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# THE MINERS MAGAZINE

INDEPENDENCE  
EDUCATION ORGANIZATION

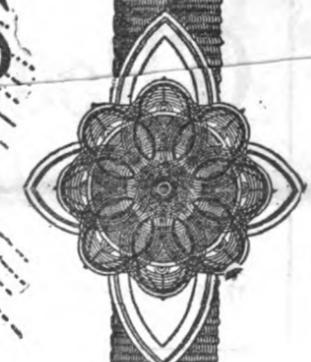
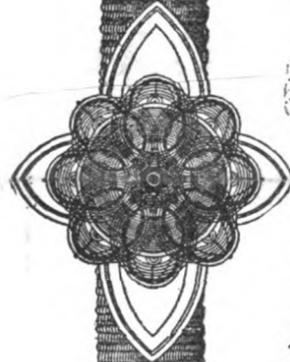
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## WESTERN FEDERATION OF MINERS

Denver, Colo.  
May 9,  
1912

Volume XII.  
Number 463

WEALTH  
BELONGS TO THE  
PRODUCER THEREOF



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Where members of Organized Labor are Locked Out because they refuse to scab and sign the following pledge:

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EDUCATION INDEPENDENCE ORGANIZATION

# MINERS MAGAZINE



WESTERN FEDERATION OF MINERS

Denver, Colorado,  
Thursday, May 9, 1912.

Volume XII., Number 463  
\$1.00 a Year

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 Communications not in conformity with this notice will not be published.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

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John M. O'Neill, Editor

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

## Card of the Homestake Mining Co.

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

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

Occupation

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Signed

.....

Department

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What about the homes of the tramps?

THE LONDON POLICE picked up nearly 2,000 homeless people in one night. Socialism must have destroyed their homes.

TEDDY THE TERROR is no longer in love with his political heir. Judging from the tone of Roosevelt's speeches, the broncho-buster and Rough Rider no longer considers that "Injunction Bill" has been loyal to "My Policies."

TAFT AND ROOSEVELT have lately been telling a little of the truth about each other, and the people are beginning to realize that both of these honored statesmen are about as corrupt as cheap, tin-horn ward heelers.

THE VOTING STRENGTH of the United States is estimated at 15,000,000, and its per capita wealth \$1,300. There are several millions of people in the United States who cannot lay claim to 13 cents.

Per capita wealth to the extent of \$1,300 will have little consolation for the jobless man who is homeless, penniless and hungry.

EVERY LABORING MAN with intelligence will agree that one great big labor organization having an absolute monopoly on the industrial field, is necessary, ere capitalism can be met, to redress the wrongs from which labor suffers. If that is true, then why is it not

just as necessary to have one great big political union to meet capitalism at the ballot box?

THE CRY of the opponents of Socialism is "let us save the homes." The homes of the coal miners, the garment workers, the mill workers, and the homes of the slaves of the sweatshops should appeal to us and our best energies should be directed towards protecting such hovels from destruction. It would be an awful calamity if the hungry and penniless should lose their homes.

A JUDGE IN DENVER sentenced a man to serve five years in prison for being convicted of stealing twenty cents from a telephone box.

After the victim received his sentence, the Goddess of Justice assumed a more dignified mien.

The majesty of the law has been vindicated.

DOCTOR TITUS is now hailed as the leader of the I. W. W. in Washington. The doctor was at one time the leader in the Socialist party in Washington, and the manner in which the doctor led things while commander-in-chief of the Socialist party in the Northwest, makes him thoroughly competent for leadership in the I. W. W. He was such a great leader in the Socialist party that the membership remember him with contempt.

ROOSEVELT is now looked upon as the Bismarck of America, but Roosevelt will go the way of Bismarck.

Roosevelt, with all his bravado, trembles in the presence of a master. The strut of a swaggering bully is not the trait of a brave man.

Brave men never hissed: "undesirable citizen!" at helpless men in prison.

Roosevelt has merely the bluster of the boozefighter!

THE WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION BILL, which was drafted by a federal commission and backed by the National Civic Federation, has been discovered to be a fake measure of the rankest type. The bill having the support of President Taft and the railroad companies, excited suspicion, and the bill was then analyzed and dissected.

It was found to be full of jokers which practically took away nearly all the rights that employes now have when injured or killed in the employ of corporations.

THE SECRETARY of Cobalt Miners Union, in a communication to headquarters gives information as to the settlement of the strike at the Temiskaming mine and the men returning to work. The officials of the union have been conceded the right to call upon the employes of the company and that no objections would be raised against employes becoming members of the Western Federation of Miners. The communication of the secretary states that some little bitterness is felt by some of the men relative to the conditions of settlement.

THE DEMOCRATS have had control of the House of Representatives since March 4, 1911, The Democrats have professed great friendship for labor, but the number of labor measures that have been pigeon-holed during the present session of Congress leaves a strong suspicion in the minds of observing men that labor has been once more flim-flammed by the "friends of labor." When will the workers grow wise to the treachery of political parties, whose candidates are the

beneficiaries of slush funds contributed in every election by capitalists?

IT WOULD SEEM that John Mitchell will soon reach the bottom of the toboggan slide. During the political campaign in Milwaukee, this ex-officer of the Civic Federation and former president of the United Mine Workers of America, was engaged by the backers of the Non-Partisan ticket to deliver an address. John delivered his speech in Milwaukee, having for its object the weakening of the Socialist forces. After John had furnished some "hot air" in Milwaukee under the auspices of the political gang that was arrayed against Socialism, he took his departure for New York, to harangue an audience under the auspices of the "Men and Religion Forward Movement." "Diamond" John should become a booster for the Boy Scouts.

AT BALTIMORE last week a thousand stevedores were on strike for an increase of wages, and when they declared: "We want bread; we don't want to be driven about like cattle," they were fired upon by the police force and five of their number were wounded.

The strikers were trying to reach the strikebreakers, to appeal to the honor of the men who had usurped their places, but an armed police force—the ally of capitalism, met them with bullets.

Bullets for labor on strike will have the effect of teaching the working class the efficacy of an intelligent ballot. The political solidarity of the working class will make impossible the use of armed might against labor. The ballot backed by intelligence will destroy the damnable system that uses the bullet to assassinate human rights.

FATHER BELFORD of Brooklyn, New York, who prescribed *bullets for Socialists*, should become an instructor in the training school that is to be established by Cardinal Farley to equip Catholic laymen to suppress Socialism.

When a Socialist is hit by a bullet fired from a pistol in the hands of a Catholic layman trained to combat Socialism, there will be but little necessity for further argument.

The *bullet* is a forcible means, but lacks the power of convincing the Socialist that he is in error.

The man who believes in the bullet as an argument is typical of the cave-man or the savage, and the teachings of Christianity are lost on such a brute.

In this day and age when a disciple of the church advocates violence to suppress the propagators of doctrines that are repugnant to the narrow and contracted prejudices of a bigot, it is conclusive proof that it is necessary for Christ to come again, to subdue the tigerish hate that still finds a home in the human heart.

MAYOR LUNN of Schenectady, N. Y., delivered an address recently in that city, taking for his subject, "Patriotism and Flag Worship." His address was an eloquent one, and the following extracts from his address prove that he is a man of some courage and scorns to smother his convictions to win plaudits from a master class.

"I can see a beautiful temple being reared. The temple not of any nation but of all nations. The Temple of Humanity. Within it are the Stars and Stripes, the Union Jack and all the emblems which, within their national bounds, have stood for great ideals, but above the Temple floats an emblem more inclusive, one that will represent the greater ideal that the human family holds in common. What better emblem than the emblem of blood that flows through the veins of all, over-leaping the bounds of color, race and nationality—the blood-red flag of Humanity?"

If it is treason to dream of such a temple; if it is treason to realize that all humanity is greater than any part thereof; if it is treason to hold humanity above nationality, then I am a traitor."

THE STARS AND STRIPES, the emblem of Young Columbia, is like *Charity*, that covers a multitude of crimes. The flag at the head of a regiment of soldiers that is marching to suppress strikers, is cheered by the pillars of society who live on the profits of exploitation. The flag, borne by strikers, does not shield or give protection to the proletarian in rags.

The flag, like the machinery of production and distribution, is owned by the class of privilege and the flag is prostituted to serve the interests of economic masters.

Capitalism using its henchmen to force men upon their knees to kiss the so-called emblem of liberty, will not create reverence for "Old Glory."

Men will respect the flag when it stands for human rights, but when the flag is dishonored to serve the interests of organized greed, the flag becomes the emblem of the despot.

If the toiling millions yearn for freedom, they must own the flag, and the flag will never protect the masses of the people until the profit system is swept from the face of this continent.

JOHN JACOB ASTOR, with all his millions, was forced to accept a grave two miles below the surface of the sea.

On that memorable night when the Titanic struck an iceberg and was wounded unto death, what must have been the thoughts of the multimillionaires on the deck as they watched the great ship sinking lower and lower into the breast of the old ocean?

Did there flash into their memory the questionable means and methods by which they had amassed colossal fortunes? Did they think of the countless thousands of human beings whom they had wrecked and ruined in their mad gallop for wealth? The laws of the land which oppress the many and favor the few, were not known on that dark night as the Titanic was sinking into its watery grave. The unwritten law of the sea demanded protection for the *wcak*, and the multimillionaire was forced to look upon the peasant woman and her child placed in the lifeboat, while he, the multimillionaire, a power upon land, stood helpless, awaiting his fate as decreed by "the law of the sea."

The law of the sea will yet become the law of the land.

BISHOP FALLOWS, in delivering a eulogy over the late General Frederick Dent Grant, said:

"The American soldier on land and sea is the incarnate representation of the American flag. He who demeans and belittles him demeans and belittles the American flag. And whoever does that should be compelled to wear penitentiary garb."

If the American soldier on land and sea is demeaned or belittled in the language of "Gripe Nuts" Post, "there's a Reason."

As long as capitalism uses the American soldier to suppress the multitude in the interests of the comparatively few, it is idle for the bishop to insist that the American soldier shall be honored and respected.

Under a humane civilization, the soldier would be unnecessary, and if real Christianity prevailed, there would be no gatling gun or cannon.

If the scriptural mandate, "Thou shalt not kill," means anything, it means that no man shall kill another.

When dignitaries of the Church insist that those who fail to respect the soldier shall wear the garb of convicts, the proof is conclusive that Christianity has been murdered by the profit system.

The wage slave is not *living*; he is *working*.

## Justice in Wisconsin

THE FOLLOWING pathetic story comes from Superior, Wisconsin: "Harry Brooks, out of work and with no money, was arrested for stealing 23 cents worth of coal and was given the alternative of paying a \$10 fine or serving fifteen days in the workhouse.

"Brooks returned to his little home in the lower end of the city after tramping around during the previous ten days searching for work. At last he had been successful. He had secured a good job and was to start two days later. He was to receive \$2.75 per day.

"His wife recently gave birth to a baby, making the couple parents of four children all under eight years of age.

"During the late afternoon a chill wind had sprung up, and the occupants of the little home grew cold. When Harry came home about 5 o'clock he attempted to make a fire but could only scrape up a handful of coal and wood.

"His wife was still in her bed and quite sick. The other children were all home from school and very cold. Two of them had severe colds. The new baby would surely be sick and die if not kept warm.

"Brooks had no money. He had no fuel, and he must have a fire.

"Grabbing a hat, he ran along the railroad tracks with a sack and in an hour returned with it partly full. Then he rebuilt the fire and put some coal on it while he went out again after more.

"The coal that he picked up and burned in his stove would have rotted away and never have been used had it been left there by Brooks,

as the railroads are not in such poor circumstances that they must pick up stray lumps; and small ones at that, along the tracks.

"That night the little Brooks home was warm. The new baby did not catch cold, and the little ones were not made more ill on account of the cold. The frail wife smiled as she heard the crackling lumps of soft coal in the stove and felt the warmth radiated from the little stove.

"Then Brooks was arrested by two special officers of the railroad company. The man was tried in court and sentenced to a fine of \$10 or fifteen days in the workhouse.

He had no money. His job would surely be lost, but although he pleaded with tears in his eyes, it was all in vain, and he was taken to the workhouse.

"His job has been filled by some other man who was a little less unfortunate than Brooks."

