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# THE MINERS MAGAZINE

INDEPENDENCE  
EDUCATION ORGANIZATION

*Published Weekly by the*

## WESTERN FEDERATION OF MINERS

Denver, Colo.  
July 11  
1912  
Volume XII.  
Number 472



WEALTH  
BELONGS TO THE  
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EDUCATION    INDEPENDENCE    ORGANIZATION

# MINERS' MAGAZINE



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

Denver, Colorado,  
Thursday, July 11, 1912.

Volume XII., Number 472  
\$1.00 a Year

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 Communications not in conformity with this notice will not be published.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

Entered as second-class matter August 27, 1903, at the Postoffice at Denver, Colorado, under the Act of Congress March 3, 1879.

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

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

## Card of the Homestake Mining Co.

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Occupation

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Signed

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Department

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### STAY AWAY FROM BOSTON, MICHIGAN

**ALL THE UNDERGROUND WORKERS** at Demmon Mine, Boston, Michigan, are out on strike, demanding higher wages and some improvements in the hoisting regulations to protect their lives. Don't Scab!

STRIKE COMMITTEE.

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

### STAY AWAY FROM BLAIR, NEVADA.

**THE SENTENCES** imposed by Judge Wright on Gompers, Mitchell and Morrison will make converts to the recall of judges.

**LADY** in the Republican convention at Chicago who is recognized as a beauty in society, caused the delegates to cheer for forty minutes. All the insane are not in the asylums.

**LOS ANGELES** is having a building trades strike. The Merchants and Manufacturers' Association and the Builders' Exchange have been making ceaseless war on organized labor, and the membership of organized labor of Los Angeles are determined that the "open shop" shall not prevail. From the press reports it would seem that unionism in Los Angeles is destined to score a victory.

**THE STRIKE** of the transport workers threatens to involve every port in the country. Should the strike become general, the industrial paralysis will affect hundreds of thousands of the working class.

**JUDGE HANFORD'S** moral record is being bared at Washington. The evidence discloses that the judge who disfranchised a Socialist has not sprouted angelic wings. The Hanfords on the bench are making it absolutely necessary that the people shall exercise the recall.

**WHEN ROOSEVELT** went down to his Waterloo at Chicago we wonder if the bellowing and blustering Teddy realized that there were *classes* in this country. The question arises, what class administered the knock-out blow to the roaring broncho-buster, who screamed: "Thou shalt not steal?"

**THE AMALGAMATED** Association of Street and Electric Railway Employes have established a local union at Battle Creek, Michigan. Every employe of the traction company at Battle Creek is a member of the Street Carmen's Union, and C. W. Post, who has been an industrial czar in this *burg* of Michigan, is having spasms.

**IN THE CITY** of New York a few days ago \$26,000,000 were paid out as dividends on interest on investments. This vast amount was the profit that accumulated on investments during a period of six months. Those who received the dividends may boast about prosperity, but how about the people who raised this colossal sum to satisfy the hunger of sharks for profit?

**THE STEEL TRUST** has taken steps to eliminate seven-day labor in all mills, mines, shops, railroads, docks and works of the corporation, and wherever possible, to abolish the twelve-hour day.

The exposure in Congress of the uncivilized conditions that existed in the plants of the steel trust has moved the soulless magnates of this octopus to make a move towards bettering the condition of their slaves.

**M. R. BILLINGS**, who is an aspirant for gubernatorial honors in the state of Washington, has declared that he is glad that poverty exists, for poverty makes it possible for men of his class to make a success in life. Billings, though brutal in his frankness, must be given credit for his honesty. The sentiments expressed by Billings are entertained by the majority of men of his type, but only a few have the courage to come out in the open and give publicity to such sentiments. The Republican party will hardly dare nominate Billings for governor of Washington.

**JUDGE ARCHBALD** of the United States Commerce Court and Judge Hanford of the Federal Court of Seattle, are confronting impeachment proceedings on the grounds that both of them have prostituted their judicial positions.

Archbald has been the beneficiary of profit gathered from shady deals with corporations, and Hanford has flagrantly trampled justice under foot to win the approval of corporate interests.

Those who denounce the recall of judges should scrutinize the records of Archbald and Hanford.

**T**EDDY, THE TERRIBLE, has denounced the steam roller, but when the steam roller was in the hands of the Roosevelt forces in 1900, 1904 and 1908, there was no condemnation from the San Juan Trojan who profited by the work of that machine.

But when Teddy becomes the victim, there is a yell of pain that is heard throughout America, and the Oyster Bay statesman is calling on justice to right the wrong that has been perpetrated on a man whose appetite is ravenous for political power.

The people have learned some wholesome lessons from the "rough house" at Chicago.

**I**N THE CIRCUIT COURT at Washington, D. C., Justice Gould has handed down a decision to the effect that Pullman car employes are excluded from the benefit of the employers' liability act by releases executed by them on entering the service of the company. These releases provide that the employe will not hold liable the Pullman Company or any railroad company over whose lines the Pullman cars may be operated for any injury received by the employe, even if the railroad company is guilty of negligence. An appeal will be taken from the action of the courts, as the decision is directly contrary to a ruling by Justice Anderson in the same case. Justice Gould is evidently of the opinion that negroes are not human but remain chattels of the Pullman Company. The irony of the situation is that Robert Lincoln, head of the Pullman plantation, is the son of Abraham Lincoln.—Cleveland Citizen.

**J**OHAN J. QUINN of Butte, Montana, is no more, and his many friends throughout the jurisdiction of the Western Federation of Miners will keenly regret that death has claimed such a loyal champion of the labor movement.

Brother Quinn, as a member of the Legislature of Montana, as sheriff of Silver Bow county and as chief of police of Butte, demonstrated to his fellowmen that he was a man among men and dared to do right under all circumstances and at all hazards.

Brother Quinn, more than any other man in Montana, labored tirelessly for an eight-hour law and when his efforts were crowned with success, his many admirers referred to him as "Eight-Hour Quinn."

In his death, the Western Federation of Miners has lost one of its most esteemed members and the labor movement in general has been deprived of the services of a man who was true to himself and faithful to the principles of unionism.

**T**HE NATIONAL REPUBLICAN CONVENTION at Chicago was opened every day by prayer. Catholic, Protestant and Hebrew exhorters were engaged to petition the Great Ruler to show His divine wisdom on the delegates assembled, but from the manner in which the convention was conducted, it would seem that the supplication messages did not reach the Great Jehovah, or that the preachers and delegates were not on good terms with the Infinite One "Who doeth all things well."

The Roosevelt forces pauperized the English language for invectives and epithets, which they hurled at the political aggregation that stood loyally by "Injunction Bill," and the steam roller crowd jeered and sneered at the Rough Rider and his lieutenants, as "My Policies" was carried from the political arena, suffering from the wounds of conflict. To offer prayers in such a convention is a prostitution of religion and an insult to God, but the ministers were paid for their services, and money like charity, "covers a multitude of sins."

**T**HE MEMBERS of the Craig Miners' Union, No. 245, W. F. M., at Owingville, Kentucky, are still standing loyally together demanding that the Roserun Mining Company shall concede a scale of wages that will purchase some of the necessaries of life while miners are in the employ of the company.

The Roserun Mining Company pays a scale of wages that is below the hunger line.

The sum of \$1.10 per day in Owingville, Kentucky, means death by slow starvation, and the impoverished slaves of the Roserun Mining Company have concluded that it is easier to starve when idle than to starve while working.

Guy Miller, organizer for the Western Federation of Miners has gone to Owingville and taken charge of the strike.

The Western Federation of Miners will render every aid within its power to aid Craig Miners' Union in establishing living conditions.

**H**OT DENUNCIATIONS were hurled at the International Socialist Review by Cleveland readers who received their copies of that magazine this month. It was the general opinion that the person who wrote up the Indianapolis convention, and was too cowardly to sign his or her name, is either an anarchist or a capitalist crook attempting to arouse factional hatred and division by phrasemongering. It has been noticed for a year or two that the Review has steadily drifted toward anarchistic propaganda, and every opportunity to attack well-grounded Socialistic principles and policies and the pioneers who have sacrificed to build up the movement has been eagerly embraced. The Review is even advocating that the provision in the constitution prohibiting members from preaching or practicing sabotage be stricken out, and probably in the near future will be printing articles from Bakunin or Herr

Most and Emma Goldman to show the futility of political action. The Review was built up by the Socialists of the country and not by Chas. H. Kerr, and it can be smashed again if necessary.—Cleveland Citizen.

**C**APITAL has always claimed, and still claims, the right to combine. Manufacturers meet and determine prices, even in spite of the great laws of supply and demand. Have the laborers the same right to combine? The rich meet in the bank, club house or parlor; workingmen, when they combine, meet in the street. All the organized forces of society are against them. Capital has the army and navy, the legislature, the judicial and executive departments.

When the rich combine it is for the purpose of "exchanging ideas." When the poor combine it is a "conspiracy." If they act in concert, if they really do something it is a "mob." If the defend themselves it is a "treason." How is it that the rich control the departments of government? In this country the political power is equally divided among men.

There are more poor than rich. Why should the rich control? Why should not the laborers combine for the purpose of controlling the executive, the legislative and judicial departments?—Robert G. Ingersoll.

**H**ERE are some interesting facts, taken from Prof. Scott Nearing's book, "Wages in the United States."

Of the industrial workers of the United States, not more than 10 per cent receive over \$1,000 a year. One-half of them get less than \$500 a year.

Of the women workers, three-fourths are paid less than \$400 a year.

The United States Bureau of Labor, after exhaustive investigation, has reached the conclusion that the lowest wage upon which an American workingman can support a family and maintain his efficiency as a worker is \$900 a year.

These are pressing facts. They are the most momentous and vital facts with which American statesmanship has to deal.

They involve the very perpetuity of our civilization.

The nation's workers can not be submerged without submerging the nation itself.

Nero fiddled while Rome burned.

What are our Caesars doing?—Milwaukee Leader.

**T**HE SUN of the new world is rising; it is rising out of the solidarity of the working class. Its rays of light are bursting through the dark horizon which ignorance and deceit have so long riveted down about us. It is lighting up the faces of a new order of men and women; men and women not discouraged by defeat; god-like men and women; men and women who have found the secret springs of life and already are drinking deep and glorious draughts; men and women who are standing erect and whose hands encircle the world; men and women who see the world's wretchedness and the world's poverty and are ready to throw away their lives with a song on their lips, that such things shall not be. Courage, then, my brothers and sisters! In the vision of your hearts lies the power to crumble effete civilization into dust. In the sun of your love and faith the world's tyranny shrivels; but the toiling masses are catching the spirit of that sun. The slaves of ten thousand years are stirring in their graves with the mighty heart-beats of the future. You are the liberators! Behind you a mighty host is waking from its age-long sleep and unfolding its banners to the light. You are the victors! Where you now walk the earth will be beaten flat with the tramp of a million feet. Another day of glad courage and fortitude; another day and the towering palms of our new world will burst upon our sight. We cannot fail for we have laid hold of life's reality and life's meanings!—Franklin H. Wentworth.

**E**VERY MOVEMENT that has been launched in behalf of the oppressed has been branded as the enemy of religion.

Our system of profit has been clothed in the garb of divinity, and he who raises his voice or uses his pen against exploitation must incur the censure of every institution that is dominated or controlled by the "influences of predatory wealth."

In the ante-bellum days the church in the South defended chattel slavery on the grounds that it was a divine institution and though the babe was snatched from the breast of an African mother and placed on the auction block to be sold to the highest bidder, though a master's whip cut and tore the quivering flesh of the black man in the slave pens of the South, yet the ministers of the gospel preaching from Southern pulpits defended the hellish traffic in human flesh.

The abolitionists who thundered their denunciation against the sale of human flesh were branded as enemies of the home by clerical spouters who were but allies of that master class that held the negro in the chains of bondage.

History repeats itself and in this age when abolitionists raise their voice against wage slavery they are stigmatized as destroyers of the home and enemies of religion.

The fanaticism that condemned men to die because they held that the earth was round instead of flat, will be unable to raise barriers against the onward march of that ever-increasing array of men and women whose mighty tread is now shaking the nations of the earth.

AMERICAN UNIVERSITIES have the unique distinction of being the only educational institutions in the world which furnish strike-breakers to capitalists who are trying to keep the workers in subjection.

During the last few weeks college students have served as "scabs" in the Waiters' strike in New York, in the baseball strike in Detroit, in the newspaper strike in Chicago and in several other cases.

We cannot believe that the majority of university students would knowingly take the bread and butter out of the mouths of striking workmen. Probably the majority of those who act as strike-breakers do it because they want to go out for a "lark." But isn't it a rather peculiar sort of a "lark" which undermines the standard of living of workers who are on the bare margin of subsistence?

Before the Civil war it probably would have been a great "lark" for groups of college students to become fugitive slave chasers, but we are glad to say that no college students disgraced themselves by playing into the hands of the slave owners.

It will not be a particularly bright page in the annals of American universities that during this great industrial struggle the students—at least some of them—took the side of the oppressors.

