a regulation of the wages and labor conditions by fighting for same if they will not join the ranks of yellow labor.

The German Curriers.

According to the statistics of the Leather Workers' Federation concerning the conditions of labor in the German currying industry, 85 per cent of the workers are covered by conditions laid down in tariff agreements; 4,279 workers, employed in 201 workshops in 56 towns, out of the 4,500 engaged in the industry are organized in the Leather Workers' Federation. The daily working times are as follows: For 1,823 persons, 10 hours; for 131, 9 $\frac{3}{4}$; for 687, 9 $\frac{1}{2}$; for 953, 9 $\frac{1}{4}$; for 639, 9, and for 46, 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ hours per day. An hourly wage of 51 to 56 $\frac{1}{2}$ pfennigs was paid to 894 persons; 50 pf. to 592 persons; 46-49 pf. to 690 persons; 45 pf. to 46 persons; 41-44 $\frac{1}{2}$ pf., 666 persons; 40 pf. to 133 persons; 36-39 pf. to 390 persons; 35 pf. to 170 persons, and 30-34 pf. to 98 persons. In the works covered by the contract 67 per cent of the 3,554 workers had a working time of ten hours. In the non-contract works 89 per cent of the 572 workers had a working time of ten hours and 11 per cent a lesser working time. These conditions in the works covered by the tariff agreements, as compared with those with no agreements appear to be still more favorable if one thinks that 63 per cent of the 3,554 engaged in the tariff shops have a working time of 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ and still less, 42 per cent of those engaged in the tariff shops had an hour wage of 50 pfennigs, and more; 37 per cent a wage of 40-49 pfennigs per hour, and 21 per cent a wage of 40 pfennigs per hour.

The Danish Trades Union Movement.

As a consequence of the combined tactics of the Scandinavian Employers' Federation many of the tariff agreements expire. The Danish National Center has just drawn up a statement of the tariff agreements to which they are party, showing when same expire. According to same, there exist at present 936 tariff agreements between the employers' organizations and the workers, as far as the latter are affiliated to the trade unions. These contracts cover 88,027 trade unionists. Since the total membership is 107,000, there are still 20,000 not included. It is reported that 231 agreements, covering 181,000 workers, might expire in the year 1914. The probable number for 1905 is assessed at 86 for 4,833 members; in 1915, on the other hand, notice of expiry of 279 agreements for 56,974 members will probably be given. Those contracts which run beyond 1916 number 57 for 5,354 members. According to this, the most important number of contracts expires in the year 1916. A similar attempt on the part of the employers has become apparent in other countries, so that it seems that the year 1916 will be one of trades union struggles for European countries.

The German "Labor Secretariat."

The most interesting institution of the German Trade Union Movement is the "Labor Secretariat." Same was established to meet the demands of the workers for advice and assistance in insurance matters. This was all the more necessary not only because the state insurance in Germany is tremendously complicated and presents untold difficulties to the worker, but also because the spirit of the insurance law becomes more and more reactionary from year to year. As regards the accident insurance, it is becoming more and more difficult for the persons concerned to obtain adequate compensation.

The need for advisers versed in the insurance matters was very soon felt. These advisers to see to it that the influence of the organized labor be as strong as possible in the local branches of the national insurance, as far as this is legally possible, and to help the workers in the prosecution of their claims, etc. They also occupy themselves with the local trade union organization work. At the close of the nineties, the Nuremberg Trades Union established the first "Workers' Secretariat," which was quickly followed by other trade unions. By the end of 1912 there were 120 workers' secretariats in Germany, each having one or more officials. Forty-three of these secretariats have established special branches, or sectional offices, in the smaller towns. Besides this, there are 211 information offices in the smaller towns, from which qualified trade unionists give information on certain days or evenings. Such information is not necessarily limited to insurance matters. The significance of these institutions may be judged from the following figures: The secretariats were consulted by 672,499 persons, among which were 484,628 trade union organized workers. The information bureaus were consulted by 51,772 persons. Information was in 36,374 cases conveyed in writing; 174,998 letters, etc., were written, and in 6,417 cases personal representations were made to the insurance authorities. The total costs of the secretariats, which are borne by the local trade councils with possible contributions by the central organizations, amounted to 575,392 marks in the year 1912. No fees are taken from those persons who render their services at the various offices.

