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THE MINERS MAGAZINE

EDUCATION INDEPENDENCE ORGANIZATION

Published Weekly by the

WESTERN FEDERATION OF MINERS

Denver, Colo.
July 4
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Volume XII.
Number 471



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EDUCATION INDEPENDENCE ORGANIZATION

MINERS MAGAZINE



Denver, Colorado,
Thursday, July 4, 1912.

Volume XII., Number 471
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UNIONS ARE REQUESTED to write some communication each month for publication. Write plainly, on one side of paper only; where ruled paper is used write only on every second line. Communications not in conformity with this notice will not be published. Subscribers not receiving their Magazine will please notify this office by postal card, stating the numbers not received. Write plainly, as these communications will be forwarded to the postal authorities.

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John M. O'Neill, Editor

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

Card of the Homestake Mining Co.

Lead, S. D. 19..

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Occupation

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Signed

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Department

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

STAY AWAY FROM BLAIR, NEVADA.

WHO OWNS the palaces? The men who never performed a day's work. Who lives in hovels? The men who built the palaces.—The Critic.

SAID WENDELL PHILLIPS: "I take the thermometer of the price of English wheat and place beside it the thermometer of crime, and I find as wheat goes up or down the crime increases or diminishes."

"WHAT'S THE USE of disturbing the present system?" asked the man who had just received a quarterly dividend check of large proportions. "What's the use of keeping it as it is?" came the answering question from the man who had spent the day looking for work, but without finding it.—From Life.

GOMPERS, MITCHELL AND MORRISON have been sentenced to jail for one year, nine months and six months, respectively, for daring to enjoy their so-called constitutional rights of free speech.

The dictum of the court grows out of the opinions expressed by Gompers, Mitchell and Morrison on a boycotted firm in St. Louis. The case has been appealed to the Supreme Court of the United States for review.

THE SITUATION at Blair, Nevada, remains unchanged, and the miners and millmen are still standing as a united body against a reduction of the former wage scale.

THE MEMBERS of Craigs Miners Union No. 14, Western Federation of Miners, at Owingsville, Kentucky, are on strike for an increase in wages.

PRESIDENT MOYER of the Federation left last week for Indianapolis to attend a meeting of the Mining Department of the American Federation of Labor.

JOSEPH CANNON has been appointed a member of the executive board of the Western Federation of Miners, to fill the vacancy caused by the resignation of Frank Brown, who has accepted an appointment under the state administration of Arizona.

ORGANIZER FRAYNE of the American Federation of Labor has organized the men working in the refinery at Perth-Amboy, New Jersey, and Organizer Edward Crough of the Western Federation of Miners has gone to Perth-Amboy to bring the local union of 500 members into the jurisdiction of the Western Federation of Miners.

THE HARD TIMES have dealt most unkindly with John D. Rockefeller, and as his income is only about \$47 per minute, he has, in the interest of urgent economy, felt called upon to request the assessors of North Tarrytown to reduce the assessment on his property from \$125,000 to \$100,000. A few months ago, when ten bed-rooms were added to the house, it was announced the improvements would amount to \$1,000,000.—Labor World, Spokane.

THE EDITOR of the Miners' Magazine was called East suddenly on account of the illness of his father and was unable to return until a few hours before it was necessary to have copy for the next issue of the official organ. This accounts for the present issue of the Magazine being filled with editorials and articles taken from exchanges, in order that the Magazine would reach the press and be placed in the mails on schedule time to preserve the rights of the Magazine as second class matter.

The editor is now at his desk and will endeavor to make up in the future for loss of original matter in the present issue.

WHEN THE WAITERS were forced to strike at the Hotel Taft at New Haven, Connecticut, their places were taken by forty Yale students, who seemed to glory in playing the dishonorable rôle of strike-breakers. But the college scabs proved their dishonor by breaking into the wine rooms of the Hotel Taft and loading themselves on champagne. When these aristocratic gluttons had filled their tanks with liquid refreshments they became so boisterous that the hotel management was forced to discharge the college drunkards and the hotel management was forced to realize through stubborn facts, that scabs and strike-breakers, even though crowned as "heroes" by such men as Elliot, are as barren of manhood and honor as a brothel is of virtue.

THE INTERESTS of fleas and dogs are identical, just as much as the interests of the capitalists and laborers are. Of course, it is the flea's interest to get all the blood he can suck, and, of course, the

dog don't like it, but they ought not quarrel about that. They ought to arbitrate the matter.

Great is arbitration.

With two fleas and one dog on the board to decide just how much blood a flea is entitled to, we may be sure that the fleas will get their'n. And any dog that yowls and scratches and bites at fleas after this is a bloody Socialist and anarchists, and ought to be sent back to Oshkosh, where he came from.

Us for arbitration every time.—Memphis Social Democrat.

THE SCENE shifts from Chicago to Baltimore—from the brains and genius of capitalism to the surviving traditions of slavery.

The Democratic party should have died with the ear of the rebellion. It should have died with secession and chattel slavery. It has served no purpose since save to give shelter to organized corruption in the North and to keep alive the practices of slavery in the South.

Mr. Bryan now supplants Mr. Roosevelt as the enigma of the hour.

Mr. Bryan is a good man. Like Mr. Taft he is a man of sweet temper and clean moral life. He has endured the Democratic party in three defeats. He has seen himself sacrificed by the Tammany corruptionists, slaughtered in the Democratic wards of our great cities, and he should be under no illusions as to the character of the men who control his party's organization and live upon the proceeds of its shame.

It is, after all, of small consequence what Mr. Bryan will do to the Democratic party—the interesting question is, what the American people will permit the Democratic party to do to them. They have been pulled down by the wolves—are their bones now to be picked by the jackals?—Milwaukee Leader.

ENCOURAGED, no doubt, by the effect of "dissolution" upon the oil and tobacco trusts, the beef trust, "the greatest trust in the world," according to the magazine muckrakers, has voluntarily offered to dissolve and disintegrate, provided the government suit against it is dropped. The offer has been accepted and Mr. Wickersham has called off the proposed prosecution.

All of which means, as the press tells us, that "the beef trust admits defeat."

And let us just add to this that the beef trust has "admitted" something else, in this acknowledgement of submission; something else that it has strenuously denied for the last fifteen years.

And that is, that it was a trust of any kind.

By voluntarily suggesting dissolution, it merely confesses that all the time it denied it was a trust it was lying, and knew it.

It was lying then.

And it is lying now.

The test will come when we discover whether or not the "dissolution" brings down the price of the product and the profit of the packers.

If it doesn't, the trust will be quite ready once more to admit defeat and propose another dissolution.—New York Call.

EVERYBODY that knows anything about the inside of affairs in America knows that all there is to this contest between Taft and Roosevelt is a contest between trusts.

The steel trust and the harvester trust want to put Roosevelt over. The Standard Oil Company wants to have Taft.

That is the substance of the whole thing.

All the clamor and feeling and excitement are worked up by these opposing forces. They supply the money, get their newspapers and magazines to work, send out their agents and the gulled part of the public does the rest.

If anybody doubts that this is literally true, such a skeptic has only to ask himself one question.

Where does all the money come from that has been poured with such unexampled liberality into this fight?

Who supplies the dough that is being offered at \$1,000 a crack for Southern delegates?

Who spent \$200,000 in the Roosevelt primaries in New York City alone?

Next take a look at the men that are conducting the fight on each side.

That will settle the matter in the mind of an impartial person that ever considered the real springs of political activity in these United States.

Of course, if you want to get excited over such a fight, that is your privilege, son.

But, after all, what's the use?

Where do we come in?—Chicago Evening World.

THIS WILD MAN of ours is much concerned about his place in history.

He needn't worry.

His place in history will be with the other fakery that have imagined a vain thing.

The *coup d'etat* cast a gloom over every lover of liberty in Europe.

But even then there was dimly rising the figure of the Third Republic, and without his will the Wild Man of France was helping to proclaim it.

All things work together for good, brethren. Roosevelts, and Borahs, and Heney's, and Woodruffs, and Flinn's, and strong-arm

men, and Clarks, and Wilsons, and Murphys, and the rest—what are all but the poor little puppets of the play? Behind all is the eternal purpose that works steadily toward the ultimate goal—which is a world fit for the habitation of the divine race of man.

Glory to Man in the highest. Amen.

BUSINESS and the flag go hand in hand. This is not spoken disparagingly of the flag, for the flag is not to blame for that condition.

The old-fashioned Fourth of July celebration used to be a real patriotic occasion, but now, every one knows that the event has been commercialized to serve the same purpose of a Potlatch or a carnival—that of fleecing the rubes out of a few surplus dollars that they might have stuck around.

Likewise his patriotism, love for the flag, has been commercialized. If you doubt it, just make an examination of some of the little flags worn by many Seattleites at the present time, which are being distributed by certain business firms in the city. You will find on the back side of the little celluloid flag an advertisement of the firm distributing them. Sure, these men love the flag, just about as much as they love a billboard. They love it because it has become a good advertising medium.

Such desecration of the flag is a violation of the spirit and letter of a federal statute. But do we note any activity upon the part of the Times, Judge Hanford, the Bolo club, or even the old soldiers.

Socialists protest against the commercialization of the nation's flag. Stop it, you greedy hypocrites, stop it. You are not patriots, you are scoundrels and have made patriotism your refuge. You have sold your souls and the souls, lives and bodies of your neighbors' daughters, now you would sell your country's flag—all for the gratification of the god of profit.—Socialist Voice, Seattle.

F. D. GEORGE, after listening to an address delivered some time ago by Eugene V. Debs, paid the following glowing tribute to his matchless oratory:

"His was such an effort as baffles reporters—every word a flash of light from the enchanted castle of his own building, wherein the lookers—saw angels flit and heard the rustle of their wings. He talked of music, of poetry; he plucked flowers from the air about him and tossed them in realistic bouquets to his hearers, who reached for them as children seek the primary colors where the rainbow touches the valley; he weaved sweet charity's blossoms in garlands so true to nature that their fragrance filled the room; he took hope by the hand and bedecked her with the rarest gems that a worker in the deep mine of the English language can always bring to the festal board of thought; he pictured mercy so vividly that every father and mother present took the etching on their hearts and carried it to their homes; he swept the strings of sentiment and fragments of forgotten poems came waving in softest sounds upon the ears of the old, whose eyes filled with tears over the long ago. He recited poetry masterfully and effectively; he quoted Scripture reverently; he shot out epigrams straight as the winged arrow in its flight. Neither abusive nor violent in manner or speech, his invincible skill in argument, his incisive style, his fine imagery, facts, figures, incidents, historic data and precedent stream forth in opulent variety. His metaphors and embellishments are as fine as they are apt. Altogether the literary excellence of his address, the eloquence of his utterance, the magic of his voice, the magnetism of his presence, the earnestness of his plea, the bigness of his heart, are well nigh overwhelming."

BRUSHING AWAY legal cobwebs with the sturdy common sense which frequently marks British decisions, the members of the judicial committee of the Privy Council have disposed once and for all of the pernicious contention that non-resident families of the victims of accidents in British Columbia could not claim compensation.

In this case is synonymous with justice. The wife in Scotland or Germany, in Nova Scotia or France, suffers just as much loss when her bread-winner is killed as the wife in British Columbia who has had at least the poor consolation of looking a last time on the form stilled by death.

Nay more, for she fails to receive the aid and comfort of friends and neighbors whose immediate and possibly personal knowledge of the accident has evoked their warmest sympathies.

But the decision secures justice not only for the widows and orphans, but also those workers who have made British Columbia their home.

Workmen's compensation is no small tax, unfortunately, on many industries, a tax, however, which we contend they ought to bear just as they bear the charges for fire insurance and other losses.

If, then, by employing men who have left their wives and families in other parts of the world, employers could avoid this expense where a man was killed outright, we should find that the fact that a man was married and had his family here with him would militate against his obtaining work and would bring into existence a class of employes who would have no interest in the province whatever beyond the contents of their pay envelopes.

The quibble, for it was a quibble, seeing that the Legislature intended that no distinction should be made, was disposed of by the judge in the court of first instance, but a higher court took another view of it, the view which the Privy Council has effectually disposed of.—Vancouver World.

IN OUR SCHOOL-BOY DAYS we often heard on the play ground, shouted from some boy to his playmates, the terse statement, "You're a liar." No attempt was made by the other to disprove the statement; but the reply came back with like terseness, "You're another"; oblivious to the admission the reply contained.

The Tampa Times' quotation of some of the Philistines "definitions" of Socialism reminds one of this. The Times says the Philistine says:

Socialism is a plan by which the inefficient, irresponsible, in effective, unemployed and unworthy will thrive without industry, persistence or economy.

Socialists have made this charge against capitalism and have proved it. The young millionaire class is a standing demonstration of it; and its Harry Thaws are conspicuous examples of its fruits.

Apologists for capitalism, unable to dispute the charge, shout back in the terms of the foregoing definition, "You're another."

The Times says the Philistine says: "Socialism is participation in profits without responsibility for defects."

Socialists have charged capitalism with taking all the profits and leaving the laborer nothing but deficits; and have proved it.

Apologists for capitalism, unable to dispute the charge, shout back in terms of this alleged definition, although a little fainter than in the first instance, "You're another."

The Times says the Philistine says: "Socialism is an arrangement for destroying initiative, invention, creation and originality."

Socialists have accused capitalism of this and proved it. Not only have they shown that nine out of every ten inventors are starved into giving their patent away after having starved for years in perfecting the inventions; but they give instances of great capitalistic concerns like the Westinghouse trust that has a grewsome graveyard in which it buries all of the inventions that would necessitate improvements in their lines of manufacture, after having by hook or crook, beaten the inventor out of them.