The truth of the matter is that the university officials and professors are themselves to blame for this despicable action on the part of some students. If the university officials and professors made it clear what it means to be a strike-breaker, and if the university employment bureau would refuse to send students to concerns where a strike was on, we would hear little more of "student strike-breakers."

In Europe the university students are in the forefront of the struggle for social and industrial democracy. In the American universities which are free from the domination of capitalistic interests we hope that some day American students will also stand shoulder to shoulder with the working class.

Perhaps the Intercollegiate Socialist Society will help to set our students on the right track.—Chicago Evening World.

## Blind to the Cause

THE REV. CHARLES F. SEITTER delivered a sermon in Denver some time ago and the daily press pronounced his effort in the pulpit as one of the bitterest denunciations of criminal wealth that was ever heard in the church. Rev. Seitter took for his subject: "The Church and Its Job," and the following are a few extracts taken from the scathing arraignment of the Denver minister who is storming the citadel of capitalism with words, words, words:

"There is no objection to a man being rich, but the church is now despised by hundreds of thousands of people because of the way these rich church members get their money. Don't be deceived. We know that many people are against the rich just because the rich have succeeded and they themselves have failed. Passing that up for what it is worth, there are vast reasons for criticism.

"For instance, the condition in the Chicago packing houses a few years ago was bad beyond belief. But some of those packers were prominent in the church. The sugar trust deliberately and systematically robbed the government out of millions of dollars of revenue, and when discovered and made to pay it back as a fine, promptly raised the price of sugar in fruit season. It was highway robbery. But some of the men in the sugar trust are church members.

"White phosphorus is a deadly poison. Workers in match factories are soon poisoned with it and attacked with a disease that is all but incurable and excruciatingly painful.

"There is another kind of phosphorus that is far less poisonous. But American match manufacturers insist on using the poisonous, disease-breeding, death-dealing kind because, forsooth, it is cheaper. We doubt not that some are members of the church.

"Girls are paid such low wages that they cannot possibly subsist upon it, so sell their virtue to eke out a decent living. Decent! Great God! They'd better starve to death. But they don't. We are not saying it's all due to the wage. Some of it is due to human perversity, but the poor wage is the cause of no small part of this sad condition. Now, this all comes back at the church. It is felt that the church stands for such oppression. It does not!"

The church has been in existence for many centuries and hundreds of thousands of ministers of the gospel have been preaching the Golden Rule and imploring men to yield obedience to the Scriptural dictum, "Love thy neighbor as thyself," but regardless of all the pleading eloquence from pulpits, the *dollar is god* and *justice* is almost a stranger in our civilization.

The managers of great department stores, factories and mills where females are employed, are indifferent to the needs of slaves, for their vision is fastened on dividends and human beings have but little consideration where *profit* is at stake.

Denunciations from the pulpit against the criminal rich will not change conditions, for the *criminal rich* is but the product of an economic system that holds labor in the chains of servitude.

The industrial oppressors of almost every nation are *prominent* in the church, and their economic power make those oppressors *prominent* in the temples of God.

A Rockefeller with \$900,000,000, and an annual income of \$40,000,000, is *prominent* in the church, for the financial standing enables him to endow universities and make huge donations to the church.

A Morgan, another financial magnate of America, is *prominent* in the church, for the millions reaped from ill-paid labor enables him to launch the "Men and Religion Forward Movement," that made it possible for hundreds of ministers of the gospel to draw a salary.

The church can rise no higher than the power that dominates the church, and scarcely anyone who is honest and a close observer, will contend that there is any *democracy* in the church. The church is governed from the top down, and this so-called lower strata of society presumed to have souls and supposed to be heirs of immortality, have but little voice in the temples that are dedicated to God. Ministers of the Gospel to be effective, must *attack* the *cause* that breeds masters and slaves, for *until* capitalism is destroyed, this old earth will be a hell, filled with the groans of suffering humanity.

## Poverty and Crime and Bloodshed

WITH THE DISAPPEARANCE of our present system of struggling for material wealth, selfishness would be unknown, and war would be a barbarism of the past. Above all, poverty and crime would disappear, and their attending satellites—ignorance, sickness, and misery—would be known no more; and the latent germs of reason and truth would rise, like Phoenix, from the ruins of decaying superstition.

With all the progress that has been made in science, art and the invention and development of labor-saving machinery, no advantage has accrued to the laboring classes. They are in a worse position today than 20 years ago; more people are out of employment and poverty is more general; and never in the world's history has crime been so prolific or widespread as in the United States today. The subject matter of our daily papers is more than half a record of crime, and thousands of courts are kept busy trying criminal cases. This criminal class is not confined to the lower strata, but has invaded the precincts of education and refinement, and includes many who hold positions of trust in banks, insurance companies, large corporations, and houses. Bank wrecking, forgery defalcation, and many minor crimes are of almost daily occurrence among this class. No man is trusted, honesty is at a discount, and bonds are demanded to insure against dishonesty; and it only needs incentive and opportunity for the average individual to develop into a first-class criminal. Is this not a terrible state of affairs, when honesty has grown so cold and decrepit that bonds are demanded to insure against its downfall? Is there not something radically wrong in a system that breeds dishonesty?

Crime is an effect, the cause of which must be removed before we can hope to rid society of its presence. Punishment for crime is only local in effect, and does not in any sense reach or remove the cause; and laws might be made from now to eternity for the purpose of re-

stricting crime, but as long as competition for material wealth existed crime would flourish.

In the distorted features of humanity you can see the results of centuries of competition. Avarice, greed, brutality, cunning, and all the other hideous deformities of the mind are mirrored on the face of man, and depict with unfailing accuracy the mind within. Under the state of equal opportunity to work and full remuneration for value created, as would be the case under Socialism, every individual would put on a look of intelligence, genius, and beauty. The distorted features of crime and poverty with their furrows of anxiety and care would fade away before the brilliant light of a new found happiness and freedom. The mind within would spring upward with a bound, when relieved of its load of oppression and the chains of slavery which have bound it down to a life of toil and drudgery. Then, in its free and natural condition, it would expand and blossom into unconceivable beauty and power; and earth would become a heaven beyond the ideal imagination.

The mind is naturally virtuous, ambitious, and progressive. It is not made of material that turns backward. But, under our present business and social system, it is hemmed in by circumstances over which it has no individual control; and, there being no unity of action, the result is a chaotic system, which necessitates an endless system of laws. The only remedy is such a change as will recognize the rights of the community as a whole, anterior to the rights of individuals, which would remove the possibility of poverty. Without this change, all the power of the law and all the preaching and charity in the world can make no headway against the constantly increasing tendency to crime. Criminal acts are but symptoms of the diseased condition of our system; and it is a long road to travel for moralists who wish to eradicate disease, to try to do so by curing symptoms, when the cause itself is continually breeding its pestilential germs.—Adapted from K. C. Gillette's "The Human Drift."

## A Promise of Prosperity

WHEN A GREAT SURGEON discusses human anatomy, no intelligent person questions his knowledge of the subject which he discusses. Why, then, should the men who are at the head of large enterprises not be accepted as authorities upon economic questions? When they promise prosperity, why should we doubt?

A typical utterance from one of our financial oracles is found in an interview with the president of a New York life insurance company. Explaining why there is to be a return of prosperity, this man, who controls hundreds of millions of dollars and should have an understanding of economies, gravely informs the public:

"The country is getting back to its normal condition after the panic of 1907. That panic was caused by over-extension in buying. There was too much water in stocks. Today these undigested securities are nearly all digested, and the result is a normal and healthy condition. Due to over-production five years ago, corporations adopted a policy retrenchment, which they have kept up. The failure of the cotton crop for several years aided the panic. Hundreds of manufacturers were unable to pay the price demanded for raw material. Result, closed mills, thousands idle. Last year there was an immense crop; the mills reopened, the idlers return to work. Always the cart before the horse!"

Manufacturers could not pay the price for raw cotton so ceased to manufacture it. Why couldn't they pay the price? For the simple reason that they couldn't sell the finished product when manufactured. Why couldn't they? Because the largest consumer couldn't afford to buy.

Why couldn't the largest consumer afford to buy? Because he didn't have the money. Why didn't he have the money? Because his wages represented less than one-half of the value of the product of his labor. He could only buy back one-half of that which he produced. The other half went to pay interest and rent, profits and dividends and the unearned increment to be reinvested in the form of capital or to be consumed, squandered and wasted.

The one central and essential fact is utterly ignored.

If a surgeon should undertake to discuss anatomy and ignore the nervous system or the circulation of the blood, of what value would his contribution to human knowledge be? If he were seeking, however, to bolster up a system of quackery it might be absolutely essential to ignore the presence of these vital elements and confine himself to discussing blotches on the skin.

There'll be prosperity. There always is prosperity for those who are prosperous.—Labor World, Duluth.

## Mark Hanna Was a Prophet

MARK HANNA, who before his death was conceded to be America's most brilliant and far-seeing politician, declared that Socialism would be the issue in the year 1912. When Mark Hanna made that statement, wise men in the councils of the Republican and Democratic parties scoffed at his declaration, but time has demonstrated that the vision of Hanna was clear and that he looked farther into the future than any of his contemporaries. Hanna weighed conditions and knew that those conditions would produce a political revolt that would be disastrous to parties whose platforms stood for privilege. The year 1912 is here, and Socialism is the great question of press and rostrum.

Socialism can no longer be ignored or laughed at, for the magnitude of the movement whose platform demands the emancipation of labor, is receiving the serious consideration of the ablest men of this country.

Socialism can no longer be halted by calumny and detraction, for

its principles appeal to the intelligence of men and women, whose hearts beat for the liberty of the human race.

The slime and venom spewed against Socialism from the foul and polluted lips of slander, have no weight with men and women who read and think and who demand logic and argument.

The mercenary spouters who disgrace pulpits and prostitute Christianity to make war on Socialism, are losing their prestige, for even men with feeble minds have discovered the *incentive* that make Ministers of the Gospel the loyal supporters of a hellish system that makes millionaires and tramps, that builds prisons and palaces, hovels and brothels.

This is an age when *vituperation* succumbs to *reason*, and the hiring of capitalism whose only weapon is defamation of a cause that stands for human liberty, will be crushed by the rising tide of a sentiment that proclaims war upon a system that degrades and enslaves humanity.

Mark Hanna was a prophet.

## Worthy of Consideration

WHEN A UNION elects a member to an official position, it does so not to make him a target for censure or abuse but that he may be a center around which the members shall gather to make effective the work of the organization. This is a lesson that he has not taken hard enough hold on the minds of the union members. There is a peculiar perversity possessing many union people that makes them knock the men they have elected to office. They seem to have an idea that because they have elected a brother to office they have a right to dog him to their heart's content. They treat him very much the same way the Indians used to treat their squaws only worse. The Indian made his squaw do the work, but he didn't have much to say, while the union man piles all the work of the organization on the shoulders of the officer and a heap of abuse on his head. If the union members who are guilty of this folly would have as much to say in the way of boosting as they have in the way of knocking, how easy would be the work of the officers and how successful the organization!—Exchange.

The above editorial paragraph in an exchange is worthy of consideration. The man who holds an official position in a labor organization, as a general rule does not tread a path of roses. If he is conscientious and loyal to his class he is maligned and slandered by all the forces that are struggling to crush the labor movement.

The labor official who consecrates his efforts in the promotion of the interests of the membership of the organization, naturally expects to be severely censured by the Kirbys, Posts and Parrys of exploiting combinations and is willing to bear the odium which men of this type cast upon him. But to become a target for the malignity of men of his own class who question his sincerity and honesty of purpose when he is giving the best that is in him to advance the cause of labor, is not welcomed by men who bear the brunt of every foul aspersion that come from the lips of hirelings of capitalism.

Labor officials are human beings and they feel the sting of undeserved censure when they know that they have honestly discharged their duties and been faithful to every principle of real, genuine unionism. The earnest and sincere labor official will raise no objection to criticism that is honestly made for the purpose of benefiting the membership of the organization, but criticism that is made for an ulterior motive is the criticism that leaves scars that even years cannot obliterate. But when we look back for a period of nineteen hundred years and behold the *Perfect Man* crowned with thorns and nailed upon a cross, we cannot wonder that even in this day and age, with all of the culture and benefits of centuries of civilization, that the labor official, though true and loyal to the cause, is figuratively crowned with thorns and nailed upon a cross.

## The Confession of "Scotty"

THE VILLAINY of stock jobbers and wildeat mining promoters who used Nevada as a pasture is becoming more apparent as time rolls on. "Scotty" once traveled across the continent on a special train and who was once looked upon as a mining king who had discovered a bonanza in the Sage Brush State, has made a confession and disclosed the devilish tactics utilized by conspirators to separate the susceptible from their hard earned cash.

The following dispatch sent out from Los Angeles, California, reveals the methods of the pirates who used a cheap, hired tool to warm the blood of speculation and bleed thousands of victims out of dollars

through fakerism, which if concocted in the lower pits of perdition, would make Hades unfit for even the vilest criminals.

The dispatch from Los Angeles is as follows::

"Los Angeles, California, June 22.—'Death Valley Scotty' told the county grand jury today that A. M. Johnson, president of the National Life Insurance Company of Chicago, had grubstaked him for years, and that E. Burt Gaylord, a mining engineer of New York, put up the \$10,000 which Scotty paid for the special train in which the Death Valley man made his spectacular trip across the continent several years ago.