The above story reveals a sample of the justice that comes from those tribunals whose incumbents and supporters are denouncing the Recall.

The victim of poverty whom desperation forced to steal, has had a taste of law, as administered by a tribunal that places a higher value on property than on human life.

A wife and babe in a hovel without fuel did not appeal to the judge on the bench, and a husband and father whose heart bled for

the condition of his family must go to prison because he purloined 23 cents worth of coal from a railroad corporation to save his wife and babe from the pitiless cold.

Had he been a Lorimer and bribed a legislature he would be lauded as a statesman. Had he been a Stephenson and purchased a sena-

torial toga with "slush funds," he would be hailed as one of the pillars of society, but Brooks was a working man, and labor has no standing in court where a railroad demands that its dictum shall be executed.

Does the judge who sentenced Brooks travel on a pass?

## The Unemployed Army

THE UNEMPLOYED of San Francisco, through a committee, asked Mayor Rolf, Jr., the *reform* mayor, who defeated McCarty, for employment, but the *reform* mayor was helpless before the stubborn fact that the committee represented 50,000 human beings who were hungry and penniless, and yet anxious and willing to accept the opportunity to earn the means of life. The vast majority of the unemployed of San Francisco were lured from eastern cities by the glowing promises that appeared in eastern publications and paid for by an oligarchy in California that has decreed that organized labor must be crushed and destroyed on the Pacific coast.

In anticipation that the Exposition of 1915 would make California the "promised land" for labor, thousands of mechanics in every part of America turned their faces to the West and wended their way to the Golden State, only to find themselves recruits in that growing army of idle men, whose wan and haggard faces tell stories of suffering that cannot be described in words.

Fifty thousand men of bone and brawn walk the streets of San Francisco with no ray of light behind their cloud of adversity.

A *reform* mayor is powerless to meet the crisis, and can give no assurance that the homeless and starving thousands of San Francisco will be furnished employment at any time in the near future.

But this is not all.

Were San Francisco the only city in America deluged with the unemployed, the problem might be solved, but every other city of the nation is besieged with men whose hands are chained in idleness, with but little prospect of brighter days to come.

Five millions of people in America are asking for work, but there is no employment. The problem of the unemployed must be solved, or there will be some history written that will cause "predatory wealth" to tremble on its throne of insolent power.

Men will not voluntarily die in the midst of plenty, and *hunger* sometimes nerves the arm of a coward to strike a blow for liberty.

## The Hypocrisy of Our Civilization

A READER of the Miners' Magazine of Milwaukee, Wis., has sent us a clipping from one of the daily journals of that city, containing a report of the trial of a wealthy candy manufacturer who was charged with contributing to the delinquency of a little frail girl of fifteen years of age. The prosecuting attorney branded the carnal monster as "the Stanford White of Milwaukee," but the attorneys of the soulless libertine used all the power of his eloquence to save the lustful glutton from the penalty of his infamous crime. The blind father of the girl was in court, listening to the depravity of the beast whose carnal appetite had wrecked his daughter, but his pitiable infirmities had but little effect, for the wretch, with money, was merely sentenced to four months in the house of correction and to pay a fine of \$300.

But this sentence and fine will in all probability never be paid, for an appeal has been taken, and *time* will obliterate the memory of the outrage committed against an unprotected, penniless girl and a helpless father.

The people who declare that "Socialism would destroy the home,"

used all their influence to save the wretch who had blasted the future of a young girl and made her a social outcast, with no home save the brothel.

The cry that the home must be protected and womanhood saved from the "free love" of Socialism, becomes a comedy, when we observe how the so-called defenders of the home tax all their cunning and ingenuity to save moral lepers from the penitentiary.

The *virtue* of a girl in *cotton* has but little value when violated by a scoundrel in broadcloth.

The Dives can snatch the crown of honor from the brow of womanhood, and yet be courted as a pet of society.

The doors of so-called respectability are not locked against the perfumed darling of a "smart set," because he has shattered the character and reputation of a poor man's daughter.

The courts do not punish him, and the *cry* that the home must be protected becomes a *mockery* to the man whose knowledge of facts convinces him that honor in cheap clothes can be wrecked by a Stanford White with impunity.

## The Church Prostituted

THE WOMEN employés of a corset factory at Kalamazoo, Mich., through starvation wages and unbearable conditions, were forced to declare a strike. Immediately the saintly proprietor of the factory, who is a pillar of the church, called upon his judicial lackey on the bench and obtained an injunction, which made liberty shriek with agony. The strikers were restrained from even entering the factory to obtain their working clothes, were denied the right to speak to the usurpers of their places and by a judicial threat, were told to place no pickets at or near the slave pen of the plutocrat, many of whose slaves were forced to part with their honor to hold their jobs. But this was not all.

Preachers of Kalamazoo, knowing their owner, almost commanded the half-starved, impoverished victims of the corset factory to return to work, one of them going so far as to declare, "Remember that to be loyal to your employer means loyalty to the church, and as loyalty to

one means loyalty to the other, so disloyalty to either means treason to the other."

Think of such sentiments coming from the foul and hypocritical lips of a man who makes the pretense of preaching the doctrines of Jesus Christ!

Think of the measly, miserable soul in the carcass of the prostituted wretch who, without a blush of shame, gave utterance to sentiments that brand him as pitiless as a viper and as conscienceless as a corpse.

If God is omnipotent and is conscious of all the villainy that is perpetrated by those who wear the livery of Christianity, it is strange that such a God permits the earth to be desecrated by the presence of fiends in human shape.

If loyalty to an employer in this day and age of greed is loyalty to the church, then such an institution deserves to be consigned to the flames of eternal perdition, for if the church has no more charity than an employer who starves women and children, then indeed has the church become a monument of infamy.

## The System Will Be Overthrown

THE BRUTALITY of the profit system is being revealed every day, and no longer can the defenders of our present civilization put forward valid reasons as to why the present industrial system should be prolonged. It has become apparent to intelligent men that the dollar has a higher value than man, and that wherever *justice* conflicts with dividends, *justice* is thrown on the scrap heap.

The outrages that were committed on men, women and children at Lawrence, Mass., the brutality of the mailed fist at San Diego, Cal., in suppressing free speech, and the dehumanized means and methods utilized to awe and intimidate the lumber workers in the Northwest, have shown that capitalism is without heart or soul, and that in the name of "law and order" *law* is trampled under foot, and human liberty, fighting against greed, is strangled to death.

It can no longer be successfully denied but that the functions of government are the absolute property of exploiters, and observing men must admit that practically all the machinery of government is used to hold in subjugation the class that is in rebellion against corporate despotism.

The club of the policeman, the rifle of the state militia, the injunction from the court and the gatling guns and cannon of federal troops, will never settle the labor problem. Men permeated with a spirit that yearns for freedom, will not surrender those rights that are the heritage of humanity. The rule of a class of privilege may be supreme for a time, but economic slavery must give way before the millions who are slowly but surely coming together to make war upon a system that brutalizes man.

## On Criticism

CRITICISM is fair and legitimate. Most of us need to be hit, and hit hard, sometimes, principally because we often get the notion that we have a monopoly of wisdom. This is particularly true of those who are accustomed to have their own way because for the time being they are placed in a position of authority. But criticism should be constructive rather than destructive. Most any fool can see the badness and the weakness in men and things. Faults are always glaring. But it takes a wise man to see the good which may be covered over by the bad. Not to judge merely by superficial appearances requires knowledge. True criticism does not necessarily mean a pointing out of weakness. It may be the discovery of virtue. However, most criticism is of the other kind. It is just plain, simple "knocking." Criticism of another generally acts as a boomerang upon the unjust critic, because the critic is most apt to point out in another the failing which is peculiarly his own. As a general proposition it is better to criticize yourself than to wait until another fellow gets a chance to criticize you; and be merciless to yourself in your criticism if you expect mercy from another.—Exchange.

There is considerable logic in the above sentiments, expressed by an exchange. There are few men who can criticize others without leaving a sting in the breast of the party who has been the victim of criticism. If criticism is offered with the object in view of fortifying the weak spots in the armor of the party criticized, such object is generally apparent, and the party criticized will feel under obligations to the critic for he will feel that the critic is actuated by a friendly interest in the man or woman whose defects are pointed out. But as a general rule criticism as voiced by the exchange, is "just plain, simple knocking,"

and the *knocker* feels an exultation as he watches the victim of his *knocking* writhe in mental agony. The man who is anxious to climb to higher intellectual summits or reach higher moral standards will feel no bitterness towards the man or woman who in a courteous manner discloses frailties or deficiencies, but when the critic uses a hammer or an axe to satiate personal spleen or revenge, the victim who feels the venom of such weapons is justified in the use of such defensive weapons as will make the critic hunt the tall timber.

There are some members of organized labor who entertain the opinion that the salaried official of a labor union should be meek and humble, and under no circumstances should he rebel when criticism casts a reflection upon his sincerity and loyalty as an official of a labor organization. He is presumed by some to remain silent when his honor is assaulted, and though the critic is conceded the right to shoot his missiles, yet the labor official must remember that he is drawing a salary, and in consideration of having access to the treasury of the organization he should not resent the flings and covert intimations that are made to discredit him among his fellow men.

Labor officials, even though drawing salaries, are human beings, and have feelings, just the same as other mortals, and when their honor is attacked, it is but natural that such labor officials should arm themselves to protect their honor and integrity from unmerited charges and accusations.

Labor officials whose hearts are beating for the welfare of laboring humanity will welcome honest criticism, but criticism that is prompted by ulterior motives will always be resented by any man who has not become a stranger to dignity.

## Achievements and Goal of the Unions

THEY HAVE lifted up the weak and set limits to the power of the strong. They have shortened the work-day, lengthened life and multiplied its enjoyments.

The unions have given labor a voice, they who formerly had no language but a groan. Their members sometimes stop making dividends to write a page of history that can never die.

They have taken children from the mine and factory and given them to the school and to life.

They have enabled men to get two dollars where they got but one before.

They have been the advance guards of progress, the heralds of democracy in industry.

The unions have not simply taught brotherhood, they have practiced it. Their demands pave the way for the legislator.

They have ended wrongs for which there was no other remedy. They have established rights which had no existence prior to their coming.

The unions are tireless engines beating against the walls of privilege, sending out the call of a new civilization founded in justice and illuminated by brotherhood.

The union bears the same relation to the coming social revolution that the engine bore to the industrial revolution. Around the engine may be written the story of man's mastery over the forces of nature, the multiplication of his wants and the possibility of the satisfaction of his desires.

The unions represent more to the race than the harnessing of a thousand Niagaras. Their coming was the birth of labor's hope. Their growth is the realization of labor's power. They have proven that labor can not only bring forth dreams of beauty in marble, build enduring structures of steel and granite, whip nature's resources into forms that will satisfy his every need, wipe out distance and make the lightning the messenger of his thought, but that greater, better still, he can write laws that will serve the common good. Mould institutions which shall serve the race, give to the worker the heritage of centuries of toil and struggle instead of leaving him chained forever, the burden bearer of the race with no respite from toil and hardship, with no gains from the triumphs of invention, with no part in or understanding of the achievements of science, with no knowledge of the glories of literature or the beauties of art.

The unions mean the mastery of man over the institutions that enslave him, his control of the machine his skill has evolved, his enjoyment of the wealth his industry produces.

The union means the conscious direction of industry for the benefit of the worker. It means the elimination of the drone and the despot.

The union rests upon education and is expressed in organization. Its membership are deeply versed in a lore that antedates all libraries, the lore of the pick, the hammer and the loom. They are graduates of the university of toil, whose teachings transcend that of all other schools, upon which all other knowledge rests, by which all the world lives. They are climbing from the dungeon of the toiler to the heights of the thinker.

In the past they laid their lives at a despot's feet and he dipped his pen in their hearts' blood to write a dastard's name on history's page; they gave their labor to kings of industry and the overlords reached out for domains wider than Caesar's and answered their plea for pity with machine guns. They gave a freeman's vote to sordid

politicians and received a sentence to hard labor for life. They who did everything for others achieved nothing for themselves.

They had but one ambition, to get at the other end of the chain, to be a master instead of a slave. Now we decree the end of chains and masters and slaves. We will climb with our fellows instead of on them.