Apologists for capitalism, not being able to answer this, shout back in the terms of this alleged definition, "You're another."—Florida Beacon.

AS A FURTHER ILLUSTRATION of the rapid centralization of capital, New York papers announce that final steps have been taken to transfer control of all the Childs' restaurants to Standard Oil magnates, headed by H. M. Tilford and Charles Sweeney.

It appears that the Childs people got into the financial difficulties and called upon the big men in Standard Oil for help, and the latter helped themselves by securing complete possession of the Childs' business.

It is stated that the next move will be to establish Childs restaurants in every city of importance in the country, somewhat along the line of policy followed by the tobacco trust magnates in starting cigar stores, and the steel trust capitalists in pushing the Ward bread business, which they control.

Oil is now used in many ways in the preparation of food and in candy and sugar manufacturing, and the Standard men figure on making enormous profits by using their own oil products and by purchasing meats, vegetables, etc., in carload lots.

When a restaurant is started in a given locality where others exist, the plan is to drop prices to a point where small competitors, who are compelled to pay higher rates for supplies, may be driven to the wall, and after securing a clear field there again will be gradual advances in the cost of food.

This is the usual trust method of doing business and has resulted in the accumulation of wealth on the part of a few so rapidly as to stagger the imagination, while small business people have been bankrupted and the workers in the trustified industries are utterly cowed and demoralized and in a condition little better than slavery.

The incomes of the trust magnates have become so enormous, and manufacturing and transportation activities have been so largely trustified, that the great captains of industry are now forced to turn their attention to retail business to invest their surplus capital.

As Marx pointed out, this is the final stage in the evolution of the capitalistic system from competition to monopoly.

It is all a very natural development and, barring the fact that a great deal of suffering accompanies the change, there is no need to rail against the inevitable, for happily the time is coming mighty fast when people will bury their unnecessary and foolish prejudices and take over and operate collectively the monopolies and trusts for the benefit of all instead of a small minority of plutocrats.—Cleveland Citizen.

Notice to Delegates

DELEGATES to the Twentieth Annual Convention of the Western Federation of Miners, to be held at Victor, Colorado, should secure their tickets via Colorado Springs, instead of via Florence, Colorado. Delegates from British Columbia and Pacific Coast points, including Spokane, can secure special rates to Colorado Springs, \$55 for round trip, and if tickets are not on sale from starting point, the agent will advise from which point such rates can be obtained.

Tourist rates can be taken advantage of from most all points to Colorado Springs.

Delegates from western points desiring to visit the headquarters at Denver can do so without further cost by having their tickets read

Denver as destination, with stop-over at Colorado Springs. Also delegates from the South, coming via Pueblo.

Delegates from the East and Northeast points should have their tickets read Colorado Springs as destination, with stop-over at Denver if desired on return.

The delegates from Utah should purchase tickets via Colorado Springs, as the best routing is via Colorado Springs.

Delegates from British Columbia, Idaho, Montana, California, Nevada, Arizona and Utah, buying round trip tickets, may purchase tickets via Colorado Springs and returning via Denver; this will give them Denver as the point of destination on return.

I will advise the delegates by personal communication should any further information be obtainable. ERNEST MILLS.

One Industry; One Union—Industrial Unionism

MANY LEADERS in trades unions have been proclaiming issues in the past year by which to lead their followers to victory and control of the organizations in which they hold themselves, but few, if any, to date have made industrial unionism the issue.

The United Mine Workers of America, a year or so ago, had as its issue the Civic Federation, and took action against John Mitnell for his membership therein, and he resigned from the federation. The International Association of Machinists made a like issue in the campaign against President O'Connell, and defeated him for re-election after many years of faithful service.

The so-called progressive element in the International Typographical Union made the "Wahnet," or alleged secret organization within the organization, an issue against James M. Lynch in the recent election, and he won by only a few thousand votes.

Pressmen in different localities have petty grievances of their own arising from lockouts, strikes and wage disputes, and these members are making these grievances cause for action against President George Berry of that organization with an eye single to his defeat.

In other organizations the members are becoming restless. They seek through utterance in one way or another to express dissatisfaction with the administrations of their unions' affairs.

And the trades unions throughout the country are asking one another: "Why is Sam Gompers?" The trades unionists are asking one another what is the matter. They expect some initiatory step to be made by the head of the American Federation of Labor that will relieve the situation or put the different organizations into position whereby they will be able to fight a winning fight against the combined capitalists of the different industries. There is at present much dissatisfaction with the head of the A. F. of L. It is believed and argued that a younger and more progressive man should fill the office of president of that organization.

No organized progressive movement has as yet taken as its issue in election campaigns industrial unionism.

The Western Federation of Miners, under that old and progressive leader, Charles H. Moyer, is probably further advanced in industrial unionism than any other labor organization in the United States today. This organization requires that any person who works around or in a metalliferous mine must be a member of the Western Federation of Miners, be he miner, machinist, carpenter or laborer. This action on the part of the federation has been fought by the different international unions of the trades concerned, but the miners have won their contention.

The Brewery Workers come next in industrial unionism. The International Association of Brewery Workers require, also, that all employes in or around the plants where their members are employed shall be members of their organization; but they have only partially been successful in this demand. The engineers have a separate organization from the Brewery Workers, but they have an agreement between their internationals whereby they sign scales of wages jointly.

The two organizations named above were the pioneers in the industrial unionism movement; but numerous and disastrous reverses have taught the different trades that industrial unionism is an absolute necessity, and out of this necessity has arisen the Federation of Shop Employes on the Harriman system. This federation was plunged into a life and death struggle early last fall with the railroad captains. The managers of the different roads that go to make up the system realized that to recognize the federation would be to put a tremendous weapon into the hands of the railroad men, and they decided to fight to the death. With the aid of all other railroads in the country this battle still goes forward.

But the end is not yet in this controversy. Representatives from every road west of the Mississippi that goes to make up a system federation of shop employes met in Kansas City recently, and a federation of

federations was formed. This consolidation was made necessary by the refusal of the Harriman system to recognize the system federation, and unless a speedy settlement is made the government will be forced to step in and act as mediator in the premises.

"Industrial unionism," with the exception of political action, is the only live issue before the trade unionist to-day. In the printing trades the conditions in this respect are deplorable. There was a time when all the printing trades belonged to the International Typographical Union, but one at a time the different branches of the trade seceded until there remains but the "commercial" printer and the "newspaper" printer, consisting of linotype operators, ad men, make-ups, proof readers, and the linotype machinists in the newspapers, and those employed in doing job work in the commercial plants. The Mailers still belong to the International Typographical Union, although they have separate locals and sign separate scales of wages.

The International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union of North America is a separate international, and in Denver maintains four separate locals, the Web Pressmen (newspaper), the Printing Pressmen (cylinder pressmen in job offices), Press Assistants (feeders on cylinder presses), and Job Pressmen (those who run platen presses in job offices).

The Stereotypers and Electrotypers' Union is a separate organization. This organization maintains but one local in Denver, although it is closely allied in everything but trade relations with the Photo-Engravers, which organization also has a separate international union.

Then we have the International Brotherhood of Bookbinders, which last week held its international convention in Detroit, Michigan. This organization has two local unions in Denver—the Bookbinders and the Bindery Women.

These five international unions representing ten locals in Denver, are associated together in the International Allied Printing Trades Association for the control of the Allied Printing Trades label. The association concerns itself about little else that is of benefit to the trade.

The ten local unions are associated together in the Denver Allied Printing Trades Council and have no other authority than the control of the Allied Printing Trades label.

Outside of the five international unions named, there is the Lithographers' International Union, not affiliated with the International Allied Printing Trades Association, and the International Union of Lithographic Artists. The latter organization also has no affiliation with any of the printing trades although it is seeking recognition by the Lithographers. The Artists are one of the most skilled, and therefore one of the most independent, branches of the printing trades.

Think of it! Seven international unions and twelve local unions in the printing trades!

There is little cause for worry on the part of the bosses with this condition of affairs staring them in the face. What is needed is an organizer with the brain and sticktoitiveness to bring this disastrous secession movement together in one industrial union. This action is demanded by the rank and file in the printing trades, and their demand will not long be denied. This is the one issue in the printing trades as well as in all other industries of the country.

The leader who recognizes the issue will remain a leader; and he who stands pat on his record and allows the trade union movement to jolt along in the gutter is doomed to defeat and will soon be forgotten.

Last week two international unions of the printing trades found utterances through resolutions at their international conventions—the Stereotypers and Electrotypers and the Bookbinders. The Bookbinders passed the following resolution:

Be it Resolved, By the International Brotherhood of Bookbinders, in convention assembled, that we go on record as favoring the idea of one union of all the printing trades crafts; that all of the present organizations in the industry should be amalgamated into one industrial union; and be it further

Resolved, That our president be and is hereby instructed to present this resolution at the next meeting of the Board of Governors of the International Allied Printing Trades Association, to the end that a plan may be devised by said Board of Governors for such re-organization of the present printing trades unions into one industrial union. Such plan to be submitted by the Board of Governors to the membership of the various unions affiliated with the International Printing Trades Association for vote on its adoption or rejection; and be it further

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be transmitted to the convention of the I. P. P. & A. U., who will be in session at Hale Springs, Tennessee, next week.

Fearing that action might be too long delayed in having the above proposition accepted by the other four international unions, the Bookbinders' convention also adopted the following resolution, introduced by Delegates Harrison and Frinke of Denver:

Whereas, The International B. of B. does believe in the advancement of our craft to the highest standard in conditions and wages; therefore, be it

Resolved, By this, the thirteenth biennial convention in session assembled, that we instruct our incoming officers to use all powers at their command to bring about a uniform scale of wages in all states of the United States and Canada, and instruct all local unions in each state to use all means in their power to bring the scale in each respective state to the highest wage scale in said states, and in case of local unions wishing to improve conditions that all locals in same state shall act in conjunction each with the other to secure the same.

At San Francisco last week the Stereotypers and Electrotypers took similar action to the above resolution. It is believed that the Pressmen will take like action at their convention, now in session; and the Photo-Engravers promise to consider similar action at their forthcoming gathering.

All the "black sheep" that strayed from the parent organization are asking if they can come home. These organizations at one time were a part of the Typographical Union, and that the weaker should first feel the result of economic conditions is but natural.

And when the great Typographical Union meets at Cleveland, Ohio, in August, what will it do? The subject will be brought up in different forms; the Chicago and Denver situations will be pointed to with disgust and misgivings for the future welfare of the printing trades organizations, and the convention will vote its future. It is believed that the delegates to the Cleveland convention will not be found wanting, and that James M. Lynch will be found among the progressives that desire to progress toward closer affiliation, joint scale agreements and eventually industrial unionism.

Every move that is made in the industrial field to-day has a tendency to affiliation and consolidation. The Western Federation, organized industrially, have formed a mining department in the A. F. of L. with the United Mine Workers of America; the shopmen of the railroads are federating; the printing trades, after leading for years and then falling to the rear, are talking closer affiliation; dual building trades organizations are endeavoring to get together; the Street Railway Employés are claiming jurisdiction over all employés that operate trains over their tracks as well as all employés in the shops of the companies with which they have agreements; the workers in every calling are uniting for action on the industrial field.

There is no middle ground in this matter. The heads of organizations must progress with the demands of the times and of the rank and file, or they must pass into obscurity. The men and women in the trade union movement to-day will no longer allow leaders to stand in the way of advancement. Industrial unionism is bound to come, and with it will come united political action among the workers of the world.—United Labor Bulletin.

The Coal Miner's Life

THE HEART of the British miner at last beats high with hope. He feels that he has at last come to grips with an injustice which has seared his soul and often made him curse with bitterness. Because he is hidden in the depths, and because the conditions under which he labors are unseen, he is denied the elementary right of a living wage. The coal owners are doing to-day what they always done—trading on the inevitable ignorance of those not connected with the mines. What are the facts?

The miner descends a shaft which may be anything from a few fathoms to between two and three thousand feet deep. Before arriving at the coal-face he will probably have a mile or two to walk. As he is not paid by the hour he will not receive a fraction for traveling underground—even though he may be bent double a good part of the way. He reaches the coal-face, which is standing like a solid wall and not lying in lumps ready to be broken up, as a friend of mine once thought. The coal may be fairly soft or it may be almost as hard as a rock, but in any case skill and judgment are required to work it.

Many a man goes into his working place with fear and trembling. He plainly sees that, no matter how careful he may be, he is in great danger of being struck at any moment by a fall of the roof. But what is the man to do? The coal must be got out and he must get his living—so he works on.

Again, a man may work in a place in which the roof appears to be quite safe when sounded, but with one blow of the pick he may re-

lease some coal which loosens all the roof. Then only good fortune will save him from the instantaneous crash of stone. This is caused by an unforeseen cleavage in the roof, and many are the lives lost in this way.

Then there are such disagreeable things as water and heat. A man may be standing in water or he may—especially in shallow seams—have it pouring on him from the roof all the time. In some cases it is necessary to lie on your side to work under these conditions; of course, it may give the man some chronic complaint and take a year or two off his life. But one cannot expect comfort and luxury in a mine. Of course not.

If your "place" is cool, well and good. Even though it is unbearably hot, it is still in a working condition so long as it is clear of gas. You may be able to keep your shoes and stockings on—but nothing more. The niceties of civilization cannot be religiously observed when it is a question of bread.

It is comforting to know that explosions don't happen every day, but it is still true that they do happen with unfailing regularity. I see half a dozen mines every day where from a score to two hundred human beings have been swept away at one time. These are incidents of mining which give the great heart of the nation a chance of showing its sympathy with the miner. Contributions to relieve the want of the widows and orphans are given generously.