"Scotty also testified that he had tried to persuade the officers of the Death Valley Scotty Mining and Development Company to

locate a few mining claims in Death Valley in order to give the mining scheme the appearance of genuineness, but alleged that they refused to do so, saying it was unnecessary.

"F. C. Goodwin, secretary of the company, will go before the grand jury tomorrow with books and records of the company.

"Scotty told the grand jury today that his "hole in the ground down in Death Valley" is a myth which has been used for years to fill the pockets of the promoters.

"With the exception of F. C. Goodwin, the secretary of the company, and its treasurer, Goldworthy, the officers of the mining concern have apparently dropped from sight.

"Scotty's confession contained this other bit of interesting history:

"He never located a mine, either in the Panamint range, the Funeral mountains or anywhere else; he never owned a mine, was not a miner, his only rôle was to make a big splurge, to advertise himself as the spectacular and unbridled spendthrift while all the time cunning schemers were formulating plans upon which they should profit by this show.

"And all Scotty got, he says, was an amount that could not be dignified by a loftier title than a 'hand out.'

"Scotty said the most he ever had at one time was \$3,000, and that the yellowed complexioned roll he carried was upholstered with \$1.00 bills."

## His Indignation Aroused

THE CASKET, a weekly sheet published at Antigonish, Nova Scotia, and edited by a bigot whose diminutive brain is aflame with fanaticism, has hurled anathema against the editor of the Miners' Magazine because he dared to defend Socialism against the heirings of Capitalism, who behind the mask of religion, vomit their vituperation against the doctrines of a movement that proclaims death to industrial tyranny.

The Casket is appropriately named, because it is as dead to progressive thought as was the cave man to the laws of gravitation.

The editor of the Miners' Magazine has been branded by the Casket as an "ignoramus" "brutal" and "reckless," because he had the audacity to declare in an editorial some time ago that "clerical condemnation does not prove anything. To carry conviction there must be logic and argument based on facts."

The above declaration aroused the frenzied ire of the freak who scribbles for the Casket (Coffin!) published at Antigonish.

The editor of The Magazine in his early youth was susceptible to superstition, and swallowed without mastication all the hoary superstition that was handed down from a barbaric age, but the sunlight of a twentieth century has streamed upon him, the same as other men, who have no desire to live in the graveyards of the past; and he refuses, like Daniel O'Connell, to take his politics from Rome or his ideas on economics from the pharisaical fanatic who edits the Casket at Antigonish.

The editor of The Magazine, in the editorial which kindled the righteous indignation of this sanctified creature, declared:

"The time has passed when men in the pulpit can sway their congregations by mere statements that were born in bigotry and prejudice.

"There was a time when minds undeveloped could be controlled by church prelates, but as men have climbed to loftier summits of intelligence, statements are discarded unless supported by indisputable evidence.

"The fear of hell or the promise of heaven have but little to do with men in this age of reason, and the time is here when superstition is at a discount. The priests who declare against Socialism on the grounds of the evils that are connected with it, realize but too well that they are unable to prove their statements, and their denunciations of Socialism are but insults to the intelligence of men who are mentally equipped to analyze and dissect every doctrine of Socialism.

"The priest and preacher have ever been but poor students of eco-

The above dispatch discloses the methods resorted to by men of standing and prominence, to fileh the public.

The class of men who used "Scotty" to rob investors, is the same class that in 1907 drugged a governor of a state, and while under the influence of inebriation, caused him to send a telegram to the President of the United States declaring that there was a revolution in Goldfield, and requesting that federal troops should be forwarded immediately to quell the insurrection. The class of men that used "Scotty," is the same class that insisted that miners of Nevada should accept worthless scrip for wages, and when they refused unsecured paper, urged that they should be made to do so at the point of a federal bayonet. The class of men that furnished "Scotty" a special train and gave him a huge wad of one dollar bills to promote their hellish schemes of swindling, is the same class that branded the Western Federation of Miners as a band of anarchists and dynamiters, and used the political machinery of a state to place the State Police bill on the statute books of Nevada.

The class of men who paid "Scotty" to splurge as a spendthrift and travel on a special train as an advertisement to boom mythical mines is the same class that operated banks in Nevada and whose doors closed on the funds of depositors. "Scotty's" confession before a grand jury in Los Angeles, shows the infamy of *mine promoters* who use the powers of government to crush a labor body, whose members stand for justice and a "square deal."

nomies and laboring humanity will show a great reluctance in accepting their dictums on questions that affect the material welfare of the human race.

"The priest and preacher have been following their vocation since the dawn of the Christian era, but, regardless of their efforts, the earth has become a hell, and brave, determined men in every nation of the world propose to banish the brutal system that has wet the pages of history with tears and blood. The church may retard the growth of Socialism, but the church cannot stop the rising tide that will ultimately sweep capitalism from the face of this planet."

For giving expression to the above sentiments, the editor of the magazine has been stigmatized as a "wretched, ignorant, brutal writer" and this comes from the pen of a sinless journalist, whose vision is glued on heaven while his *mitt* reaches for the revenue that comes to every Hessian who arrays himself against *liberty* struggling to strangle privilege to death.

The Anti-Socialist with the massive brain and the mighty intellect of Antigonish, declares, "As for wetting the pages of history with tears and blood" he knows nothing about history, or else he would know that it was not any "system" that brought tears and blood, but the sins and crimes of men."

A logician and a great philosopher has spoken, and who is there, who has the temerity to question the infallibility of such a statement. The editor of the Magazine is so "wretched," "brutal" and "ignorant" that he believes *sins* and *crimes* are but *effects* and we would reverently ask the Sage of Antigonish to tell us the *causes* of *sin* and *crime*.

Tell us Mr. Casket (Coffin) *what* has placed 700,000 girls and women of this country behind the red curtains of dens of shame? Tell us, sanctified freak of Antigonish, who or what sentenced 2,000,000 of children to lives of bondage in the mills, factories and sweat shops of this country.

Tell us, holy one of Nova Scotia, why it is that after nineteen hundred years of Christianity, our prisons are crowded, our alms houses are swamped and millions in every nation on earth are slowly but surely starving to death! Tell us the *cause* of *sin* and *crime* and the "wretched," "brutal" and "ignorant writer" on this magazine will worship at the shrine of the brilliant genius who furnishes mental fodder for the readers of the Casket.

## Another Lesson for Labor

SAMUEL GOMPERS after learning of the decision of Judge Wright gave out the following statement:

"Justice Wright's decision typifies in an acute manner the contention which labor has made against the practice which has been usurped by courts of equity in dealing, not with property rights, but with personal relations—normal, personal activities—a practice entirely at variance with constitutional government, with government by law.

"In this case the judge has acted as the initiator of criminal contempt, appointed the attorneys of private litigants to prepare a complaint and prosecute it to a conclusion. The judge has heard the evidence. He himself determined the credibility of witnesses. He then formulated his decision and executed it by imposing prison sentences.

"Facts, and the evidence in the case, have been suppressed and perverted, and the purpose of myself and my colleagues entirely misrepresented.

"There is not in the evidence, nor can there be found therein or elsewhere, one single fact upon which to base the statement of Justice Wright that we have violated any law of the State, Nation or District of Columbia.

"We have contended that a court has no right in advance to enjoin or prevent publication; that anyone who speaks or publishes anything which is either seditious or libelous should be made to answer before the law, and before a jury, but the attempt in advance to prevent expression of opinion either orally or by publication is an unwarranted invasion of constitutionally guaranteed rights.

"Justice Wright physically lives in our time, but his decision and sentences disclose a mental concept of more than two centuries ago, when the workingman was either a slave or a serf.

"If Justice Wright imagines that by imposing prison sentences upon my associates and myself he can stop human progress he has missed his point. Long after he is gone; after he may have attempted to silence us, others will speak, others will be heard, and the principles for which we are now contending, and perhaps may suffer, will be established beyond peradventure."

Judge Wright, in rendering a decision against Gompers, Mitchell and Morrison and sentencing each of them to serve a term of imprisonment, will receive the plaudits of every industrial oppressor of this country.

Labor has but little standing in the judiciary of this country when

the interests of labor conflict with the interests of predatory wealth.

Labor, scattered and divided on the industrial and political fields, has no voice in the selection of men who are presumed to render decisions in accordance with law and the evidence.

Men clothed with the judicial ermine are placed in our so-called temples of justice through the influence and power of corporate com-

binations, and it is but human that judges should feel grateful to the influences that have made it possible for them to reach the goal of their ambition.

When labor stands together, industrially and politically, *Justice* will reign in the Courts, but as long as labor casts the same ballot as the capitalist to uphold a system that holds labor in the fetters of wage slavery, just so long will the courts hear a master's voice.

## The People Ignored

THE CONVENTIONS of the two old political parties have passed into history and the managers of the coming campaign are now taking the necessary steps to delude the people.

The platforms of both the Republican and Democratic parties are practically the same as were drafted and adopted at national conventions for a score of years. Both conventions were dominated by political bosses, and these bosses were but the representatives of trusts and corporations.

The great mass of the people had no voice in these conventions, and the candidates selected as standard-bearers to lead the Democratic and Republican parties to victory have but little sympathy for the victims of corporate exploitation.

The working class of America, at least those who read, are well acquainted with the record made by the present incumbent of the White House, William Howard Taft, the political heir of Roosevelt four years ago; and now, denounced by The Spouting Vesuvius of Oyster Bay, has shown by his conduct that he is seriously afflicted with the virus

of plutocracy, and that property to him is far more sacred than human liberty.

"Injunction Bill" stands for *privilege*, and human rights are ignored when plutocracy issues its dictum to "God Knows."

On the other hand, the convention at Baltimore demonstrated that the Democratic party is merely the political agency of the *interests*, and the delegates, by their action in that convention, showed conclusively that they are no closer to the masses of the people than the representatives of the G. O. P. in Chicago.

The candidate of the Democratic party, Governor Wilson of New Jersey, is a professional aristocrat, who is comparatively blind to the wrongs from which the people suffer, and his running mate, Governor Marshall of Indiana, showed his contempt for labor when he remained indifferent to a detective agency resorting to the crime of kidnaping to serve the interests of corporations. The charges and accusations that were made in both conventions, should prove to the citizenship of this country that both of the old political parties are mortgaged to combinations of "predatory wealth" and that labor supporting either Taft or Wilson is committing treason to every principle of justice!

## The Twentieth Annual Convention of the W. F. M.

WHEN THIS ISSUE of the Miners' Magazine reaches the readers of the Western Federation of Miners, the delegates will be on their way to Victor, Colorado, to take part in the deliberations of the twentieth annual convention.

Victor, Colorado, is an historic spot within the jurisdiction of the organization, and as the delegates gather in the Cripple Creek district, there will come vivid recollections of the outrages that were perpetrated under the administration of a Peabody, who knew no law save the will of a Mine Operators' Association and a Citizens' Alliance.

The delegates in the convention will remember that in the once famous mining district of Colorado human rights were sacrificed at the command of *greed*, and that the uniformed power of the state that was presumed to uphold the majesty of the law, screamed in the wrath of madness: "To h—l with the constitution."

Their memory will go back to the days of 1904, and their mental vision will discern again the lawlessness that disgraced a state administration that was absolutely dominated by the corporate interests of the Centennial State.

They will remember those days, when their brothers in the battle for justice were subjected to insult and outrage, when they were driven behind the walls of a military stockade and many of them deported beyond the boundaries of Colorado, because they scorned to discard their honor and manhood and bow submissively to the mandates of combinations backed by the rifles, cannon and gatling guns of a state militia.

The war waged upon the Western Federation of Miners in the Cripple Creek district was the most lawless and brutal that was ever carried on against any labor organization in the history of this country, but regardless of the persecution from which the Federation suffered, the organization though weakened and crippled in Teller county, still

lives to prove to the world that the principles for which men suffer and sometimes die can never be destroyed, even by the power of armed might.

In the coming convention delegates should remember that an organization whose membership are bound together by the ties of class interest and whose principles are dedicated to the economic freedom of labor, can always survive the shot and shell of capitalism.

Exploiters, maddened by greed for profit, may scatter the forces of labor and the banner of unionism may go down in defeat, but men of courage buoyed by principle and yearning for industrial liberty, can never be conquered, even by all the hosts of capitalism.

Dissension and disruption within the organization is far more serious and does far more injury in sapping the strength and efficacy of a labor movement than enemies on the outside, whose assaults can be met by men who know no surrender when liberty and justice are at stake.

For the past several years there has been more or less internal dissension, and it is to be hoped that in the twentieth annual convention every sore will be healed and that at the close of the convention every delegate will return to his local union, resolved to give his best efforts towards eliminating friction and bringing about unity of action and complete solidarity in the Western Federation of Miners.

The memory of the wrongs from which brave, courageous men have suffered in the Cripple Creek district should cause personal animosities to vanish and bury forever the dissension that has arisen through a difference of opinion on tactics and methods to bring labor closer to the dawn of emancipation.

The delegates should remember: "United we stand, divided we fall."