Once we esteemed but little the skill of hands grown deft in satisfying human wants and thought much of the lore of books and the wisdom of the books. We looked to the legislator for the solution of our problems. We overrated a power that we did not possess and underestimated and neglected to use a power that we did possess.

The years have taught us a juster estimate of the worth of men's labors and the use of social forces. We know full well the importance of books and schools and of the lessons learned therein. But the workshop has taught lessons at least as valuable to human weal and no false theory has ever withstood its crucial tests. We realize the power of legislator and judge and the necessity of making them servants of our cause helping on the cause of social evolution.

We do not seek to augment our own worth and importance by belittling the functions of other organizations, institutions or individuals. But the inventor, scientist, philosopher, poet, do not supplant the farmer, weaver, miner, builder. The former supplement the latter. The one is indispensable, the other highly desirable in any civilization.

Neither can the legislator and judge—the political organization, supplant the union, the economic organization. The former rests upon the latter. Their highest function is to voice our needs, thus educating the public to higher standards, crystallize public sentiment into laws recognizing the new advance and finally interpreting these laws in the spirit of their enactment.

The need of new laws is seldom recognized by the legislator until the sentiment for them can be expressed in action and after enactment they do not enforce themselves. It requires the efforts of an alert, vigorous organization to secure the enforcement of laws in the interest of labor.

Our work in shaping the needs and demands of the working class is akin to our work in factory and mine, whipping the raw facts of the toilers' life into material for social action. No other organization can perform that work. The class struggle is fought where wealth is produced, in mine or shop. Solidarity comes from the impact of great masses of men driven to combat for redress of grievances. The change in the social structure depends upon the force of their blows and the strength of their appeal to the public. Here is where the political organization becomes an indispensable ally. But the speaker on the street and the article in the press is but a voice in the night unless backed up by economic power.

To secure the greatest results, labor must use both arms, the political and the economic. In the past we have suffered from extremists—one class denouncing all who believed in political action as fakirs. We seldom have a clear idea of our own wants and the best means of securing them until we present them at the bar of public opinion. The other extreme mildly sympathize with us for the hardships of the strike when we could end it all so easily by the ballot. It seems difficult for some heads to contain two ideas at the same time—but they are vastly superior to those who have none.

Lessons learned through the hands are thoroughly learned. He who has learned the class-struggle in actual conflict, may study Marx with profit. The most learned Marxian may study present day conflicts to advantage. Marx would lose his tremendous interest if it were

not for Colorado, Chicago, Lawrence and other hard fought fields.

It is time to stop claiming precedence for either the economic or political organization. Each is indispensible.

When we look at the splendid German movement, coming up under the mailed fist of the Kaiser—the most ultra direct actionist must be lost in admiration at its great work. Again last year we gazed on “the new parliament on Tower hill” in the strike of the English transport and railway workers. Who failed to catch the tremendous significance of the words? A few days ago the English miner loomed large above the lords of finance and industry. The future must reckon with him and his class. The Lawrence workers might have starved for another decade but for their own heroic action.

Words of condemnation or criticism are vain in the face of deeds such as these.

Those battles furnish inspiration and insight for winning yet greater victories, yea, our very defeat when thrust into reason's crucible and subjected to rigid examination, may teach us lessons more potent to advance our cause than any success yet won.

Our failures on both the economic and political field are primarily due to lack of numbers. “God is on the side of the heaviest battalions.” Napoleon cynically said. On hard fought fields we have lacked men and because of that need we have lacked dollars. Many conflicts have been lost because the union men were sitting on the fence when they were needed in the field. Again we have reeled back from the militia and been paralyzed by the injunction. The sword of the state was thrown in the wavering scale along with the employer's gold.

The defects in our own organization can only be cured by the education of the membership. It would be well for us to spend some time studying the merits of other organizations as well as their shortcomings, their membership would then feel that we were in a position to judge and would listen more readily. They are as anxious for success as we. Unity cannot be forced, it is a matter of growth and understanding.

The crying need of the labor world is the organization of the unorganized. Today the vanguard must well nigh pause until they (the unorganized) are mustered into regiments of the industrial army. Self-interest must be the basis of any effective plea to them as it is with all men. He who can show them most effectively how their interests are linked with the cause of unionism and enlist them in it, contributes most to the revolutionary movement. Great masses of men attract others and beget an enthusiasm that surmounts all obstacles. Once on the line of march that can never end this side of industrial Democracy, they will use both the strike and the ballot and each will sound the impending doom of capitalism. Logic, sentiment, interest will make their appeal irresistible as laws and institutions are moulded by their advance.

Here lies the heart and soul of the future's hope. Others may speak and write of the struggle, doing excellent service, but it is ours to wage it. In the importance of our work we yield precedence to none.

The unions are the dynamic forces of the new order, they will mould the institutions and build the civilization of the future. The worker is coming into his own.

GUY E. MILLER.

## Shotgun Editorial in “The Times”

### Miscalculations.

IT IS SAID that proverbs are the wisdom of the ages crystallized. One of these time honored crystallizations warns us against the folly of attempting to number certain feathered bipeds previous to the completion of the process of incubation; that is, being interpreted, “Don't count your chickens before they are hatched.” There are such things, you know, as non-fertile eggs.

We are moved to the utterance of these words of wisdom by reading in a local paper the statement that our Socialist friends are really and truly calculating—as incredible and preposterous as it may seem—upon electing their municipal ticket at the approaching regular municipal election. Now, to abandon the metaphor of the eggs, the way they expect to bring about this astonishing result and the process thereof is as follows: They claim to have from 800 to 1000 bonafide Socialists in the city (which by the way is not true), then they class the bulk of the supporters of Frecker and Baya as dishonest and dishonorable by asserting that they will vote for Robinson, the Socialist candidate for mayor, against McKay, the nominee of the white primary in which they participated, and, last, as a crowning enormity, they are said to be taking steps to line up the negroes against the white citizens and thus to reverse and nullify the results accomplished in eliminating that corrupt and purchasable vote from municipal politics.

The men who are said to be endeavoring to carry out this diabol-

ical plan are white—that is, on the outside—but their designs are as black as the hinges of hell. All good citizens who believe in white supremacy will unite to make their consummation impossible and to render all who harbor such nefarious purposes odious in the eyes of the community. And the engineers of the black plot are placed on notice now that never again shall the negroes or their allies be permitted to become a controlling element in the politics of the city of Tampa.—Tampa Times.

The above editorial in the Tampa Times, discloses the fact, that the class that occupies the throne of power is not willing that the voice at the ballot box shall be obeyed. Should the working class, made up of black and white, control the election, that is, elect their candidates, according to the Tampa Times, they shall not be permitted to accept the political honors bestowed upon them by the votes of the majority. In other words, the dictum expressed at the polls shall be ignored by the cheap and insolent aristocracy of the South, and *might* shall become master of the situation. The Tampa Times is treading on dangerous ground. The *Whites* and *Blacks* of Tampa who propose to use the peaceable and bloodless weapon known as the ballot, to redress wrongs that exist may not retreat before *Anarchy* in broadcloth but stand their ground, determined that the voice of the people, as expressed at the polls, shall prevail. *Anarchy* in an evening dress suit is far more cruel and pitiless than *Anarchy* in rags, but if patrician *Anarchy* invites and courts a struggle the precipitators of such a conflict must accept the consequence and responsibility.

## Capital

THE FUNCTIONS of capital are to bring to its owner—the capitalist—profit. Ask of any capitalist why he makes an investment, and he will answer because he expects to reap a profit thereby. The dullest one in the last analysis is not so stupid as to invest the means at his command in any venture that he knew to be a losing one. He would realize that to do so would nullify the legitimate purpose of an investment and strip from him the garb of capitalist. Hence, unless his capital successfully performed its true function of bringing him profit it would be but a matter of time until he would find himself in the ranks of the non-capitalists. Though he might still remain in undisputed possession and ownership of a means of production, say for instance, a factory, he would have lost his position as capitalist, because his holdings of property could no longer be used as a medium through which the function of capitalist, i. e., to make profit, could be expressed. Were it even possible for him to turn to and operate his factory by his own labor, the output would accrue to him, not as profit upon his investment, but merely as a return for his own labor expended in its operation.

It may be seen from this that the means of production though nominally appearing under certain circumstances as capital, are not in themselves capital. Under such circumstances they afford a medium through which, or by performing its profit-making function in the scheme of things. With such circumstances lacking, capital vanishes. The capitalist depends for his profit upon the labor of those who, perforce, depend upon his property in the means of production for their living. By purchasing the labor-power of such, as a commodity in the market, and utilizing it in the operation of his instruments of production, our capitalist finds himself in possession of whatever volume of wealth may result from the expenditures of this labor-power. Under such circumstances the labor-power of the workman can be converted into the food, etc., necessary to perpetuate his existence, only by selling it to the capitalist. Out of the wealth produced by its expenditure the capi-

talist recovers the cost of this labor-power and retains the balance as a profit. His ownership of the means of production upon which the workmen depend for their existence affords a medium by which the wealth they produce passes into the hands of the capitalist. By this means capital performs the function of gathering profit from the toil and sweat of wealth producers—the workers.

Capital, then, it will be readily seen, merely expresses the relationship existing between exploiter and exploited—between master and slave. The present form of ownership establishes this relationship and makes its expression, not only possible, but inevitable.

With the ownership and control of the means of production transferred from the capitalists to society, as a whole, this relationship would be destroyed, because the medium through which it is expressed—capitalist property—would no longer exist. Capital would vanish, though the means of production remained intact and still at the service of mankind. The capitalist stripped of his power to exploit his fellows, would become merely an individual member of society, with the same rights and duties as the rest.

The Socialists wage war against capital, not against capitalists as individuals. Both capitalist and wage-slave are legitimate creatures of the present system of property in the means of production. They are not responsible for the system, but are a part and parcel of it.

So long as the means of production, upon which all depend for their existence and which, by reason of the gigantic and complicated nature of the instruments in vogue can only be operated co-operatively, remain the property of a part of society, the capitalist and wage-slave will remain with us. As the one exists by virtue of the other they are virtually Siamese twins, like Chang and Eng, held together by the nexus of the present systems of property, which will admit of no other relationship. That which would dispense with one, would also dispense with the other. The triumph of the proletariat conquering the capitalist state will break that nexus and then—“rigor mortis” in oblivion for the pair of them.—Western Clarion.

would not be so many dark homes in Southampton, Liverpool and other sea towns today."

He expressed an opinion that most of those who are in Washington to testify before the Senate committee would probably never get work from the International Marine Company again. These men are bound to testify to things unpalatable to Ismay and Franklin who note every word spoken by their employes.

When told that the firemen of the Olympic had already taken matters into their own hands to defend their rights, he smiled faintly. "The International Marine Company," he said, "may give in now because of public opinion being aroused. But they will have things the way they want them before long. We poor devils don't count for much. We cannot strike under the law. And, if we could there are plenty of unemployed to take our places."

"Have you no hope, at all?" I asked.

"Oh, yes. When we get enough working men in the House of Commons we will change the law about sailors striking and about providing lifeboats. And we will abolish the House of Lords, too."

#### Berger Urges Woman Suffrage.

"The safe-keeping of the race is left to the women," declared Representative Berger in a speech urging the House to give the Alaska Legislature authority to grant women the right to vote.

"Woman is of more importance to the race than is men and every real man realizes that by instinct," said Berger in reply to a remark by Representative Ferris, of Oklahoma, that equal suffrage would not have given the women aboard the Titanic the privileges they enjoyed. "I, for one, and I believe every member of the House," continued Berger, "would stay back at any time and give way to women and children, whether women enjoyed suffrage or not."

"I favor woman suffrage as a matter of democracy. Women form a part of our population—fully one-half of the adult population. They are folks, like men. They ought to have the same rights and the same privileges as men. All just government is founded on the consent of the governed. We cannot have a free country, we cannot claim to be a real democracy, as long as fully one-half of the citizens of the country are disfranchised.

"But there is also one more reason, and that is an economic reason. In former days, especially among Germans, the good hausfrau—the housewife—was the ideal woman. In the days of our fathers and grandfathers the woman, the housewife, had nothing else to do—could do nothing else—than take care of the family, the kitchen, and the household. That time is passed, especially in large cities. Women must now go out into the world, and work. They have to support themselves, and very often they also must help to support their family. Women work in stores, offices, school-rooms, and millions of them go into factories. The number of women at work in 1900 was 5,319,397. I do not have the figures for 1910 at hand.