The danger and disagreeableness of bad roof, water, or heat are bad enough, but even under these conditions you may get a day's wage.

When it is a question of hard coal, however, it means the quick, monotonous, unceasing ring of the pick for some hours, with scarcely half the wages that would keep one in elementary decency. I have some experience on this point which are burnt in as with a hot iron. If there is an exhausting, soul-killing experience in this world it is to stand in one place hour after hour unceasingly wielding the pick, yet seeming to make no impression; and, behind all, the bitter knowledge that you are working for about \$1 per day. A strong man told me a few days ago that he was not ashamed to say he had wept under such circumstances.

Even if there were a decent wage the physical effects of the work—especially in deep mines—are depressing. One feels washed out and drowsy for the rest of the evening, even after dinner and a bath. I can easily understand many miners taking to stimulants after their work. Of course, this is not put forward as the sole reason for drinking, but it undoubtedly intensifies a tendency.

Speakers are sometimes puzzled when addressing a meeting of miners after working hours by their apparent indifference. I have been amused to see the heroic efforts of an orator to gain a response from such an audience, but I know how the men feel.

It has been my lot to come straight out of the pit, get bathed,

and rush off to address a meeting. At such times I have listened to my own voice, and thought it sounded strangely unlike mine; the mind seems wrapped in a vapour all the time. Such work makes men old ere they have ceased to be young.

When one remembers that the wear and tear of mining life require plenty of good food, and that most colliery villages are far removed from large centers (which gives an opportunity for high prices to be enforced), I am amazed to think that so many can live as decent citizens.

In addition, there is the perpetual drab life they lead, which is only relieved by an occasional visit to town. There are no "star" turns for us; no new operas, comedies or dramas. We are satisfied and delighted with the picture hall. We have no "Lit" or "Phil" society, no popular lectures; we fall back on the Miners' Institute. Some go to the chapel, others go to the pub, and a good many stay at home reading and thinking. That number is increasing.

Our work is hard, dangerous, and monotonous. Our wants are few and our lives are simple. Surely we ought not to have to worry and break our hearts about the fortnightly grocery and butcher's bill.

—John Lawson in Labour Leader.

A Brazen Falsehood

A NUMBER OF DAILY JOURNALS have recently contained reports that Emma Goldman was lecturing under the auspices of the Socialist party. Such a statement is a falsehood, and the falsehood is well known by the daily journals that have prostituted their columns with such a lie. Emma Goldman is not a Socialist and makes no pretense of espousing the doctrines of Socialism. Emma Goldman is an anarchist and does not hesitate to proclaim herself an anarchist by voice and pen. She does not believe in government and has nothing but contempt for laws.

Anarchy and Socialism are as far apart as the poles, and the capitalist press endeavoring to make it appear that this apostle of anarchy was speaking under the auspices of Socialists, fabricated such a story for the sole purpose of poisoning the public mind against a movement that is battling in every part of the world for an industrial democracy, where the workers shall be the law-makers.

This fabricated story in daily journals grew out of the fact that Socialists and the Socialist press denounced the outlaws of San Diego, who forced Emma Goldman, a defenseless woman, to leave the city and kidnaped her associate, Dr. Reitman, and outraged him in such a

manner that the foulness of their infamies cannot be told in print.

The denunciation of the "law and order" outlaws at San Diego by Socialists and the Socialist press, gave the capitalist journals an opportunity to make the claim that Emma Goldman was under the auspices of Socialists, simply because Socialists as well as men of other political convictions gathered at her meetings to listen to her exhortation of fiends in human shape.

The Socialists are not in sympathy with the doctrines enunciated by Emma Goldman or other disciples of the anarchist creed. But Socialists have the moral courage to denounce brutality whenever and wherever such brutality is perpetrated, even though the outrage is committed on men or women who are outspoken enemies of Socialism.

Emma Goldman, though preaching the doctrines of anarchy, should not be the victim of a mob, for if the philosophy which she teaches violates the law, the courts are open and violations of law can be punished.

Emma Goldman, though proclaiming herself an anarchist, is an angel compared with the maddened and blood-thirsty brutes who in the name of law, trampled law under foot, to wreak their vengeance on a woman and her associate.

Socialism and Syndicalism

WE ARE GLAD to see that the Socialist party of America have unequivocally repudiated syndicalism. That is not to say that our American comrades, any more than ourselves, are opposed to the industrial organization and action of the working class; but simply that they are not prepared to commit suicide by surrendering to the syndicalist anarchist attempts to paralyze the political organization and activities of the working class. We have special reason to rejoice at this action of the American Socialist party, because we in this country have suffered so much at the hands of our trans-Atlantic cousins. Every freak cult which fastens parasitically upon the Socialist movement in this country appears to have its origin in the United States—utopianism, impossibilism, and now industrial unionism, the progenitors of syndicalism—have all been imported from the United States. It is good to know that the party there is not likely to fall a prey to this latest form of the old-anarchist sleeping sickness. It will help us to withstand its attacks.—London Justice.

The above editorial comment in London Justice on the action of the delegates in the recent national convention of the Socialist party in America, shows that across the water the freakish outbursts for a form

of industrial unionism that provides for "direct action," "sabotage" or other weapons of violence, will hardly be tolerated by men who know that economic freedom must come through a movement of the working class guided by intelligence.

This is an age of reason, and men who read and think know that brute force will never usher in a civilization where man, woman and child shall be free.

The man in the labor movement who advocates "sabotage," "direct action" and other forces of violence to conquer capitalism, is but little in advance of the cave-man who used the club to conquer his enemy.

"Education and slavery cannot exist together in one land," and as the working class awakes to the causes that hold labor in bondage, that class will likewise discern the means and methods by which the chains and shackles of slavery will be broken forever.

Industrial emancipation will be achieved by the weapons of peace, for the missionaries in the ranks of labor, coupled with evolution, will unite labor economically and politically, and capitalism must go down before the irresistible power of the wealth producers of the world.

Signs and Portents

NEVER was the productive power of human labor so great as at present. Never was it such an easy matter to provide ample of the necessities of life to satisfy the material needs of all than now. The growth and development of the tools of industry down through the ages and the ultimate harnessing of nature's forces to furnish the motive power to operate them has resulted in bringing forth such an enormous volume of wealth that the markets of the world are fairly surfeited and glutted therewith.

Modern implements of industry have so enormously increased the productive power of labor over that of the remote past that it has long since become impossible to afford continuous employment to all who are forced to depend upon the sale of their labor power for their sustenance. There is consequently, an army of unemployed workmen in the market, an army that is continually growing in numbers and becoming each day a more threatening menace to the security of those workmen who are still in employment. It is unnecessary to point out the depressing influence the presence of this smass of unemployed must have upon wages. This is felt by the workers in all lines of industry, and in spite of the most heroic efforts they are unable to prevent the general downward trend.

In spite of the most prolific wealth production the world has ever known, poverty and discontent was never more widespread than now. Never were strikes and other evidences of industrial misery and discontent among the workers more frequent, or of greater magnitude, than at present. Never were more energetic and unscrupulous measures resorted to by a ruling class to hold its slaves in continued subjection than are being used during these days of most glorious civilization.

The social horizon is replete with signs and portents of a rapidly approaching change that must be made sweepingly revolutionary in character if humanity is to rid itself of the incubus that now presses it down into the swamp of poverty and wretchedness in the very presence of the plentitude of wealth its working class brings forth. That incubus is the present form of ownership, and control of the means of production—land and machinery—and the consequent control of the products of labor. In other words, the rule of capital.

Upon every hand is to be found evidence of a significant awakening among the world's toilers. Industrial misery is forcing the issue. It reflects itself not only in the strike and boycott, but in a political revulsion against the rule of capital that presages disaster to the present ruling class in its rapine and robbery of labor.

There can be no peace in human society until the working class arises to the mastery of its own means of life. The shackles of slavery to capital must be broken and its brutal exploitation of labor brought to an end. It is the working class that must do the job for it is the only portion of human society that has an interest in so doing. The balance of human society fattens and battens upon the enslavement and consequent degradation of the workers and will use every effort to prolong its existence by retaining its right to rule and rob.

Let the change come peacefully, if it will, but swift and sweeping if it must. Whatever it may cost the working class will have to pay and the signs and portents bashing along the horizon strongly indicate that payment will be made in coin that is red, and drawn from its own veins. In fact, the working class is now paying, and has always paid, for its own slavery in the same coin—its life blood.

The change will come. All signs point to its near and rapid approach. Let it come.—Western Clarion.

The Boy Scouts and the Western Federation of Miners

(By Dr. Edwin F. Bowers.)

RESOLUTION adopted by the Western Federation:
 "Resolved, That we condemn in the strongest terms the so-called Boy Scout movement as a mere pious fraud by which the youth of the nation are being drilled into principles of slavish obedience to superiors, befitting flunkies but wholly unbefitting American citizens, and into a spirit of militarism which tends to incite and foster the willingness to shoot, maim and murder their fellow men at the behest of the master class under cover of a corrupted and corrupting spirit of so-called patriotism.

"We denounce the principles of the Boy Scout movement as wholly fallacious, un-social and degenerating in character, and we brand the movement itself as a capitalistic infamy, which has as its objective the rearing of boys who in the coming years will be the supple slaves and willing hirelings of the capitalist class to murder the men, widow the women and orphan the children of the working class who shall be struggling for economic freedom. And we warn all members of this organization and organized labor generally against permitting their children to join the Boy Scouts or any other similar organization."

This resolution has the true, manly ring. It should be adopted by every federation of labor in the country—I may say, in the world, for the "movement" is well nigh universal.

The poor, deluded little puppets who are cultivating those soft

graces which will later be called into requisition to make a Roman holiday, who are being insidiously taught that subtle, fawning, lick-spittle adulation for their "superiors" which will make effective tools in another Lawrence or Homestead, these workers' children should be warned by the organizations to which their parents belong.

The boys do not realize the duplicity, the hypocrisy, the knavish double-mindedness of their encouragers. They only see, with a boy's keen singleness of purpose, the games, the idealization of the military spirit—which is a part of the inheritance of every human animal—before education and clear thinking relegates this balderdash and flub-dubbery to the corroding influence of oblivion. Their inconsequential minds operate, like dust motes dancing on a sunbeam, without any definite coherent purpose. And no effort is made to educate them out of this routine.

But when this "scout ship" is completed they are physically and mentally "fit" to graduate into the militia or perhaps even into that highest roll of all, the regular army—the white fangs and the mailed fist of mill and mine owners and territorial exploiter. It's high time labor federation awoke to the importance of these facts and poured the ebullient spirits of the Boy Scouts back into the bottle.

The earlier this murder mania is eradicated the more likely it is to stay eradicated. Remove this vacuous vacuity. Spread the propaganda, labor unions of the world. The Western Federation of Miners has set an interesting example.—New York Call.

The Western Federation of Miners

An American Beauty Rose

(By A. M. Simmons.)

THAT MANY BUDS must be destroyed to make one American Beauty rose is the illustration by which John D. Rockefeller, Jr., argued for the existence of the over-towering fortune to which he is the heir.

It has taken forty years of selection to produce this American Beauty rose. These forty years have been the years of most rapid progress in the history of the world.

In these years since the Standard Oil flower was planted scientists have stolen more secrets from nature and brought them to the service of man than in all the ages since Prometheus robbed the gods of a spark of fire for man's benefit. Inventors have searched out countless new and helpful combinations of force and matter and multiplied man's power to satisfy his wants. Forests have been cleared, swamps drained, deserts watered, diseases conquered, a host of man's enemies subdued and abolished.

These factors have made possible a happy, healthful people, but instead of a multitude of such people we have chosen rather to develop a few American Beauty roses. To this end we turn the fruits of toil and the triumphs of science and invention toward the development of a few choice buds upon the social tree.

The Rockefeller rose could flourish only in an environment that fostered its peculiar qualities. Into the industrial branch upon which it grew was poured the great nourishing flood of wealth that came from invention and increased skill directed and operated by the toil of millions.

That this one magnificent blossom might be brought to its full

beauty we sacrifice millions of others. That a Rockefeller may have \$900,000,000, some 10,000,000 families live on less than man-animals need to keep them healthy.

That this rose might feel the sheltering quiet of universities, 90 per cent of the children of America are shut out from the high schools. That its perfume may be perfect, we sacrifice the purity of a hundred thousand daughters of the poor every year to the beast of prostitution. Lest its exuberant foliage be confined we have torn away the restrictions of the law and uprooted those principles of justice that the race spent ages acquiring.

That it may have a deeper red than its fellows we have watered it with the blood of a million babes slain every year in the tenements and hovels by neglect and poverty and ignorance, because care and knowledge and wealth must be lavished on this one beautiful blossom.

These things we have done for forty years. The blossom now shows forth in all its beauty, or lack of beauty, and a nation is asking if the result is worth the effort.

Moreover, these are human beings and not blossoms with which we are dealing and the multitude are protesting that the life of no man or woman should be a means to someone else's gaudy efflorescence. It is the wives and the daughters and the children of labor whose bodies are fertilizing this foul growth of our system.

The laborers of America have the destinies of society in their hands. They can determine whether the social energies shall all be used to produce a few parasitic blossoms, or to build up a nation of healthy, happy human beings.

They will decide in favor of human beings.—Coming Nation.

Eliminating the Anarchist

(By Chas. Dobbs.)

A RESORT to violence by individuals or a minority group as a means of settling a social problem is a confession of moral and intellectual incompetence.

It is a confession that those who advocate or practice violence are afraid to submit the justice of their cause to the arbitration of reason.

