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# THE MINERS MAGAZINE

INDEPENDENCE  
EDUCATION ORGANIZATION

*Published Weekly by the*

## WESTERN FEDERATION OF MINERS

Denver, Colo.  
Feb. 15th  
1912

Volume XII,  
Number 451



WEALTH  
BELONGS TO THE  
PRODUCER THEREOF



— THE COLORADO HOUSE —

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EDUCATION INDEPENDENCE ORGANIZATION

# MINERS MAGAZINE



Published Weekly by the

WESTERN FEDERATION OF MINERS

Denver, Colorado,  
Thursday, February 15, 1912.

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 Communications not in conformity with this notice will not be published.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

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John M. O'Neill, Editor

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

## Card of the Homestake Mining Co.

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

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

Occupation

.....

Signed

.....

Department

.....

PRESIDENT MOYER and Vice President Mahoney left for Indianapolis last week to meet with the representatives of the United Mine Workers to complete the details in the formation of a mining department of the United Mine Workers of America and the Western Federation of Miners.

A STRIKE of coal miners of England involving a million of men is imminent. The strike will take place March 1st, unless differences between the miners and operators are adjusted. Both sides to the controversy are standing firm, and the gravest fears are entertained that England will be paralyzed industrially.

THE SECRETARY of Snowball Miners' Union No. 124 of Goldroad, Arizona, in a communication to headquarters has requested the editor to make known the fact that Goldroad is flooded with miners seeking employment and that there is practically no chance for obtaining employment in the mines at the present time. The same conditions prevail at Oatman, and miners looking for work are requested to keep away from Goldroad and Oatman.

THE STUDENTS of Harvard University were granted leave from study to serve as members of the state militia at Lawrence, Massachusetts. Such action on the part of students of an aristocratic institution of learning will serve to make laboring men and women class-conscious and class-loyal.

Capitalism is teaching lessons to the working people that can only result in their ultimate emancipation.

THE McLEANS had a dinner at Washington, D. C., recently and only the cream of society was invited. Mrs. McLean, the wife of the only son of John R. McLean, the Cincinnati and Washington magnate, blazed in diamonds valued at \$600,000. The feast cost \$600 per plate and the tables were decorated with flowers that cost \$10,000.

It is no wonder that millions of people are in misery and poverty, and it is no wonder that charity organizations are swamped to feed the victims of exploitation.

THE MORTGAGED PRESS is against the agitator. The subsidized press would prefer that labor organizations would become like stagnant pools rather than rushing rivers. Organized labor cannot stand still, for standing still means its decay and dissolution. Discontent founded on an intelligent conception of the brutal conditions which enslave humanity, actuate the oppressed victims of corporate anarchy to give battle to the economic wrongs that curse a civilization that is wet with tears and red with blood. A labor organization that would meet the approval of a class of privilege that is maintained on the surplus proceeds that are extracted from the sweat of toil, would be as impotent in fighting injustice as a broom in sweeping back the mighty billows of an angry sea.

THE OFFICE of the International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths and Helpers in the Monon building in Chicago was burglarized last week, and it is supposed by the officials of the Blacksmiths that the work was done by the sleuths of a detective agency in the hope that some records or papers might be secured that would connect the organization with recent wrecks on the Illinois Central railroad.

Detectives in the employ of corporations can commit the crime of burglary and are not amenable to law, when such burglary is committed against a labor organization. The time seems to be approaching when there will be but little respect for law on the part of the masses of the people who suffer indignities and law will be treated by victims of corporate anarchy with the same contempt as is shown by the professional outlaws who draw blood-money from the coffers of detective agencies. When that time comes capitalism will reap what it has sown.

THE INVESTIGATION of the steel trust has shown that 65 per cent of the employes receive less in wages than secure the bare necessities of life. The investigation likewise disclosed that the steel trust, in the last ten years, had taken \$650,000,000 in excess of liberal profit on its investment.

The majority of the employes work twelve hours per day and are paid at the rate of 14 cents per hour. The Associated Charities of Pittsburg have computed the cost of living in the "Smoky City" and declared that it requires \$768 per annum to secure the average family of the laboring man with a bare existence. Morgan, the king of finance in America, has reduced the workers of Pittsburg to such a condition and yet, this same pirate has launched the "Men and Religion Forward Movement," in which ministers and "friends of labor" are using all their energies to blind the workers to the brutality of industrial tyrants.

DICK UZELAC, who formerly lived at Globe, Arizona, was convicted of assault with a deadly weapon at Douglass Island, Alaska, and was sentenced to two years at McNeil's Island, Washington. Uzelac was assaulted by a big bully of Douglass who is said to be the hired scrapper of the Treadwell Mining Company, who travels under the name of Dan Popovich. When assaulted by this professional thug Uzelac fired five shots at his assailant, the five shots taking effect in such a manner that Popovich will carry the evidence that it is even dangerous to make an unprovoked assault upon a man to win the approval of a mining corporation. A number of the jury in the Uzelac

case were for acquittal, but after lengthy deliberations, compromised on a verdict of assault with a deadly weapon.