"Working like men, they ought to have the same economic and political rights as a man. That is all there is to it. Not because women are better—although I believe they are better and they are better looking, of course, (laughter and applause). As a matter of justice, democracy, and economic fairness women citizens should have the same political and economic rights as men citizens."

#### Advocates Government Wireless.

That the Titanic disaster has demonstrated the need for government-owned wireless is the belief of Victor Berger who has introduced a bill in the House providing for the nationalization of radio-telegraphic systems.

Berger declares that practically all of the chaos and demoralization in the handling of wireless which were evidenced in the recent disaster would not have occurred had these systems been absolutely under the control of the federal government. In support of his bill Berger issued a statement to the press in which he points out that Commissioner Eugene T. Chamberlain, of the bureau of navigation, and Lieut. Commander D. W. Todd, of the navy coast signal service have recently gone on record in favor of government ownership of wireless.

The Socialist congressman's bill provides for the appointment of a commission of three experts to appraise the real value of the wireless property and inventions and report the same to the secretary of the department of commerce and labor. Congress is then to make the necessary appropriation for the purchase of these properties.

It is also provided in this measure that a bureau of wireless telegraphs be created, within and subordinate to the department of commerce and labor.

### THE TRADE UNION AND THE SOCIALIST PARTY CONCLUSIONS.

(By Robert Hunter)

The end and aim we seek is to unite the working class. Nothing should be tolerated in our methods or in our principles which promises to keep the workers from final unity. It is the object of every enemy of the workers to keep them quarreling amongst themselves. And any trade unionist or Socialist whose words or actions foment division or dissension, consciously or unconsciously, helps the enemies of labor.

Only the other day a leading Socialist declared: "I am opposed under all circumstances, to any party alliance or affiliations with reactionary trade unions." That sounds very big and fine and revolutionary. Yet it is the very essence of reaction. Had Marx said that, the International Workingmen's association would never have been born. Had the Socialist leaders of Europe taken that position, there would not to-day exist a single great working class political party. Such a statement is just as harmful to the working class as that of the conservative leader who declares: "The trade union can never have any affiliation with radicals and Socialists."

The "great" leader who claims that the working class can only be united when it submits itself slavishly to his tactics and vows with upraised hands obedience to every item of his creed may find himself big in the midst of a tiny sect, but never the founder of a working class movement, either political or industrial.

After some labor, I have gathered together and printed in the articles which preceded a mass of facts which show how the unity of the working class has been achieved in Europe. That unity has been achieved by deeds more than by words. A little story of Belgium will illustrate what I mean.

That country has a powerful and united labor movement. The trade unions and the Socialist party work in absolute harmony. The party of the working class is opposed in Belgium by the liberal party and the clerical party. The clerical party has for years endeavored to keep the working class divided on religious lines. It has formed in some places Catholic trade unions in opposition to the Socialist trade unions. A few years ago the quarrymen, all of whom were Catholics, struck. Every one of them was bitterly anti-Socialist and refused to have anything to do with the regular trade union or Socialist movement. Indeed, when a trade union agitator or Socialist came into that district he was usually mobbed. When the strike occurred the Catholic workers discovered that the capitalists who owned the quarries had a strange and powerful influence over the leaders of both the liberal and clerical parties. As a result, the strikers were abandoned to their fate and their leaders left them to be starved into submission. At the very moment when the strike seemed all but lost a long line of bread wagons filed into the town, flying the red flag. They were the wagons of the Socialist co-

operative stores and they drew up at every house to deposit supplies of food. Imagine, if you can, what that meant. In the hour of their direst need those Catholic workmen learned that the flag they had torn to pieces, that the leaders they had mobbed and the movement they had loathed, were the sole friends of the working class.

The Socialists of Belgium might have refused to aid these "reactionary" workers; but, fortunately, they took a different view. In Europe, if the advice is ever given to desert the workers it is left to the reactionaries alone to give it. The true Socialist, as well as the true trade unionist, has but one tactic, and that is to untie the workers, and neither creed, race nor dogma is allowed to militate against that great end.

For the sake of unity in the great trade union movement, Marx, Bebel, Kautsky, Vaillant, Plekhanoff—among the greatest of Socialist leaders—have, as I have shown, urged that the trade unions should never be asked to endorse Socialism, so long as there was any possibility of such a decision dividing the labor movement. These men, with their fellows, have labored to build up great organizations of the working class. They have never asked whether the workers were of this or that political faith, of this or that religious faith; they have never drawn away from any portion of the working class, no matter how seemingly conservative or reactionary that portion may have been. They have labored to the one end of unity, confident in the philosophy which they have everywhere proclaimed. In the unity of the working class is the true seed of the revolution. And by such work have over ten million men been brought together in the trade union movement of Europe. And nearly the same ten million men have been brought together in the political movement.

The Germans had for years only one great organization—their political party. They were politicians, yet they were driven to see the necessity of a trade union movement, and they set out to build it. To-day the German trades union movement is the most powerful in the world. Little over a decade ago the British workers had no party, but they did have a powerful trade union movement. They were "pure and simple" trade unionists until they were driven to see the necessity of political action. With less time almost than it takes to write it, these trade unionists came together, formed a political party and launched it with a million dues-paying members at the start. Those are two instances of what an organized working class can do when its mind is made up.

Of course, it would be folly for any one to maintain that the Socialist party is indifferent to the views held by trade unionists. The Socialist believes that no man can be a good trade unionist without being a Socialist, and he ought also believe that no workingman can be a good Socialist without also being a trade unionist. Experience, however, has shown that convictions cannot be crammed down the throat of any independent man. And to those who have tried such tactics Bebel has rightly said: "Have some confidence in our cause. . . . Whoever is so much convinced as I am of the conquering strength of the Socialist ideas and of their power of attraction, knows that they are gradually winning over the entire working class, even if they are not preached and propagated in the trade union day by day. Let us not forget that in the sphere of social reform, as elsewhere, the proverb holds good that 'appetite comes with eating'; and there is no need to say which of all the political parties is resolved and duty bound to best satisfy the appetite of the working class for reform."

This points the way. As soon as the Socialist party fights for the material interests of the working class day in and day out, the working class will become Socialist. When the unions appeal to the workers to organize they tempt them with the promise of higher wages, shorter hours and better conditions. They appeal to the immediate interests of the workers. In the political field the Socialist party tempts the workers by political reforms that appeal to the immediate interests of the working class.

But some may ask what will happen when every unionist is a Socialist and every Socialist a unionist? What will happen when both movements of the working class realize the unity of their ends and aims? What will happen when the militants of both movements are the same, and when in all struggles the party and the union act together?

Well, the only answer is that it doesn't matter what happens. When that day comes there will be little difference of opinion regarding the relations which should exist between the two great arms of the working class. When the workers are united in principle and in tactics, and when both movements of the working class are bound together by a personal union, there will be no need for the one or the other wing to discuss the matter of relationship.

The only reason for that discussion to-day is due to the fact that the two movements have different leaders, different programs, different traditions and different tactics. We must therefore respect each other's autonomy and allow both movements to develop on the lines that give the promise of the greatest success. And as the members of the Socialist party are the best judges of what is the wisest policy for it to pursue, so the members of the trade union movement are the best judges of what is the wisest policy for their movement to pursue. And, in fact, any attempt of the one movement or the other to violate that neutrality, which necessity and not theory has imposed upon us, would mean to promote division and dissension in the working class movement. For the trade unions to start a rival political party or for the Socialist party to start or even condone a rival industrial movement would be treason to the working class.

I have not sought in the previous articles to give any personal opinions. I have endeavored to mass here the views of the leading Socialists and trade unionists throughout the world. With hardly an exception, these have condemned rival or dual unionism. With hardly an exception, they have deplored politics in the unions wherever that is likely to encourage division. Without exception, they have pleaded for tolerance, courtesy, mutual respect and harmonious action between the party and the union. They have sought marriage, not a forced union between the two great organizations of the working class. They believe in political unionism as they believe in trades unionism, and they have sought to develop these two movements to the highest possible point of efficiency. Ever since its foundation the Socialist party has maintained a policy that is founded on the highest and best traditions of the international movement. Despite the fact that some of its most notable leaders have violated the party policy, it has nevertheless resolutely refused to alter that policy. It has refused to meddle in trade union affairs, to take sides in disputes between rival factions in the trade union movement, and it has not, as a party, attempted to pledge the trade unions to Socialism. It has denounced rival unionism, commended the efforts of all economic organizations, and stood ready at all times to render moral and financial aid to everybody of organized labor that is struggling to improve its material conditions. And, while pursuing this policy, it has built up the beginning of a wonderful political organization of the working class. The growth of the political movement has been phenomenal; and nothing but its own mistakes can prevent it becoming in the near future one of the greatest political organizations in the world.

Yet the success of the policy of the past has not prevented the constant clamoring of those who would alter the party's policy. Some would have us seek to turn the trade unions away from their present work for the purpose of forming a labor party. Some would have us denounce the present trade union movement, abandon our political work and found a rival industrial organization. Some would have us force the trade unions to endorse Socialism or get out of the unions. Some would have us lay down pompous instructions to the unions that they must adopt an industrial form of organization. Some would have us declare for or against direct action, including the general strike and sabotage. The latter are, of course, weapons that can be used only by the industrial movement. A political party has nothing whatever to

do with them. But these are the demands of those who protest against the present policy of the Socialist party.

Well, in all charity, I may say that such demands simply indicate the ignorance of these Socialists concerning the policy of the international movement, and the utter incoherency of their thought concerning the scope of a working class political party.

Fortunately the party has from the beginning resisted these attacks on its trade union policy, and the knowledge of the immense success that has come to the movement, both here and in Europe, on the lines of our present tactics, should be sufficient to keep us from any return to the singular and inevitably destructive policies that annihilated the Socialist Labor party.



#### WHY THE TITANIC WENT DOWN.

(By Chester M. Wright)

More than 2,000 of them are out there deep in the Atlantic, cold, lifeless, dead.

Scores more are back on land, bodies shattered, minds wrecked, almost dead.

Other hundreds are with them, safe, sound, but with the terrible haunting cry of the great death in their ears, the cry that will stay with them through all of the days and nights until eternity claims them.

And to this capitalism may point and say, "I did it!"

The condemnation to be heaped upon capitalism and the White Star line, through which it claimed its toll, is so great that words cannot convey it. It is a condemnation that can only be conveyed through the anguish of thousands of tortured souls.

The 2,000 dead look back to land, 2,000 pairs of sightless eyes are turned toward the murderers and the soundless voices of 2,000 perished souls cry back to the White Star line offices, "You and your system murdered us."

The thousands of bereaved relatives and friends of the helpless ones who were hurled into the deep raise their voices in terrified accusation and they, too, cry, "You and your system did it!"

The great tragedy is over, but its memory, the mark of its terrific blow, will remain even unto the third and fourth generation, a staggering indictment of the system that calls for profits instead of human safety.

It is an indictment written in human blood, punctuated with the echoes of dying shrieks; an indictment literally written in all the horror and revulsion of the wholesale murder of helpless human beings.

The good and the sympathetic of all the world will mourn for a time for those who are gone and will suffer for a time with those who are bereaved. During every second of that time the system will go on taking more lives, wrecking more homes. It may never again claim its toll in just that way, but in other ways it will work just as surely, just as unerringly.

The only acceptable reparation for the lives of those who have gone from us is the life of that which took them—the life of the brutal, pillaging, murdering, profit-piling system that stands back of its human agents and compels them to do it bidding.

The only atonement for the record of the system is the death of the system.—Socialist Democratic Herald.

#### GETTING AROUND THE BROTHER.

Representative Caleb Powers of Kentucky in an impassioned speech, proved to his own satisfaction that many millions of people in this country are in a state of deplorable poverty, and it is all due to the fact that between the producer and the ultimate consumer there are many merciless middlemen. In order to end this condition of affairs, he would establish the parcels post so that the farmer could send his vegetables directly to those who use them and thus avoid paying the extortionate middleman.

Of course, those engaged in the clothing and shoe industries could do the same thing with what they produce, only it so happens that they do not own the things they make; they have no control over them and are not in a position to benefit the ultimate consumer.