These propositions are, or ought to be, axiomatic. We may be impatient at the slow progress of our campaign to convert the majority to our point of view, but when this impatience finds expression in "short cuts" to the New Jerusalem, it ceases to be scientific and becomes raw utopianism. If this "short cut" takes the form of brutal conflict or contemptible sabotage, it is a confession that education is a farce and that the only argument which men will recognize is a knife at the midriff or a blow between the eyes.

If the knife or the blow is the only convincing argument, the Socialist regime, if ushered in by such means to-morrow, might easily, by

the same means, be transformed the next day to something even more cruel than the condition under which we suffer now.

Upon the rock of these facts the Socialist movement in America took its stand at the national convention of the party held in Indianapolis, Indiana, in May. The definitive expression in the new constitution, requiring expulsion from the party membership of all who advocate violence or sabotage, was the most important action of the convention. Without any semblance of intolerance or heresy-hunting it clears the atmosphere and establishes a basis upon which the future practical and theoretical works of the movement may be predicated.

The requirement for membership is eminently fair to all. After full discussion, an overwhelming majority of the delegates, indubitably representing an overwhelming majority of the party membership, decided that the time for argument is past. The Socialist movement is a political movement. There are other movements which pin their faith to the "propaganda of the deed." The two schools of thought and the two theories of action have nothing in common.

The only really important debate in the convention was on this pre-

cise point. It is true that those who opposed the anti-violence clause of the constitution did not in terms advocate the "propaganda of the deed," but the issue was sufficiently clear for all practical purposes. The argument of the minority that a declaration against violence was no more necessary than a declaration against "free love" or "dividing up," was disingenuous. The failure, too, of a single member of the minority to meet the issue fairly and squarely was a significant commentary on their arrogant classification of the delegates into "Reds" and "Yellows"—the minority being the the valiant Reds, and the majority pusillanimous Yellows. In this, as in so many other cases, the one boastful of his courage before battle only too frequently shows the yellow streak when we get down to brass tacks.

As far as I recall, the only member of the minority to stand firm in the debate was a woman from Ohio, who taunted the Massachusetts delegates with their failure to uphold the "Boston Tea Party" as a classical example alike of the courage of their forefathers and the effectiveness of "direct action." It was my privilege in the debate to show just how unfortunate the delegate from Ohio happened to be in her reference to the "Boston Tea Party," which was an enterprise by and for the benefit of a small band of American smugglers who only added to the list of crimes committed in the name of liberty and made no substantial contribution to the cause of human freedom.

With no purpose to be unkind, it may be pointed out right here that the "direct actionist" is only too frequently one unfamiliar not only with the true significance of historical incidents like the "Boston Tea Party," but with those various other facts of human experience which must be taken into consideration in formulating any present policy of social action. It is still true that "a little learning is a dangerous thing," no matter how cocksure and glib those may be who lack the capacity or are too indolent to "drink deep of the Pierian spring."

All the incidents of the Indianapolis meeting have had time to melt into their proper proportion, but time for reflecting only confirms the wisdom of the convention in protecting the membership against the

inroads of the anarchist. Even those who honestly opposed the constitutional clause on the ground that it was unnecessary, are now probably willing to admit that it was a good thing for the party unequivocally to go on record. It is plain that if one disdains the use of violence, it can do no harm, and may do much good to say so. If any object, there is reason to suspect more than a leaning away from Socialism and towards anarchism. One may respect the opinions of an anarchist if the anarchist is sufficiently intelligent not to call himself a Socialist. But we cannot respect one who will continue to be a member of an organization to whose theories and practices he is irreconcilably opposed. Continuance of membership under these circumstances can only be interpreted to mean an intention to do the party hurt by committing in its name and in its garb some dastard deed to prejudice Socialism before the bar of civilization.

The war between Socialism and anarchism is old, and the 1912 convention at Indianapolis would have no particular significance if it merely marked a victory or defeat in another skirmish between ancient antagonists. The thing that counts is the fact that in its every aspect the Socialist convention revealed that the American movement has entered upon a new phase. It is, as it has been, a protest. But it is more, in that while it is prepared with unfaltering courage to cut away that which is rotten in the body of civilization, it brings also a healing balm.

Capitalism has run its course, but it would be idle to deny that it has made its contributions to civilization. Progress is a relay race, and Socialism comes now to take up the work and carry liberty, learning, peace and plenty to loftier heights than men have ever reached before. That we are able to do this the national convention of 1912 proves by its program of constructive legislation. The various reports submitted to the convention were characterized by a clarity of thought, and were debated on the whole with an intelligence and vigor that demonstrated our fitness to discharge the historical function which has devolved upon us.—The Masses.

The Living Issue

A CONSERVATIVE CITIZEN from Brooklyn, New York, in addressing himself to Mr. Roosevelt's supporters at Chicago, took occasion to define what he conceived to be the issue between the "progressive" and reactionary factions of the grand old party. He said:

"The line of cleavage in this campaign is not between Taft and Roosevelt. If that were all, it would not be essential whichever of them won, but the line of cleavage is between Socialism and democracy, between the Stars and Stripes and the red flag."

The conservative citizen is right that "the line of cleavage in this campaign is not between Roosevelt and Taft," but he is wrong when he says that it is between Socialism and democracy, and that Roosevelt typifies Socialism and Taft democracy. Socialism includes democracy. There can be no issue between them. There is, however, issue between Socialism and capitalism, between the workers and producers and the idlers and exploiters.

It is the only issue of any consequence before the American people. It is to the present what the issue of slavery was to a former day and generation—irrepressible.

The conflict between the Republican and Democratic parties is only a struggle between politicians and groups of capitalists for the spoils of office and the powers of government.

The Democratic and Republican parties stand, represent, and exemplify that "communism of pelf" which Grover Cleveland condemned in the Republican party and which he subsequently came to embrace as an acceptable expression of Democratic principle and purpose.

Mr. Roosevelt, it is quite true, has denounced capitalists. That, however, does not make him a Socialist. The capitalist that supports him is a good capitalist, while the capitalist that opposes him is a menace to the people's liberties and the maintenance of the "reasonable profit." Mr. Roosevelt warns them:

"The multimillionaire who opposes us is the worst foe of his own children and children's children, and, little though he knows it, we are their benefactors."

There are, however, patriotic capitalists and corporation lawyers, who see the necessity of electing "progressives" to office as a means of purifying and perpetuating the existing system whereby the few profit at the expense of the many. The colonel explains their presence:

"We have with us a small percentage of the heads of great corporations and of corporation lawyers, including, I believe, almost every man of either class sufficiently high minded and far sighted to see that in the long run privilege spells destruction, not only to the class harmed by it, but to the class possessing it.

"We welcome the presence of these men. Every honest man, whatever his fortune, should be our ally."

Leslie's Weekly, which is credited with drawing its inspiration from Standard Oil, finds that "the interests" are playing no favorites among capitalistic politicians. It calls the roll of "the interests" and multi-millionaires that are behind the several candidates. None has been compelled to depend upon his own resources to carry on the battle. The trusts and millionaires have been generous and exceedingly patriotic, which leads Leslie's to the conclusion:

"All this is illuminating. It is educational. It ought to open the eyes of the American people. It proves that the so-called 'interests' are not tied up to any one particular party or to any one presidential candidate."

It should be illuminating. It should be educational. It should awaken the American people to the fact that there is no vital difference in principle between Democrat and Republican, reactionary and "progressive"; that none challenges the existing system and that in seeking to justify themselves to our lords and masters of money, each contends that he is more faithful to the system than his opponents, the "progressive" being loudest of all in protesting his loyalty.

The issue of Socialism versus capitalistic exploitation is pressing. It is here. It no longer can be ignored or avoided. Whenever or wherever the Socialist party becomes formidable, as it is becoming in every state, all difference between the Democratic and Republican parties and their factions disappears and they are welded together to meet the only living issue in American politics.—Milwaukee Leader.

"Thou Shalt Not Steal"

FOR A POLITICAL WATCHWORD, the new "Progressive party" now forming under the leadership of Theodore Roosevelt, has burglarized the Decalogue and appropriated the mandate "Thou shalt not steal."

These stern moralists, however, have much more objection to being stolen from than they have to stealing in general. In that particular question most of them are, like their leader, "practical men."

Had they been able to steal the nomination that they declare was stolen from them, the cry of robbery would have arisen from the other side, and they would have paid no attention whatever to it.

As it is, however, their political ox that has been gored, the motto they have chosen to some extent expresses their particular grievance. It is a comparatively easy matter to assume that there is honor among thieves and secure an audience to listen to your tale of woe when the assumption proves to be unfounded.

A glance at some of these honest progressives who are now setting out to purify politics will at once demonstrate that Robin Hood's famous assemblage of outlaws had nothing on the gang that are now rallying around the politically outlawed Theodore.

Here, for instance, is little Tim Woodruff, veteran of the famous "Old Guard" of Albany in bygone days, notorious reactionist and intriguer, and such a doubtful asset generally that two years ago his present leader, Roosevelt, ousted him out of the position of state chairman of the New York Republican party.

Boss William Ward, state national committeeman, member of the same delectable "Old Guard," all-around Albany corruptionist, kicked out for selling out to Roosevelt.

William Halpin, ex-president of the New York Republican county committee. Herchman of the malodorous Odell, of Newburgh, veteran

of the "Old Guard," and typical political "boss," with all the devious and shady characteristics implied by that word.

Yet another "boss"—Aldridge of Rochester. Same class; same record. Veteran also of the infamous "Old Guard." So stenchful that Rochester turned him down when he sought the Congressional vacancy brought about by the death of Congressman Breck Perkins.

Boss No. 4—Flinn of Pittsburg. Reactionary from head to heel. Soaked and saturated in the municipal corruption of that smoky Inferno. An expert in Tammany methods, who has completed his education.

Still another "boss"—Cecil Lyon of Texas. Charged by the other side as a notorious corruptionist. Accused of systematically and continuously selling out the Texas vote to the highest bidder. Absolute reactionary.

Littauer of Gloversville, New York. School children of Gloversville furnished with machines and material for glove-making in the public schools by this philanthropist under cover of "manual training." Reactionary to the backbone. Mixed up in postoffice grafts of several years back.

George W. Perkins of Morgan and the steel trust Comment unnecessary.

McCormick of harvester trust and Chicago Tribune. Reactionary

to the heart's core. General exploiter and grabber of public school sites in Chicago.

They are but samples from a list of goods all guaranteed to be of the same quality. But they have all reformed and become honest and progressive.

Roosevelt used the same gang to elect Taft four years ago, and by the same methods which his protege has now employed against him, and against which he now protests.

And he will "appeal to all honest and progressive citizens, irrespective of their political affiliations."

Fortunately for him there is a sucker born every minute, and as most of them assume to be judges of what is "honest and progressive," without much inquiry into details, there is hope, as the advertising quack solemnly declares. As for those who do comprehend what progressiveness really means, and who have enough discernment to make the connection between capitalism and stealing, Theodore's appeal will fall upon deaf ears. Their votes will be found in the Socialist column on election day, as a protest, not against the stealing of a political nomination from a capitalist candidate, but against the stealing of the product of the workers which capitalism under every political label stand for.—New York Call.

The Class Struggle

PHILOSOPHY as much as you will, you can't deny that daily events confirm the fact. Day by day the struggle between labor and capital, between exploiters and exploited grows fiercer. Harmonizers are becoming scarce. Both the workmen and their bosses are retreating behind their entrenchments, from where they are trying to enforce their rights or wishes. The mainspring of the struggle is no longer a question of pennies but the recognition of labor's personality.

On every hand the owners refuse to have anything to do with labor organizations. The reason is perfectly plain. They very well know that the isolated worker is a mere toy to be managed at their whim. Whenever a fellow doesn't want to submit to their fancies, they hunt up someone else for there is always someone to be found worse off than the worker who rebels. It is for this very reason that the bosses always prefer dealing with their operatives singly instead of with their associations. They talk about liberty, tyranny and a thousand other things; but the truth of the matter is that they do not wish to concede to their employes the right to organize in their own defense in the way that they themselves are organized. The worker on the other hand, is striving to obtain recognition of his collective personality above all else. And he does well, very well.

As a general rule mines, railroads, steamships, factories, department houses, all belong to large companies—or to small companies, which doesn't alter the argument—and what would these say if the workers should ask to treat with each one of the shareholders and refuse to recognize their representative or representatives? They would call them fools. "Oh, but," you say, "the cases are not parallel." Let's see.

The shareholder is an individual who has, no matter by what means, succeeded in amassing a capital which in itself would result unproductive but with which (used in conjunction with that of others in a similar position) he hopes to obtain greater profits and therefore makes an agreement with them and forms an association. Once the association has been formed, the shareholders can put forth their ideas, agree among themselves, and decide upon the method of procedure. But they cannot individually decide upon anything or make any contracts with anybody about anything concerning the general interest of their association.

The union laborer is an individual who has come to understand that his capital—his skill and strength—will not be sufficiently productive until he unites with the rest of the individuals who, being in a condition similar to his own, are desirous of obtaining from their work the greatest possible profit. Like the shareholders, or even more so, within his organization he can set forth his ideas, agree and determine upon what is best to do. But the terms upon which he agrees to hire out his strength and skill must be in accordance with what the organization decides upon, since he has created it for the very purpose of making them for him and having them respected.

If the workers are to deal with the companies' representatives and not with individual shareholders, why should the companies refuse to treat with the workers' representatives? Would it not be easier for the respective associations to deal with one another and settle all differences, at one and the same time than to have to thrash out every little detail with each worker individually? To be sure it would; if they were really anxious to come to terms. But as what they wish is a general disorganization between the wage slaves, turning them into enemies

of each other, naturally the companies show themselves ready to grant whatever is asked of them except the recognition of the union, that is, the collective labor personality. And yet they often oblige us to recognize not only the collectivity of one company but of many companies.