Such institutions as workers' secretariats and offices for legal information are naturally of the greatest value and have a most favorable influence in those places where trade unionism has only a weak foothold. In such places the reliable and free legal assistance paves the way to trade unionism. In the great towns, however, it has been necessary to confine this service to the organized workers. The great success of these institutions of the free trade unions has prompted the state municipalities and hostile organizations of all description, to establish similar institutions. Thus at the end of the year 1912 there were 119 municipal and state legal information bureaus, 55 legal protection offices open to the general public, 93 legal protection offices for women, 55 legal protection offices for Hirsch-Dunkerschen trade societies, 23 evangelistic, 122 Catholic legal protection offices, 32 political legal protection offices, etc. Information has been granted by state, municipal, private, denominational and trade union institutions in 1,811,364 cases last year. The Secretariat and the legal protection offices of the free trade unions dealt with 758,560 of these cases. From time to time a special course of instruction lasting six weeks, is provided by the General Commission of the German Trade Unions, in order that the workers' secretaries may become thoroughly conversant with the affairs in which they are concerned as well as any new amendments to the existing laws. In this manner it has been possible to so educate the secretaries—all of which are drawn from the ranks of the workers—to such a degree that they not only enjoy the full confidence of those seeking legal assistance, but are looked upon as the best experts in matters connected with workers' insurance, etc. The General Commission has established a Central Workers' Secretariat and placed six officials at the disposal of same, for the purpose of representing the insured workers before the National Insurance Office in Berlin. Besides this, the weekly "Correspondenzblatt" of the General Commission publishes a monthly "legal supplement" which is regular adviser in all matters connected with national insurance. This supplement, in common with the "Correspondenzblatt," rich in its numerous supplements, is now distributed among about 30,000 officials and members of executives of the German Trade Unions, regularly, and free of charge.

The trades unions in other countries, such as Belgium, Austria, etc., have begun to set up similar legal institutions for the workers. They will no doubt experience, as in the case in Germany, that all sacrifices made in connection with such institutions are rewarded hundred and thousand fold.

Strikes in the Naphtha Districts—Rayon Baku.

On the 29th of July a strike broke out in the Baku naphtha works of the

Rothschild Company. The chief demands are increase in the wages and in the rent allowance, establishing a factory commissions for the representation of the interests of the workers, etc. As was only to be expected, the workers in the remaining smaller and larger firms followed this example. On the 30th of July the workers of the firm of Nobel Brothers (more than 10,000) submitted the following demand: If the workers do not receive a satisfactory answer by the 11th of August they will go on strike. Among the smaller firms, the workers of which are at present on strike, may be mentioned the "Caucasus Company," in the case of which about 300 workers declared a strike on the 31st of July, because the firm refused to fulfil their demands. On August 8th about 6,000 workers in other firms made further demands and work stopped in five firms with 6,000 workers.

Although the strikers have given the police authorities no cause for brutal interference, the naphtha works have been placed under special protection. The mounted police, which are patrolling the town, have been reinforced. The position in the Rothschild works is such that the district managers are not capable of solving the question, but are entirely dependent upon the decision of the directorates in London and St. Petersburg. The firm pays out 580 roubles daily for telegrams alone in connection with the strike, and losses about 80,000 roubles (1 rouble equal to 2/2) daily. On the 30th of July the deputy adjutant of the town forces appeared and tried in vain to prevail upon the strikers to resume work. The director gave the twenty-six representatives of the strikers to understand that the chief demands—the establishing of workers' commissions in the works and payment for the days of the strike—were impossible of fulfilling. He promised to attend to the other demands if the strikers would resume work. The strikers, however, persisted in their demands and not one returned to his work.

The present strike has greatly excited the employers, who have enjoyed peace since 1907, since the workers were too weak and the conditions too unfavorable to allow of a victorious fight. There was a scarcity of naphtha during these years as well in the price. For the workers it was a time of acute unemployment and actual physical hunger was generally felt.

The revolution which has taken place during the last few years may be seen from the particulars published by the factory inspection concerning the number of workers.

The following is a list showing the number of workers in the Baku province coming under the government factory inspection:

1907	56,549
1908	52,971
1909	47,936
1910	41,072
1911	38,252

This means a reduction of 15,230 persons in four years. During the course of four years the number of workers had decreased by 18,296; that is, about one-third. The naphtha industry naturally contributed the most to this number. According to particulars recently published by the statistics bureau of the naphtha industry, the following number of workers were employed in the different periods mentioned:

Up to April, 1907.....	48,294 persons
Up to September, 1908.....	42,897 persons
Up to September, 1909.....	38,000 persons
Up to September, 1910.....	34,809 persons
Up to September, 1911.....	33,000 persons

This represents a decrease of 15,230, in the number of persons employed, over a period of four years.