The parcels post is an excellent relief idea, a thing that might ease the strain to a certain limited extent, but under present conditions it would be quite as futile as all the other schemes that have been proposed or have actually been put into operation.

Even on the farms at the present time there are hundreds of thousands of men who own nothing and have nothing except their power to work. They are hired men, as much at the mercy of the employing farmer as the sweatshop worker is at the mercy of the sweater. Yet farm hand and city employé alike are part of that great body of persons known as the ultimate consumer. Each needs the fruits of the work of the other. Neither has any control over what he produces.

It might be possible, with a well regulated and well organized parcels post, for a shirt-waist manufacturer to send his goods cheaply to persons living on a farm, and for the farmer in return to send his agricultural products to the town and city workers. Possibly the middleman evil might thereby be mitigated, though it would not be wholly eliminated.

Even then the real evil would remain, for those who produced the clothing and those who tilled the soil would still be at the mercy of those who own the machinery and those who own the farm. That the degree of exploitation would be any less is unthinkable, for farmer and manufacturer alike are in business for the purpose of extracting the last possible degree of profit, and that can be done only by increasing in intensity the rate at which the workers, the actual producers, are exploited.

While, however, in present circumstances the parcels post would be of benefit mostly to the small manufacturer and the minor farmer, there is an excellent idea involved in it. Society itself should be the distributing agency for all that the members of society need. But the forces of the state should not be used merely for the benefit of a particular class within society. They should not be used for the purpose of assisting land owners or manufacturers, but for the purpose of giving to every one the best possible service. This can be accomplished only in one way.

Instead of permitting the express companies to dictate terms to the postoffice, the government should own the postoffice. Instead of permitting the railroads to dictate terms, the government should own the railroads. Instead of those who now have the ownerships of socially necessary machinery, the government should own the machinery. Then the means of transportation could be utilized for the benefit of consumer and producer alike, but not before then.—New York Call.

#### THE DREAD OF DEMOCRACY.

Dr. Lyman Abbott, who has gravitated from "Christian Socialism" to philosophic anarchy, foresees, as is apparent from a study of social development and industrial evolution, that capitalism has reached its zenith and that the coming century will witness its decline and fall.

Dr. Abbott, with Utopian simplicity, has an idea that capitalism will be resolved into a benevolent institution, in which the owners of industry will co-operate in a spirit of brotherly love with the workers. It is an idle dream. Until the workers become the owners, until we shall have production for use rather than profit, there inevitably will be exploitation of the workers by the owners.

Voluntary co-operation, through joint stock companies or otherwise, while it may prove advantageous to the workers that share in such enterprises, is not in any sense a solution of the social and industrial problems which we face. For co-operative enterprises where they are conducted for profit, must in the very nature of things, exploit those without their pale. We do not question the value of co-operative enterprises. They fit the workers for the transition from capitalism to Socialism. But so rapid has been the development of capitalism that the field for co-operative undertakings is now limited almost exclusively to the exchanging of products.

Dr. Abbot has a great fear of Socialism lest it should lead to political despotism. He is distrustful of democracy and rejects the contention that "governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed." He prefers, he says, that industry shall be autocratically governed, as it is today by our Carnegies and Morgans and Rockefellers, than that it should be controlled by democracy with its "Boss Crokers." The argument is by no means original with Dr. Abbott, and has been offered in opposition to every extension of governmental power over private industry.

Socialists have no illusions as to democracy. A stream can rise no higher than its source. Yet with all its faults and weaknesses, which are the faults and weaknesses of humanity, democracy has shown itself to be more efficient, more capable, and more inspiring to the uplift of the race than autocracy.

The autocracy of Morgan and Carnegie in the industrial field may be likened to the beginning of a dynastic line. There is no question whatsoever that the men who founded the royal houses of Europe or of Asia were men of great capacity. But their capacity was not transmitted to their sons. Morgan may be the fittest man in the United States to manage its industries, if we are to have one-man rule, but surely there is no assurance that J. Pierpont Morgan, Jr., is the fittest man. As to "Boss" Croker he undoubtedly was as fit for his political environment as Morgan for his industrial environment. The people of New York when they felt that Croker was no longer fit were able to get rid of him. They now have Murphy, who is no improvement, perhaps, yet who serve a function in government under the forms of democracy devoted to the institution of capitalism. But they cannot get rid of Morgan by a change of administration!

The choice which will confront the American people will not be choice between captains of industry and political "bosses" of the Croker type. We have developed to the point where virtually both types have disappeared. Industry is no longer controlled and directed by its owners. The owner of industry is of the absentee landlord type, who knows nothing of industry and who depends upon his employes to manage his affairs and produce his profits.

Even today if we were to make choice, such as Dr. Abbott conceives, it would be a choice between John D. Rockefeller Jr., George Gould, the younger Morgan, the lesser Vanderbilts, and the second brood of industrial magnates as against the leaders in our political life. In either event, of course, the men who are the managers of industry, who are doing the work, would continue in control, though instead of operating industry to produce profits for owners who contribute no service to society they would be called upon under an industrial democracy to produce for the use of their fellows. There could then be no distress through overproduction and an abundance would not bring to the workers unemployment, suffering and starvation.

Under the existing system of wealth production, our political democracy is controlled and dominated by the autocrats of industry. We could have no better evidence of the power that plutocracy wields in our political life than in the relations that have been shown to exist between Dr. Abbott's editorial associate, Theodore Roosevelt, and the "Morgan interests" when Mr. Roosevelt was the chief executive officer of the United States.

When we abolish the autocrats of industry, in the very nature of things we abolish their political power. With our industrial financial autocrats abolished, the environment which produces a Croker, who "works for his own pocket all the time," by disposing of privileges of government, would give way to an environment in which a higher type of leadership would find incentive.

The objection that Dr. Abbott raises to Socialism because it aims to the democratic control and management of industry is based largely upon his failure to grasp the fact that democracy under capitalism can not rise higher than its economic environment. When the great body of the people are dependent upon a small minority for the means of existence, they are and must be, as Alexander Hamilton very clearly showed, the political dependents of their economic masters.

Democracy is a growth. The greater its opportunities, the greater its responsibilities, the greater its power, the greater its development. Dr. Abbott's dream of a voluntary industrial state, as the next step in our social evolution, is as reasonable as to expect the savage to step from the jungle by the exercise of his will to the highest stage of modern civilization. The goal that he seeks can be reached, if at all, only through the development of industrial democracy to its ultimate perfection.—Milwaukee Leader.

#### THE RESPONSIBILITY FOR SYNDICATE.

Like the magician of old who raised the devil by his incantations, and was unable to exorcise him, capitalist society faces the apparition of "Syndicalism," which it has raised, and now speculates fearsomely on the future proceedings of the monster.

Some of the editorial attempts to explain the appearance and objects of this threatening portent in Great Britain make interesting reading for Socialists at this time.

For example, the New York Tribune declares editorially that the object of syndicalist strikes is not simply "to improve the conditions of labor, to increase wages or shorten days, but rather to enforce the principle that the state or society or somebody owes every man a living." Then it goes on to say that, "accordingly the hours of labor are to be shortened so as to make it impossible for the present number of men to do the work which needs to be done," and "meantime there is to be no decrease of wages on account of shortened hours or lessened efficiency."

The danger, then, in Syndicalism of course lies in the fact that the workmen, though striking for the same immediate objects as the old form of craft unions, the shortening of hours and increase of wages, have at the same time a further object in view that the others did not perceive and therefore did not formulate, a statement which, boiled down to its last analysis, simply means that the workers are becoming more intelligent, therefore more revolutionary, and therefore more to be feared.

In accounting for the origin of British "syndicalism," the Tribune is equally perspicacious. It declares that "it has flourished, if indeed it did not

have its origin, in a widespread disappointment at the failure of the Parliamentary Labor party promptly to fulfill all its promises and achieve all its purposes." Probably that statement is in the main a correct explanation of the reason for its appearance in Great Britain.

There has undoubtedly been much dissatisfaction with the British Labor party. For many years it has been harshly criticized by the more radical elements of British Socialism, for its general lack of revolutionary character, its pettifogging reform methods, its implicit faith in its ability to play the game of "politics" with the more astute political tricksters of the capitalist parties, its denial or ignoring of the class struggle and its "understandings" and "agreements," amounting almost to alliances with various capitalist political groups. How far these charges have been proven is a matter which space does not permit the discussion of here, but it is undeniable that the general sense of disappointment with the Labor party is usually based upon these charges against it, and that this disappointment should find a vent in "syndicalism" is exactly what might have been expected.

To what extent the Labor party is to blame for this outcome may be difficult to say, but at any rate it is a matter of little importance in the long run. What is both important and significant is the fact that the class struggle, suppressed, ignored or sidetracked in one way, will manifest itself in another, and usually more threatening form. In this case it has taken the form of syndicalism, and openly and unmistakably menaces the entire industrial life of the community.

No doubt in years past there have been many clever capitalist political tricksters and intriguers who from time to time have congratulated themselves on their success in humbugging, hoodwinking and sidetracking the British Labor party, and frustrating its efforts. And it is just as certain, also, that not one of these astute players of the game of "politics" ever foresaw the Pyrrhic nature of their parliamentary "victories," or dreamed of the coming of syndicalism as a result of disappointed hopes. When they had outplayed their opponent in the parliamentary game, they naturally supposed that he would continue indefinitely to play a game at which he was hopelessly outclassed rather than call for a new game. They supposed that the labor which was represented by their political opponents in Parliament would stand by quietly and see those representatives euchered again and again by their more expert adversaries, hoping against hope that the "luck" would turn, and something be eventually achieved through parliamentary means, and that no disappointment, however long continued, would cause them to lose faith in the game, and seek action by other methods. In this, however, they were sadly mistaken, as the sequel shows.

Just to the extent that the failure of the Labor party to achieve anything for the workers by the orthodox parliamentary methods can be attributed to the cunning of their political opponents, just to that extent are these capitalist politicians responsible for the appearance of "syndicalism." And just so far as the members of the Labor party weakened their political effectiveness by departing from the pivotal position of the class struggle and compromised with their opponents, so far are they responsible for its appearance also. It is a divided responsibility.

The appearance of syndicalism in England is not due to the inefficiency of political action per se, but rather to the quality of the political action undertaken. When such political action on the part of labor compromises with the capitalist system, when its representatives play the "game of politics" as their capitalist opponents understand it, that political action is certain to prove abortive, and syndicalism, as a more open and immediate revolutionary method of action, is just as certain to appear.

What the capitalist politician fails to understand is that we are living in a period of social revolution, and that his sitting upon the political safety valve simply invites an explosion of the pent-up social forces in the capitalist boiler. And so far as any "Labor party" takes the same position, the results will be exactly the same. It is no doubt a fascinating pastime for the "old parliamentary hand" to checkmate the efforts of his political labor opponents, but in the future he will pay for his sport in being confronted with other social phenomena arising from it, that he will find it impossible to deal with by the old methods of parliamentary humbug and chicane by which he has so often triumphed over more pliable and credulous but less determined political adversaries.—New York Call.

#### WHO IS TO BLAME FOR CHILD LABOR?

A poor man who would take his sixth child to the street and there use the curbstone as an instrument for murder would be condemned by every woman and every man and every child.

A mother who wanders the streets with a baby hopelessly seeking assistance finally gives up and the baby is quietly and quickly smothered; and every man and every woman and every child condemn the act.

The child, the recipient of the violence, has taken no part in forming the code of ethics condemning the parents. The crime is so plain, so concrete that the act and the results can be seen at once. No one need look for causes—murder is murder. The criminal, self-confessed, has no defense. Simple, isn't it? Kill them, they are murderers without a defense.

One of every five children die unnecessarily from one cause or another. Every day they are starved and poisoned. Every day they die because of the insane conditions whereby some reap riches at the expense of child life.

Is the father and the curbstone more inhuman? He sacrifices but one, while society kills them by the score for the greater glorification of our twin gods, Plunder and Profit.

- One is wholesale murder.
- One is individual murder.
- One is punished.
- One is condoned.

From the standpoint of the murdered (what other point of view can possibly be taken?) what difference is there in the crime? From the social point of view the greater crime is the social murder.

Is not the adulterer of goods, the builder of cheap tenements, the maker of shoddy fabrics, the exploiter of the parents' health and strength, the social murderers?