The workmen see this. They understand that what their bosses want is to disrupt their organization in order to fleece them the better, boss them around without any consideration whenever a difficulty arises, fire or dock them for the least little trifle, treating them worse than they would treat dumb animals every time there is a complaint. Why, then, should they wonder that the workmen do not look up to them with respect since to do so would be to forego their own?

Why, for instance, do they cry out against the hotel workers leaving their jobs at the very moment when their work is most needed, when the tables are filled with customers in the middle of their meals? Did they expect their employes to forewarn them so that they might be able to replace them with others? Have the bosses or their representatives ever bothered themselves over whether their judgments militated against their operatives? Why, then, should the latter bother themselves about the annoyance their actions may cause their masters?

If you employers refuse to grant demands even when you consider them reasonable, in order not to recognize the union of the workers, thus denying them the right of association conceded to all other men, how can you hope to be treated other than as their enemies, and enemies of the worst kind? If the Cooks', Waiters' and other Unions should order from you a big banquet, would you agree with their representatives as to price and terms? Why, therefore, do you refuse to enter into an agreement as to the conditions upon which it is to be served?

By refusing to recognize labor unions you are only confirming and aggravating the class struggle. You thereby show that you do not want peace, nor any truce whatever with workingmen; you only prove that they are in the right who claim that there can be no end to the struggle between capital and labor.

And the fact is reinforced when university students (the budding youth of your class, who are by no means studying to become table-servers nor bed-makers, nor cleaners of water-closets), take the degrading places of servants—degrading, yes, for it is degrading for one man to serve another, or for one woman to wait upon another in certain necessities of life, not out of affection or voluntarily but to get a tip in order not to starve or to help out one's wife or children.

Day by day the class struggle grows more bitter, more brutal, more bloody. The awakening of the workingman itself has aroused indignation of the well-to-do. The haughty rich cannot bear to see the poor dignified. They want us to be tame and submissive like sheep; they want us to allow ourselves to be carried to the slaughter house and fleeced just as those poor creatures are.

But this is no longer possible, and the more brutal the struggle becomes between master and slave, the more the former will lose and the more the latter will gain. For the thing which has weakened the poor man has been the compassion of the rich man. Once upon a time the serfs loved their masters and would sacrifice for them their lives, inasmuch as their masters showed themselves to be generous and compassionate. To-day, however, the toilers hate their exploiters, for there remains no bond of unity between them. The workingman is robbed of his daily bread, his schooling, and his clothes. He is not respected in the least and whenever he complains, he is clubbed and insulted, jailed and shot down or strung up. Naturally the workman cares little for his employer's interests and daily becomes more at outs with him, his anger crystallizing into hatred. And as the interests of the employers are in the hands of their workingmen, alas for them the day when the last drop causes the ice in the hearts of the proletariats to overflow!—Labor Culture.



INFORMATION WANTED.

Information is wanted of the whereabouts of George T. Banbury, formerly of Chateaugay, New York. By the will of the late George Banbury of Wallingford, England, he has been made one of the beneficiaries of his will. Anyone knowing his present address will please write John A. Banbury, 1705 Lackawanna avenue, Superior, Wisconsin.

A LETTER OF HEARTFELT GRATITUDE.

Durango, Colorado, June 22, 1912.

Charles H. Moyer, President W. F. M., Denver, Colorado:

Dear Sir—I received your letter and also check for \$50, for which I will thank you and the W. F. M. at large for your kindness in assisting me in my hour of trouble, for it was certainly a God's send to me. It took all we had in trying to get relief for John, moving him from one place to another, and I shall always keep you and the W. F. of M. in remembrance for your kindness. We will bury John Tuesday or Wednesday, as soon as his brother arrives from Michigan here in Durango. I wrote a letter to Rico and Silverton, informing them of John's death. With my kindest regards and respects for you and the W. F. of M., I remain yours with best wishes to you all.

MRS. JOHN CIGALLA.

Durango.

REPLY OF ANACONDA M. & S. NO. 117.

Anaconda, Montana, June 22, 1912.

Salt Lake M. & S. Union No. 201, W. F. of M., Salt Lake City, Utah:

Greeting—In answer to your circular of June 4th, we beg to state an attack on our methods in advocating, by honorable means, the candidacy of Thomas Reilly is practically an attack on Mr. Reilly himself and vice versa.

Your contention that our sending out the circular on Brother Reilly is not fair play cannot be substantiated. The methods which we used may be used by any other union, and we would not object to that plan of campaign. The furtherance of a good man's candidature certainly cannot be opposed to any principle of unionism. In such a matter we believe in a free field for all, so let honest emulation obtain amongst all candidates.

The fundamental weakness of your position is that you take for granted that an honest effort to elect an honest and competent candidate is unjust and unreasonable. Your assumptions are wrong; your reasonings are illogical and your attitude opposed to the fair play that you pretend to admire so much.

Your attack on this union cannot hurt its standing, which is so well known, and we stigmatize your absurd and arrogant rejoinder as the vapors of an insolent and aggressive faction, whose policy as represented by your rejoinder, is false in its foundation principles and fatal in its conclusions to the spirit of unionism, which should be an abiding force amongst us all. We remain, Fraternal yours,

ANACONDA MILL & SMELTERMEN'S UNION NO. 117, W. F. of M.
THOMAS J. MURPHY,
J. J. GIBBONS,
FRANK FITZPATRICK,
Committee.

(Seal)

ARE YOU A CRIMINAL?

By John M. Work.

In George Cram Cook's novel, "The Chasm," a certain revolutionist reproaches the heroine with maintaining and profiting by the established order. She protests that she does nothing to maintain the established order, and the apt reply comes back:

"To do nothing IS to maintain the established order."

Truer word was never spoken.

"To do nothing is to maintain the established order."

The active opponent of Socialism is not its only enemy.

He who believes in Socialism, but does no active work towards securing it, is also an enemy of Socialism.

By his indifference he helps to maintain the existing order.

Poverty, destitution, overwork, lack of work, starvation, child labor, prostitution, strikes, lockouts, injunctions, military oppression, insanity, suicide, crime, drunkenness, graft, preventable accidents to life and limb, adulteration, disease, premature death, mental and moral stagnation—all these flourish because of his indifference.

He is a criminal, guilty of all these villainous crimes.

Are you a hustling Socialist?

Or are you a criminal?

YOU ARE UP AGAINST IT.

By J. O. Bentall.

You found out that Bill was a Socialist, did you?

And you fired him and blacklisted him?

Well, we just want to tell you that his name is no longer Bill. He is Jim now. He was smooth-shaven when you fired him. He has a mustache now.

Your blacklist card hasn't been revised yet, but Bill has.

And you have not moved. You are still at the same old stand. But Bill has moved. He went to a town where there wasn't a single Socialist.

He is making Socialists as fast as he is making fork handles.

Of course it put our local on the bum for a few weeks after you fired Bill, because it was he who kept the fires of revolt burning within our breasts. We got discouraged and thought we would go all to pieces.

But the fellow you took in to fill Bill's place was also a Socialist. He was blacklisted by the boss that fired him. He came from another town.

But, like Bill, he revised himself. He has a new name and a new location, but the same old spirit of revolt. He is firing us up now. We are glad he came. You didn't know that, did you?

You will discharge him, too? And you will blacklist him?

Very well, he will grow chin whiskers and sideburns and call himself Bob or John or Ed or some other common name.

He will go to a place where there are no Socialists and, like Bill, he will make Socialists as fast as a convict makes broomsticks.

So you are firing all the Socialists in your shop? You say there are ten of them?

I see. And you are going to scatter them into ten other communities. They will get into fresh territory, eh?

All right.

Each of the ten will make ten new Socialists. That adds one hundred Socialists to the crowd that you have to draw from to work for you.

And these hundred will each make ten more new Socialists. That gives you one thousand that you have got to try to dodge.

The fact is that you have done this fool thing of firing and blacklisting Socialists so long that now we have over a million of them in this country and close to fifty millions throughout the world.

Just keep going. We don't mind. We will just move and revise our face and our name and our location so fast that your blacklist card will be several years behind.

We have no home. You have made us homeless by exploiting us to death.

We rent. It is always easy for a tenant to move. You got our rent in advance, so you need not worry.

You get to see that you are making us more eager for Socialism every time you fire us?

Exactly.

You are pushing us clear out into the sea of revolt. You are making us work harder for Socialism, for that is our only hope.

No, no; don't try to change your tactics and treat us nice. Don't leave Bob and Jim and John at their jobs and think that you can soothe them. They will get the organization so strong in their town, in their city, in their county, state and nation that your whole working force will be Socialists and will elect mayor, governor, Legislature, President and Congress—all Socialists—and will turn your factories, your mills, your mines, your railroads, over to the people for use by all and deprive you of the opportunity to exploit and blacklist.

It won't work, boss.

If you fire us we scatter the fire of revolt, and if you leave us alone we organize and capture the industries for the people.

You are up against it and we'd like to know what you are going to do about it.

HOW A TRAMP PRINTER WAS SAVED FROM SUICIDE.

By R. A. Dague.

About sixteen years ago a young man whose name I cannot now recall, but whom I will designate as "Dick," left one of the states of the East and went to San Francisco. He worked awhile at setting type in that city, but wages were low and employment was irregular and uncertain. He decided to go to Los Angeles, and as he had but little money he would walk, and expected to stop at various towns on the way, earn a few dollars and proceed on his journey. The distance between the two cities is 500 miles. He secured a little work at two or three towns, but expended all he received in making the long distances in which he earned nothing.

Two or three years after he made that trip a San Paula editor and wife were spending a month living in a tent on the beach at Santa Monica. One day this editor stepped into a newspaper office in that town. He purchased some stationery, etc., and was about to pay for it when the printer said:

"I am the foreman of this office; the owner is not in. I will charge you nothing for this stationery."

"Why not?" asked the Santa Paula editor.

"Take a seat, sir," said Dick, "and I will tell you why."

The editor did as he was invited, when Dick said:

"You do not, probably, remember me."

"No," said the visitor.

"Well, then, I will tell you a story. About three years ago I, for the first time, set foot in Santa Paula. I was very much fatigued and hungry, having had nothing to eat for about three days. I had tramped all the distance from San Francisco, getting but little employment in the towns on the way. I was refused work at Santa Barbara and Ventura. I had never begged nor stolen. I was cut of money, footsore, unshaven and dirty. I was a 'tramp printer.' Approaching Santa Paula late in the day, I resolved to apply once more for work and, if refused, to kill myself that night. A little before you closed the printing office for the day I timidly stepped in and asked you if you could give me a job. You said no, you had all the help you needed. My heart sank within me. I grew faint and dizzy. I staggered to the door and was in the act of passing out when you said: 'Hold on a minute. Are you broke?' I nodded in the affirmative. 'Are you hungry?' 'Yes,' I blurted out; 'I have had nothing to eat for nearly three days.' 'Take that chair,' you replied. As I obeyed your orders you picked up a pen, wrote something, then, handing it to me, said: 'Take this note to that boarding house over there,' pointing it out to me, 'give it to the proprietor, who will give you your supper, lodging and breakfast. Tomorrow morning call in the office again.'

"I took the note, ate two meals that certainly astonished the proprietor of the hotel, had a good bed and next morning called on you, when your foreman, at your command, gave me a little 'pied type' to distribute, for which you paid me \$1. On that dollar I traveled forty miles to Los Angeles, where I got employment. Later I came here and am foreman of this printing office on a good salary. You saved me from committing suicide, and that is why I will charge you nothing for this stationery. May God bless you and prosper you, for you are the 'tramp's friend.'"

Let the writer here remark that he cannot account for Dick's escape from arrest by some constable between San Francisco and Los Angeles. Under the vagrancy laws of California, also of every state in the Union, a working man out of money and poorly dressed can be arrested as a criminal, thrown into jail, fed on bread and water, made to sleep on a bare floor and break rock with a ball and chain about his ankles, all this often without court trial and on the motion of a constable or policeman who is arresting officer, judge, jury and jailor.

The vagrancy laws of every state in this free republic (so-called) are a damning disgrace to a civilized people and an unspeakable outrage on the poor and the unemployed. According to these laws, enacted by capitalists, any unemployed man out of money can be arrested under the charge of being "without visible means of support" and treated as a black-hearted and dangerous criminal, and thrown into prison. China and Japan are said to be pagan nations, and yet they have no such infamous laws. Working people cannot hope for better treatment until Socialism gets political control and enacts new laws.

Creston, Iowa.

NEW PAGE OPENS FOR BRITISH SOCIALISTS.

Writer in London Justice Draws Glowing Sketch of Future Victories.

(Correspondence to the Call.)

London, May 20.—We open a new page in the annals of the labor movement in Great Britain this May Day, 1912, for it is the first such festival that celebrates the establishment in this country of a United Socialist party which will help to consolidate all the other forces of labor, writes J. Hunter Watts in the May Day number of Justice. We have got beyond that stage in the evolution of modern Socialism when its founders necessarily constituted a sect—one that was a powerful lever of the movement in its inception, though it would have become a hindrance thereto had its members failed to

free their minds from sectarian sentiment as soon as the material for the formation of a Socialist party could be discovered.