### INFORMATION WANTED.

Information wanted of John Hoban, age about 57 years; left Cananea, Mexico, January 10, 1910; last seen in Globe, Arizona. Any information will be gratefully received by his brother, Patrick Hoban, 3601 Telegraph Avenue, Oakland, California.

### INFORMATION WANTED.

Information is wanted of the whereabouts of Martin J. O'Donnell, who lived in Leadville, Colorado, for several years, and afterwards lived in the Cripple Creek district. He left Colorado in 1906 and went to Goldfield, Nevada. After leaving Goldfield some three years ago, all trace of him was lost. He was an old-time member of the Western Federation of Miners, and anyone knowing his present address or who can give any information concerning him will confer a great favor on his wife and family. Address John M. O'Neill, 605 Railroad Building, Denver, Colorado.

### ANTHRACITE OUTPUT PASSES 80,000,000 TONS.

The production of anthracite coal in 1911, according to figures compiled by E. W. Parker and made public by the United States Geological Survey, was 80,732,013 long tons, valued at \$174,852,843. This was an increase of 5,298,767 tons over the production for 1910.

### PORTLAND CEMENT PRODUCTION INCREASED.

Figures of United States Geological Survey for 1911 Show an Output of Nearly Two Million Barrels More Than in 1910.

During the last thirteen years the production of cement in the United States has shown an annual increase and the growth of the Portland cement industry has been enormous. This is indicated by the fact that the two-million-barrel increase in production in 1911 was the smallest that has been recorded within these thirteen years. The total production of Portland cement in the United States in 1911, according to Ernest F. Burchard of the United States Geological Survey, in the advance chapter on cement from "Mineral Resources for 1911," was 78,528,637 barrels, valued at \$66,248,817. Although the increase over the production of 1910 was 1,978,686 barrels, or 2.58 per cent, the total value decreased \$1,956,983, or 2.87 per cent. The average price per barrel in 1911 was a little over 84 cents, compared with 89 cents in 1910. The average price of Portland cement in the Lehigh district was 71½ cents a barrel, and that on the Pacific coast \$1.40½. Many mills in the East and Middle West, according to Mr. Burchard, sold cement as low as 65 cents a barrel. The Portland cement plants reported in operation numbered 115, an increase of nine over the number in the preceding year.

The total production of natural cement in 1911 was 926,091 barrels, valued

at \$378,533, and of puzzolan cement 93,230 barrels, valued at \$77,786, making a grand total for all cements of 79,547,958 barrels, valued at \$66,705,136.

A copy of Mr. Burchard's report, which is a complete review of the industry, may be obtained on application to the director, United States Geological Survey, Washington, D. C.

### THE SITUATION AT BLAIR, NEVADA.

Blair, Nevada, June 29, 1912.

To the Editor of the Miners' Magazine:

There is but little change to report in the strike situation at Blair. The pickets have induced about a dozen of the unfair men to quit and cast their lot with the strikers, and the company, through its scab herders, has brought in just about that many from divers places. So as far as the mine is concerned, there are just about the same number of men at work now as when last there was a report sent in.

The men who have been induced to quit have brought criminal suit against the Pittsburg Silver Peak Gold Mining Company for being brought here under false representation and deception, a crime which is a felony in this state, and which gives the right for civil suit as well as criminal.

Six criminal suits have been instituted, and so far the papers have been filed in two civil suits, in which the amount of damages asked is over \$6,000, and as the law is plain and specific, there is no doubt of the men obtaining verdicts. Other criminal suits will be brought just as quickly as the attorney can get the necessary papers drawn and those who have not yet brought suits for damages are preparing to do so.

The company, through Sheriff Engalls' deputies, have tried to frighten the men who are bringing the suits and through intimidation have attempted to cause them to leave town in the hope that the suits would be dropped, but in this they have failed. Bradley, the manager, who announced to the people of this community that he is "just a little the wisest man this far west," does not appreciate the additional cost that will be added to that of production when these suits, both criminal and civil, will have been decided against the company and the fines and damages will have to be taken from the earnings of the mine.

When the reduction in wages was announced to the men here the reason given by the company was that the cost of production would have to be lowered, this notwithstanding the fact that just prior to this move the company had paid one of the largest dividends in its history. But the cost of production has not been lowered, the margin of profit has been wiped out and as the ore is low grade it cannot be successfully mined with incompetent labor, and competent labor will not work in Blair for an unfair wage scale while the mines of surrounding camps are paying fair wages and giving fair conditions.

The men brought here to take the place of the strikers are not competent workers. They have no experience as miners, and when they find themselves here they do not like the place or the purpose for which they are here, consequently there is much dissatisfaction and discontent, so much so that the men are quitting just as rapidly as the company's agents on the outside can recruit others to take their places.

CHARLES H. VARNEY,  
C. W. HOXSIE,  
GEORGE L. ARNELL,  
CHARLES WESTLING,  
R. H. CULLOM,  
Committee.

### WHY ARE WORKING PEOPLE LEAVING THE CHURCHES?

By R. A. Dague.

It has recently been stated on the authority of an officer of the Kansas State Agricultural Society that within the past year or two 700 village church houses have been bought by the farmers of that state, who moved them out to their farms to be thereafter used as barns. The church societies found it impossible to continue meetings and disbanded and sold the meeting houses. This falling away from the churches in the cities is not so noticeable, and yet the complaint is often heard that the church pews are empty, the clergy are poorly paid, theological schools are attended by a steadily diminishing number of students, and the masses, especially the working people, are indifferent to the appeals of the church. "Why is this?" the zealous churchman anxiously inquires.

Now, I think that the chief reasons can easily be stated:

Working people, and the poor, see that the church has grown rich, and proud, and selfish, and they have lost faith in it. They know the life-history of Jesus, and how he sympathized with the poor, the homeless, the friendless, and they see how rapidly the millionaire church leaders are piling up mountains of wealth through stock-watering, speculation, child-slavery and the cruel crushing of working people under the greedy heartless competitive business system which they uphold and defend, even if to do so, it is necessary to call on the military to shoot the workers to death. Yes, the "rich Christians" build magnificent church houses, while in every city in the country there are hundreds, even thousands of children who go to bed supperless and who are too poor to go to school; and scores of thousands of overworked, half-starved, pale-faced women, toiling like slaves and dying from the lack of the necessities of life. They contribute liberally to the foreign missionary fund, while under their very noses are thousands of worthy people in destitution.

Only a short time ago King George, head of the church of England, was in India, where twenty millions of dollars of the people's money was expended in an ostentatious ceremony of crowning him Emperor of that country. At the same time, millions of people of that unhappy land have starved, or are now starving, to death, and that, too, chiefly because they have been outrageously taxed by Christian England.

The Czar of Russia is a professed Christian and head of the Christian church of that empire, where Christians periodically butcher hundreds of Jews—men, women and children. Japan is heathen, and challenges the admiration of the world because of her many humanitarian institutions.

Within the past twenty years the churches of America, both Catholic and protestant, have in a large measure lost influence with the working people, who are staying away from church services. They do not feel they belong there, for in all the aristocratic churches they see the rich, plutocratic, monopolistic exploiter of the masses sitting in the front pews. Thomas Lawson told how, by stock-watering and trickery, a few captains of industry "made" thirty millions of dollars in one night, and how Wall Street capitalists "made" six millions in ten days.

The great evangelists and the clergy generally denounce vehemently the "awful sins" of cardplaying, dancing, going to the theater and visiting the parks on the Sabbath day, but they talk softly and diplomatically—hardly above a whisper—about the wickedness of the present competitive system of industrialism, and the colossal crimes of the few greedy, heartless, exploiters of the working people and the homeless and friendless.

I am glad that these remarks do not apply to all the preachers of Europe and America. Many clergymen of the Jewish, Catholic and Protestant churches are thundering against the great sins of the rich, and are standing up and being counted with the Socialists and other progressive people in

trying to put into active practice in our everyday business life and into the laws and customs of the country some practical Christianity.

Billy Sunday and Gypsy Smith may, by preaching an endless hell after death, scare a few bad fellows into repentance, and Father Vaughn of the Catholic church may for a time hold working people to a capitalistic church by misrepresenting Socialism. I do not know how that may be, but I am persuaded they could accomplish much more good by trying to abolish the economic hell in which millions are submerged here and now. I am free to say I think the working people are doing just right in refusing to attend church under present conditions. There is, today, a world-wide struggle going on between plutocracy and democracy—between the privileged few and the toiling masses—between greedy capital and honest, stupid labor; and it is a stubborn fact that the churches all over the world, with rare exceptions, stand behind and uphold and defend monarchy, imperialism, war, slavery, plutocracy, capitalism and the infamous iniquities that are the outgrowth and legitimate fruits of our selfish, unchristian business system of individualism—of competition. I do not hesitate to advise working people to absent themselves from church services until such time as the church teaches and practices true Christianity.

Creston, Iowa.

### SABOTAGE—OR THE BALLOT?

By E. H. Thomas.

The shortcut is always tempting. The constructive method is always slow. There is constantly a strong temptation to break loose and smash things up—trusting to some kind of luck to pick them up and put them together finally in the right shape, by some sort of unheard-of miracle.

But whenever the working class has tried violence it has invariably gotten the worst of it. Again and again in the past the workmen mounted the barricades. Again and again they were mowed down by the superior weapons of the capitalist class. And then always followed a dismal reaction. The leaders and the bravest of the workmen, having been killed, the rank and file hid away for a time in silence, terror and despair. Years of peaceful propaganda were needed to bring up their spirits, rebuild their organization and educate them to wiser, slower and surer methods.

Now, nobody talks of fighting on barricades, at least in America. But nowadays we hear advocated a new form of violence, with a French name, since this notion comes from France, the country where the workmen for so many generations tried fighting with such disastrous results. They have given up the older revolutionary methods, but the idea of violence seems to die hard in France. Sabotage—that is the new notion. Sabotage is not war. It is a kind of guerilla warfare against capitalism. It is as if the French workmen, finding that the capitalist forces could easily destroy them in an open fight, should now try teasing capitalism into submission. They seem to think that by the destruction of property and various methods of petty annoyance, they can so worry the capitalist class that it will finally yield the victory to labor.

Could any notion be more childish? The capitalist class is far too strong, too firmly entrenched in the present system, too much the masters of the situation to be driven out by popguns. Those who believe that any such teasing methods can subdue the powers of capitalism, are going to learn something—very, very much to their disadvantage.

How different the tactics of the magnificent Social Democracy of Germany! With what self-restraint they have abstained from violence even under most exasperating provocations! They have their reward—a splendid, well-poised, self-disciplined party, marching on year by year from victory to victory, to their final goal, which now seems not very remotely distant.

The truth in a nutshell is this: So long as the Socialists are in the minority it is useless, and as soon as we are in the majority it will be needless, to try to overthrow capitalism by violent measures of any kind.

Because, just as soon as we get the majority we can use the ballot box and employ the peaceful method, which is slower, but surer and more humane.

This is the method which the Socialists of America will adopt. They are now voting by referendum on a clause of their constitution which forbids the advocacy of crime, sabotage or other forms of violence as a means of emancipating the working class. I have no doubt as to the result of this referendum vote. The American Socialists will take a firm stand, once for all time, against every species of anarchism. We are not a party of McNamara's. We are the political expression of the struggle of the working class for emancipation. It is by the ballot that we mean to win. The very word "sabotage" will soon be forgotten, like the names of so many freaks and fads that have their day, and then pass away into complete oblivion.

### THE HOUR OF COLLECTIVE EFFORT.

I passed Murphy in the dreary foul-smelling, dark, feeling my way along the ragged rib of the entry. His voice rang out fearfully full of something that moaned for human comradeship, "Who's that?" "Me," I muttered, my lungs loaded to the limit with black damp, forced my reply to be short, sharp and brief.

An hour before—it had seemed like weeks—we had all been standing at the foot of the room investigating. We had felt it first, at the face, the quake and then the awful hush. It seemed to me as if I had been picked up and thrown a half a mile so strong was the force of the concussion. My light was out, so I made my way down on the level. I expected some one to come along soon with a light so that I might get mine going again.

The driver was my hope, but I might have waited always for the kid. Days after we found him under the first big cave, both he and his mule. The mule we hacked to pieces to load in a car; the boy we lifted tenderly, his poor, bruised face and broken body making the best of us hold back a sob or the tear of human pity. Someone I heard mention his mother and moan. I could almost have cried out myself as I thought of her in the washroom waiting to claim her dead. First the father, then the son-in-law, then a married son, then her two kids, one 14, the other 16. I can almost hear her moan. As Welch told me afterwards, she moaned, "I wish I was with them."

We took turn about at night to help the nurse when every light of reason that had ever shone for her was quenched. I see her now as I saw her then, like a wild animal at bay—a poor weak, fragile woman, physically and mentally wrecked with childbirth and hard work. "My boys, my boys and their father; you killed them; kill me, too."

Afterwards, as the days wore on, she became calmer and the wild look in her eyes gave way to one of sullen despair. She saw them load her dead with the other dead—there were hundreds of them. She saw them pass in their ready-made coffins piled high on the top of one another, wagon load after wagon load.