Stock Exchange Speculation and Strikes.

Great strikes have lately been a daily occurrence in Russia and have become the object of keen discussion both in the workers' and employers' circles. But that strikes should be used as a means of increasing the wealth of the capitalist groups is peculiar to Russia alone. In the case of two ship yards in Nikolajev, where the conditions of labor are very similar, the workers of only one yard strike; this gives the appearance of a continuous strike, with the exception of a few intervals. The greater part of the shares in these companies belong to a St. Petersburg bank. The other part of the shares is in the hands of other persons, who are continually disposing of their shares, since the outlook where dividends are concerned, becomes blacker and blacker because of the strikes. The oftener the strikes happen the more pronounced is the wish of the shareholders to dispose of their stock, and as a consequence this class of stock is quoted at lower and lower figures. Since the bank is buying up all possible shares, it is naturally to their advantage that the selling prices be as low as possible. The rumor is now abroad that these strikes are artificially promoted, etc. It is perfectly clear that such strikes bring only distress to the workers, whilst no economic advantage is obtained. Only a trade organization could meet this destructive stock exchange gamble. Unfortunately there are no strong trade unions in Russia, because the government so oppresses the organizations.

The Rand-Transvaal.

Reports continue to come in from the Transvaal describing the appalling scene which were witnessed at the time of the outbreak of the strike. In his report Comrade Charles Mussared, correspondent to the Federation of Trade Unions, gives a list of the killed and wounded, which speaks for the tragedy which was enacted. From this list we take the following cases of women and children being shot:

1. Elizabeth Spinola, age 20, married, baby 6 months old; shot in the back of knee. Was out shopping Saturday afternoon and saw a man shot who looked like her husband; she attempted to cross the street to see who it was, and was at once shot. She was taken to the hospital, where she remained five days; returned home with bullet still in her knee; crippled for life.
2. Mrs. Smith, injured by motor car.
3. Andrew Elliot, 16½, shot on Saturday, lived till Tuesday. Father injured at hospital and mortuary for his son, but without success, was several times refused admission to the ward where his son lay, as it was stated that his name was unknown. It was not until the Monday afternoon that he was allowed into the ward, when he at once identified his son, who was, however, unconscious.
4. Mrs. Webb, ridden down by mounted police in company with her husband in the Market Square; both badly injured.
5. John Charles Benson, aged 18, shot and killed.
6. Freddy Wood, aged 16, shot in the abdomen and killed.
7. Monty Dunmore, 13, lad was earning money to assist his family by selling "Strike Heralds;" his father had been out of work for some time; had sold 250 copies when he was shot through the chest. Acute hemorrhage set in; life despaired of at first; now recovering.
8. Stephen du Prey, 14, fatherless and helping mother to support several younger children; shot through ankle on his way to cash a postal order for his mother; foot will have to be amputated; most of the wounds are poisoned, owing to the soldiers using old ammunition.
9. Cecil Morkel, 14, going to see his sister; saw some people running and ran too; fell with shot in leg; improving.
10. W. E. Sholtz, 18, happened to be passing and was shot; ran a short distance and fell. Whilst down was hit again, receiving two bullets in legs.
11. Charles Williams Beddy, 19, was hit in the leg Saturday while passing the scene of the shooting. His leg had to be amputated close to the body.
12. Young lad named Stay, apprenticed to the Johannesburg municipality as blacksmith, was standing on the pavement among a crowd of people when a military officer came along on horseback with a revolver in his hand and told the people to disperse. Stay did not move; thereupon the officer

shot him through the chest; now recovering; right arm paralyzed, owing to the nerve being shot away. Municipality have allowed accident pay.

And now as regards phthisis: Of the 18 members who formed the strike committee of the Transvaal Miners' Association in 1907, 13 have since died of phthisis, one was killed in a mine accident in Canada, one has been compensated on account of phthisis, 2 are still living but have phthisis, and one is still working. What ghastly facts; search the whole world through, and nothing approaching the Transvaal phthisis terror could be found. The crux of the position is that shots have to be fired in a certain definite order, and not simultaneously, and that hitherto no way has been discovered of preventing the fuses of the later shots being damaged by the explosion of the earlier shots. Consequently it has been the practice for the men to go back after the earlier shots in order to fire the later ones, and thus breathe about the worst atmosphere it is possible to imagine. It is now declared that by an invention which has been fully tested, and found both technically practicable and commercially successful, all shots may be fired by electricity, and this great source of danger entirely removed. If this method is technically possible, the government ought to universally enforce the adoption of same, even though it be more costly. But the matter of costs should not enter into the question at all, for one must not forget that the total dividends paid or declared during the year 1913 amounted to 11,340,025 pounds sterling, most of which, if not all, was sent out of the country.