They are forced through extreme competition in order to keep their goods upon the market to substitute and adulterate and exploit. The parent, through dire want and infamous poverty commits his crime, wrong as it may be. Both are crimes. Either is the end product of an over-worked social system.

- One crime implicates a multitude.
- One destroys but one.

Both are social murders and from the standpoint of the child, is there any doubt as to which is the most barbarous crime, and who the more depraved criminal? Is there any doubt at all?

The young always seek shelter from the elder. If the necessities for its well-being are denied and the child dies, does it matter—just how? The child dies needlessly in both cases, one because of profit and again for profit. Truly, does it matter?

- Thin cotton sold as wool?
- Locked factory doors?
- Exhausted parents?
- The curbstone?—Minnesota Socialist.

## POETICAL

### MORE CANNED CONFIDENCES.

#### Done in Doggerel During the Lucid Intervals of Old Man Trouble.

Our preacher is a noble soul; he's good an' brave an' kind,  
An' filled with holy courage fer to empty out his mind.  
Us sinners all respect him fer the way he loves the Lord  
An' the way he fights the devil an' the Socialistic hordc.  
"You've no idee," he sez to us, "how bad a Soci'list is."  
"Yer right," sez we; "We know they be; besides, they're hurtin' biz."  
"They don't believe in law," sez he, "the law the people made."  
"Let's throw 'em out," sez we to him; "they're killin' Sunday trade."  
"They're heretics," the parson cries. Sez all of us "Amen!  
We haven't put one over in the Lord knows when."

"Them Socialists," he sez to us, "has proven they is traitors  
By claimin' there is other folks besides United Staters.  
Us ministers know better and I've got a little scheme  
Fer passin' resolutions that'll make the flag supreme.  
Karl Marx wuz jest a furrener, an' Christians that is rational  
Won't stand fer any movement mixed with nothin' international."  
"Hooray!" sez we, determined that we'd down the heathen crew;  
"We'll show 'em Christianity wasn't founded by a Jew."  
"They're anti-patriots," sez he. Sez all of us "Amen!  
We haven't had a contract in the Lord knows when."

—THE CITIZEN.

### HELL.

(By J. H. Stevenson in Manford's Magazine.)

#### I.

Some people say there is a hell  
Where wicked souls are doomed to go,  
While this by others is denied,  
Who hold there is no hell below.  
I've often heard the place described  
By certain preachers in my day,  
And shook from head to foot with fear  
While they its horrors did betray.

#### II.

That such a place does not exist,  
For one I'm not prepared to say;  
Nor from the knowledge I possess,  
Can I assert the other way.  
That there's a hell or that there's not  
Is more than mortal man can know;  
And when the soul from man departs  
There's none can say where it will go.

#### III.

Were I to say there is a hell,  
Could I with proof support the plea?  
Did I allege these's no such place,  
How could I prove it so to be?  
Believe or believe it not,  
The unproved fact remains the same;  
But why should hell be made for man,  
Who know not how or whence they came?

#### IV.

If such a place has been prepared  
For erring mortals here below,  
Can His chief attribute be love,  
Who by his will ordained it so?  
'Tis sad that we are born in sin,  
And all because one Adam fell;  
And though his fall was predesigned,  
He therefore needs must go to hell.

#### V.

When man was made the Great I Am  
Approvingly the work surveyed;  
And perfect by the Maker's hand,  
In God's own image he was made.  
But lest he perfect should remain,  
A tree was planted by on high;  
With this injunction—eat thereof,  
And on that day thou wilt surely die.

#### VI.

"Believe it not," a serpent said,  
"Partake thereof and thou shalt see;  
That it is good for man to eat,  
The fruit that grew upon that tree."  
Then Eve, as if not satisfied  
With all that in the garden grew,  
By way of dessert had to go  
And eat the cursed apple too.

#### VII.

Then Adam, like a simpleton,  
To make his ordained fall complete;  
Advised by Eve naught else would do  
But he must take the fruit and eat.  
And then when asked what he had done,  
By one who brought him into life;  
Like many men of later days,  
He laid the blame upon his wife.

#### VIII.

Had Adam disregarded Eve,  
And let the fruit with her remain,  
How happy now we all might be,  
And hell would have been made in vain.

But this, of course, would never do—  
The Great Creator had a plan;  
And long before the world was made  
Had foreordained the fall of man.

## IX.

When man had lost his first estate  
'Twas part of the eternal scheme;  
That God should send his only Son,  
Whose death the guilty should redeem.  
What else could Adam do than eat  
The fruit that grew upon that tree?  
Since such was foreordained by Him  
Who was, and is, and is to be.

## X.

Then no excuse could palliate,  
Or gain for him a short reprieve;  
Divine command he disobeyed,  
And now his sentence should receive:  
"Thou hast tasted of forbidden fruit  
And here no longer shalt thou dwell;  
And for thy disobedient act,  
Thee from this garden I expel.

## XI.

"And for thy sake cursed is the ground,  
And henceforth be it understood,  
That thorns and thistles it shall yield,  
And herbs shall be thy daily food.  
And to the earth shalt thou return,  
Out of which thou hast been taken.  
For thou art nothing more than dust;  
To dust shalt thou return again.

## XII.

"From this delightful garden here,  
Thee, I will banish with thy wife;  
I'll keep thee out with flaming sword,  
Lest thou shouldst eat the tree of life."  
Then from the garden they were sent  
To find some other place to dwell;  
But in the sentence there pronounced,  
God did not even mention hell.

## XIII.

One thousand years, or nearly so,  
Did Adam on the earth reside;  
And when he could no longer live  
The good old man laid down and died.  
And thus from earth he disappeared,  
And where he went there's none can tell;  
Did he return to kindred dust,  
Or did he find his way to hell?

## XIV.

Four thousand years from Adam's time  
One Virgin Mary did conceive,  
And unto her a babe was born  
To save all those who do believe,  
Then to the earth a Savior came  
Who died a ransom for us all;  
But till he came what did become  
Of all who died since Adam fell?

## XV.

What Savior died to ransom them?  
Whose blood washed out their guilty stains?  
If goats and kids sufficed for them,  
Why should for us the lamb be slain?  
To them were given for a guide  
The law Divine, and Prophets, too.  
If these were all sufficient then,  
Why not suffice for me and you?

## XVI.

But Christ was born whose blood alone  
The guilty sinner can reclaim;  
Yet millions of the human race  
Have never even heard his name.  
When from this earth they pass away  
Where shall they find a place to dwell?  
Because they never heard of Christ  
Must they forever rest in hell?

## XVII.

Ah, surely not if God is love,  
No loving father would decree  
His child to everlasting flames,  
However ering it might be.  
But do the wicked of this world,  
Who unrepent yield the strife,  
Sit side by side in Paradise  
With those who led a spotless life?

## XVIII.

'Tis not for mortal man to say  
What God alone may have designed;  
And what's beyond the silent tomb  
Is not revealed to human mind.  
If from the first God had a son  
Who should, to save mankind, descend,  
How he could be of woman born,  
Is something I don't comprehend.

## XIX.

Should I take reason for my guide,  
The greatest power at my command,  
Why God should have prepared a hell  
Is something I don't understand.  
But should I reason cast aside,  
Like ship betossed I then should be,  
With sail and helm and compass lost,  
Adrift upon the stormy sea.

## XX.

God is the Father of us all,  
With him there's no dividing line;  
And Heathen, Pagan, Christian, Jew,  
All share his boundless love divine.  
If he, a Savior, had prepared,  
Who should for sinful man atone,  
Why should four thousand years have passed  
Before that Savior was made known?

## XXI.

But why should they not, knowing Christ,  
When they shall have passed beyond the grave,  
Escape the punishment of hell,  
If he alone can only save?  
And what is life? the principle  
That God installed in you and me,  
By which the powers we possess  
Are brought into activity.

## XXII.

And what is death? The end of life,  
A sleep of long, unbroken peace,  
When all our senses take their flight  
And all our active powers cease.  
But is there no hereafter then?  
No Heaven alone? No burning Hell?  
When we are laid beneath the sod  
Is there no place where spirits dwell?

## XXIII.

Heaven is hope beyond the grave  
That comforts mortals here below,  
But that there is a burning hell  
I can't believe that it is so.  
If racking pain, heart-rending grief,  
The sufferings mortals undergo,  
If want and sorrow, strife and tears,  
And untold wretchedness and woe.

## XXIV.

If these are not sufficient hell  
To satisfy a loving God,  
Can he be merciful who would  
Still punish with severer rod?  
Of this I'm sure, we nothing lose  
By doing all the good we can;  
Nor will it make our chances worse  
To love and help our fellowman.

## XXV.

What lies beyond this vale of tears  
To mortal man is not made known;  
And when we die our destiny  
Is only known to God alone.  
'Tis not within the power of man  
Beyond this mystic veil to see;  
But if there's no such place as hell,  
For some, perhaps, there ought to be.

## A MISSPENT LIFE.

I am standing on the threshold of eternity at last,  
As reckless of the future as I have been of the past;  
I am void of all ambition, I am dead to every hope,  
The coil of life is ended and I'm letting go the rope.

I have drifted down the stream of life till weary, sore, oppressed,  
And I'm tired of the motion and simply want a rest;  
I have tasted all the pleasures that life can hold for man.  
I've scanned the whole world over till there's nothing left to scan.

I have heard the finest music, I have read the rarest books,  
I have drunk the purest vintage and tasted all the cooks;  
I have run the scale of living and sounded every one,  
So there's nothing left to live for and I long to be alone.

Alone and unmolested, where the vultures do not rave,  
And the only refuge left me is the placid, quiet grave;  
I am judge and jury mingled, and the verdict that I give  
Is minus friends and money—it is foolishness to live.

In a day or two my body will be found out in the lake,  
The coroner will get a fee, the printer get a "take."  
The casual verdict, "Suicide from causes unknown,"  
And Golgotha draws another blank—a mound without a stone.

To change the usual verdict I will give the reason now,  
Before the rigid seal of death is stamped upon my brow;  
'Tis the old familiar story of passion, love and crime,  
Repeated through the ages since Cleopatra's time—

A woman's lips, a woman's eyes—a siren all in all,  
A modern Circe, fit to cause the strongest man to fall;  
A wedded life, some blissful years, and poverty drops in,  
With care and doubt and liquor, from whisky down to gin.

The story told by Tolstoi, in comparison with mine,  
Is moonlight unto sunlight, as water unto wine;  
The jealous pangs I suffered, the hideous nights of woe,  
I pray no other mortal may ever undergo.

But I've said enough, I fancy, to make the reasons plain  
Enough to show the cause of shattered heart and brain;  
What wonder, then, that life holds not a single thread to bind  
A wish or hope to live for, an interest in mankind!

Already dead, but breathing—a fact that I regret—  
A man without desire now, excepting to forget;  
And since there is denied me one, why should I linger here,  
A dead leaf from the forest of a long-forgotten year?

So, au revoir, old cronies! If there's a meeting place beyond,  
I'll let you know in spirit, and I know you will respond;  
I'm going now, old comrades, to heaven or to hell,  
I'll let you know which shortly—farewell, a long farewell!

—The Scrantonian.

# Directory of Local Unions and Officers—Western Federation of Miners.

### OFFICERS

CHAS. H. MOYER, President.....605 Railroad Bldg., Denver, Colo.  
 C. E. MAHONEY, Vice President.....605 Railroad Bldg., Denver, Colo.  
 ERNEST MILLS, Secretary-Treasurer.....605 Railroad Bldg., Denver, Colo.  
 JNO. M. O'NEILL, Editor Miners' Magazine, 605 Railroad Bldg., Denver, Colo.

### EXECUTIVE BOARD

J. C. LOWNEY.....450 North Idaho Street, Butte, Montana  
 YANCO TERZIOH.....605 Railroad Bldg., Denver, Colo.  
 DAN D. SULLIVAN.....112 W. Broadway, Butte, Montana  
 FRANK BROWN.....Globe, Arizona.