A representative of the church said sad things when he was paid to say them and spoke of One who had raised the dead, but they were none of this dead. The master class loved those spels. They had mistaken ideas that it had a soothing effect, but the poor numbed, broken women were beyond all feeling and the most hellish phase of it all had to come yet.

Notices had to be served on the hopeless wives and mothers to vacate the company dwellings. Other women must come with big, husky husbands and sons. They must have another crowd of big, husky martyrs for the next big event. And this was not the masters' fault. They said this slaughter,

although they had discharged union miners for being union miners and later on they had sent others the same route for reporting the dangerous condition of the mine, one little scene like this and the average slave has had enough to start him and keep him thinking.

This and such as this is part of the aftermath of all those big capitalistic barbecues. When I reached the foot of the room I had not long to wait before there came trooping along a half dozen all told. We were all in the dark and the uncertainty of not knowing just exactly what had taken place made us cautious in regard to producing a light. We called and answered names, so that we knew our strength, and after talking it over we decided to head for the slope. We had not proceeded far before we struck the first big cave. It began at the beginning of the fault under which we had been working, and we knew that at the other end of the fault the same proposition would be stacked up against us, for the top coal in both places was loaded to the limit with gas.

The fear of being caught when the black damp started to settle got most of us rattled. It was here that the law of individualism was put into effect and found wanting. It was every man for himself, and so we wandered between the caves and the rooms and the crosscuts, always finding something that drove us back beneath the fault, until we came together again all in the same manner as Murphy and I had met, and when we called the roll the second time, there was several sad silences. It was selfishness that made us break loose in the first place in the spirit of individualism; it was the same selfishness that brought us together again in the spirit of co-operation—self-preservation.

Forbes, a fire boss, led the way, hugging the rib, and every once in a while we stopped and felt for the air. Each of us had torn off a piece of our shirt and as we held it aloft with one hand we felt the bottom of it with the other, and so in this manner we were able to tell from which direction the air was coming. When we took bearings that part of the way and a knowledge of the direction which it followed would be familiar to some of us and which every one it was he took the lead, and whenever danger threatened him the others following pulled him back to safety, and so in the spirit of co-operation we passed through that chamber of horrors through a bunch of old workings to the open air and safety.

This, then, was a slight understanding—a spoonful, if you might take it—of that knowledge that we must all grasp as we pass through the old workings of Capitalism to the open sunlight of Socialism, to the grandeur of the co-operative commonwealth.

JAMES ALLAN McKECHNIE.

#### NEWS FROM WASHINGTON, D. C.

(By National Socialist Press.)

Washington, July.—The same gang which attempted to whitewash former Secretary of the Interior Ballinger is now exerting every possible effort to remove the stains of the crime of Federal Judge Hanford. Washington is noting that the same persons and methods are now used to clear Hanford of the charges brought against him by Socialist Representative Berger.

John R. McLean's organ, the Washington Post, was one of the few newspapers that dared openly champion Ballinger, the tool of the Guggenheim interests. This newspaper is now also one of the very few that has come out for Hanford and against Berger in the present impeachment case.

Both Ballinger and Hanford are residents of Seattle, Washington. Both have for years assisted Eastern capitalists to loot the great Northwest. Both have, in fact, been associated in a number of financial enterprises and in "legal actions." Ballinger was assisted out of office by an aroused public, and Hanford's turn is next.

The Post has indulged in a number of jesuitical editorials in an effort to defend Hanford. It concentrates its attack on Oleson because he is a foreigner. But the Post never attempts to defend Hanford of the charges of graft and immorality which have been named by Representative Berger on the floor of the House.

Recently the House heard a weak defense of Judge Hanford from the lips of Representative Humphrey of Seattle. The congressman sneaked in his remarks during the debate on the sundry civil appropriation bill. Representative Sherley of Kentucky, who was in charge of the bill called him down for doing this, but permitted him to insert in the record the following resolution adopted by the board of trustees of the Seattle chamber of commerce:

"In view of the unfounded charges made in Congress against the character of our neighbor, Judge Cornelius H. Hanford, it becomes our duty, in the interests of truth and justice, to speak out in his defense.

"He has lived in this community for fifty-eight years. He has been known to us for many years—to some of us for more than thirty years.

"We know that he is honest, moral, sober and fearless man; that he is patriotic and public-spirited, and that since his early manhood, now more than forty years, he has taken an active and prominent part in every worthy movement for the good of the community. Always a hard worker, he has never been sparing of himself when the public interest called for his help.

"If he had given to his private affairs the time, energy and faithful attention so freely given to the public he would not be, as he is now, a poor man in his old age. The state has never had a better, more upright or more patriotic citizen."

A resolution similarly laudatory and extravagant in its praise was adopted by the Seattle Chamber of Commerce when Ballinger was first charged with collusion in land frauds. Ballinger since then had to resign. But Hanford, against whom there is evidence of graft, bias, immorality and incompetence, will probably have to be kicked out of office.

By a strange coincidence Chairman Graham of the sub-committee now investigating Hanford's conduct, was also one of the committee which probed Ballinger's connection with the Cunningham claims and also was the chairman of the Controller Bay committee in which Ballinger also figured.

#### Berger and the Postoffice Department.

Victor Berger has a summer issue. When the hot spell seized Washington recently the Socialist congressman thought of the letter carriers who in some cities are compelled to wear heavy coats in the hot sun. He also recalled the fact that the postoffice department had not yet issued a general order permitting the carriers to wear blouses without the consent of the local postmasters.

So he again took up the matter with the department. He tried to get the postmaster general to take away from the local postmasters the discretionary power in the matter of wearing apparel for these postal workers. But as was the case last year, the department replied that a majority of carriers in any given city can decide the question of wearing apparel by stating their decision to the postmaster.

But Berger claims that the letter carriers would jeopardize their jobs in case the postmasters prefer to have the men appear in the streets in full uniform. In fact, the letter carriers are afraid to even suggest the holding of a referendum on the subject of wearing apparel.

Berger has just received another letter from the postoffice department, signed by C. P. Granfield, the first assistant postmaster general. In this letter Granfield states:

"If a majority of carriers at any office prefer to wear shirtwaists during the heated term it is not believed such uniform would be opposed by the postmaster, as the department has in the past had no such instance brought to its attention.

"With reference to your statement that you have heard from a number of

sources that the men feel that they would jeopardize their positions by deciding for shirtwaists against the wishes of the local postmaster, you are advised that the department would be glad to be specifically informed, in order that the matter may be given proper attention.

"It is the intention of the department that if a majority of the carriers of any particular postoffice prefer to wear shirtwaists during the heated term that they shall be permitted to do so."

While the department's attitude seems fair, Berger contends that it does not solve the problem. Postmasters have considerable power over the letter carriers and when they find any carriers agitating for the privilege of wearing blouses they can stop the agitation in short order. Therefore, Berger will not be satisfied until the department issues a general order which shall unconditionally permit letter carriers to wear blouses in summer if they individually choose to do so.

#### W. J. Ghent Resigns.

W. J. Ghent has resigned his position as secretary to Congressman Berger, the resignation having taken effect June 30th. Mr. Ghent has had this step in mind for some time, but postponed it until the end of the present session of Congress was in sight. He will continue his work as one of the editors of the National Socialist.

#### Always Playing Politics.

The old parties never miss a chance to put each other in a hole, even if this is done at the risk of stopping all governmental activities. The other day the Democrats waited until the eleventh hour to pass a joint resolution to extend the appropriations of 1912 until the regular 1913 appropriation bills are signed by the President. The Democrats wanted to show the country that the Senate was behind in its work. The Republican Senate, however, put the blame on the Democrats, who, it said, were killing time in the Baltimore convention.

In the meantime, more than half a million government employes were about to be turned out in the streets and the entire government structure about to topple over. This is capitalistic politics.

#### "DIRECT ACTION" AND "SABOTAGE."

State Headquarters Socialist Party of Indiana.

Terre Haute, Indiana, June 24, 1912.

Comrades—The following resolutions and matter following is sent to you for your information:

#### Resolutions by Local Brazil.

Brazil, Indiana, June 16, 1912.

Whereas, The Socialist party in national convention assembled at Indianapolis in May, 1912, and in report of the constitution committee of Section 6, Article 2 of the proposed constitution, voted to insert the word "sabotage," which makes Section 6, Article 2 read as follows:

"Any member of the party who opposes political action or advocates 'sabotage' or other forms of violence as a weapon of the working class in aiding its emancipation shall be expelled from the party."

Believing that the Socialist party has never at any time as a party measure advocated violence, then it follows that adoption of the above section in the party constitution admits our guilt in time past; also the Socialist party has, as a rule, rendered material aid to workers in their struggle for better conditions; and the Socialist party being a political organization for political purposes; and as the adoption of said section into the party constitution will place the political party in a position as dictator of methods and a usurper of rights on industrial fields; and,

Whereas, The Indiana delegation voted solid for the adoption of said Section 6, Article 2 of national constitution, we, Local Brazil Socialist party of Indiana, do hereby go on record as opposing the action of the Indiana delegation and other delegates who voted to place this section in the party constitution, which will establish a dangerous precedent and lay the foundation for factions, disruptions and eventually disunion of the party by becoming dictator of tactics and methods of the workers in their industrial battles against the master class; and we further wish to go on record as favoring the striking out of the entire section above named and in favor of political action by the political party and leave the methods of battle upon the industrial field to those directly engaged in the fight for life and liberty. And further we call upon the rank and file of the Socialist party of Indiana to vote down this part of the constitution when the referendum is taken and release the state party from the reflection cast upon it by our nine delegates and call upon each delegate to give reasons for thus voting.

Signed after unanimous vote.

LOCAL BRAZIL, SOCIALIST PARTY OF INDIANA,

WILLIAM LYNCH,  
WILLIAM LUMSDON,  
ED HARPER,

Committee.

#### Reply of James Oneal.

It is a significant fact that out of more than one hundred and fifty locals and branches in Indiana only one has taken action expressing disagreement with the vote of the Indiana delegation on Section 6, Article 2, of the national constitution. However, this is no reflection on Local Brazil, as every local has a right to demand of the servants of the party an explanation of their acts. As one member of the delegation and as a member of the constitution committee that reported this section I am glad of the opportunity to state the reasons why the convention, after many weary hours of debate, by more than two-thirds majority vote on rollcall, voted to insert this section.

Local Brazil asserts that voting to insert this section was admitting "guilt in the past;" that is, we admitted the party had favored violence in the past. This is not true. It was an admission that some speakers and some of our papers have been preaching violence, though in a subtle way. It would be foolish for anyone to contend or admit that the Socialist party had at any time favored violence.

The insertion of Section 6 does not make the Socialist party a "dictator of methods and a usurper of rights on industrial fields," as local Brazil contends. Section 6 merely provides a further qualification for membership in the Socialist party in that it excludes those who advocate sabotage and violence, and it makes no difference whether such advocates are union men, or doctors, teachers, lawyers or editors. Not a few of the advocates of sabotage and violence are not and never have been members of unions, and some of them are not proletarians, yet the section affects them as well as any of our union members. It does not dictate to the labor organizations anything. It simply says to all applicants, whether they come from the unions, the unorganized, the professionals or the clergy, that we cannot accept them as members if they advocate violence. It would be just as reasonable to assert that we were trying to dictate to the Bar Association, Ministerial Association or any other professional organization. How we became dictators to the unions by adding another qualification for membership is difficult to comprehend.

As a matter of fact, it is the minority on this question in the convention

that wants to "dictate tactics and methods of the workers in their industrial battles." The majority represents those of the party who have always opposed the effort to commit us to one form of organization as against another. The minority in this convention, as in all others we have held, tried to commit the party to a condemnation of all unions that were not organized on industrial lines. Is not this dictating "tactics and methods" to the unions? Would it not range us in antagonism to the many unions that have not reached an industrial basis? Would it not be a violation of our policy of assisting the organized working class in all their struggles, whether organized industrially as the mining states of the West, or along craft lines as in the case of the Structural Iron Workers, or unorganized as in the case of McKees Rocks? The group that voted against Section 6 is the one that was prepared to support a resolution condemning the old-line unions until their representatives on the labor committee finally compromised by signing the majority report of their committee. They proposed to dictate tactics and methods, not us. Local Brazil should direct its condemnation against our opponents, not us.

This matter of sabotage and violence has been developing for a number of years and when we met in convention it was there also. It bears close resemblance to the anarchist syndicalism of France and, in fact, some of its advocates call themselves syndicalists. Under the guise of advocating harmless forms of sabotage, our platform and our press have been used by speakers and writers to teach a subtle form of anarchism. It is interesting to note in this connection that the men in France who have worked out the "philosophy" of sabotage and syndicalism are, almost without exception, all anarchists. Does this have any significance for our comrades who are looking with favor on its American type? Furthermore, it carries with it persistent sneers at political action and legislative activity. "Dropping pieces of paper in the ballot box" is one sneer. Affirming that all we will do when conquering the governing powers is to hold the police and military off the workers while the latter "take and hold" the means of production is another sneer. The logical form of this sneering at political action is to reject it entirely, as the French syndicalists do. In fact, not a few of them in this country have gone this far, and the most prominent representative of this tendency in the Pacific Coast, Austin Lewis of San Francisco, has finally taken this step and resigned membership in the Socialist party. In Great Britain its most prominent representative, Tom Mann, has left the Socialist movement. These men, representing the "New Revisionism," complete the circle and finally land in the same position that Samuel Gompers and his machine now hold. Like Gompers, they reject class conscious political action by the working class and affirm that economic action is sufficient for the needs of the working class. This is not even revisionism; it is a reversion back to the stage of many years ago when almost to a man the working class had no conception of class politics or their historic mission as a class in Marxian sense. Then it was an unconscious surrender of their class power. Now it is a deliberate marching back to a previous stage, while its proposals for the workers to seize industry through the unions is practically identical with the anarchist idea of group ownership.