The local union of the W. F. M. at Douglass Island desires that the thanks of No. 124 be expressed through The Magazine for the aid rendered in defense of Nick Uzelac.

**I**T IS FEARED that a gigantic strike will take place March 31st, when the present contract of the United Mine Workers with the mine operators expires. The demands of the miners are as follows:

A seven-hour day at the work place for all inside labor.

Five hours on Saturday.

A weekly payday.

Flat 10 cents increase per ton.

Twenty per cent increase on all dead work yardage and day labor.

A uniform work day and wage scale for all-classes of outside and inside day labor.

No discrimination by the coal companies in the employment of mine workers on account of creed, color or nationality.

All coal to be weighed before screened and paid for on the mine-run basis.

Companies not to be permitted to have more than two weeks' wages held in their offices at any one time.

No limit to the amount of deduction made through the companies' offices for the miners' organization.

**T**HE NON-PARTISAN TICKET has been placed in the field in Milwaukee. The candidates of the Non-Partisan ticket were selected by a committee of twenty-seven.

The committee was made up of nine delegates from the Democratic party, nine delegates from the Republican party and nine delegates from the Merchants and Manufacturers' Association. The Non-Partisan ticket has been placed in the field in Milwaukee for the sole purpose of defeating the Socialist party.

"Big Business" of Milwaukee has decreed that the Socialist party, which represents the interests of the working class, must be defeated in the coming election, and, therefore, issued instructions to their henchmen in the Democratic and Republican parties to bring about a triple alliance.

The Democratic and Republican party in combining their political interests, demonstrate beyond every question of a doubt that Democrats and Republicans can stand upon the same platform and that there is no difference in the political creed of both the old parties.

Both the old parties, being united on a Non-Partisan ticket and being joined and supported by a Merchants and Manufacturers' Association, to sweep out of office a party whose principles are dedicated to labor should prove conclusively that the working class can take shelter under no other banner save that of the Socialist party.

**I**T BEGINS to look like Teddy, the Dictator, will be nominated as presidential candidate on the Republican ticket.

It also begins to look like one William Randolph Hearst will sufficiently meddle with the "Democratic kitchen" to spoil that party's presidential broth.

At this point it really looks like all precedent will be broken and Roosevelt sent to the White House as the Diaz of the United States. While this breaking of the century-old rule established by Washington on the one hand gives cause for alarm, the growth of the Socialist movement on the other hand furnishes a hope that more than offsets this growing tendency to a dictatorship.

It is probably an inevitable tendency for capitalism to grow more arrogant and more despotic as the Socialist movement becomes more powerful and more threatening to privilege.

With Roosevelt in the White House again old party lines will be forever broken. We can safely leave it to Roosevelt, bombastic and arrogant, to make the issue of 1916 directly between capitalism and Socialism. His clownish performances of the past are quite likely, in

case he is again elected, to give place to a series of dictatorial acts that will enlighten the American people as nothing heretofore has.

The Socialists can afford to be quite complacent over the political situation. The future, and the very near future at that, is theirs.—Chicago Daily Socialist.

**M**ARTIAL LAW reigns at Lawrence, Massachusetts.

The mass has risen against its oppressors.

The Lawrence strike is not the ordinary kind of a strike. It is a mass uprising.

It is a hunger strike. It is a protest against starvation.

The men, women and children who have quit their machines in the textile mills are not organized. They were not "called out." They just walked out.

Lawrence is today the best illustration of the class character of government in this "the land of the free and the home of the brave." Company after company of militia has been sent into the city to aid the wealthy mill owners in compelling its slaves to accept starvation conditions.

Women and children have been clubbed, bayoneted, shot and killed by the uniformed hirelings of capital, the militiamen.

All of this proves that after all the law of force is still supreme, all talk of wise men to the contrary notwithstanding.

And the strongest in the fierce war between labor and capital will win.

Capital has all the forces of government to help down the workers.

Labor has only the control of its labor power—to withhold it whenever it will paralyze industry. And this control, this power, it has only as it learns to act in unison.

Circumstances—grim circumstances—are forcing workingmen and women together.

When they have once learned the lesson—woe unto capital and all its allied forces.—The Coaldigger, Washington.

**I**N A MOMENT of most unexpected levity and unusual hilarity the New York Commercial says:

"One wonders how the laborites would take it were the employers to institute reprisals; why not a little dynamiting of the strikers' homes, picketing of meeting halls and mobbing of stray strikers?"

And to think that this paper flaunts at the head of its editorial column the announcement that "it is the direct successor of the New York Price Current, which was established in 1795." The editorial writer might as well come to this country, or if he is here he might as well find out what goes on.

These many years one of the pleasant occupations of the police has been that of clubbing the "laborites." And isn't that particular twist of the word an indication of great and overflowing friendliness on the part of the Commercial writer? Furthermore, union meeting places have over and over again been invaded, documents have been stolen and records have been destroyed.