### LIST OF UNIONS

No.	Name	Meet'g Night	President	Secretary	Box	P. O.	Address
<b>ALASKA</b>							
109	Douglas Island	Wed	A. Lillestrand	F. L. Alstrom	188	Douglas	
162	Ketchikan	Thurs	H. R. Raffleson	G. E. Paup		Sulzer	
240	Nome	Sat	Jens Madsen	A. S. Embre	209	Nome	
193	Tanana M. W.	Tues	Emil Pozza	Daniel McCabe		Fairbanks	
188	Valdez	Tues	Geo. Wagner	C. F. McCallum	252	Valdez	
<b>ARIZONA</b>							
106	Bisbee	Sun	R. A. Campbell	E. J. MacCoshen	2178	Bisbee	
77	Chloride	Wed	Fred Berndt	C. A. Parisia	53	Chloride	
89	Crown King	Sat	Eric Bloom	O. A. Tyler	30	Crown King	
150	Douglas M & S		D. J. Debb		166	Douglas	
60	Globe	Tues	P. C. Renaud	A. J. Bennett	1809	Globe	
116	Hualapai	Sat	H. W. Trembley	J. E. Allen		Stockton Hill	
79	Jerome	Thurs	Wm. J. Grey	James Presley	725	Jerome	
118	McCabe	Sat	Jas. E. O'Brian	A. E. Comer	30	McCabe	
70	Miami M. U.	Wed	H. T. Gregory	Edwin Casson	836	Miami	
228	Pinto Creek	Wed	Frank Lyon	J. A. Gibson		Bellevue	
124	Snowball	Thurs	F. A. Shuck	C. S. Proestel	446	Goldroad	
156	Swansea	Thurs	R. A. Brooks	Henry Wischmeyer	66	Swansea	
110	Tiger	Thurs	Fred Erickson	F. A. Barnard	13	Harrington	
<b>BRIT. COLUMBIA</b>							
216	Britannia		Neil Haney	A. C. Webb		Vancouver	
<b>CALIFORNIA</b>							
180	Grand Forks	Wed	Wilson Fleming	J. N. Currie	M	Grand Forks	
22	Greenwood	Sat	Fred Axam	Bert de Wiele	124	Greenwood	
161	Hedley M & M	Wed	O. M. Stevens	T. R. Willey	375	Hedley	
69	Kaslo	Sat	Thomas Doyle	L. A. Lemon	391	Kaslo	
100	Kimberly	Sat	E. C. Hines	M. P. Villeneuve		Kimberly	
119	Lardeau	1st Sat	Ernest Garrett	Chas. H. Short	12	Ferguson	
96	Nelson	Sat	C. Harmon	Frank Phillips	106	Nelson	
8	Phoenix	Sat	Q. Work	Doney Vignaux	294	Phoenix	
181	Portland Canal		Dan Bartholomew	Cas Davis		Stewart	
38	Rossland	Wed	Samuel Stevens	Herbert Varcoe	421	Rossland	
81	Sandon	Sat	Ronald Stonier	A. Shilland	8	Sandon	
95	Silverton	Sat	Chas. Isevor	Fred Liebscher	85	Silverton	
62	Slocan City		D. B. O'Neil		90	Slocan City	
113	Texada	Sat	B. E. Thornton	T. T. Rutherford		Van Anda	
105	Trail M & S	Mon	R. P. Moore	J. A. MacKinnon	26	Trail	
85	Ymir	Wed	A. Burgees	W. B. McIsaac	506	Ymir	
<b>CALIFORNIA</b>							
185	Amador Co. M. M.	Fri	J. M. O'Conner	James Giambruno		Sutter Creek	
61	Bodie	Tues	James Paull	J. M. Donohue	5	Bodie	
55	Calaveras	Wed	W. E. Thompson	W. S. Reid	27	Angel's Camp	
141	French Gulch	Sat	T. J. Simpson	Wm Maguire	127	French Gulch	
90	Grass Valley	Fri	Stephen Jones	C. W. Jenkins	193	Grass Valley	
91	Grass Valley						
169	Graniteville	Fri	T. H. Brockington	W. J. Martin	497	Grass Valley	
99	Hart	Tues	W. E. Kyle	A. C. Travis	5	Graniteville	
174	Kennett	Thurs	Chas. Fransen	J. M. Snorf	37	Hart	
93	Nevada City	Wed	Geo. Simington	H. C. Evans	7	Kennett	
44	Randsburg	Sat	Thos. Haddy	Wm. Angwin	76	Nevada City	
211	Skidoo	Thurs	J. Delany	E. M. Arandall	245	Randsburg	
73	Tuolumne	Thurs	Frank Moore	T. Zeigler	358	Skidoo	
127	Wood's Creek	Sat	John Peepo	Ed. Climo	101	Stent	
			Fred Daniels	O. L. Anthony	16	Chinese Camp	
<b>COLORADO</b>							
64	Bryan	Sat	Jas. Penaluna	James Spurrier	82	Ophir	
142	Castle Rock M & S					Salida	
33	Cloud City	Mon	Owen Lane	Abe Waldron	3	Leadville	
20	Creede	Fri	Cash Powers	Geo. Fultz	543	Creede	
234	Cripple Creek D U	Wed	Wm. Nolan	John Turney		Victor	
56	Central City	Thurs	J. W. Driscoll	John Gorman	537	Central City	
130	Dunton	Sat	Chas. A. Goble	Robt B Lippincott	9	Dunton	
41	Eight Hr. M & S U		Tony Poblasco	M. M. Hickey	933	Denver	
86	Garfield	Sat	James Smith	Jno. N. Murphy	452	Salida	
197	La Platta M. U.			A. J. Stephens		Mancos	
48	Nederland	Tues	E. C. Payne	Hans Nelson	3	Nederland	
15	Ouray	Sat	John Kneisler	A. M. Pryor	1111	Ouray	
63	Pitkin County	Tues	Willis Hayner	Geo. W. Smith	1019	Aspen	
43	Pueblo S. Union		Steve Carlino	Sam G. Ferraro	755	Pueblo	
36	Rico	Sat	John A. Shaver	Harry E. Fry	470	Rico	
185	Rockvale	Sat	Jim Bertolli	French Faoro	50	Rockvale	
26	Silverton	Sat	Ernest Allen	C. R. Waters	168	Silverton	
63	Telluride	Wed	Chris Johns	B. B. Shute	278	Telluride	
198	Trinidad	Sun	Robt. Chlich	Mike Livoda	387	Trinidad	
59	Ward	Fri	Lew Nichols	J. D. Orme	126	Ward	
<b>IDAHO</b>							
10	Burke	Fri	John Powers	Owen McCabe	158	Burke	
53	De Lamar	Mon	James H. Hore	Wm. Coombs	19	De Lamar	
11	Gem	Tues	Chas. Goranson	Ed. Erickson	117	Gem	
9	Mullan	Sat	A. H. Carver	Richard Chesnutt	30	Mullan	
66	Silver City	Sat	John T. Ward	Henry Olson	67	Silver City	
45	Murray	Sat	Edw. C. Schmidt	Walter Keister	124	Murray	
17	Wallace	Sat	Geo. Brownlow	Sam Kilburn	107	Wallace	
<b>KANSAS</b>							
237	Dearing S. U.		George Morrison	Geo. W. Morrison	146	Collinsville	
239	Pittsburg S. U.					Pittsburg	
238	Altoona S. U.		John Morrison	W. J. Green		Altoona	
227	Caney S. U.	Tues	W. R. Frick	B. Hobson	74	Caney	
<b>KENTUCKY</b>							
245	Crugs M. U.			Henry C. Gregory		Owingsville	
<b>MICHIGAN</b>							
214	Amasa, M. W.	2-4 Su	Victor Peltonen	John Kivimaki	184	Amasa, Mich.	
204	Bessemer	Wed	Matti Kevari	H. B. Snellman	381	Bessemer	
203	Copper	Suam	W. M. Wilkinson	John E. Auttila	26	Calumet	
196	Crystal Falls	1st & 3d Sun	Ivari Maki	Axel Kolinen	K	Crystal Falls	
200	Hancock Copper	Sun	John W. Steinback	Carl E. Hietala	217	Hancock	
177	Iron Mountain			Axel Fredrickson	323	Iron Mountain	
153	Ironwood		Lorenco Verbos	Emar Tossava	13	Ironwood	
222	Ishpeming	Sat	Chas. Cowling	Ed. Harper		Ishpeming	
215	Mass City M. U.	1st & 3d Sun	John Aro	Jacob Vainioupaa	91	Mass City	
128	Negaunee	Sun	Antti Luttinen	John Maki Labor	Tem	ple Negaunee	
209	Palatka	Sun	Luis Belletti	Fahle Burman	441	Iron River	
176	Princeton M. W.	Sun	William Gishia	Alex Alexon	185	Gwinn	
196	South Range	Sat	Hyalmar Siivonen	Henry Kaski	202	South Range	
233	Winthrop M. W.	Mon	John Jantaas	Thos. Clayton	74	National Mine	
155	Hibbing M. U.			H. W. Riiponen		Hibbing	