It should also be noted on the referendum now before the membership that the substitute for Section 6 offered by our opponents strikes out not only the word "sabotage," but everything referring to violence. We were told in the convention and by some of their writers since it adjourned that if the word "sabotage" had been left out there would have been no controversy. That they were insincere in this statement is proven by the fact that their substitute section strikes out every word referring to violence.

Finally, I want to quote the words of one of the sanest comrades in the movement on this question, the comrade who is our standard-bearer in this campaign. In a recent article Eugene V. Debs had the following to say, with which I am in hearty agreement:

"As a revolutionist I can have no respect for capitalist property laws nor the best scruple about violating them. If I had the force to overthrow these despotic laws I would use it without an instant's hesitation or delay, but I haven't got it, so I am law-abiding under protest—not from scruple—and bide my time. Here let me say that for the same reason I am opposed to 'sabotage' and to 'direct action.' I have not a bit of use for the propaganda of the deed. These are the tactics of anarchist individualists and not of Socialist collectivists. If I regarded the class struggle as guerilla warfare, I would join the anarchists and practice as well as preach such tactics. If sabotage and direct action, as I interpret them, were incorporated in the tactics of the Socialist party it would at once be the signal for all the agents provocateurs and police spies to join the party and get busy."

Comrade Debs has in a few words outlined what the tactics of our opponents mean while I have pointed out that they have their origin in the writings of French anarchists. I do not mean, however, that any of our comrades consciously favor any anarchist tendency in the party. They favor this tendency because it is couched in and defended with radical phrases and do not trace it to its source or try to ascertain its ultimate consequences.

I hope that the membership, since the matter has been called to their attention, will vote unanimously for Section 6 of Article 2 and thus effectively check the demoralizing tendency that has developed in the party for a number of years.

#### Reply of Florence Wattles.

Yes, I certainly do have something to say. I voted for the insertion of Section 6 into the national constitution because of certain tendencies developing within our own movement. Perhaps no comrade will deny the existence of two factions in the Socialist party. This distressing fact was very evident in the national convention. The issue between these two factions is clear. They are both agreed as to what they want. They want the co-operative commonwealth. But they disagree as how it is to be established. It is through this difference in tactics that it became absolutely essential to insert Section 6 into the constitution, stating clearly the meaning of political action and condemning sabotage and violence.

The delegates who voted for the section believe in accomplishing the economic emancipation of the workers through the capture of political power. It is their opinion that the only excuse for the existence of the Socialist party is to organize the workers on the political field, capture the powers of government and legally accomplish the collective ownership of the means of production and distribution. The delegates who voted against the section have lost faith in the effectiveness of political action. They propose to organize the workers on the industrial field—when they have succeeded in demolishing the American Federation of Labor—and through a general strike which will close up every mine and shop, they are going to literally starve the capitalist class to death, take possession of the industries and next day establish the co-operative commonwealth. The only use they have for the Socialist party is to put the policeman's club in the hands of the workers and to raise money for them in time of industrial crisis. They agree that the Socialist party is a fine thing to raise money and get them out of jail, but they doubt its effectiveness in carrying out its political program. So by the grace of Kerr and the help of Socialist party money they are trying to organize the workers on the industrial field, and are agitating the mass strike.

The question between the delegates was a question of tactics. There is no way by which the issue can be straddled. The comrades who shouted "harmony; everything's fine!" after the adoption of the report of the labor committee knew very well that the struggle had just begun. In Comrade Haywood's speech after the labor report, in which the committee had pointed the way toward industrial organization, we all of us saw the struggle before us. He very frankly told us that now he could go on to the Socialist platform

and advocate the mass strike as the most effective weapon of the workers, with a clear conscience. Here was the issue, clearer than ever after Haywood's speech. Was the Socialist party to continue the expression of working-class discontent on the political field, its aim to accomplish the collective ownership of the industries through political action? Or was it to become a money-raising organization for the I. W. W. to be used by these shouting emotionalists who propose to establish the co-operative commonwealth through the mass strike?

It was the opinion of the Indiana delegates that the Socialist party is a political organization, organized to win a political victory, and that it cannot be made, except by the will of the majority, a ladies' aid to the Industrial Workers of the World. It is my personal opinion that the delegates who shouted so loudly against the insertion of the section have much more to explain to the rank and file than the delegates who voted for it. If it was not their intention to use sabotage and violence in their struggle on the industrial field their stand in the convention against the section was decidedly inconsistent.

In the vote on Section 6 the line is clearly drawn between the comrades who know their Marx and who understand the real meaning of the word "revolution," and the utopian sentimentalists who hope to revolutionize the world over night. The Socialist who would "pitch the capitalist system to hell" is not a scientific Socialist and does not understand his Marx. He may shout, "Yours for the revolution," and cry "yellow" at the man who refuses to join him in his insanity, but that doesn't make him a good revolutionist. There is a difference between a revolution and a riot. This difference will put Section 6 into the national constitution by the votes of the rank and file, who, fortunately, understand the principles of scientific Socialism.

If the comrades who are so frightened lest the adoption of the section cast aspersions on our past will look ahead a little and watch the tendencies developing within our own party—the tendencies toward anarchism and syndicalism—perhaps they will begin to understand why the delegates voted as they did. And if these comrades will also read Karl Marx instead of the International Socialist Review they will be far better qualified to judge in a matter of this kind.

#### Reply of William Sheffler.

Having just been informed by Comrade Oneal that Local Brazil has adopted resolutions asking the comrades of Indiana to repudiate the Indiana delegation in the national convention for their position and vote on that clause in the adopted constitution which condemns sabotage, or the principle of violence, claiming that by endorsing said clause it would indicate that the party had endorsed or condoned violence in the past.

As one of the trusted delegates to said convention, permit me to state my position clearly and unequivocally. I believe that the comrades of Indiana have an unquestioned right to demand a reason for the position taken by the delegates on any or all questions. This may be done in the proper manner without in the least injuring the party welfare. However, to the point.

In the absence of instruction on this question (which was impractical at the time) and knowing the comrades of Indiana as I do from two years of, I hope not altogether unsatisfactory service, my love and respect for them would not permit me to violate what I believed would be the desire of the great majority as well as my own sense of right by voting other than as I did, after the question had come up for disposal.

Since this particular phase of the question of violence, sabotage, is practically new, having but recently been imported, for the Socialist party to now go on record as opposed to it in any form does not, in my opinion, at all indicate that the party as a party had endorsed or condoned violence in the past. On the contrary, to take a decided stand at this time against the principles of sabotage while the question is new would, in my judgment, tend to indicate that the party did not in the past and would not in the future endorse or condone the principles of sabotage as interpreted by its friends. The above is my individual position on the question of violence in any of its forms after an experience of more than a quarter of a century as a member of a labor organization, a member of the Populist party from its inception to its finish and a member of the Socialist party from its inception to date.

While opposed to the principles of violence in any form, either as a member of a labor organization or a political party, and believing that the overwhelming majority of the membership of Indiana as well as the entire membership of Local Linton take the same position, I do not believe in obstructive tactics, therefore signed the petition requesting that this question of sabotage be submitted to a referendum of the party membership for their approval or rejection. This is the Socialist way of settling any question.

That the seeds of syndicalism had become more deeply rooted in Indiana than would appear from a casual observation I know to be a certainty, that the tendency in that direction is growing gradually less and will no doubt in a few years become extinct, is perhaps due in a great measure to the failure of the movement in France during the recent railroad strike and the reputed denunciation of syndicalism by its founder and patron, Gustave Herve.

The adoption of denunciatory resolutions on this question at this time, in the face of the pending referendum on the question, and especially from Brazil, where but a few weeks since men were burned in effigy for no other reason than that they dared to take an honest position in opposition to a minority of the members of a labor organization, as expressed by referendum, would seem to indicate that this section of the constitution is not out of reason.

In conclusion, permit me to say that I shall always regard it as a sacred duty to heed the expressed wish of the comrades, but in the absence of such expression, when called upon to do so, shall unhesitatingly act in accord with what I believe the wishes of the membership and my own sense of what is right and proper.

Believing in the right, as my limited opportunities reveals the light and with hopes of a clean and finish fight along the line.

#### Reply of S. C. Garrison.

In view of the fact that we as members of the Socialist party proclaim that our movement is one of peaceful revolution, how could we as delegates vote against a peaceful proposition when it was put up to us to vote on? It seems to me that John Brown tried to free the slaves by direct action and was hung for it by the master class, and afterwards Lincoln, by political action, was enabled to free them. Lovejoy, who printed the Liberator, was killed by the mob who were direct-actionists.

#### "FREE LOVE."

Written for the Citizen by Sinijoor.

Free love is by no means an illusion of man. It prevailed in the days long before the pyramids of Egypt were built. Today it blooms right in our midst, although the average man may be entirely unaware of it.

The modern free lover is not a myth, and it takes no conclave of magic to trace his footsteps, for he usually displays more audacity than sagacity in the course of his free love procedure.

Ever since the days of Carl Marx, the Socialists have been—erroneously—accused of being free lovers, and that by confirmed free lovers of almost

every so-called civilized country. Yes, the Socialists have been maliciously stigmatized with this malodorous name, while their accusers are enjoying the game. It is becoming more and more evident to the accurate observer of social happenings that the free love game which is so privately indulged in by those who decry Socialism is rather an expensive privilege. So expensive indeed that only a few favorite ones, supplied with the big roll of "long greens" are admissible, even to the rear ranks of the free lovers of modern days.

The Socialists who invariably form the poorer stratum of human society, do not, and cannot, belong to the ranks of the affluent free lovers, for financial reason is a sure preventative, even if they were morally so inclined, which is far from being the case.

It takes a man with the "mazuma" and plenty of it, to keep a private retinue of perfumed damsels in style. This kind of free lovers are as far removed from Socialism as the North Pole from the South. But they have nightmares over Socialism, and visions of the red flag haunt them in their dreams. All their revealed religion is only of value to them as far as it can be logically used against Socialism.

It is gratifying to state that none of the well-known free lovers of this vicinity are avowed Socialists. Socialism openly and fearlessly stands for humanitarianism first and last, and are thus duty bound to protect the weaker partners of the free loving element, namely, the destitute women, whose miserable existence is chiefly due to lack of education and proper mental development wherewith to resist the temptation of modern life and to know their real conditions means to forgive them.

In the inevitable days ahead of us, when Socialism will triumph, the weaker sex will be better schooled, protected and cared for. Morals will no longer need a market, and the path of the free loving gentry will consequently be less rosy than it is today. Our free lovers are largely recruited from the rank and file of those overfed and under-exercised gentlemen, and that, irrespective of social standing, profession or commercial pursuit. These gentlemen pose as highly respected individuals and are almost considered as paragons of moral perfection by deluded people.

While the perennial flower of free love is in bloom in the rotten soil of capitalism, it is awaiting the inevitable scythe of Socialism, which will cut it and throw it on the dust heap of history.



#### WELL REMUNERATED PATRIOTISM.

It would be laughable if it were not so serious. We all remember the panic of 1907. Indeed some of us are still wondering how soon it will be over. Anyway, we can remember, at the darkest hour, no money anywhere in sight, the banks suspending payments in anything but checks on the clearing house, some of them suspending any payments at all, the patriotic act of the Morgan banking syndicate in releasing twenty-five millions of dollars at a small rate of interest, thus allaying the money panic for the time.

It is true that before they would consent to alleviate the situation they insisted that one of their many gigantic enterprises, "the United States Steel Company," should be allowed to absorb one of its active competitors, "the Tennessee Coal and Iron Company," in spite of a law which supposedly prohibited the same. It is also true that a group of financiers, of which Mr. Morgan was the leader, is more than suspected of having deliberately precipitated the panic in order to blackmail the government into giving them the above mentioned privilege and insurance of immunity from any prosecution. At this late date the fact transpires at the hearing of the Pujo committee of the House of Representatives, which is investigating the "Money Trust," that the government lent, not twenty-five, but forty-two millions of dollars at that time and to be used for that purpose, to the Morgan syndicate, without interest, and only part of that money was in turn lent out, "at a low rate of interest" by the syndicate.

Not such a bad haul, what?

Most anyone would like to rush to the rescue of his distressed country for the same consideration. Possibly we could better appreciate the humor of the situation if we did not have such a vivid recollection of the misery this "made to order" panic inflicted on the workingmen and women of the entire country.