As far as dynamiting the houses of the "laborites" is concerned, that is unnecessary and would be bad policy. Most of the "laborites" do not own their own homes. And what would be the sense in the capitalists destroying their own property merely to send to perdition the tenants thereof—unless the insurance happened to be worth while? It is much easier and far more economical to starve the tenants to death than to blow them up. There is then no financial outlay for dynamite.

Besides, it is legal to starve the "laborites," club them or mob them, while it is not legal to blow up private property, even if the property happens to belong to yourself.

So the Commercial should revise its little joke. What it suggests might be done is done every day, except in the matter of dynamiting the strikers' homes. That would undoubtedly be done if the homes belonged to the strikers. But they do not. They belong, for the most part, to the very persons against whom the "laborites" are striking.—New York Call.

## What About This Foreign Importation?

**G**ENERAL BADEN-POWELL has landed in America and the professional man-killer of England will deliver a number of lectures in the principal cities of America for the purpose of arousing interest in the Boy Scouts.

General Baden-Powell is a foreign importation, but as yet no daily journal in America that is pledged to the interests of capitalism has raised any objections to this foreigner landing on American soil to instill into the minds of our American boys that military knowledge that fits the boy to ultimately become an expert in the use of weapons of murder.

Baden-Powell is an English aristocrat—a titled gentleman—who won his military spurs with others in destroying the Boer republic.

Powell has been hailed as the "hero of Mafeking" because he won a battle against the Boers and in the interest of a few Englishmen whose hearts yearned for the gold and diamonds of a little republic that once knew that brave old man, Paul Kruger.

The flower of the English army was utilized to shatter and destroy the Boer republic, but before the little republic went down to its death, to quote the language of Oom Paul, "England paid a price that staggered the world."

Powell is the commander of the Boy Scouts of England and so interested is he in resolving the boy into a trained murderer that he called upon Czar Nicholas of Russia and induced the "little father" of "Bloody Sunday" infamy to issue an ultimatum that the boy peasants of Russia shall become Boy Scouts as a reinforcement to the Cossacks to execute the *divine* commands of the royal monster, who sits on the blood-soaked throne of Russia.

Powell will be welcomed by the military maniacs of America and Boards of Trade, Chambers of Commerce, Merchants and Manufacturers' Associations, and every combination that is arrayed against organized labor will honor the military promoter who is recruiting the boys of the nations of the world to be utilized as the *soldiers of capitalism*.

The daily press has declared Socialism as un-American and a foreign importation, but this same press will raise no protest against the "hero of Mafeking" planting the seeds of murder in the hearts of the boys of America.

In the language of Post of the Fodder Factory of Michigan, "There's a Reason."

## Two Pictures Drawn by a Recruiting Agent

U. S. N. Recruiting Station,  
Kansas City, Mo.

My Dear Sir:

**A**FTER READING "The Making of a Man-o-Warsman," did you get right down to hard thinking and compare the advantages of navy life with the ups and downs of the average man in civil life?

Below is a little table comparing condition in civil life with those in the navy. Of course I cannot tell whether this fits your case exactly or not, but the chances are that most of its fits pretty well.

### NAVY LIFE.

Good pay at the very start, at least \$15 a month above all necessary expenses.

Practically no expenses, good food, lodging and \$60 outfit of clothing free.

Permanent position as long as you behave yourself reasonably well. Retired on three-fourths pay after thirty years' service, pension at any time if disabled in line of duty.

Pay continues, sick or well, on duty or on furlough.

Medical attention and hospital treatment with no expenses whatever.

Rapid advancement to those who prove efficient. The first promotion usually comes four or five months after enlistment!

Continual change of scene, different countries, different customs and people. Travel is education.

Pay absolutely certain as long as you are in the navy.

### CIVIL LIFE.

Small pay, frequently less than living expenses at the start.

Heavy living expenses increasing all the time, usually all you can earn.

Position lost because of hard times, ill health, cutting down expenses, etc. Possibly discharged penniless when too old to start over again.

Pay usually ceases when ill, laid off or on vacation.

Lost time and heavy expenses from sickness.

Slow promotion even when you try hard. Too many ahead of you.

Same scene, same office, factory or farm, if you are lucky enough to hold your job.

Pay uncertain, strikes, failures, position uncertain.

Have you ever noticed that men who have traveled much are more self reliant, are more interesting to talk to, that in many ways they have an advantage over other people? Talk it over with your parents and write me in the enclosed envelope (do not use postage stamp) and tell me what you and your family think of it. Respectfully,

H. ELLIS.

In the above letter that has been sent out by an agent of "Uncle Sam," two pictures are drawn that are worthy of study and consideration by the great mass of the people.

This agent of the government, in order to lure men into the navy, portrays with a truthful pen the struggle in "civil life" to earn the means of life. The word-picture of "civil life" by this artist of "Uncle Sam" discloses the heartless brutality of capitalism, and yet, the government agent who is using his best efforts to draw young men into the navy had no intention of unmasking capitalism and exposing the callous heart of a master towards the slave.