### LIST OF UNIONS

No.	Name	Meet'g Night	President	Secretary	Box	P. O.	Address
<b>MISSOURI</b>							
231	Bonne Terre		Wm. Wenson	Fred Wright		Bonne Terre	
221	Carterville M. U.		Jas. A. Housman	Geo. Robertson		231 Carterville	
229	Desloge	Sat	F. M. Monroe	John Thurman	538	Desloge	
230	Doe Run	Thurs	James Mitchell	W. E. Williams		Doe Run	
242	Elvins M. M.		Del Cole	Rufus Blacklayk	236	Elvins	
225	Flat River	Mon	J. S. Larned	J. L. Johnson	574	Flat River	
	Fredricktown M & S		L. D. Owen	F. Z. Guettar			
249	Herculeanum						
217	Joplin	Thurs	H. M. Meng	A. L. Hill	123	Herculeanum Joplin	
			O. L. Bailey	John A. Lackay			
236	Leadwood	Tues	M. H. Mathes	E. M. Davis	191	Leadwood	
192	Mine La Motte M U		D. L. Abby	Floyd Rogers		Mine La Motte	
232	Prosperity		Sam Blackledge	D. A. Johnson	27	Prosperity	
226	Webb City		O. E. Paxton	C. W. Bonner	323	Webb City	
219	Zinc Lodge			I. M. Sidenstircker		Neck City	
<b>MONTANA</b>							
117	Anaconda M & S	Fri	Bernard McCarthy	Martin Judge	473	Anaconda	
57	Aldridge	Wed	Alex Hynd	Theo. Brockman	121	Electric	
23	Basin	Wed	Henry Berg	D. R. McCord	156	Basin	
7	Belt Mountain	Tues	Fred Maxwell	Carl Schenck	57	Neihart	
1	Butte	Tues	George Curry	M. J. Cleary	1407	Butte	
			Rec. Sec. Joe Little	Sec. Treas.			
83	Butte Engineers	Wed	H. A. Kinney	A. C. Dawe	229	Butte	
191	Corbin M & M	Wed	Al Smithger	James Belcher	3	Corbin	
157	Elkorn	Tues	Joseph O'Brien	Jas. Williams	12	Elkorn	
82	Garnet	Tues	Nels Sedin	Michael Miller		Garnet	
4	Granite	Tues	Romeo Saurer	Al. Hollander	280	Phillipsburg	
16	Great Falls M & S	Tues	John Loughlin	A. B. Pettigrew	1720	Great Falls	
175	Iron Mountain			John McMullan		Supersor	
107	Judith Mountain	Sat	M. M. Dryden	W. G. Allen	114	Maiden	
112	Maryville M. U.		T. J. Shea	Barney Moran		Maryville	
138	Mt. Helena	Sat	Jas. Taylor	Geo. Sutherland	453	Helena	
111	North Moccasin	Sat	Frank Roben	E. J. Holder	68	Kendall	
131	Pony M & M	1-3 Sa	E. M. Freeman	J. F. Milligan	206	Pony	
120	Radersburg	Mon	Ed. Slavins	John T. Taylor	137	Radersburg	
208	Ruby L & DW	2nd & 4th Sat	Louis Miller	O. O. Sweeney		Ruby	
25	Winston		Ben Stabler	Fred Slavens	A	Winston	
190	Zortman	Tues	Peter Rush	Raymond Snow		Zortman	
<b>NEVADA</b>							
30	Austin	Wed	Ed Ingram	O. P. Bakka	8	Austin	
252	Blair M & M		Jas. Ardetto	J. R. Funkhouser	83	Blair	
235	Bonanza	Sat	A. J. Gingles	J. B. Williams	14	Rhyolite	
246	Bullion	Tues	Wm. Kidd	Al Morgan		Hilltop	
265	Eureka	Tnur	William Gibson	J. H. Jerry	18	Eureka	
243	Fairview	Wed	William Dunne	J. A. Hurdon	26	Fairview	
54	Gold Hill	Thurs	James McKinley	F. L. Clark	115	Gold Hill	
251	Lane	Thurs	John Gavin	Jno. N. MacGuire	38	Kimberly	
261	Lyon & Ormsby Co	2d & 4th Mon	Hugh Farley	Henry S. Rice		Mound House	
248	Lucky Boy	Thurs	Wm. McCaul	Paul B. Missiner	87	Lucky Boy	
241	Manhattan	Tues	Frank Crews	Wm. O'Brien	158	Manhattan	
262	Mason	d Fri	B. G. Smith	John T. Moore	95	Mason	
264	Millers	Wed	F. F. Duprey	Joe Hutchinson	5	Millers	
254	National	Sat	J. G. Westberg	H. J. Martin		National	
263	Pioche	Mon		W. B. Martin		Pioche	
179	Olinghouse Canon	Thurs	B. Duncan	C. A. Carmiencke		Olinghouse	
244	Rawhide	Fri		V. C. Timson	44	Rawhide	
247	Round Mountain	Fri	R. J. Ryan	Geo. Reinmiller	F	Round M'tn	
164	Searchlight	Thurs	Frank Hoine	Chas. Owens	71	Searchlight	
92	Silver City	Tues	Jacob Holm	J. W. Hickey	72	Silver City	
253	Silver Peak	Tues	Joe Gynot	J. S. Norman	90	Blair	
233	Steptoe M & S	Mon	Lee Pearson	Edw. A. Redwanz	338	McGill	
121	Tonopah	Tues	Alex Main	Thos. McManus	11	Tonopah	
31	Tuscarora	Wed	Ben Trembeth	W. I. Plumb	67	Tuscarora	
256	Vernon	Fri	Jerry Sullivan	W. J. Bick	2	Mazuma	
46	Virginia	Fri	M. A. Holcombe	Wm. O'Leary	1	Virginia City	
250	Wonder M. U.	Fri	A. A. Smith	J. K. Henderson		Wonder	
<b>NEW JERSEY</b>							
266	Franklin Fur. M. S		Mark Sedusky	Mike Zagarsky	Fra	nklin Furnace	
<b>NEW MEXICO</b>							
32	Mogollon M U		H. A. Amott	C. A. Eckert	1	Mogollon	
<b>OKLAHOMA</b>							
132	Bartlesville M & S	Mon	Jos. Irick	Wm. Ransom	515	421 Cheyenne	
<b>ONTARIO</b>							
146	Cobalt	Sun	H. A. Emdin	A. Nap Gauthier	446	Cobalt	
140	Elk Lake	Sun	Albert Pardon	Len Wyatt	348	Elk Lake	
154	Gowganda	Sun	Nicholas King	Pat Dwyer	610	Gowganda	
145	Porcupine, M. U.	Sun	James Dogue	Jas. D. Cluney	521	So. Porcupine	
148	Silver Center	Sun	H. J. Murphy	Jos. E. Redmond		Silver Center	
<b>OREGON</b>							
186	Cornucopia	Sat	M. A. Christensen	Chris Schneider	6	Cornucopia	
42	Bourne		C. B. Shaw	J. N. Gamba		Bourne	
<b>SOUTH DAKOTA</b>							
3	Central City	Sat	E. Flow	Jas. Barss	23	Central City	
21	Copper Mt. M & S		Henry S. Poole			Hill City	
84	Custer	Fri	Glen Peterson	George Thomson		Custer	
14	Deadwood M & M	Thurs	M. Connelly	M. J. Foley	337	Deadwood	
68	Galena	Wed	Chas. Larson	J. H. Gardner	51	Galena	
2	Lead	Mon	Wm. Christiansen	Thos. J. Ryan		Lead City	
19	Maitland M & M	Thurs	John Sanford	J. A. Sanford		Maitland	
5	Terry Peak	Wed	John Pearson	J. C. May	174	Terry	
<b>UTAH</b>							
159	Alta M. U.		Maurice Walsh	Jno. Edenstrom		Alta	
67	Bingham	Sat	Wm. Jurgens	E. G. Locke		N Bingham Cn.	
201	Salt Lake M & S	Tues					

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BONNE TERRE, MISSOURI.

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user to enjoy hot coffee, tea, soup, stew, etc., in connection with the regular lunch. Is especially adapted for every **WORKINGMAN** or woman, also for school children; it is light, strong and very easy to carry and gives the user a beneficial and sanitary lunch which everybody cannot help but appreciate.

Size of outfit, 11x8x3 1/2 inches. Price, \$2.50, charges prepaid.

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1474 MYRTLE AVE., BROOKLYN, N. Y.

**PROGRESS VS. FREEDOM.**

It is a long way from the naked root-digger clawing the earth with his hands and nails, yet the wild-eyed root-digger enjoyed a certain freedom that we have not dreamed of in this age of liberty and may have heard such music in his soul as the modern agriculturist, amid the whirr and click of his reapers and binders, never heard.

From the cave dweller, with his dried skins, his arrow heads and his few utensils of stone, it is a long way to the Oriental, with his manifold works of hand wrought and woven through years of patience. It is a long way from the Oriental to the Occidental with his multiplicity of inventions and infinitude of manufacturers. Yet the cave dweller had a simplicity of life unknown in this age of luxury and labor-saving devices; and the Oriental may have woven with rich dyed strands into his life-long task such thought as will never dawn upon the mind of the mill hand tending a pattern of a day upon a hundred looms.

It is a long way from the foot path of the jungle to the Roman road, and a long way from the Roman road to the modern railway. Yet the dusky savage walked the primeval forests, self-poised and with a dignity of manhood that is seldom seen in this age of fast travel; and the hero in his chariot upon the rough Roman road had a consciousness of triumphant power such as the screech and clang of the locomotive will never bring us as we glide over the polished steel.

In agriculture, in manufactures, in transportation, in all that tends to material greatness and the accumulation of wealth, great has been our advance. In the last generation we have rushed on at a pace that has made us giddy. Our performances are stupendous, but our motives are mercenary. We involve the chemist for a fertilizer by which we may get more bushels out of an acre; the geologist to discover the biggest paying vein. And what are the wonders of plant and animal life to us as we devastate the forest for richer lands; or the history of creation written in strata as we desecrate the mountains turning the world inside out to grasp its treasure?

We raise a city as in a night upon the prairie; but we demand nothing of our architects but height and windows that we may crowd the greatest number of toilers upon the least ground and give them light to work by for us.

We weave meshes of wires about our streets to carry our thoughts around

the world or our bodies about the town, and in the glare of the arc light and amid the clang of the trolley gongs we buzz about like flies ensnared in the web of this power that has fascinated us. We bind the continents with hoops of steel and travel in a flying palace from ocean to ocean at a speed beyond the power of man or beast. We run almost hourly boats upon schedule time in ferries across the once trackless ocean, and these monsters are perhaps the highest examples of man's ingenuity. We have actually spun metallic threads around the earth, and flash a message around the globe in the throb of a heart-beat. We have conquered the globe upon which we live, with Alexander the Great, for more worlds to conquer, and consider how to signal the inhabitants of Mars.

What a contrast between the caravan of old, crawling across the desert; and the train of today, rushing across the hemisphere! Yet the naked soldier bearing aloft his branch of laurel and running with the news of battle of Marathon to Athens, and staggering to his death with the one word, "Victory!" upon his lips, was something finer.

In our day and generation we have gained much in material things, but the emotion of idea that has no commercial value is not in demand today. We moderns are machines for making money, automatons adjusted to that purpose, some performing better than others. Wound up and started afresh each morning to perform this function, there is little power left toward the end of the day for the pursuit of knowledge, the amenities of life or the ceremonial of society. And the strangest thing about our work and habit is, that what absorbs our time and energies is rarely a matter of choice, frequently not a matter of necessity, but the result of environment. We do what we see others doing.

We live fast. We work fast, and we die fast.—P. T. Sullivan, in the American Flint.

**AN ECHO FROM LAWRENCE.**

An echo of the strike at Lawrence is heard in a report to the Kansas City Star from New York that "a carload of children, ready for adoption, were brought to New York today." These children were not orphans. Their fathers and mothers, driven to desperation and starvation by the American Woolen Company, which reduced their wages, even though it was then paying them only a pittance of what they earned, have separated themselves from their loved ones that they may better carry on the struggle.

The children were sent to New York for temporary adoption by sympathizers with the strikers. The dispatch to the Star states:

"Three hundred of the strikers' children, some of them as young as 2 years and others almost old enough for the mills, started from Lawrence early in the morning under the convoy of William D. Haywood, executive head of the Industrial Workers of the World. There is to be a parade on Fifth avenue from the Grand Central station to Union Square. When the parade is transformed into a mass meeting at its end it will be possible for any one who can present the proper credentials to become the temporary foster parent of a child. If the 300 are taken, others will be sent here. It is estimated that there are 5,000 children in the families of the strikers on short rations in the absence of the usual income."

This is the "protection" that the workers in the woolen mills get. And who is there to propose that the government shall interest itself in their welfare? The Democrats propose a reduction of duties, which, as far as it goes, is well enough; but there they stop. The Republicans in Congress do not propose to do anything at all, save to "let well enough alone."

Yes; there is a party in Congress that proposes to do something for the textile workers. It has only one representative at the present time; but thrice armed is he whose cause is just. Congressman Berger has demanded an immediate investigation of conditions at Lawrence. The man who works for \$7 a week in the woolen mills of Massachusetts has a representative in Congress. For the first time in our history, there is a class-conscious representative of the working class at Washington. And he is heard. He is not concerned in "reasonable profits" for the trusts. He demands reasonable living conditions for the men who are doing the trusts' work, who are producing the vast annual wealth from which have been created fortunes so colossal that they stagger the imagination. He demands justice for the worker—the opportunity to create without having to divide the products of his labor with those who, owning the means of his employment, absorb the fruits of his industry.

Let the nation own the trusts and we shall hear no more of woolen mill workers in Massachusetts sending their babes to New York to escape starvation that they themselves may not be driven back to a servitude more galling than that of the chattel slaves of a former generation.—Milwaukee Leader.

**In Memoriam.**

Birmingham Canyon, Utah, May 1, 1912.

Whereas, Death has called from us Brother James Winters;

Resolved: In the death of Brother Winters, Bingham Miners Union, No. 67 W. F. M., has lost a faithful and loyal member and we sincerely sympathize with the bereaved family;

Resolved: That in honor of our brother the charter of this union be draped in mourning for thirty days and copies of these resolutions be sent to the local papers and the Miners' Magazine for publication.

FRED WATSON,  
FRED C. RAABE,  
F. J. PERRY,

(Seal)

Committee.

**IN MEMORIAM.**

Goldroad, Ariz., April 25, 1912.

Whereas, It has pleased the Divinity that shapes our ends to grant a release from earthly suffering, to our brother, J. S. Nodine; and

Whereas, As a true and loyal member of The Western Federation of Miners, he has endeared himself to all who knew him in this local; therefore be it

Resolved: That we, the members of Snowball Miners' Union No. 124, do hereby express our sense of loss in his demise; and be it further

Resolved: That we drape our charter for thirty days in respect for his memory, that a copy of these resolutions be forwarded to his widow, and that a copy be sent to The Miners' Magazine for publication.

A. E. BOTTERELL,  
C. S. PROESTEL,

(Seal)

Committee.

# Dry Climate Havana Cigars

are made in a sanitary factory by skilled union workmen.

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### James M. Brinson

Attorney at Law,  
811-814 E. & C. Bldg.,  
Phone, Main 5255. Denver, Colo.  
(Attorney for the Western Federation of Miners.)



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PRINTERS--LITHOGRAPHERS--BINDERS

1728-30 Arapahoe St., Denver, Colo.

## The Miners Magazine

WEEKLY PUBLICATION

of the

WESTERN FEDERATION OF MINERS

JOHN M. O'NEILL, Editor

Subscription Price \$1.00 A YEAR