Of course, it would never do for the government to lend its money direct to those who needed it to carry on the industries of the country. That would be "paternalism," would destroy "incentive." At least it would destroy one incentive—to precipitate a panic.—United Mine Workers' Journal.

#### ITEMS NOT FIT TO PRINT.

##### Encourage the Daring of Youth.

Most baccalaureate orators, we have perceived in the last few weeks, are in a tacit conspiracy this season to break the spirit of dauntlessness with which their audiences presumably are filled. You will have to conform, you will have to conform, you will have to conform! It is all a question of conformity. But Prof. James H. Tufts, of the University of Chicago, in an address at a small Eastern academy, sent the graduates out in the frame of mind in which we like to see young people fare forth. He said in part:

"The noble and generous enthusiasm with which the young have offered themselves for great causes—this is the finest thing in youth, and who will say that it is not the finest thing in all life? It was a young Christ who preached the New Kingdom, a young Paul who formed the audacious plan of its expansion. It was a young St. Patrick who heard the voice of Ireland in his vision. It was a band of college students that began the work of the American Board. It was a young physician who offered himself to be stung by infected mosquitoes in order that the giant fever might be slain. It was a young scientist at my own university who gave his life a year ago in the study of typhus fever. It was largely an army of young men, and even boys, that fought for the nation in response to Lincoln's call. Young women have frequently been called on to do what was 'not according to the law' or custom of their day. A hundred years ago it was not thought proper for women to have a higher education. Mary Lyon and the young women who first attended the state universities challenged this law. Jane Addams, who as a young girl planned to live with the poor, has never hesitated to brave public opinion when it was for the cause of the friendless or the misunderstood. Josephine Shaw Lowell was not afraid to attack wrongs in government which meant cruelty to the helpless. Don't be afraid of doing what is not according to law if the law, like that of Ahasuerus, is one of despotism or tradition only."

That is the way to talk, in our opinion, even though one knows that nine out of the ten graduates are already incurable conformists and Philistines. A speech like that may save for society the tenth man.—Chicago Evening Post.

The greatest plague with which the trades union movement has to contend are the wiseacres who essay to save the economic movement of the workers from destruction. Usually they are men and women who have had little if any actual experience in the labor movement. They offer all sorts of schemes for the economic salvation of the workers and work themselves into a frenzy of hysteria over the existing system of organization among the wealth-producers. They will tell you that the trades union movement is doomed; that the American Federation of Labor is dying of dry rot, and that its officers and the men who are most active in its affairs are a bunch of fakirs and grafters. These invectives are not always uttered by the enemies of trade unions, but emanate largely from those who profess to be the friends of the workers.

The activity of these professional trouble makers has become a real menace to the trades union movement. Buzzard-like they hover over the industrial field looking for carrion on which to satiate their lust for sensationalism. If any contention arises in a particular union over the question of jurisdiction these sensational mongers at once fasten upon it and attempt to prove by that fact that the trades union movement is going to pieces. If a strike is prolonged or lost they immediately set up a howl that the system of organization on which the trades unions are based is all wrong and that the trades unions must be revolutionized, and they forthwith proceed to get on the revolutionizing job. But somehow the trades union movement refuses to be revolutionized according to the program set up by these self-constituted saviors of working-class society.

Unable to impress their visionary ideas upon the trades unionists, these rainbow chasers have undertaken the job of starting a new movement which they hope will eventually supplant the existing trades unions. These "revolutionizing," get-there-in-a-minute wonder workers style themselves industrial unionists, but somehow none of them has yet explained just what is meant by industrial unionism, and how industrial unionism differs from trade or craft unionism. If by industrial unionism is meant that form of organization which takes in an entire industry, then we already have such a form of organization. Many unions now affiliated with the A. F. of L. may be cited which can be classed as industrial unions. These unions, however, were not conceived by the colossal intellect of a world savior, but grew out of the every-day struggles of the workers for better and wholesomer conditions. The trades union movement is not a phantasy or a romance, nor was it created by some genius mind to fill a "long-felt need." It is the concrete expression of the workers' dissatisfaction with his economic environment. It is one phase of man's continual struggle for a better life—for a higher existence.

Industrial federation is the next great evolutionary step the trades unions will take. They are taking that step now. One after another the industries where craft organizations obtain will be brought under industrial federation. The American trades union movement is adjusting itself to the changing economic conditions. Through industrial federation and amalgamation it is daily gaining in power and influence. It will go on federating the organized and organizing the unorganized. If anyone thinks the American trade union movement is sterile or reactionary; if they believe this movement does not possess the elements which make for a broader and more comprehensive movement; if they believe that disintegration and dissolution is the fate of this magnificent movement, let them cease their howling long enough about the "workers of the world unite" and take a survey of the battlefield where the workers are doing the real uniting. Where they are uniting. Where they are uniting; not merely to win a temporary victory, but are uniting to conquer the world.—Sedalia (Mo.) Liberator.

#### WAGES.

The word wages really measures both heaven and hell to the working man. If the wage be high, heaven opens out before the delighted vision of the wage animal and he enters with hearty zest into the "green fields and pastures new," and cavorts right nobly in the enjoyment of the plenteous bounties therein spread. But when wages are low and employment none too certain, he is hurled over the battlements and into the depths of hell, there to fry and sizzle and sweat blood as he floats about upon the sea of trouble, endeavoring to ward off the pangs of hunger and the stress of poverty in general, with means that are far too limited to accomplish the task. When the job is lost and the wages no longer forthcoming, his misery is accentuated and increased until he might swap situations with some denizen of "Dante's Inferno" without being seriously the loser.

What is this wage, anyway? It is merely the equivalent to the human animal, of a bone to a dog. If the bone is not too old and dry, too utterly devoid of juice and savor, the dog is filled with delight of the canine brand. He is, as it were, lifted to the beatitudes. He is transported to canine heaven. If, perchance, some shreds of meat interspersed with an occasional bit of the toothsome gristle, are attached to the bone, his canine joblots becomes literally beside himself with joy. He fondles it, licks it, gloats over it, guards it, and unsheathes his fangs in its defence against other canines who might sniff covetously in its direction. But the dog with the dry bone, or worse yet, no bone at all, is quite another story. As hunger gnaws at his vitals he is in canine hell and subject to all the terrors that assail his biped relative when minus a job or holding one only at low wages.

When one comes to think of it, there is little difference between the status of the dog and that of the slave in modern society. Wages are thrown to the slave in much the same manner and for identically the same reason that a bone is thrown to a dog. The size of the wage determines its juiciness, therefore its beatific, or contrary, effect upon the recipient. The juiciness of the bone, or lack of it, has the same effect upon the canine.

The slave without a master (job) is a pitiful object indeed. He soon takes on a lean and hungry look. He slinks and sneaks as though in constant expectation of receiving a vigorous kick upon such portions of his anatomy as would tend to expedite his locomotion. The longer he is out of a job the more does he assume the appearance, character and actions of a dog without a bone and no prospect of getting one.

On the other hand, the dog with no bone, or means of getting one, is in a similar fix to the slave without a job. In either case it is a bone that is lacking. The dog during the days of prosperity, when bones were plentiful and easy to get, took on an air of canine sleekness and independence well calculated to inspire admiration and respect. He was courteously treated, even patted upon the head and called "good doggie." But in the days of adversity things were different. No bones obtainable, he soon assumes the lean and hungry appearance of the jobless slave. His sleekness and independence vanish. Instead of the gentle pat and the "good doggie," he gets the swift kick and "get out, you cur." He may well seek out his jobless biped relative and they could properly mingle their tears in commiserating the sad fate that had befallen them.

Sometimes the hungry dog will show fight when the swift kick is delivered. He has been known to sink his fangs in the kicker. He has even been known to seize upon food to which he had no legal title, in order to satisfy his hunger. Happily, however, the biped slave never allows his meekness and docility to desert him. He never resents the treatment accorded him by the owners of bones (jobs). He never strikes back when kicked. He never seizes upon food to which he has no legal title, no matter how hungry. Even upon an empty belly he does not forget his Christian training. He renders unto "Caesar that which is Caesar's, and unto God that which is God's." As there is nothing left, he accepts it as his portion and remains content. To at-

tempt to continue the analogy between the slave and the dog beyond the tear-mingling point would be to do violence to some of the most worthy characteristics and qualities of the dog. This we decline to do.

Wages—the price of grub for a slave; syn., a bone thrown to a dog.—Western Clarion.

### THE TWO GRAVES.

It was one Sunday.

The story I am going to tell you is true.

It was one Sunday. Oh, how beautifully the sun was shining that day!

The forest of Meudon, that rare marvel of verdure which the axe of the woodman has still spared us, was extended before us in all its spring splendor.

The trains were arriving just as in summer, carrying numbers of excursionists.

They were everywhere. Songs resounded through the air. Peals of laughter rang out, answering to each other.

Among the excursionists who descended from the mid-day train was a woman dressed in black. She was alone, among loving couples and joyous family groups. Having got out of the train, she seemed to be somewhat lost as she stood looking around her. Then, as though to solve her difficulty, she consulted a little map which she took from her pocket.

After which she walked with drooping head, deep in thought, towards the village of Clamart.

Doubtless that which she had to do there embarrassed her somewhat, for she passed and re-passed several times, scrutinizing the interior of the peasants' houses which were scattered along the road.

One would have said that she did not dare enter.

Finally, however, she advanced, straight on towards a dilapidated cottage, at the threshold of which an old, white-haired man sat smoking his pipe.

The lady in black saluted him with a constrained air, murmuring, with a very pronounced foreign accent, "Good day, Monsieur."

The accent made the old man shudder, and he frowned.

The lady, however, persevered. She related to the good man that she was a Prussian, that her son, an officer of the Uhlans, had been killed near Paris, in a skirmish, that she had had the greatest trouble to find out where he was buried; but that at last one of his soldiers, whom she had found, had given her exact directions.

From his account it appeared that her son had been buried in the outskirts of the Clamart forest, close to the spot where he had received his mortal wound; that a wooden cross had been erected at the head of the mound. Armed with this information, she had set out to come and kneel by his tomb and weep, and had hoped she would find someone who could show her the way. "Would you, could you, be that someone?" she concluded.

The old man had listened motionless, his eyes fixed, his teeth clenched. He remained some seconds without replying.

The stranger, fearing a refusal, redoubled her entreaties.

I implore you, Monsieur. . . . You must know the tomb of which I speak. The bushes and grass have not yet had time to hide it completely."

The old man did not move.

"Monsieur, I entreat you. . . . You must have children yourself; you must understand, then, a mother's grief."

The old man got up brusquely, and, with a gesture, without speaking, bade the woman follow him.

And they both took a path across the fields.

They kept meeting holiday-makers in high spirits. And always, from the distance, snatches of songs fell on their ears.

The old man quickened his pace. The women had difficulty in keeping up with him. It was so hot and so radiant, the May sunshine!

After about twenty minutes they arrived at the forest. The old man, as one who knew every corner and every tree, turned to the left, looked into a thicket, then suddenly stopped.

Where two paths crossed in the verdure, where the cuckoo flowers, the daisies, the periwinkles, seemed to dance in a ring, one could distinguish two mounds, which the spring had strewn with flowers.

The old man seemed to shiver. The woman burst into tears. They looked at each other.

"It is there," said the old man, pointing with his finger to one of the mounds. "Only, make no mistake. The other is the tomb of my boy, whom yours killed before he died himself."

And, he added, weeping too:

"Is it not a beautiful thing—war?"

And then he hurried away.—Pierre Veron in "L'Humanite."

### SOCIALISM RIVALS CATHOLICISM.

By O. M. Thomason.

One of the most consistent and relentless enemies of Socialism is the Catholic church. For years it has exerted the limits of its powers in an organized, incessant and bitter attack upon the Socialist movement. Under these blows Socialism has grown and thrived until today, as is admitted at the Vatican at Rome, it threatens to outrival the church. It is now recognized by the Vatican that these attacks have redounded to the advance of Socialism and it has been decided to change tactics and settle down in a dead race and try to beat Socialism to it.

The most successful way to fight Socialism is to ignore it. But the time has arrived when it can no longer be ignored. It has now reached the point where it must be noticed, and every attack upon it only increases public interest in it, which results in an investigation and in the majority of cases an acceptance of it.

The Vatican practically admits that there are no arguments that can be brought that will answer the demand for Socialism. Unfair arguments and misrepresentations fall before Socialist argument like houses of cards. Fair argument is as good Socialist propaganda as the Socialist wants. This fact is borne out by the facts contained in a cable from Rome published in the papers on March 18th last. We quote from the cable, which is from a review by a semi-official paper of the Vatican and is believed expresses the sentiments of the Vatican quite fairly:

"Socialism is increasing steadily all over the world; in Germany and France it has almost gained control of the state; in Italy, under the new franchise, it will become the strongest homogeneous party in the country; in Austria and Hungary it is spreading rapidly; in the United States and England the masses of the working classes are approaching more and more closely to it; in Belgium it is rapidly absorbing Liberalism.

"There is no country, not even excepting Turkey, which has not been affected by it. Nor can we gauge its strength from its forces in the various legislatures—many Socialists are indifferent about parliaments and many hundreds of thousands of them scattered here and there in all countries have been unable to obtain legislative representation.