It is significant that his appeal for men to join the navy is directed towards the class that is dependent on a class of privilege. This agent does not appeal to the sons of wealthy fathers, but only to the sons of fathers who wear the livery of wage slavery, knowing that the perpetual poverty and ceaseless struggle on the industrial field to maintain a miserable existence makes it far easier for a government agent to appeal to a working man with more hope of success than to the pampered sons of *gentlemen* who can afford to live in mansions and partake of the fat of the land.

It is again significant that the man who is a soldier in the industrial field and whose labor is directed towards *construction* is confronted with loss of position, ill health, discharge, penury, uncertainty of employment and in old age thrown on the scrap-pile to die of want.

The soldier on the deck of a floating machine of murder is certain of employment, taken care of when ill, pay goes on when disabled or sick, medical attention and hospital treatment and when old is retired on a pension.

It is certainly a glorious civilization where premiums are offered to the professional destroyers of human life, and where the junk-pile is the lot of men whose labor produces the material things that maintain human life.

Hurrah for our civilization!

## Paying Tribute to Capital

**A** READER of the Miners' Magazine at Mullan, Idaho, has sent us the following, taken from the "Spokesman Review," in which Edwin P. Kribs discloses the brilliancy of his mighty intellect in an article under the heading, "In the Creation of Wealth." The gems of wisdom that fell from Kribs' pen and which graced the correspondence columns of the Review are as follows:

To the Editor of the Spokesman-Review:

In his article in your issue of January 20, 1912, J. Richard Brown seems to agree with me that Socialists would ultimately prohibit any individual from receiving any interest, rent and profit, and that this means confiscation. I do not, however, regard township governments as Socialism.

I will now give the proof that labor does not create all wealth, quoting and adapting from Walker's "Political Economy." Economic rent is not justifiable.

I will first define competition. "Competition signifies the operation of individual self-interest among the buyers and sellers of any article in any market. It implies that each man is acting for himself solely, by himself solely, in exchange to get the most he can from others and to give the least himself. The idea of competition is opposed to combination, to custom and to sentiment."

Under such competition as defined supply and demand will fix "the price of manufactured goods of any particular description to the cost of production. By cost of production we are to understand not the average cost of the whole supply, but the cost of that part of it which is produced at the greatest disadvantage. Since the price to be paid is the same by all purchasers, it follows that those who have produced the article under more favorable conditions will obtain a remuneration."

This remuneration we term profit. Hence, I believe that it is clear that under competition there is a difference in the cost of production where wages paid and other conditions are practically the same, and this difference is wealth produced that is not due to labor, but to the managing ability of the employers.

Let us take a general example:

Mr. A and Mr. B are conducting a business, a factory or a farm. Mr. A is making a profit which is so small that it is only equivalent to wages. Mr. B, on account of his greater virility, frugality and intelligence, is getting rich through conducting his business, factory or farm, otherwise the same as Mr. A. Now, to whom else do these riches belong than to Mr. B? Certainly not to Mr. B's employes, since they are receiving the same wages as the employes of Mr. A. Mr. B is able to secure greater profits by a loan from Mr. Banker. Now, to whom else does this interest belong than to Mr. Banker? Surely not to Mr. B, for what has he done that he should receive the use of capital free? Neither should said interest go to Mr. B's employes, for why should they receive this interest?

Interest is, therefore, justified by the fact that wealth is created by the use of capital that is not due to labor or the employing class. Hence, I believe that it is clear that while labor is necessary in the production of all wealth, yet labor does not produce all wealth.

Wallace, Idaho.

EDWIN P. KRIBS.

Wallace, Idaho.

The gentleman whose signature is attached to the above article has taxed his mental faculties to the utmost to give the impression that capitalism is justified in standing on its bond like Shylock and taking "the pound of flesh."

Mr. Kribs does not seem to realize that *labor* existed prior to capital, and that *labor* created *capital*. If *labor* created *capital* (and the man who is grounded in economics will not dispute it) then to *whom* should *capital* belong?

In the beginning of the world there was no such thing as capital. When man was created he was equipped with the power to produce the necessities of life. The earth was given to man, and *labor* applied to the natural resources of the earth resulted in the production of wealth.

Wealth belongs to him who creates wealth and to no one else. But away back in the centuries of the past *cunning* developed itself in the human family, and men with mercenary appetites discovered that through exploitation it was possible for the comparatively few to live in indolent splendor on the misery and groans of the many, who were taught to *revere* the *law* that sanctioned the reaping of profit from the sweat of labor.

When that *cunning* developed in the human race, which resulted in the *few* exploiting the many, a *crime* was *committed* and a *crime* does not become less infamous because of its *age*, nor can *law* give a moral standing to the hoary conspiracy that was hatched by the cunning few, who through exploitation put the yoke of wage slavery on the neck of labor.

No man ever became rich or powerful through the labor of his own hands or brain, but it was only when he exploited others that he became a dominant factor among men. Laboring humanity, until recent years, has looked upon the employer or capitalist as an absolute necessity, for workingmen, reasoning superficially, have been impressed with the fallacy that without *employers* there would be no jobs and that without *capital labor* would starve to death.

In the beginning there was no *capital* and no *banks* from which to obtain loans, and yet, primitive man survived the absence of *capital* and *banks* and was able to produce and replenish the earth, until the wilderness became an oasis and the earth became populated with millions of his kind.