Two International Trade Union Conferences.

On the 16th, 17th and 18th of September, immediately after the close of the Swiss Trade Union Congress, the secretaries of the National Trade Union Centers will meet in conference for the eighth time. Delegates have been announced for fourteen countries; may the remaining countries which are affiliated to the International Secretariat, Croatia, Serbia, Roumania and Italy, also send representatives. The following delegates are attending the conference for the first time: Ernest Söderberg, M. P., cashier of the Swedish National Center; O. Tokio, president of the Finnish Trade Union General Commission and president of the Finnish Parliament, as well as G. M. Perkins, the president of the American Cigar Workers' Federation, representing the Trade Union of North America. All the remaining delegates are old acquaintances. The American delegates had a special task; to do everything possible that the next International Trade Union Conference in 1915 may be held in San Francisco, where most of the American trade unions will hold their congresses upon the occasion of the Panama World's Exhibition. In order that it may be possible for all countries to send their delegates to San Francisco, Perkins proposes that the costs of same be divided over all the trade unions according to their universal strength. The agenda contains certain old propositions beside the usual reports. The French National Centers demand anew the assembling of general international trade union congresses, and the American National Center renews its demand for the conversion of the International Secretariat to an international trade union federation. Sweden seeks council as to the measures to be taken for the abolition of night work and the introduction of the eight-hour day. Belgium demands "the establishing of information bureaus in all countries, to be affiliated one with the other." France further wished that "steps should be taken that the 1st of May demonstration may assume a real, economic and international character.

From the international secretary's (Comrade C. Legien) report we learn that the National Centers of Great Britain, France, Belgium, Holland, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Finland, Germany, Austria, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Hungary, Croatia-Slavonia, Serbia, Roumania, Switzerland, Italy, Spain and the United States belong to the International Secretariat in the middle of the year. The Trade Union Federation of the Transvaal has just announced its affiliation to the International Secretariat, whilst certain of the states in Australia as well as New Zealand will most probably, according to the latest news, arrive at a decision to this effect. The secretariat has for some time been in constant communication with the trades unions in the Argentine, Brazil, Mexico, Portugal, Greece, Turkey and Russia. There are two Trade Union National Centers in Bulgaria and the international secretary will endeavor to bring about their affiliation with the International Secretariat, according to the conference in Buda Pesth. This has had to be postponed on account of the war.

International assistance was appealed for in the case of the Dutch tobacco workers' strike, for Belgium and the Italian trade unions in the Balkan states after the war; £3,500 were subscribed for the latter purposes and will be duly distributed as soon as the conditions in those states render possible thorough re-organization.

An international news letter has been published for some time. Same appears fortnightly in seven languages and is sent gratis to the labor papers (about 2,000) in all countries. In consequence of the increased expenditure involved through this institution, which is recognized by all as most necessary and useful, the subscription to the International Secretariat will be raised from 1/6 to 4/ per 1,000 members per year. Another new departure of the international secretary, of no small significance, is an international translation bureau, in which already six translators of different nationalities are employed, and with the help of which it is hoped to gradually centralize the translation work of the trade unions and the international trade union secretaries.

The international report concerning the trade union movement is published, as is well known, in book form every year and contains many items of great interest, besides proving the rapidity with which the international combination is growing and strengthening. A round seven and one-half million organized workers belong to the International Secretariat, but more than nine millions will be represented at the conference, as the British Trade Union Congress, which has just taken place, decided, in response to a speech made by Legien, to send the secretary of their parliamentary committee, Bowerman, to the conference as a guest. May the ways and means of bringing about the affiliation of all the English organizations with the International Secretariat be arrived at upon this occasion. At present only the Trade Union Federation with its 800,000 members is affiliated, whereas there are two and one-quarter million workers affiliated to the British Trade Union Congress alone.

Immediately after the conclusion of the Eighth Conference of the National Secretaries, held in Zurich, the First Conference of the representatives of the International Trades Secretaries will meet at the invitation of Comrade Legien. Representatives of twenty-three trade secretariats have been invited, viz.: Workers in public services, bakers, building workers, miners, brewery workers, bookbinders, printers, barbers, lithographers, painters, metal workers, saddlers, shoemakers, leather workers, paviors, textile workers, transport workers, potters and carpenters, glass workers and porcelain workers. The present agenda is as follows: 1, uniformity of reports; 2, uniformity of statistics; 3, what steps can be taken by the International Secretaries to effect the affiliation of the trade union with the International Trades Secretariat.