"According to several of its most authoritative spokesmen, Socialism is fundamentally opposed to Christianity, but since the birth of Christianity itself no movement has grown so steadily, has spread so widely, has taken so deep hold on the people, has shown such marked characteristics of permanence.

"In different countries its followers may differ in details . . . but the great outstanding fact is that Socialism, although it possesses no cen-

tral authority and no universally recognized international leaders, is a united movement, thoroughly international, independent of conditions of race, climate, language or social development.

"Nor is it confined to the proletariat, as many suppose—it is making conquests in all grades of society. We have to come to this: In the modern world today there are two and only two forces that are homogeneous and international, and these are the Catholic church and Socialism."

Continuing, the review states that the "theology" of Socialism is hopelessly wrong; its philosophy is absurd; it destroys the natural and supernatural conceptions of the home and has no respect for the marriage bonds, or the ties of family.

To answer this it is sufficient to say that Socialism has no theology; that it treats religion the same as any other political movement treats it. Individual Socialists may be anti-religionists, but the same may be said of Republicans and Democrats. Socialism does not attempt to regulate a man's religious belief one way or the other. It has no quarrel with Christ or the principles He taught; rather, it heartily approves of both, but it does, when pressed on that point, criticize the church for neglecting to carry out those principles. Many Socialists are devoutly and honestly religious, and Socialism recognizes that right and positively does not seek to abridge it.

As to the authority of its philosophy, it is sufficient to say that it is that very thing—the basic philosophy of Socialism, that has made for it the great "international," "homogeneous" following that it has today. If its philosophy is "absurd," its opponents have never been able to successfully demonstrate and prove its "absurdities."

It has nothing to do with religion, only as religion is affected by its economics; it has nothing to do with the "natural" or "supernatural" conceptions of the home or the marriage tie, only as those questions are affected by its economics. It does claim that a man can be truer to his religion, truer to his home, truer to the marriage tie under Socialism than he can at the present time. With his economic freedom accomplished he will be at liberty to carry out ideals in other respects.

Socialism, however, is not a religion, but is, fundamentally, an economic philosophy, dealing directly with the question of economics and that only. The present economic system is striking deadly blows at religion, at the home and at the marriage tie. Socialists believe that if a man wants to be religious he should have the chance to make the most of it. Socialists believe in the true home and the true marriage tie—that based on love and affection and not on commercialism. Marriage should be a matter of love and not of a living.

Speaking of the many people being drawn into the Socialist movement, the review continues:

"What is drawing them? Putting it broadly, it seems to us that the multitudes are being influenced chiefly by two sentiments: one of discontent with the present economic structure of society, the other of a desire for a practical recognition of the brotherhood of man and for the abolition of barriers which prevent this recognition."

This fact is pretty fairly stated. What is wrong with such a desire? That the present system of society is distinctly out-of-date and has served its purpose is plain to any student of the times. That people have the right to change the form of their government when it ceases to serve them best is a constitutional right. That the present structure of society is toppling with decomposition cannot be denied.

What objection can be urged against the desire for a more "practical recognition" of the brotherhood of man? Is that not a laudable desire? Is such a desire anti-Christ? Is it undesirable, anarchistic or dangerous? Thus, the most bitter and relentless enemy of Socialism pays it its highest compliment. Out of the mouth of its enemies it is praised.

The cable from Rome closes with the statement: "It is suggested that it would be far better, instead of opposing Socialism, for the church to work more strongly for the same ends that are common both to the church and the Socialist. By this course, it was believed, the church could become the stronger of the two."

And so, after years of bitter opposition, the Catholic church, the most deadly enemy of the Socialist movement, admits that all opposition is futile and that the only way to successfully head off Socialism is to work harder for the things the Socialists are working for and beat them to it.

This sentiment is right from the Vatican at Rome, and that it is the true sentiment of the church cannot be questioned. This is the greatest triumph of Socialism in the history of the movement. If there were any real and valid objections to Socialism or any sure methods by which to impede its progress, the Catholic church would have found it. Now it gives it up. The rest will be easy. On with the movement.—Public Ownership.

### IS IT UNJUST? HAS THE ORGANIZED WORKING CLASS THE RIGHT TO DECLARE MEANS OF PRODUCTION PROPERTY OF NATION?

When we tell some working men that we are organizing to seize finally the land and implements of wealth production, they answer, saying that such a course would be both dishonest and unjust. Let us look back a little way into the past and see whether in the light of history we would say that other instances of seizing have been dishonest or unjust.

After the first French Revolution the republic seized all the land belonging to the feudal nobility and the Church, because the social and political effects of feudal monopoly were acting as a brake upon social progress and operating contrary to the general welfare of society. Was this action of the republicans immoral? No sane man will say so. When negro slavery was abolished in America the republican government there seized property in slaves to the tune of many millions from the plantation owners of the South. Was their action in so doing immoral? Ask your parson or your boss, or even yourself. All three will answer decidedly "no." Because chattel slavery was not only an outrage upon human beings, but it stood in the way of the better development of the American nation. And when the rights of the few form a menace to the rights of the whole people, then the rights of the few must not be considered, never have been considered.

When Australia was discovered did it not belong to the blacks? And didn't the English government seize it from them by actual force? Of course they did. And did they act unjustly or dishonestly by so doing? Certainly not, for the colonization of this country meant bringing a degree of civilization into a barbarous land as well as affording an outlet for the pent-up cities of the Old World and giving an impetus to production throughout the producing world.

To sum up, in these three instances, as in dozens of others, the property of a small section of men has been taken from them because the welfare of the vast majority necessitated that it should be. And does not the welfare of the vast majority today demand that all the resources of modern civilization at present owned by the capitalist class of the world should be seized and made common property? No sane man will deny it. Under capitalist ownership the majority of the people get the worst of everything and are all more or less miserable. Under common ownership, or in other words, no ownership, the majority of the people could have the best of everything and be happy. Right and wrong have never been the same two epochs running. They change their meanings as progress changes circumstances. Private property was right once; it suited everybody almost. It is wrong now; it suits nobody but the handful of useless beings who own the world.—C. M., in "Sydney People."

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LIST OF UNIONS

Table listing unions in Alaska, Arizona, Brit. Columbia, California, Colorado, Idaho, Kansas, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Montana, Nevada, New Jersey, New Mexico, Oklahoma, Ontario, Oregon, South Dakota, Utah, Washington, Wisconsin, and Wyoming. Columns include No., Name, Meet'g Night, President, Secretary, P.O., and Address.

LIST OF UNIONS

Table listing unions in Missouri, Montana, Nevada, New Jersey, New Mexico, Oklahoma, Ontario, Oregon, South Dakota, Utah, Washington, Wisconsin, and Wyoming. Columns include No., Name, Meet'g Night, President, Secretary, P.O., and Address.

STATE AND DISTRICT UNIONS.

Utah State Union No. 1, W. F. M., Park City, Utah... J. W. Morton, Secretary
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Coeur d'Alene District Union No. 14, W. F. M. ... A. E. Rigley, Secretary
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Size of outfit, 11x8x3 1/2 inches. Price, \$2.50, charges prepaid.

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**Pointed Paragraphs.**

It's never too early to mend, either. Still, you don't have to smoke the cigars people give you.

Instead of laughing at the mistakes of others, try to profit by your own.

When a man begins by saying, "Of course, it is none of my business, but—" you may as well stand aside and let him butt in.

**WHEN TAFT AGITATED.**

When Mr. Taft was last in Milwaukee he was called upon by the gentlemen upon whose shoulders the responsibility falls for preserving the morals and the property of the community to address himself to workingmen.

The men to whom Mr. Taft's remarks were addressed were conspicuously absent from the gustatory activities which preceded the executive's oratory, but that is not of present consequence. Mr. Taft, in the course of much perfunctory, conventional and platitudinous utterance succeeded in building better than he knew—in saying more than he thought. For full many a gem of purest ray serene, the dark unfathomed caves of ocean bear. He said:

"The basis of our popular government, the real theory upon which it rests, it seems to me, is that every citizen and every class of citizens—living under the same conditions—in the long run are better able to tell what is good for them than any other class of citizens, however altruistic, and therefore we have devised popular government in which every citizen or class of citizens has a voice."

Mr. Taft may have thought that he was giving voice to harmless platitude. Yet in the one sentence he managed to include the very essence of the theory on which the working class political movement is based. It utterly

rejects the theory of identity of interests, that exploited and exploiter must go up or down together and that when the interests of the master are served the interests of the servant are served with them.

Lincoln said: "No man is good enough to govern another without his consent."

The Socialist formula runs something like this: No class is good enough or wise enough or just enough, to govern another class without exploiting it.

The Socialists do not contemplate, as many of our gentlemen of leisure imagine, that a working class regime shall be established to exploit the idlers.

The drones in the hive produce no honey.

It is not designed that the men who are now doing the world's useful work shall become idlers and the workers who are now idlers shall work to support them.

We should then simply have a new form of slavery.

The idler, of course, will have to work. But he will not have to work to support the worker turned idler. He will have to work merely to support himself.

Is it not written that man shall eat his bread in the sweat of his brow? It is heaven's will.—Milwaukee Leader.

**In Memoriam.**

Goldroad, Arizona, June 16, 1912.

Whereas, Death has invaded our ranks and removed from our midst Brother August Redolphi, one of our most loyal members, who unfortunately became a victim to the passion of gambling, and after losing his hard-earned money in the games that seem to be ever running wide open under the eyes of the law, and while in a despondent state of mind, he committed the deed of taking his own life; therefore, be it

Resolved, By Snowball Miners' Union No. 124, W. F. of M., that our charter be draped in mourning for a period of thirty days as a token of respect to our deceased brother, August Redolphi; and, be it further

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be spread on the records of Snowball Miners' Union and a copy forwarded to the Miners' Magazine for publication.

ULRICH GRILL,  
C. S. PROESTEL,  
T. N. HART,

Committee.

(Seal)

**IN MEMORIAM.**

Elk Lake, Ontario, Canada, June 25, 1912.

Whereas, On the afternoon of June 21, 1912, the Grim Reaper again entered our ranks and took from our midst young, loyal and faithful Brother Joseph; and,

Whereas, It is with sorrow and regret that the members of Elk Lake Miners' Union No. 146, W. F. M., meditate on the untimely death of our esteemed brother; therefore, be it

Resolved, That we, the officers and members of Elk Lake Miners' Union No. 146, W. F. M., do hereby extend to his bereaved relatives our profound sympathy in their moments of sorrow and affliction; and, be it further

Resolved, As a tribute of respect to our deceased brother that we drape our charter for a period of thirty days, that a copy of these resolutions be spread on the minutes of this local and a copy sent to the Miners' Magazine and Cotton's Weekly for publication.

JOHN A. FRASER,  
THOMAS W. DUNN,  
POLYDOR DESORMEAUX,

Committee.

**IN MEMORIAM.**

The Ladies' Auxiliary No. 1, W. F. M., in meeting assembled, adopted the following resolutions of condolence on the death of our worthy president, Helen Chenoweth:

Whereas, The Angel of Death has visited our fraternal home and summoned from worldly cares our beloved sister, Helen Chenoweth, bearing her swiftly and silently away from mortal sight and from human companionship which would cling lovingly to her; and,

Whereas, We realize that her loss is one which will be sadly felt in the home circle so grievously broken as well as by her many friends and particularly by the members of the L. A. No. 1, W. F. M., where she has always been a loyal friend and counsellor; therefore, be it

Resolved, That we drape our charter for a period of thirty days and extend to the bereaved family our deep and lasting sympathy in this their dark hour, sorrowing with them in their grief, bowing in submission to the will of Him who doeth all things well, keeping our sister's memory ever green and bridging with loving thoughts the hours passing between time and eternity.

**Lines Composed by Sister Murray.**

A sister—all that sweet word means—  
She was, who fain would rob  
Herself of every joy to spare  
Our hearts one cruel throb.  
No favor in her power to grant  
Was ever yet denied.  
And what her heart found not to give  
Her sympathy supplied.  
In her we've lost a faithful friend,  
Who sought the good of each.  
We've lost a loyal heart that warmed  
All hearts within its reach.  
Then censure not our bitter tears,  
For we who knew her worth  
Must grieve until we follow her  
To climes beyond the earth.

ROSALIE F. MURRAY,  
EMMA LAUTTO,  
CLARA CASEY.

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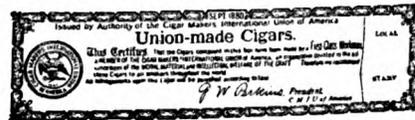
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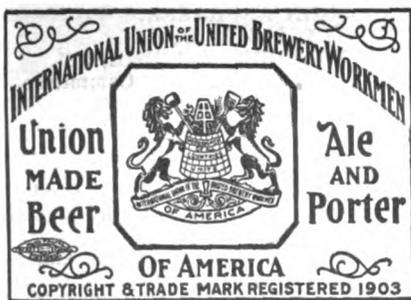
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WEEKLY PUBLICATION

of the

WESTERN FEDERATION OF MINERS

JOHN M. O'NEILL, Editor

Subscription Price \$1.00 A YEAR