The Social Democratic Federation recited the prologue to the great historical drama that will now unfold itself here, as in every other country where Social Democracy is organizing its forces for the conquest of social freedom, and though it has quitted the stage it will be remembered for a generation or two that it once shed a great light before the feet of those who sat in darkness—that it gave some "voice and wisdom to the voiceless wrath of the wretched and their unlearned discontent." Its work is done, its history enacted, and as the agent of its own dissolution—as the body that initiated the United Socialist party, its end crowns its work. Let "Finis coronat opus!" be inscribed on its memorial tablet.

On Labor Day the two contingents of the organized workers' party—the trade unions, which are its forces of defense, and the Socialist party, which is its arm of offense, parade their banners side by side, and together fall into line behind the red flag of the workers' international. From the same platform, and with united voice, they formulate their joint demands for measures to ameliorate the lot of the wage worker, and reaffirm their determination to march steadily forward to the conquest of political and economic freedom.

But on the morrow Socialists and trade unionists return each to their own sphere of activity, and resume their functions as two wings of the same army carrying on a campaign within the realm of capitalism—that is to say, in the enemy's country and in conflict with a force still vastly superior to any that labor has yet contrived to organize. There is no neutral territory to which the workers can withdraw to recuperate what strength they spend in the struggle with their exploiters, and until capitalism is dethroned the trade unions have all their work cut out for them, in defensive warfare against the conspiracy to cut down wages in which capitalism is constantly engaged. It is true that offensive tactics are oftentimes the best means of defense, and those who do not look below the surface of things sometimes mistake strikes and labor riots as indications that the workers have at length assumed the offensive, though as a matter of fact they only indicate that, in hard straits how to defend themselves and driven into a corner, the wage workers can fight as desperately as a badger in a barrel, who half emerges from it to snap at its assailants, though it only adopts the offensive because instinct indicates that in no other way will it be able to save its own skin.

Just Putting on Its Armor.

Let not him who putteth on his armor boast himself as one who taketh it off. The Socialist party in this country is only now putting on its armor to take the offensive against capitalism, and it is not for its members to tell the trade unionists that they can safely abandon the lines of defense against capitalist aggression which they constructed before Socialism entered the field. So far from abandoning those entrenchments, let the trade unions strengthen them until they are positions from which they can effectively sally forth to aid their allies in the political field in days when we shall need all the help they can give.

On the new page of the annals of the struggle for social freedom will be recorded many incidents illustrating the advantages of mutual support but we must not permit it to be said that we made the blunder of forgetting that the main function of the trade union is to help its members to keep the family larder supplied, in spite of capitalist greed, and differs from that of the Socialist party, whose function it is to capture the political power that will enable the workers to overthrow capitalism. Let the trade unions provide and protect the workers' commissariat, and the Socialist party will carry on the political campaign against capitalism! It may puzzle some folks to decide which is the more important function of the two, but everyone knows that little fighting can be done on hungry bellies.

The new page must not be disfigured with records of time and energy misspent by members of the Socialist party who could not resist the temptation to pull up Socialism by the roots every now and again "just to see how it grows." There are no such problems as those suggested by the questions, "Are you in favor of revolution or reform?" "Do you advocate direct or indirect action?" Social freedom is our goal, and we have but to keep that goal in clear mental vision, and we shall find ourselves being drawn higher and higher by the revolution with which society is pregnant.

As midwives of the new society we shall use just such instruments as exigencies may from time to time require, not troubling ourselves whether they are ticketed Reformist, Revolutionist, Parliamentary, Municipal, Trade Unionist, or whether they further direct or indirect action. Bureaucracy will officiously tender its services to give collectivism safe birth. Organized labor must reject—nay, more, it must repel—those services, and itself preside at the nativity of the Communist society. It can only prepare itself for fit performance of that duty by beginning here and now to organize its own life, its own forces; in other words, by taking control of administrative bodies and by capturing political power. There is no such thing as Municipal Socialism, but Socialist activity in the municipality will lighten the burden of suffering borne by the workers as certainly as bourgeois activity in that sphere lightened the burden of rates levied on the middle class.

To Organize Municipal Activities.

One of the first duties of the United Socialist party will be to organize such activity, for it is not sufficient merely to secure the return of Socialists to administrative bodies. The party must co-ordinate their action and give its delegates to these bodies clear guidance what laws they must enforce, what laws they must break. Individuals who have more respect for legality than for justice are unfit to represent the principles of Socialism, which are themselves contrary to established law and order.

Walt Whitman asserts that there are but two typical great men—the Great Law Maker and the Great Law Breaker. In every large industrial constituency the working class vote could return Socialist majorities to these bodies. Let us tell the workers plainly that when they elect them those majorities will do the thing that is right, regardless of legality.

When the local government board surcharges Socialist delegates with the sums thus expended, and on their refusal to pay attempts to sell them up, there will be such a collision between the legislative earthen pot and the administrative iron pot that one of them will get broken. It is for us to precipitate that conflict, for we have all to gain and nothing to lose thereby.

It is claimed that science has fulfilled the Baconian prophecy of power through knowledge, and in his recently published work on "Present Philosophical Tendencies," Professor Perry of Harvard University, asserts that the brilliancy of its achievement "has given man a sense of proprietorship in this world and transformed his motive in life from bare preservation to conquest." But he forgets that the mass of the people have been defrauded of knowledge, and thus defrauded of power, and it is Socialism, and Socialism alone, that can give them knowledge, and inspire them with that "faith in the power of life to establish and magnify itself through the progressive mastery of its environment" which, as the professor well observes, "is the most significant religious idea of modern times."

WORKING MEN ARE THE TARGETS.

"In 1870 an ordinary shell when it burst broke into from nineteen to thirty pieces. Today it bursts into 240 pieces. Shrapnel in 1870 scattered only thirty-seven death-dealing missiles. Now it scatters 340. A bomb weighing about seventy pounds, thirty years ago, would have burst into forty-two fragments. Today, when it is charged with peroxilene, it breaks into 1,200 pieces, each of which is hurled with much greater velocity than the larger lumps which were scattered by a gunpowder explosion. It is estimated that

such a bomb would destroy all life within a range of 200 meters (about 200 yards) of the point of the explosion. With the increase in the number of bullets and fragments, and in the forces which disperse them, increases also the area which they affect. Splinters and bullets bring death and destruction, not only as in 1870, to those in the vicinity of the explosion, but at a distance of 220 yards away, and this, though fired from a distance of 3,300 yards (about two miles). In a time when rifle and artillery fire were beyond comparison weaker than they are now, those who were left unhelped on the battlefield might hope for safety. But now, when the whole field of battle is covered with an uninterrupted hail of bullets and fragments of shells (at night, too, with a searchlight equipment), there is little place for such a hope."—From George R. Kirkpatrick's "War—What For?"

SHAM PATRIOTISM VS. THE RED FLAG.

W. S. Wallace, in the Houston Chronicle.

In this age of commercialism it strikes a person who has not looked very far beneath the surface of things that there is a superabundance of patriotism in the land. The ruling of Judge Hanford, which deposed Olson from his citizenship because he was a Socialist; the compelling of the Industrial Workers of the World to kiss the flag by the vigilantes of San Diego; the Stars and Stripes vs. the Red Flag put forth as an issue by the "non-partisans" in the municipal election of Milwaukee, and the various attempts to prevent Socialists from using the Red Flag in parades, are incidents which awaken in my mind memories of the long ago.

During the presidential campaign of 1860 I was a school boy. The political excitement of that time—with the exception of the French revolution—is without a parallel in history. Youthful as I was, I took great interest in current affairs, and found time after school hours and during holidays at my old Southern home in the country to read the leading journals of the North and South, with which I was well supplied. After much reading and reflection I came to the conclusion that the Republican party was a revolutionary party and apparently had very little reverence for the flag. I became convinced then that the states would be precipitated into a bloody revolution—a fact which I realized forcibly afterward when I went from Texas an enlisted soldier, to become a participant in many of the bloody battles fought east of the Mississippi. The radical utterances of the leaders of the Republican party were reproduced in the Southern press and proclaimed from the rostrum by Southern speakers. In those days Republicans had no conscientious scruples in proclaiming the following popular phrases: "The constitution is a league with hell and a covenant with death;" "There is a higher law than the constitution;" "This Union cannot exist half slave and half free;" "The flag is a flaunting lie."

Now, were the leaders of the Republican party and the rank and file who gave expression to such extreme utterances really unpatriotic? Not at all. They were simply the unconscious instruments of social evolution. Neither were the Southern soldiers who fought the world in rags unpatriotic. They, too, were the unconscious instruments of social evolution. Jefferson Davis and Robert E. Lee were just as patriotic as Lincoln and Grant. The "economic interpretation of history" promulgated by Karl Marx has thrown a flood of light on that mighty conflict and has made it evident that political parties are merely the political expression of class interests and that patriotism cuts no figure whatever. The Socialist party is the political expression of the laboring class. The Socialist of 1912 is not a bit more unpatriotic than the Republican radical of 1860. While he cherishes the Red Flag, which symbolizes the brotherhood of man, he yields to none in his respect for "Old Glory."

Away with this sham patriotism, which Doctor Johnson stigmatized as "the last refuge of scoundrels." The Red Flag will remain unfurled to the breeze until political and industrial tyrants are no more. It will wave in defiance of inhumanity as long as a prison, a scaffold, a hovel or a brothel continues to desecrate the earth.

SOCIALISM AND EDUCATION.

The Meaning of Education.

By J. G. Scott.

To get an inductive definition of education from the Socialists point of view, I talked with many different Socialists about the meaning of education for them. The different answers always reduced to: "Learning things so that you can get along better."

To further questioning "to get along better" nearly always reduced first to get more for your work; second (the hardest of all to draw out) "to be happier and to make others happier."

Building on this, Socialistic education means (1) learning to live a more efficient economic life, (a) as a co-operative producer of wealth, (b) as a co-operative worker for the equitable distribution of wealth, (c) as a rational consumer of wealth for the happiness of self and others; (2) learning to live a more efficient social life (a) by knowing and appreciating all the great and good things that the race, through its long history and evolution, has done for the present individual, (b) by understanding the causes for and fully feeling the economic, social and moral condition of all classes of the people of the present, (c) by actually living, in so far as possible, the social life of the near-future individual as a preparation for the best possible form of adult social life.

Taking up these elements of meaning in order, the school and course of instruction implied by the above definition are as follows:

(1) To learn to live an efficient economic life the school must give to all pupils actual labor for vocational training, together with vocational science studies necessary for such efficient labor (a) in an environment where the work must take the co-operative group form of labor rather than the individualistic, competitive form, (b) with the school organized as a junior co-operative commonwealth (c) where wealth consumption will be democratic, according to actual needs, rather than for conspicuous, emulative, display purposes; (2) to make for a more efficient social life, the school must give, by actual living in a school society, an appreciation of the past, present and future progress of man on earth, together with such social science studies as will be necessary for this appreciation.

Man and his environment, then, should constitute the subject matter of the Socialist school, and all studies should be but tools to work out successfully the economic and social problems that will and must arise in such junior co-operative commonwealth.

When education means these things universally for all the children of all the people, then we may fully feel that at least the race is being properly educated, and know as well that the highest educational aims of the best thinkers are being realized.

A Proposed Socialist School.

The best form of Socialist school would be the one most nearly giving the environment and training for efficient social and economic life, as outlined above. Such a school should be a junior co-operative commonwealth, an industrial farm school, located at the edge of the village, town or small city, or outer suburbs of the larger city. All education and training, whether literary, scientific, social, moral, cultural or economic should be based on vocational activities on this school farm and its industries related to its intensive agriculture.

In this proposed industrial farm school education can be carried on more

easily, cheaper and with far better results for the individual and the state than in any other form of school. The proof of this is abundant and convincing.

First, this form of school is practical. It has demonstrated its practicability in a variety of ways and places. The George Junior Republic, well-known to all, has been an eminent success even with the very worst material. Tuskegee and Hampton Institute are striking examples of success along almost similar lines. Many of our public rural high schools approach and are steadily gravitating toward this ideal. The School of the Ozarks at Forsythe, Missouri, with but very small capital but plenty of enthusiasm, has in a few years practically reached as a private school such a stage of success in this line of work as to make sure of being taken over by the town as a public high school in a very short time. A school of this kind is in successful operation in Georgia, one near Baltimore and others in numerous other localities.

Second, this is the cheapest way to educate youth. The cost of the farm will be less than the expensive city site; the cost of buildings for the same amount of service will be less than at present, since with so much outdoor activities, buildings will be less used, and many of these can be built cheaply by pupils as a part of the regular vocational work, while many things can be done as well in cheap wooden structures, covered with vines to give a better esthetic effect than the bare walls now seen; summer work dispenses with the big fuel and janitor bills and what vacation is given can be given during the three cold winter months; equipment, being so much simpler, can be largely made and entirely housed by students as a part of the regular school work; teachers should cost more, but fewer will be needed, as book drill can be banished and the work can be organized so that the older pupils may direct the younger, leaving the teacher free for superintendence only—for direction, in a junior co-operative commonwealth will displace didactics. The increased cost for skilled directors may be largely neutralized by the fact that they will live permanently on the farm and get much of their living therefrom; laboratory equipment will be far less expensive, as expensive research apparatus will be unnecessary, and, more important, co-operative study of science will displace the foolish, wasteful "individual work" now generally upheld, and this will require about one-twentieth of such apparatus.

Third, such a school will solve the problem of withdrawal from school. Withdrawal from school between 12 and 18 years, in the ideal educative period, is the most serious problem now confronting orthodox educators. The chief causes for withdrawal are, first, to help support self or family; second, to satisfy the "working and earning fever;" third, to escape the school prison with its lock-step curriculum, prison discipline and pedantic pedagogues. The industrial farm should give pleasant, healthful work at better wages than can be secured outside; it will surely satisfy the working fever and it will replace prison life with real, active social and economic life in a normal, free society.