Brief Labor Notes From All Countries.

United States.—The journal of the Federation of Granite Dressers proudly states that the free Saturday afternoon is shortly coming into force among the granite cutters, to be followed somewhat later by the minimum wage of \$4 for the eight-hour day. The American Senate has passed the eight-hour day bill for all females engaged in industry or commerce. No girl under 18 may be employed between 6 p. m. in the evening and 7 a. m. The Society of Manufacturers of Illinois has decided to advocate the providing of safety appliances for machinery. The most important argument for same was the fact that so much accident compensation could be saved. According to the report of the labor department to trade unions of the state of New York increased

their membership from 526,672 to 630,818 during the last winter half year; 80,142 workers were engaged upon the 44 strikes, and about five million days' work were lost; 10 strikes ended with complete victory for the workers, 15 with compromise, whilst 16 ended in defeat for the workers. The unemployment in the unions covered by the reports amounted to 15.9 per cent at the close of March. The labor statistical bureau states that the cost of the necessities of life have increased on an average of 60 per cent, whilst in many non-organized callings the wages have not increased at all. Only the best organized trades have succeeded in obtaining increases anything like corresponding the increase in the cost of living.

Porto Rico.—The Trades Union Federation has protested angrily against the action of the government in shelving the new women and children's law, which should have come into force on July 1—at the instigation of the tobacco trust.

Australia.—The government of western Australia intends to introduce a general accident and sick insurance bill. At the invitation of the government a preliminary conference of the specially interested employers' and workers' organizations took place. One hundred of those involved in the gas workers' strike in Sydney, which was settled recently, were fined altogether over £900. The Australian Workers' Union, the greatest organization of agricultural workers, sheep shearers, etc., has submitted the following demands to the wages boards for the states of New South Wales, Queensland, Victoria and South Australia, from which we take the following: Maximum working time, 48 hours per week, work to stop at 12:00, noon, Saturdays, wages for drovers £2-0-0, with board and lodging (when traveling away from home 10 marks more), gardeners, £2-2-0, married workers £150 per year and double rations, carpenters, smiths and saddlers, 60/; rabbit poisoners, 50/; cooks, 50/; unskilled labor, 40/.

Switzerland.—The next International Co-operative Societies' Congress will take place in Basil in 1916. The petition of the railwaymen's organization for a general ten-hour day for the permanent way workers was refused by the directorate of the state railways; but it was agreed to allow the men to leave work earlier on Saturday afternoons. The IV. Women's Conference in Zurich, which was attended by fifty-nine females and eighteen male delegates from twenty trades union and political organizations, was concerned chiefly with the question of domestic service. The ways and means of creating modern domestic servants' trades union was discussed. According to the statements of the Building Workers' Union, the average wage for masons in Zurich amounted to 64 centimes in 1908; 65 in 1909; 65½ in 1910; 64½ in 1911, and 65½ in 1912. The figures for laborers are as follows: 45½, 48, 49, 47 and 49 cents. The general meeting of the Swiss Federation of Transport Workers, Railwaymen, etc., took place in June. The federation numbers 17,000 members. There are at present ten local workers' secretariats with altogether seventeen officials in Switzerland, which during the last year rendered information in 26,000 cases. The municipalities and state contribute 7,000 francs to this secretariat annually.

Italy.—As the result of a new law the works inspection has now to introduce a special industrial surveillance service, the duty of which shall be to watch the execution of all workers' safety laws. Seventy-seven officials will be shortly appointed for this purpose. Ricola, the secretary of the trade union national center, as well as the members of the executive have retired, as they believed that by doing so the amalgamation of the central with the syndicalistic organization might be more easily accomplished. The female telegraphists have, by a special decree, been permitted to marry. On the day after the passing of the law 300 telegraphists handed in applications for permission to marry.

Spain.—In the year 1911, 118 strikes involving 35,897 workers, were reported, as compared with 151 strikes, involving 35,890 workers for the previous year. The stevedores of Huelva were completely victorious after a stubborn fight. They achieved the eight-hour day, a daily wage of 6½ pesetas (5.20 marks) and a considerable increase for overtime. A great strike of chefs and other hotel employés in Barcelona for a fortnightly rest day was successfully concluded after same had run a few days. A law actually exists which prescribes a weekly rest day, but same is nowhere observed. Some time ago the organized textile workers in Catalonia handed the employers a petition demanding the reduction of the working time from eleven to nine hours daily and an increase in wages of 25 per cent. The employers refused this, and as a result a general strike has broken out which will probably extend itself over the 80,000 textile workers of this province.