The wage system had its birth in the womb of greed and as *labor* grows in intelligence the closer comes the time when the obituary of capitalism shall be written.

## An Advocate of Murder

**D**IE POST, the official organ of the war party in Germany, had the following editorial recently:

"Only the diversion of a great war can arouse the best powers of the nation and subjugate the inferior qualities which find expression in the recent Socialist election victories. Germans have never thriven while enjoying an eventless peace. The German nation never yet has refused loyally to follow kings and emperors, especially along paths that lead to heights, even though 4,000,000 misguided citizens voted for a party which would dethrone the kaiser and destroy the monarchy. The kernel of the nation remains true to the sovereign. Let him be in no doubt on that score. Let him know that the shadows will disappear as surely as a fog before the sun the moment he calls upon his people for great political deeds. That this may happen soon is our wish, on the kaiser's birthday."

The above editorial sentiments could only have been spawned in the hellish brain of a degenerate lickspittle who wears knee-pads to worship royalty.

To perpetuate the reign of a royal parasite he would plunge a nation in war, in order that in the tragedies enacted on fields of blood

and carnage, the German people might lose sight of the goal of economic liberty.

It is more important to the scribbling fiend in human shape that a king should hold his crown and throne than that millions of people should remain at peace with the nations of the world. The Kaiser must remain upon his royal pedestal, even though battlefields shall be strewn with the dead and even though the nations of the earth shall hear the wails of widows and moans of orphans. Rivers of blood are preferable to the dethronement of a kingly parasite and the boom of cannons are welcomed by a royal-worshipping editor, rather than *peace*, if *peace* shall mean the relegation of the regal-robed loafer whose reign is jeopardized by the intelligence of a people who are panting for industrial freedom.

The editor of Die Post will not be able to warm the fighting blood of the German empire. Four million "misguided citizens" with 110 representatives in the Reichstag, will be more powerful than all the journalists of Germany who bend the knee to the Kaiser.

The brain and bone of every nation are realizing the *cause of war* and the class who stood in the fire and flame of war in the past will refuse to be sacrificed, in order that regal despotism shall live.

## Salute! Gen. Baden-Powell

By Mary O'Reilly.

**T**HE FOUNDER of the Boy Scouts is upon our shores. Little boy soldiers will escort him upon his great advertising campaign from city to city. The capitalist press will herald him. Parasite speakers, writers and mock-reformers will cheer for him and business men will pay.

Why?

Because he represents the greatest move which the world has ever seen to capture the minds of the people's children for the military state.

Are the Boy Scouts military?

Colonel Dewey says: "I understand that the principle of fealty to be inculcated. Nothing better than to encourage honor among boys, and this will be coincident with the idea of fealty to parents, employers and superiors."

Captain Edward H. White, a retired United States army officer,

said: "It is but natural that an organization of boys for military educational work under our present form of government, military service being entirely voluntary, should succeed as a purely American institution. The 'scout' organization would be a 'feeder' for our National Guard, the bulwark of our army, and when necessary could feed the army itself."

We believe the blunt old soldier, Baden-Powell, will stand firmly for his first assertions, that the boy scouts are military. He is not likely to hedge with any twaddle about "Scouts of Peace" or "Scouts of Freedom." A scout is a scout.

The American Boy Scouts have dissembled because of the bitter opposition of the labor and Socialist movement. Baden-Powell's intention was to train children for wars, for the imperial, aggressive, commercial wars of England. His inspiration is the soldier's ideal, the empire of Cecil Rhodes, the military state of Kipling.—Chicago Daily Socialist.

## A Young Giant in Labor's Cause

**T**HE FOLLOWING in the telegraph columns of the Denver Express is interesting reading:

Indianapolis, Jan. 30.—Re-elected for the third time vice president of the United Mine Workers, the largest union in America, by a majority of 65,000 votes, the greatest majority ever received by an international officer of that organization, Frank J. Hayes, at the age of 30, is one of the rising leaders of the American labor movement.

"I stand for a larger unionism," said Hayes, "a unionism that recognizes the interests of other crafts as well as your own, and makes common cause against the common enemy."

"Under the old craft organization, one craft of an industry strikes, while another works. Skilled crafts care nothing for the welfare of the less skilled, making a labor aristocracy."

"All unions should be industrial in character, like the United Mine Workers. All the various crafts working in and around the mines, such as miners, drivers, track layers and engineers have been merged into the one union."

"But I am not in favor of establishing a new central industrial organization outside the American Federation of Labor. That would only tend to divide the workers, and it is the division of the workers that we want to wipe out. I believe that the only reason the American Federation of Labor has not embraced the industrial idea is that the members don't understand it. We who believe in it should stay inside and teach them."

"I do see a tendency to centralization and closer union among the crafts of the American Federation of Labor. The crafts are learning to bear one another's burdens and to help in one another's fights. The organization of the building trades, the clothing trades, printing trades, metal trades, railway trades and mining trades departments are steps."

"This evolution of the trades unions is going on amid the yelpings of parlor theorists who have never taken part in the bitter struggles."