Fourth, science, that Spencer truly declared could alone prepare for complete living, will in the industrial farm school be functional in solving actual problems in which the pupil is economically and therefore vitally interested. Farm science, such as agricultural chemistry, soil physics and soil fertility, and economic biology will replace the research science that is now so out of place in our secondary schools.

Fifth, that evanescent essence, the moral sentiments and habits, the bugbear of the non-functional school and teacher, can be easily developed and trained correctly where vital activities are to be controlled or modified by individuals and groups—for moral life concerns itself with social action; the varied activities in the actual social and economic life of the industrial farm school activities furnish the ideal environment to give ideals and secure habits of control.

Sixth, as President Hill has said, "The farmer makes his own art gallery" and, with ever-varying nature, the clouds, sky, birds, insects, waving trees and grass and flowers, moving water and changing landscape, all for a background, creates his own art treasures as well. Here is the best and cheapest art work for our boys and girls. No person has been properly educated who does not feel a thrill at "For Nature never did betray the heart that loved her."

Seventh, where youth are living, in contrast to being shut up in order to study, they will play as well as work, and the school farm will be an ideal playground, as well as workshop and art gallery and study laboratory. The playground and park can be utilized by adults as well, and the whole school can be a social center and place of recreation for the entire community.

Eighth, since we only learn to do by doing, preparation for citizenship, one of the highest aims of education, can best be given in an actual junior society where problems, similar to those in adult society, will arise and be solved by the junior citizens. Since all such problems, immediately or ultimately, are concerned with industry, the industrial farm school, with its complex industrial activities and their interrelations and necessary interdependence—in fact, with activities the very core of all school work—will give the widest range of problems and furnish an almost ideal environment for the development of citizenship through their practical solution.

Ninth, the training of girls could best be provided for on an industrial school farm, where the noonday meal could be prepared by pupils each day, actual housework could be given, together with the care of dependent children or the teachers' children. They would also get the so much needed training (not studies) in political life, for actual citizenship. But, above all else, they could do industrial work, and if we listen well, we shall find the keynote, beneath all the clamor of the modern awakening woman, to be, "Give us labor and the training that fits for labor! We demand this, not for ourselves alone, but for the whole race." The school that increases rather than diminishes female parasitism is today a social evil, though for the leisure class it is extremely "proper."

Tenth, the all round life possible on the industrial school farm, touching the most fundamental industries, necessitating the study of hundreds of industrial, political, scientific, social, moral and esthetic questions, will reveal more aptitudes and stimulate a wider range of desires for useful future life work than any other type of environment.

Eleventh, all literary activities can be given on an industrial school farm more easily and with better results than in the orthodox high school of today. "If pupils write themes, they must have something to say that presses for utterance, knowledge to impart, feelings to relieve in that way; convictions to state, experiences to describe, facts to put down. . . . If they read it must be what absorbs and carries them along, be what their curiosity longs to know. . . . If there are plenty of these things, the three big P's of the rhetorics come to themselves untaught."

Familiarity with the best contemporary writers whose pages burn with the problems of the present and that strike home by their inherent appeal, gives a culture which is not a sickly cellar plant and which does not discolor when school is abandoned. Reading should be repaid, extensive and varied, and impelled by vital activities which only a vocational school can give.

Twelfth, and most important of all, all our serious social problems and social maladjustments, resulting from a waste of human energy too enormous to calculate, result from the one fact that our social habits are not as easily changed as our industrial habits; industry changes more rapidly than human institutions. If the school is to be the engine of social progress, it must hitch on to the head of the train and pull forward, instead of continually pulling backward by inculcating social habits adapted to the industrial life of hundreds of years ago. The industrial school farm must be a junior co-operative commonwealth, a miniature industrial democracy, where the great distributive problem, which is our twentieth century problem, may be as effectually solved as the problem of production has already been solved.

As a summary, the logical implicates of the proposed Socialist school are:

1. Universal education in a practically self-governing, industrial school democracy.
2. Living more under public school rather than private family supervision and influence.
3. Grounding educational aims on industrial evolution and actual training on actual industrial labor.
4. By uniting labor and learning, give true dignity and meaning to labor with the hands and develop healthful, working-class consciousness.
5. Make for self-support in all adolescent education, not to relieve the community, but to give social reliance, insure incentive and training to cooperate, and by making desirable learning difficult, make the desire to study permanent, but securable only by securing leisure through co-operative labor with the brain and hands. The motto of the Socialist industrial farm school should be: "Learn to labor for leisure to learn."

NEWS FROM WASHINGTON, D. C.

(By National Socialist Press.)

Washington, June.—The new Republican platform is the finest piece of sophistry and unadulterated lying that has ever been offered as a political declaration by either of the two old parties.

Only the other day an aroused public, led by the Socialist press, succeeded in blocking the passage of the infamous Root amendment which provided for the deportation of political refugees. Senator Root, the chairman of the Republican convention and the censor of the Republican platform, was the author of this amendment against the right of asylum. In the light of the foregoing, what do you think of this clause in the new Republican platform:

"The right of asylum is a precious possession of the people of the United States, and it is to be neither surrendered nor restricted."

A few months ago the country was stirred by the scandal in the Department of Agriculture which permitted greedy capitalists to poison the food of the people. Now the Republican party declares in its platform that one of the accomplishments of this "Party of Lincoln" was "the vigorous administration of the laws relating to pure food and drugs." Dr. Harvey W. Wiley, who had to resign from his position as chief of the Bureau of Chemistry, will be greatly interested in this clause, no doubt.

Here is a spicy item: "We rejoice in the success of the distinctive Republican policy of the conservation of our natural resources for their use by the people without waste and monopoly. Ballinger and Guggenheim will undoubtedly lead in the rejoicings."

A noteworthy omission in the latest Republican vote-catcher is that stereotyped promise of injunction legislation. Even the weak promise of the 1908 platform is left out. It must be said, however, that the Republican party knew that the injunction legislation desired by Samuel Gompers would not get it many votes. The Republican politicians have lost all fear of Gompers' threats of "punishing enemies" and they let him go to Baltimore, where politicians are not so shrewd.

The 1912 platform of the Republican party also omits its famous declaration against Socialism, which graced the 1908 platform. That warning against Socialism resulted in a big gain for the Socialist party in 1908, and the framers of the 1912 platform did not want to take chances with another warning.

The following from the new Republican platform is the most important bid for workingmen's votes contained in that document:

"It will strive, not only in the nation, but in the several states, to enact the necessary legislation to safeguard the public health; to limit effectively the labor of women and children; to protect wage-earners engaged in dangerous occupations; to enact comprehensive and generous workman's compensation laws."

Innumerable bills covering these subjects have been successfully blocked and killed in committee rooms by the Cannons, Roots, Heyburns and other Republicans. The Republican party for the last decade has had control of the legislative machinery of the national government and most of the states. The problems of labor which are mentioned above have existed throughout that time; and still the Republican party is "striving."

It is striving for votes, that's all.

Driscoll Exposes Democrats.

The hypocrisy of the Southern Democrats who pose as "friends of labor" in the House of Representatives for political effect, but who do nothing in their own states to relieve the conditions of the workers, was bitterly arraigned by Representative Driscoll of New York, a Republican, in a scorching speech in the House.

His denunciation was brought about by the brazen hypocrisy of Representative Heflin of Alabama, in declaring that "there is no man in this House who will vote more readily for those who toil." The House had under consideration the naval appropriation bill, and Uncle Joe Cannon, the reactionary member from Illinois, offered an amendment that only coal mined under the eight-hour workday be purchased. Apparently Cannon's move was to help the mine workers, but the real reason was that the coal mined in Cannon's home district is already mined under the eight-hour day, and he was merely serving the Illinois mine owners. Of course, most of the members did not see the point, and the sight of the reactionary Cannon posing as a "friend of labor" aroused the envy of all the other members and there was a general rush to praise the workers. Most of the hot air came from the Southern Democrats.

The declarations of the Southern Democrats were so obviously humbug that Driscoll arose and asked permission to insert in the Congressional Record certain extracts from the laws and constitutions of the Southern states where the so-called "friends of labor" hail from.

"There has been a good deal of buncombe here this afternoon," declared Driscoll, "more playing to the galleries and for home consumption than usual."

"The gentleman from Alabama—Mr. Heflin—grew so red in the face that I feared he might burst a blood vessel in avowing his sympathy for the down-trodden workingman, and his desire to relieve him of it."

"There are several other able and influential members of this body, among them a prominent candidate for the Democratic presidential nomination. Let them return to their own states and repeal those outrageous statutes which are the relics of industrial slavery and peonage. Let them get in step with the march of progress in other parts of the country. Let them by their acts give evidence of their good faith and sincerity as friends of the plain people, and they will be listened to on that subject with attention and respect."

After a fight with the reactionary Southern members—the same members who form a majority on the committee of the judiciary, who reported and voted for the Clayton anti-injunction bill and who have been loud-mouthed in their protestations of love for the working people—Driscoll secured permission to insert in the Congressional Record extracts from many of the laws of the Southern states that show how these so-called "friends of labor" knife labor in the back in their own districts.

The extracts quoted by Driscoll show that in Alabama it is a crime punishable with a fine of not more than \$100 and imprisonment in the county jail not more than three months to persuade a worker to leave his job; that boycotting or unfair lists are strictly forbidden. Similarly, in Texas, Georgia and in all of the Southern states, there are antiquated, outrageous and barbarous laws against labor.

And yet the Democratic representatives who offer no protest against

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

OFFICERS

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 C. E. MAHONEY, Vice President.....605 Railroad Bldg., Denver, Colo.
 ERNEST MILLS, Secretary-Treasurer.....605 Railroad Bldg., Denver, Colo.
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 DAN D. SULLIVAN.....112 W. Broadway, Butte, Montana
 FRANK BROWN.....Globe, Arizona.

LIST OF UNIONS

No.	Name	Meet'g Night	President	Secretary	P.O.	Address
ALASKA						
109	Douglas Island	Wed	A. Lillestrand	F. L. Alstrom	188	Douglas
194	Knik M U					Knik
152	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
ARIZONA						
106	Bisbee	Sun	P. L. Savage	G. S. Routh	2178	Bisbee
77	Chloride	Wed	Fred Berndt	C. A. Parisia	53	Chloride
89	Crown King	Sat	Eric Bloom	O. A. Tyler	30	Crown King
150	Douglas M & S		D. J. Bebb	John L. Golden	211	Douglas
60	Globe	Tues	E. C. Bright	A. J. Bennett	1809	Globe
116	Hualapai	Fri	H. M. Buck	J. E. Allen		Solconoa
79	Jerome	Thur	Wm. J. Grey	James Presley	725	Jerome
118	McCabe	Sat	Jas. E. O'Brian	A. E. Comer	30	McCabe
70	Miami M. U.	Wed	H. T. Gregory	Keneth Clayton	836	Miami
228	Pinto Creek	Wed	Frank Lyon	J. A. Gibson		Bellevue
124	Snowball	Thur	John Mullen	A. O. Decker	446	Goldroad
156	Swansea	Thur	R. A. Brooks	H'ny Wischmeyer	66	Swansea
110	Tiger	Thur	Fred Erickson	F. A. Barnard	13	Harrington
BRIT. COLUMBIA						
216	Britannia		Neil Haney			Vancouver
182	Goose Bay M. U.					Goose Bay
180	Grand Forks	Wed	Wilson Fleming	J. N. Currie	M	Grand Forks
22	Greenwood	Sat	Fred Axam	William Ross	124	Greenwood
161	Hedley M & M.	Wed	O. M. Stevens	T. R. Willey	124	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	108	Nelson
8	Phoenix	Sat	Q. Work	Doney Vignaux	234	Phoenix
181	Portland Canal		Dan Bartholomew	Cas Davis		Stewart
38	Roseland	Wed	Samuel Stevens	Herbert Varcoe	421	Roseland
81	Sandon	Sat	Ronald Stoner	A. Shilland		Sandon
95	Silverton	Sat	Chas. Isevor	Fred Liebacher	85	Silverton
62	Slocan City			D. B. O'Neal	90	Slocan City
118	Texada	Sat	B. E. Thornton	A. M. McPherson		Van Anda
105	Trail M & S.	Mon	R. P. Moore	J. A. MacKinnon	26	Trail
85	Ymir	Wed	A. Burgess	W. B. McIsaac	506	Ymir
CALIFORNIA						
135	Amador Co. M. M.	Fri	Jas. Stapleton	James Giambruno		Sutter Creek
61	Bodie	Tues	F. T. Roach	J. M. Donohue	5	Bodie
55	Calaveras	Wed	W. E. Thompson	W. S. Reid	227	Angel's Camp
141	French Gulch	Sat	T. J. Simpson	Wm. Maguire	12	French Gulch
90	Grass Valley	Fri	John H. Pascoe	C. W. Jenkins	199	Grass Valley
91	Grass Valley					
169	Surface Workers	Fri	T. H. Brockington	W. J. Martin	497	Grass Valley
99	Hart	Sat	W. E. Kyle	A. C. Travis		Grass Valley
174	Kennett	Tues	Chas. Fransen	J. M. Snorf	37	Hart
93	Nevada City	Thur	Geo. Simington	H. C. Evans	7	Kennett
44	Randsburg	Wed	Thos. Haddy	Wm. Angwin	78	Nevada City
211	Skidoo	Sat	J. Delany	E. M. Arandall	248	Randsburg
73	Tuolumne	Thur	Frank Moore	T. Zeigler	355	Skidoo
127	Wood's Creek	Thur	John Peepo	Ed. Climo	101	Stent
COLORADO						
64	Bryan	Sat	Jas. Penaluna	James Spurrler	82	Ophir
142	Castle Rock M & S		Steve Trefon	Ben Goggin	527	Salida
33	Cloud City	Mon	Owen Lane	Abe Waldron	8	Leadville
20	Creede	Fri	Oash Powers	Geo. Fultz	543	Creede
234	Cripple Creek D U	Wed	Wm. Nolan	John Turney		Victor
56	Central City	Thur	J. W. Driscoll	John Gorman	537	Central City
180	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
6	Pitkin County	Tues	W. R. Cole	Geo. W. Smith	1046	Aspen
43	Pueblo S. Union		Steve Carlino	Chas. Pogorelec	755	Pueblo
86	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 Morn	Robt. Ohlich	Mike Livoda	387	Trinidad
59	Ward	Fri	Lew Nichols	J. D. Orme	126	Ward
IDAHO						
10	Burke	Fri	Otto E. Dubach	Owen McCabe	158	Burke
53	De Lamar	Mon	James H. Hore	Wm. Oombs	19	De Lamar
11	Gem	Tues	Chas. Goranson	Ed. Erickson	117	Gem
9	Mullan	Sat	A. H. Carver	Richard Chesnutt	30	Mullan
68	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
KANSAS						
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
KENTUCKY						
245	Criggs M. U.		Arthur Christie	H. C. Gregory		Owingsville
MICHIGAN						
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	Sun	Peter Jemma	John E. Auttilla	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		Lorenca 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 Temple		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
223	Winthrop M. W.	Mon	John Jantaas	Thos. Clayton	74	National Mine
MINNESOTA						
155	Hibbing M. U.			H. W. Riihonen		Hibbing