France.—According to statistics in connection with the contributions paid by the affiliated trade unions of the Federation of Workers in the Provision Industry, this federation had 4,383 members in 1910; 3,772 in 1911, and 4,190 in 1912, which included 1,796 bakers, 449 cooks, 390 waiters, 187 mill workers, 138 butchers, whilst the others are distributed over ten chief groups.

Belgium.—The Brussels furriers obtained a substantial reduction in the working time, the free Saturday afternoon and a substantial increase in wages. The wage for workers who have been engaged at least six years in the industry now amounts to 8.50 frs. for a nine-hour day. Organized workers are given preference in the case of workers being engaged. The Bookbinders' Federation has published a special technical journal of an educational character since July in addition to their trade union organ, which appears in French and Flemish.

THE OLD UMBRELLA MENDER.

By Eugene V. Debs.

It was on a cold morning late in November, just after the national election, and I was walking briskly toward my office. A stiff wind was blowing and a drizzling rain was falling. The threads in one of the ribs of my umbrella snapped asunder and the cover flew upward, as it has a way of doing, and I was about to lower my disabled shower-stick when I ran slap-dash into an old itinerant umbrella mender with his outfit slung across his back and shuffling along in the opposite direction. He had noticed the ill behavior of my umbrella. It snapped from its bearing even as he had his eyes upon it. Perhaps it understood. Anyway he had not a cent in his pocket and he had not yet breakfasted that cold and wet November morning.

He was about sixty-five. His clothes had evidently weathered many a storm and besides being worn and shabby were too light for that season. Overcoat he had none. Nor gloves nor overshoes. Mine distressed me. His hat had been brushed to a standstill. His shoes were making their last stand, and a protruding toe, red with the cold, seemed to have been shoved out as a signal of distress.

The outfit the old fellow carried on his back was sorry enough to fit his general makeup, and if he had offered himself for sale just as he stood, including his earthly belongings and his immortal soul, he would have found no bidder nor brought a cent.

The face of the old umbrella mender lighted up with a kindly smile as he commented on the strange conduct of my umbrella in slipping a cog just as he happened to come along. I asked him by what evil magic he did the trick and he laughed in a half-hearted way just to be polite, but it was plain that he had long since forgotten how to laugh.

As we stepped into the shelter of an adjoining store he sat down on the steps, and, drawing a threaded needle from beneath the lapel of his thin and faded coat, began to sew the cover back into its proper place. His fingers were red and numb. A discolored nail partly hid a badly bruised thumb.

He had difficulty in doing this bit of sewing, and it plainly distressed him. His eyesight was failing and his fingers were stiff in the joints. Yet he strove eagerly and intently to master their dumb protest. And he hoped, as he remarked, that he would be able to make an extra bit of money to provide

himself with a pair of spectacles, now that favorable weather had set in for his trade.

Poor human soul, I thought to myself, as I looked down upon the weather-beaten brother at my feet. A vagabond dog among his kind would fare better than this worn-out old umbrella mender in a civilized human community.

The warm clothes I had on made me uncomfortable as I saw him sitting there in rags mending my umbrella. The overcoat I wore made me ashamed of myself. Every time the umbrella mender look up out of his rags I winced.

What crime had he committed that condemned him to go through the world in tatters to be lashed by the merciless blasts of winter and tormented by hunger-pangs, and of what rare virtue was I possessed that entitled me to wear the best of clothes and eat the choicest food?

Dared I call him brother? And could I call him brother without insulting him?

These were some of the reflections that agitated my mind and troubled my heart.

"Good morning!" was the cheery greeting of a man who passed on the sidewalk, calling me by name.

The old umbrella mender fairly started at the mention of my name. He had just completed his bit of sewing and the threaded needles fell from his fingers.

"Excuse me," he said timidly, "is this Mr. Debs?"

"Yes," I answered.

"Eugene V. Debs?"

"Yes, brother."

"Thank God!" exclaimed the old umbrella mender, as he fairly bounded to his feet and seized my extended hand with both of his. There were tears in his eyes and his face was flushed.