"The enemy which organized labor is fighting is the money power of the nation: its goal is to obtain complete possession of the industries. The victory cannot be won by economic action alone. We must take

political action. No matter how strong your union is on the economic field, it won't last if the political power is in the hands of the other fellow. Look at Alabama. We had the fight practically won on the economic field; then Governor Comer sent the militia out to tear up the tents of the evicted miners and destroy our union."

"The labor movement must use both arms—the economic arm and the political arm."

Hayes' flag, like his hair, is red. He has been a member of the Socialist party since he was 21. The other day he received a letter from Secretary J. O. Bentall of Illinois, saying that the returns from the preliminary primary referendum showed that he had been nominated for governor, lieutenant governor, superintendent of public accounts, congressman-at-large and United States senator. "Choose one," said the letter.

Hayes began working in the mines at 13 and was secretary of his local union at 18."

The subject of the above sketch in the Denver Express has forged to the front rapidly in the past few years. Hayes has demonstrated to the labor movement of this country that his shoulders do not carry an empty skull.

Hayes, like millions of young men in this country, has felt the sting of poverty in his youth. The schoolroom saw him but little in the days of his boyhood, for grim necessity demanded that he should seek employment. But Hayes "burned the midnight oil," and when other boys of his age were confiscating their time loitering on the streets after working hours, Hayes was in his humble home communing with the thoughts and ideas of the ablest writers in the field of labor literature.

Hayes is a graduate in the "University of Hard Knocks," and his education is of the most practical character.

As a public speaker and writer he has attracted the attention of the labor movement of a continent, but above all, he is recognized as an honest, earnest man, whose heart and energies are enlisted in the great cause of labor's emancipation.

## Drafts on Imagination

**A** NUMBER of journals have called on their readers to "smile and look pleasant" facing the months of the year 1912. They must forget *adversity*, and though life is shrouded in gloom, they must believe that the glorious orb of *prosperity* has risen and is shedding its

light upon the world. The dejected must feel the thrills of hope, and despair must be banished, even though day is as dark as a starless night. The larder may be empty, but the hungry man with unfurnished apartments in his stomach must delude himself into the belief

that the pangs of hunger are but the tingling sensations of indescribable joy.

The jobless pauper, searching for a master, must train himself to believe that he is a Croesus with a palace on a hill and a bank account so corpulent as to baffle the sweep of the most vivid and prolific imagination. The man in rags must prevail upon himself that he is robed in broadcloth and that the hovel in which he sleeps is a mansion fit for a king.

It is a *crime to knock* and it has become a *virtue to boost*. A howl of calamity must not escape from the lips of the emaciated victim of penury, for stocks that are soaked with the fluid that makes bountiful crops in the dry belts of western America, must be prevented from a shrinkage, even though millions of faces are haggard and though men and women are becoming desperate through industrial conditions that almost beggar description.

The husband and father looking upon the suffering faces of wife and children must not permit a frown to darken his troubled brow, but must wear a wreath of smiles upon his lips, in order that *boosters*, having a monopoly on "hot air" may continue without interruption to spout upon that wave of prosperity that is coming that will change

thistles into figs and resolve thorns into roses.

It is somewhat significant that when labor is employed and enjoying a reasonable remuneration there are no "boosters' clubs" and no one shouting *prosperity*, but when the hands of toil are shackled in idleness; when the unemployed army besieges every town and city; when countless thousands of shelterless mendicants in every part of a continent are appealing for the crumbs that fall from the tables of charity, it is then that the *boosters* for prosperity daub themselves with war-paint and utter fiery declarations of condemnation against the *knocker*, who is merely guilty of telling the *truth* relative to the wretchedness and squalor which makes life a living hell for the disinherited.

Flowers of rhetoric from a *booster* will not drive want from the hovel of hunger, nor will prosperity-shouters give employment to the millions in this country who are jobless.

*Boosters*, whose stock in trade is *wind*, cannot plant hope in the heart of despair no more than they can make the *moon* resolve itself into the *sun* and bathe the world in perpetual light.

The industrial panic is here, and those who yearn for economic liberty must strike the blow. Capitalism has enslaved humanity, and *real prosperity* can only come when the gates of equal opportunity are opened to every man, woman and child on the face of the earth.

## The Remedy Is Socialism

EX-SENATOR BEVERIDGE of Indiana, in a recent address before the Child Welfare League of New York said:

"Few of the millions of children whose infancy and youth is spent in factory, sweatshop, mill and mine ever become normal men and women; and death, during their tender years, is not their unhappiest fate.

"The Republican and Democratic parties treat the whole ghastly question of child labor as a joke. The children cast no votes and control none; the children have no money to give to political corruption funds and cannot get others to give any.

"Meanwhile the mills, factories, mines and sweatshops continue to devour children.

"The cotton mills are most powerful industries, their value amounts to millions of dollars and their owners are very influential in practical politics, and the Democratic and Republican government does not care to even offend this tremendous power compounded of intellect, will and money.

"What can the children do against such crushing forces."