LIST OF UNIONS

No.	Name	Meet'g Night	President	Secretary	P.O.	Address
MISSOURI						
231	Bonne Terre		Wm. Wenson	Fred Wright		Bonne Terre
221	Carterville M. U.		Jas. A. Housman	Lee Powers		Carterville
229	Desloge	Sat	F. M. Monroe	John Thurman		Desloge
230	Doe Run	Thur	James Mitchell	W. E. Williams		Doe Run
242	Elvins M. M.		Del Cole	Rufus Blaylock		Elvins
225	Flat River	Mon	J. S. Larned	J. L. Johnson		Flat River
205	Fredricktown M & S		L. D. Owen	F. Z. Guettar		Fredricktown
249	Herculaneum Smeltermen's U.		H. M. Meng	A. L. Hill		Herculaneum
217	Joplin	Thurs	O. L. Bailey	John A. Lackay		Joplin
236	Leadwood	Tues	M. H. Mathes	E. M. Davis		Leadwood
192	Mine La Motte M U		D. L. Abby	Floyd Rogers		Mine La Motte
232	Prosperity		Sam Blackledge	D. A. Johnson		Prosperity
226	Webb City		O. E. Paxton	C. W. Bonner		Webb City
219	Zinc Lodge			I. M. Sidensticker		Neck City
MONTANA						
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	87	Neilhart
1	Butte	Tues	George Curry	M. J. Cleary	1407	Butte
83	Butte Engineers	Wed	Rec. Sec. Joe Little	Sec. Treas. W. T. Sodden		Butte
191	Corbin M & M.	Wed	James Belcher	A. O. Dawe	229	Corbin
157	Elkorn	Tues	Al Smitchger	Jas. Williams	12	Elkorn
82	Garnet	Tues	Joseph O'Brien	Michael Miller		Garnet
4	Granite	Tues	Nels Sedin	Al Hollander	280	Phillipsburg
16	Great Falls M & S	Tues	M. McDonald	Al Hollander	1720	Great Falls
175	Iron Mountain		Alfred Bordsen	A. B. Pettigrew		Supersor
107	Judith Mountain	Sat	John McMullan	W. G. Allen	114	Maiden
112	Maryville M. U.		M. M. Dryden	Barney Moran		Maryville
138	Mt. Helena	Sat	T. J. Shea	Geo. Sutherland	453	Helena
111	North Moccasin	Sat	Jas. Taylor	E. J. Holder	68	Kendall
131	Pony M & M.	1-3 Sa	Frank Roben	J. F. Milligan	205	Pony
120	Radersburg	Mon	E. M. Freeman	John T. Taylor	137	Radersburg
208	Ruby L & D W	2nd & 4h Sat	Ed. Slavins	O. O. Sweeney		Ruby
25	Winston		Ben Stabler	Fred Slavens		Winston
190	Zortman	Tues	A. D. Beaton	E. L. R. Snow		Zortman
NEVADA						
30	Austin	Wed	Ed Ingram	O. P. Bakka	8	Austin
252	Blair M & M.	1-3 Tu	Chas. Westling	Geo. Amell	83	Blair
235	Bonanza	Sat	A. J. Fingling	J. B. Williams	14	Rhyolite
248	Bullion	Tues	Wm. Kidd	Al Morgan		Hilltop
265	Eureka	Taur	William Gibson	J. H. Jury	18	Eureka
243	Fairview	Wed	William Dunne	J. A. Herndon	26	Fairview
54	Gold Hill	Mon	James McKinley	F. L. Clark	115	Gold Hill
251	Lane	Thur	John Gavin	Jno. N. MacGuire	38	Kimberly
261	Lyon & Ormsby Co	2-4 Mo	Hugh Farley	Henry S. Rice		Mound House
225	Thompson M. & S.					Thompson
248	Lucky Boy	Thurs	John Inman	S. H. Hartwig	90	Lucky Boy
241	Manhattan	Tues	Chas. B. Cameron	Frank Clinton	158	Manhattan
262	Mason	d Fri	B. G. Smith	John T. Moore	95	Mason
264	Millers	Wed	F. F. Duprey	Joe Hutchinson	6	Millers
254	National	Sat	J. G. Westberg	H. J. Martin		National
263	Pioche	Mon		W. B. Martin		Pioche
179	Olinghouse Canon	Thur	B. Duncan	C. A. Carmiencke		Olinghouse
244	Rawhide	Fri		V. C. Timson	44	Rawhide
247	Round Mountain	Fri	Elmer Spahr	John Harrington	F	Round M'tn
164	Searchlight	Thur	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	Stephos M & S	Mon	W. T. Sylvester	A. J. Couzens	338	McGill
121	Tonopah	Tues	Stephen S. Clark	Thos. McManus	11	Tonopah
31	Tuscarora	Wed	Chester D. Lamar	W. I. Plumb	67	Tuscarora
256	Vernon	Fri	Jerry Sullivan	W. J. Smith	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
NEW JERSEY						
266	Franklin Fur. M. S		Mark Sedusky	Mike Zagarsky		Franklin Furnace
267	Perth Amboy S. U		Adam Szyzns	Victor Pencosz		787 Parker St
NEW MEXICO						
32	Mogollon M. U.		H. A. Amott	C. A. Eckert	1	Mogollon
OKLAHOMA						
132	Bartlesville M & S	Mon	Jos. Irick	Wm. Ransom	515	421 Cheyenne
ONTARIO						
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. Oluney	521	So. Porcupine
148	Silver Center	Sun	H. J. Murphy	Jos. E. Redmond		Silver Center
OREGON						
186	Cornucopia	Sat	M. A. Christensen	Chris Schneider	6	Cornucopia
42	Bourne		C. B. Shaw	J. N. Gambs		Bourne
SOUTH DAKOTA						
3	Central City	Sat	E. Flow	Jas. Bars	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.	Thur	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.	Thur	John Sanford	J. A. Sanford		Maitland
5	Terry Peak	Wed	John Pearson	J. C. May	174	Terry
UTAH						
159	Alta M. U.		Maurice Walsh	Jno. Edensstrom		Alta
67	Bingham	Sat	Wm. Jurgens	E. G. Locke		N Bingham Cn.
201	Salt Lake M & S	Tues	Matt Alfirevich	Marion Leake	802	Salt Lake City
151	Tintic District	Sat	John Milligan	J. W. Morton		R Eureka
199	Mercur	Sun	Wm. Treloar	P. J. Kelly	415	Mercur
144	Park City	Thurs	Maurice Lowney	John T. Leahy	891	Park City
202	Tooele	Tues	L. P. Des Aulniers	F. C. Bentley	226	Tooele
WASHINGTON						
224	Loomis	Sun	Fred Till	Geo. Bowers	62	Loomis
28	Republic	Tues	A. B. Crary	Geo. B Paul	164	Republic
WISCONSIN						
213	Hurley M. U.	Sun	Armando Endrizzi	Emanuel De Meio	4	Hurley
212	Pence M. U.	1st & 3d Sun	Jim Peralla	Felix Barbacori	24	Pence

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these conditions in their own states are constantly advertising themselves as "friends of labor" in the halls of the national capital.

A few days after Driscoll delivered his speech, Representative Bartlett of Georgia took the floor and with considerable pride pointed out that Georgia has a law against the employment of children below the age of 10 years. That children between the ages of 10 and 16 are enslaved in the factories and cotton mills of his state he did not dare deny.

MAGPIE POLITICS.

By Joseph Cohen.

Everything is fair in love and war, and, to let loose an Irish bull, everything is doubly fair in politics.

Attest: The Republican and Democratic parties.

Or, to put it still another way: Solomon was right; there is nothing new under the sun, at least in the old parties.

Boil down the endless talk that is being emitted by the self-appointed

candidates of the Republican and Democratic conglomeration of discordant elements called parties, and all the solid stuff that remains after the boiling is an ounce or two of Socialist ideas.

And one would hardly imagine that much was there, were not the two parties accusing each other of robbing the Socialist garden for their flower of thought.

It is well, therefore, to pause every month or so, and assure our very dear friends, the conservatives and reactionaries that they have nothing at all to fear from the old party villain who is flourishing a vicious dagger and a lighted bomb. The dagger is of wood and the bomb ditto. Furthermore, the hero, in the last act, will save the party and the country from the machinations of the desperate villain and his right-hand man, the campaign manager.

That is to say, we are not going to have Socialism this coming winter. It is not the next Christmas present. No such luck.

Of course—break the news gently—we already have a foretaste of Socialism. What political and economic power has already been taken by the labor movement and Socialist party is just that much taken from the ruling class, and is that much Socialism. Only a trifle, to be sure, but, judging by the way the ruling class fought against relinquishing it, even that trifle was more than worth while.

Now comes the whole pack of presidential candidates, the rough rider yelling and whooping directions, dashing like mad into what is advertised, on the large billboards along the route, to be unbroken ground.

It is to laugh.

The old parties are not rushing into Socialism. Not yet.

And what is more to the point, they are not stopping the Socialist party from growing. They are not turning the attention of thinking people to their own little shell game.

The people who think are very, very busy thinking.

For example, the Socialist party now has 150,000 members. It has not lost membership since Roosevelt went on his shooting spree, for the very good reason that Roosevelt is firing only blank cartridges.

Not only has the Socialist party not lost membership. It has even gained a few here and there, and now and again. In fact, it gained no less than 50,000 of its 150,000 since the first of the current year. And maybe it will gain some, whether Roosevelt remains on the warpath or is crumpled into the waste paper basket.

And, mind you, in 1908 the total membership of the Socialist party was only 11,000. And the vote in that year was more than 450,000. We dare not even whisper, for fear Roosevelt's hat might be scared out of the circus ring, what the Socialist strength is likely to be next November.

Roosevelt and all joking aside, it is gratifying to note that the magpie politicians of the old parties—and we mention no names—have not only learned to say things that resemble Socialist thunder in echo; they are even willing to nest in the deserted holes of the advancing Socialist movement. Upon which spectacle comment is unnecessary.

The Socialist movement is advancing with such tremendous strides that it can afford to throw its leavings to the magpies. May they not, in their greed to swallow such crumbs of comfort, choke to death.

Judging by returns listed in the national office of the Socialist party was only 41,000. And the vote in their way of telling the difference between Socialist politics and the magpie brand.

Which is something to be thankful for!

MARCHING SONG.

By Berton Braley.

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

So get the swing of the song we sing and join in the march—fall in!

We promise no loot to the young recruit, no glory or praise or fame,
No gold you gain in this long campaign—but plenty of jeers and blame.
The quarters are mean and the rations lean; the service is harsh and grim,
The war is on from dark to dawn, from dawn to the twilight dim;
But there's ever the cheer of a comrade near, and the touch of his sturdy arm,

And his help in call if you faint and fall where the harring foemen swarm.
If you scorn reward for the fight that's hard, if you'd rather be right than win,
Just get the swing of the song we sing and join the march—fall in!

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

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

In Memoriam.

South Porcupine, Ontario, Canada, June 15 1912.

On June 5th, 1912, the Grim Messenger Death invaded our ranks and escorted therefrom one of our sincere and loyal members in the person of Dan Morgan, and it is with a feeling of profound regret that the members of Porcupine Miners' Union No. 145, W. F. of M., in regular meeting assembled, accept the loss of a true and tried comrade and brother.

Resolved further that we extend to his bereaved relatives our sincere sympathy on their irreparable loss, and that a copy of these resolutions be spread upon our minutes and a copy sent to the Miners' Magazine for publication.

LUKE SKELLY,
JAS. D. CLUNNY,
JOHN C. NICOL,

Committee.

(Seal)

PORCUPINE MINERS' UNION NO. 145, W. F. M.

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James M. Brinson

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(Attorney for the Western Federation of Miners.)



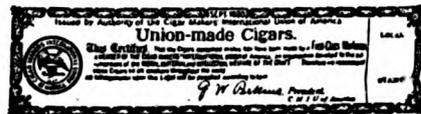
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