"Of course I know you now," he went on. "This is your home and I have often seen your picture. But this is the first time I have ever seen you and if it hadn't been for your umbrella snapping just as I came along I would have passed you by and the chances are that I never would have seen you. God must have tipped off your umbrella to give me a stop signal."

"Say, Gene," he continued, still holding me with both hands, "I am pretty well down, ain't I? About all in and making my last stand before shuffling off."

"But say, Gene, I never scabbed. Look at these hands! I'm an old rail, and I followed the business for twenty-seven years. I broke and ran a freight train most of that time. Never got a passenger run, because I was too active on grievance committees, and called a firebrand by the officials. I wouldn't stand for any of their dirty work. If I'd been like some of 'em I'd had a passenger train years ago and would have been saved lots of grief. But I'd rather be a broken down old umbrella fixer without a friend than to be a scab and worth a million!"

A gleam of triumph lighted up his seamed and weatherbeaten countenance.

"Did you belong to the A. R. U.?" I asked.

"Did I!" he answered, with peculiar and assuring emphasis. "I was the first man on our division to sign the list and my name was first on the charter. Look it up and you'll find me there. My card I lost in Ohio, where I was run in as a vag. The deputy that searched me at the jail took my card from my pocket and I never saw it again. It was all I had left. I raised a row about it—and they threatened to lock me up again. I was told afterward that the deputy had scabbed in the A. R. U. strike."

"Did I belong to the A. R. U.? Well, I should say I did, and I am proud of it, even if they did put me on the hummer and pull me down to where I am today. But I never scabbed. And when I cross the big divide I can walk straight up to the bar of judgment and look God in the face without a flicker."

"We had the railroads whipped to a standstill," he said, warming up, "but the soldiers, the courts and the army of deputy United States marshals that scabbed our jobs were too much for us. It was the government and not the railroads that put us out, and it was a sorry day for the railroad men of the country. Mark what I tell you, the time will come when they will have to reorganize the A. R. U. It was the only union that all could join and in which all got a square deal, and it was the only union that the railroad managers ever feared."

And then he told me the melancholy story of his own persecution and suffering after the strike. His job was gone and his name was on the blacklist. Five jobs he secured under assumed names were lost to him as soon as he was found out. Poverty began to harass him. He picked up odd jobs and when he managed to get a dollar ahead he sent it to his family. His aged mother died of privation and worry and his wife soon followed her to the grave. Two boys were left, but whatever became of them and whether they are now alive or dead he could never learn.

The old fellow grew serious and a melancholy sigh escaped him. But he was not bitter. He bore no malice toward anyone. He had suffered much, but he had kept the faith and his regrets were at least free from reproaches.

He was a broken down old veteran of the industrial army. He had paid the penalties of his protest against privately owned industry and the slavery of his class and now in his old age he was shuffling along in his rags towards a nameless grave in the potter's field.

Had he been an obedient corporation lackey, had he scabbed on his fellow workers, had he been mean and selfish and cold-blooded, he would have been promoted instead of blacklisted by the corporation and honored instead of hounded by society. His manhood and self-respect cost him dearly, but he paid the price to the last farthing. His right to work and live, his home, his family and his friends were all swept away because he refused to scab on his fellowmen.

The old umbrella mender stood before me proud and erect and looked me straight in the eyes as he finished his pathetic story. The shabby clothes he wore were to him capitalist society's reward of manhood and badge of honor.

There was something peculiarly grand about the scarred old veteran of the industrial battlefield. His shabbiness was all on the outside and he seemed transfigured to me and clad in garments of glory. He loomed before me like a forest monarch the tempests had riven and denuded of its foliage but could not lay low.

He had kept the faith and had never scabbed!—Eugene V. Debs in *The Coming Nation*.

THE INDICTMENT.

Socialism is not identical with communism. Socialism does not attack the institution of property as an institution by and for itself. Moreover, Socialists most emphatically demand that the things necessary for the maintenance of human life, health and happiness should be owned by those only who produce these things by their work and genius. According to Socialist tenets useful labor or useful social services performed are the only moral foundation of property. What Socialism attacks is the anti-social and therefore immoral institution of private ownership of the things necessary for the production of other things, of the means of production or capital by non-producer. The attack on private ownership of capital is explained by the fact that such ownership inevitably leads to the virtual economic enslavement of the producing class, the working class, by the capitalist class.

In other words, Socialism puts men, women and children above the material things they produce for the satisfaction of their needs. Socialists refuse to make a fetish of property as such. Socialists always inquire how a certain legal property is acquired and for what purpose it is being used before deciding whether or not that property be considered ethical.