Ex-Senator Beveridge has been a national character. While in the Senate of the United States he was recognized as one of the brainy men of "the American House of Lords." As a senator, his heart did not become cold and unfeeling to the wrongs from which the great mass of the people suffered. Frequently he arraigned the giants of wealth, particularly those callous-hearted exploiters who fattened on the labor of innocent childhood.

Because at times he lifted up his voice in defense of helpless children imprisoned in the mills and factories, the powerful interests decreed that he was an unfit representative in the highest council of law-makers, and Beveridge was retired to private life for the good of capitalism. The statements made by Beveridge before the Child Welfare League of New York, are terrible indictments against the two old political parties, whose principles are prostituted in order that soulless exploiters shall revel in profits coined from the slow but sure murder of children sentenced through brutal necessity to the slave pens owned by the mercenary pirates, who control the functions of government through their ability to furnish expenses for national political campaigns.

Senator Beveridge is vigorous in his exposition of the brutality from which children suffer, but a condemnation of outrages perpetrated by exploiters on childhood, will not remove the *cause* that puts the pallor of death upon the features of the victims of mills, factories, mines and sweatshops.

Beveridge, while denouncing *effects* should attack the *cause* and disclose the *remedy* that will liberate the child from the industrial hells of the nation, and open the doors of our temples of education to the millions of children that are now incarcerated in the bastiles of profit.

There is but one remedy and Beveridge might as well acknowledge that liberty for the child can never come until the whole people shall own the industries of this country.

## The Disemployed

GEORGE CREEL, editorial writer for the Rocky Mountain News, in an issue of last week, under the head of "The Disemployed," had the following to say:

"Over 150,000 men are out of work in the city of Chicago, and Mayor Harrison is arranging for an expert commission to investigate the sad condition and find means of relieving it.

"Here in Denver it is estimated that 7,000 men are out of work, and the new Civic Federation, composed of some thirty organizations, is trying hard to bring jobs and the jobless together. In every other city of any size in the country a similar condition exists—people eager to work, yet unable to find it.

"Elbert Hubbard, in one of his recent blatherings, stated that this talk of disemployment was a lie, and that any man who WANTED work could get it. This is the view of the fat and well-covered, and the impression sought to be spread by "kept" men like Hubbard. It is not only untrue but also viciously cruel, for the lie prevents proper consideration of the evil and scientific attempts to end it.

"No one likes to take cognizance of wretchedness, poverty and injustice. All of us, if given half a chance, will close our eyes to conditions that sadden and depress. It is the function of men like Hubbard and Chancellor Day to pooh-pooh poverty and disemployment statistics, and thus soothe the public conscience and keep popular pity in ignorance.

"The reason is very plain. If a community once takes cognizance of such conditions, the CAUSES will soon be ascertained, and that is what Privilege does not want. Involuntary poverty springs from PRIVILEGE, for what is given to one man in excess of his fair share is taken away from another man. In order to END the evil, the square deal would have to be enforced, and the privilege holding class

would be deprived of its power to pillage and oppress.

"So, in order to prevent this popular awakening, the papers, pulpites and champions of Privilege stoutly declare that there is no such thing as suffering, and that if any man is out of work it is because he is a loafer, a bum and a shirk."

Mr. Creel, the editorial writer of the News, could have gone on and enumerated practically all the important cities of America that are besieged with countless thousands of men and women who belong to the idle army and who are looking into the glaring eyes of the wolf of hunger. The unemployed problem cannot be ignored but little longer, and in spite of the brazen falsehoods of such daylight hypocrites as Hubbard, a solution must be found or the desperation of want will know no reverence for that sacred thing called *law*.

The capitalist press, with all of its trained professional liars, can not cover up the brutal facts that have grown out of the industrial paralysis that prevails throughout this country.

Capitalism with all its cunning will use every effort to conceal the misery born of the profit system, but with all the subtlety of salaried prevaricators, the desperate condition of the working class is making itself known in every town and city of the nation. Charity organizations have become bankrupt and the idle army has reached such proportions that alms gathered from the generosity of the more comfortably situated, can no longer furnish sustenance to the jobless who are almost on the verge of revolting against slow death by starvation.

John D. Rockefeller, but a few years ago, predicted that the near future would see an idle army of 10,000,000 in the United States and the prediction of the oil king can no longer be sneered at by the optimists, whose vision can see nothing but *prosperity* that exists only in the fertile imagination of professional boosters.

# What Socialism Is to Women

(By Lizzie M. Holmes.)

**M**ERELY AS A PHILOSOPHY, Socialism is of great benefit to women. The broad outlook over all the world and over all time, the taking in of all humanity and its interests, the universal fraternal feeling for all God's children which a study of Socialism brings, is a great factor in the uplift of the soul and especially to women does it bring a blessed change. For, ordinarily, women's lives are too apt to be a circling round and round of small duties, small interests, small thoughts, in a small environment, and all this has a tendency to make her little in spirit, selfish, peevish, intolerant and consequently sick and unhappy. The woman who confines her mind entirely to the little things of life, important though they be, will become too much centered in her self, her feelings will dominate her, she becomes too easily effected, is fretted about what other people do and say, and is apt, however good she may try to be and thinks she is, a veritable nuisance to those around her.