Property acquired by underpaid and overworked labor of men, women or children and used for exploitation of men, women and children is being denounced by Socialists as highway robbery and cannibalism in flimsy disguise.

Property for men, not men for property, is the Socialist slogan.

From this point of view the indictment of the capitalist system by the Socialists is unanswerable.

Property, no matter how acquired or for what purpose used, is the god of the capitalist system.

Property as such is sacred. The sole object of the capitalist system is to create, to protect, to guard, to preserve, to increase, to multiply and perpetuate property, no matter at what cost to human life, health and happiness. Capitalism is property-worship gone mad.

The Moloch of property is worshipped most devoutly, not only by its high priests, the capitalists, but also by their retainers, the professional politicians, the official scientists, the bar, the pulpit, the press, the artists, the reformers and moralists.

The capitalist state is primarily an institution owned and controlled by the capitalist class in the interest of that class. The main, if not sole, object of the capitalist state is to perpetuate the capitalist system of exploitation of the proletariat by capitalists.

The capitalist state is a class state.

The enemies of class rule are necessarily the enemies of the capitalist state.

The enemies of exploitation of men by men are necessarily the enemies of the capitalist state.

The United States is the most typical capitalist state on the globe.

Both old parties and the now and then springing up reform parties have only one aim in view—to perpetuate the capitalist class rule of the state by all means fair or foul.

The legislatures of the United States and the single states of the Union, with just enough exceptions to confirm the rule, actually do not legislate for anybody but the capitalist class.

The courts, as a rule, are interpreting laws in the interests of the capitalist class.

The executive machinery of the United States and the single states enforce laws in the interests of the ruling class and against the ruled working class.

The school system of the United States is likewise managed in the interests of the ruling class.

The public schools can be patronized by the children of the working class only to a very limited extent. The earnings of the average workingman are not sufficient to allow him the luxury of keeping his children long enough in the public schools.

And many a workingman does not earn enough to maintain a family.

The result is underpaid and overworked labor of weak women and tender children, prostitution, crime, the physical, mental and moral degeneration of the toiling masses.

Prisons, asylums and houses of ill-fame are overcrowded with unfortunate proletarians, who never had a chance for a normal childhood, manhood or womanhood. Our poorhouses are filled with the invalids of the army of peaceful labor.

Thousands of social outcasts lead a life of vicarious leisure, as tramps, vagrants and beggars.

There is a fearful waste of human lives, health and happiness, in the slums of our big cities.

The flesh, blood and marrow of the children of the proletariat are being coined into money, filling the swollen treasuries of the Vanderbilts, the Astors, the Belmonts, the Rockefellers, the Harrimans and Morgans.

Such is the indictment of the capitalist system by the Socialists.

The growth, development and dissemination of Socialist ideas, ideals and aspirations has forced the capitalists and their retainers to take notice of the Socialist indictment.

Hence the numerous muckraking expeditions, disclosures and official investigations of graft in high and low places, flagrant violations of the law of the land by the strong and mighty, and of fearful social evils of all kinds.

The results of these expeditions, disclosures; and investigations only stronger emphasized and substantiated the Socialist indictment of the capitalist system.

The Socialists have succeeded in proving their case by direct and circumstantial evidence, trustworthy witnesses, official documents and partial confession of the defendant.

Our jury is the working class, the proletariat.

We ask the jury, "Is the capitalist system guilty as charged by us?" and if so, "What should be done with it?"

And we are confident that the verdict of the jury will sound as follows:

"The capitalist system is guilty as charged. It has to be abolished and replaced by the co-operative commonwealth.

And what is more to the point, the proletariat will see to it that the verdict be executed at the proper time and in the proper way.—Iron City Socialist.

In Memoriam.

Grass Valley, California.

To the Officers and Members of Grass Valley Miners' Union No. 90, W. F. M.: Your committee on condolence submit the following:

In the course of life's frail, short career, sorrows often steal within our presence ere we are aware, bringing gloom to the home of the loved ones of the deceased; and,

Whereas, Brother John Low was called away from us on the 12th day of September, 1913; therefore, be it

Resolved, That we extend to the loved ones of our deceased brother in this, their hour of untold sorrow, our deepest feeling and sympathies; and, be it further

Resolved, That a copy of this resolution be sent to his family, a copy spread on the minutes of our union and a copy sent to the Miners' Magazine for publication, and our charter be draped for a period of thirty days. Respectfully submitted,

JOHN C. WILLIAMS,
JOHN RICHARDS,
JOHN BONE,

Committee.

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