But when her mind becomes imbued with a great world movement, a high principle, a great out-reaching for others, like Socialism, she forgets her own little personality and her little annoyances and grievances. It means to her a great spiritual sympathy, a closer union with the Supreme principle, which is Love, a marvelous uplift into a calm, courageous hopeful attitude of mind.

But Socialism as an economic proposition is of vital, far reaching, intense interest to women. Woman as wife and mother feels the stings of poverty more keenly than any other human being. And we must remember that the masses of women the world over are suffering the tragedies of poverty. The leisurely, cultured women who have all their wants, real and imaginary, supplied, who are waited upon by others and who need never be anxious about the means of living, are very few indeed, compared to the women who are never secure in the means of living a month ahead. When we think of what the present condition of humanity is, and what it entails upon women, we are appalled. It is a horrible, useless mockery, a chaos, a hell, a torture chamber—and it might so well be a heaven upon earth. For there is everything here to make it so—nature is bountiful, labor is plenty and willing, skill and genius are abundant, and these are the only things necessary to the creation of wealth, the comforts, the luxuries, opportunities, culture that human beings need. Most of the working people of the world live on year after year without ever having really enough of good, nourishing food to keep them healthy. They wear rags and go homeless, for paying a monthly fine for inhabiting a dingy, inconvenient tenement room, is not possessing a home. They must always be anxious for the future if not in actual distress for the present. The fathers often must tramp, hunting in vain for work while the mothers and children are forced to toil long hours under abominable conditions at so meager a recompense that existence is one long drawn out agony. They toil in sweat shops, breathing dust and lint all day and bring work home to keep their tired, half nourished bodies whipped up to the speed limit till midnight. Every moment must be made to count and not a moment of the sixteen or eighteen hour is the strain relaxed. There is nothing like "piece work" for "efficiency" training.

What about the children in these "homes" of working women and tramping men? Talk of Socialism "breaking up the home!" What could break up homes as does our present monstrous economic system? It prevents homes of any kind in most instances and at best the home is but a place to sleep in and fight for strength to take up the struggle again. What becomes of the children of these women who must work or see their little ones starve? Sometimes they are on the streets seeing and partaking of every kind of vice, misery and degradation; sometimes the mother locks them in a room without a fire, for there is a quick danger in fire, and the poor little things drag through the long,

dreary, chilly, lonely days—God knows how. In a copy of The Miners' Magazine some months ago was an account of a little child, a boy, taken up by a policeman and carried to the station house, who had a broken chain about his waist. His mother had chained him in a six by ten back yard for safe keeping while she went away to drudge in a factory and he had somehow broken the chain and wandered away into the street.

But not all the children are chained or locked up in miserable, cold rooms. Millions of them are in the factories, cotton mills, glass works, match factories, where they are worked to death or distorted and stunted in growth, often poisoned, maimed, mangled and always the soul, the intellect, the humanity part of them is ruined, degraded, brutalized. All this sacrifice of humanity, of blood and spirit and soul, that a few men may grow so inordinately rich that they do not know what to do with their riches! Have women anything to do with conditions like these?

Women may say: "Oh, we are dealing with these things in societies, clubs and mothers' meetings. It is not necessary to overturn the whole structure of society to remedy the evils of it."

We imagine we are remedying evils with out "mother's meetings," "clubs" and "reform societies," with our eight-hour laws, factory inspection laws, child labor laws, etc., but the fact remains that so long as men can grow rich and powerful on PROFITS, so long as women and children can be worked to the limit and profits reaped from their labor, just so long will men ignore or evade these laws, and all the so-called reforms in the world cannot stop them, they will go on piling up riches at the expense of children's lives and the suffering of mothers. The system of profits will keep men in the business of making profits out of whatever material is at hand, be it machinery or living, breathing flesh and blood. Why, we urge our young men to emulate and copy the successful business men who loom up before their aspiring visions, when we know that the only way they can become rich and powerful is by reaping a profit from other people's labor in some form! Thus, we only make the struggle of each to make something out of nothing a little fiercer and more deadly, that is all. We cannot reform these wrongs to human beings unless we institute another and more equitable form of society than now exists—and, that is Socialism.

Women, under the present system of economics, have no assurance whatever that they can keep and guard and care for their children until they are grown and ready for honorable lives on their own account. Their daughters may be entrapped, enslaved body and soul, and their sons may be snatched away and trained to all the horrors of war. War, that pandemonium into which the rich and powerful of each plunge the workers of various countries for the sake of their own profits and power! I wish my readers would all read "War—What For?" for a good definition of what war means. I have not the heart or the energy to describe it. But *mothers must know what it means*.

All the peace congresses in the world will not stop war as long as it pays to have war, and as long as the workers can be deluded by noise and pomp and an appeal to a selfish lust called "patriotism" to go out and murder one another in the most horrible way it can be done, when rulers and monied men bid them do so. Only Socialists have an effective way to stop war; they have declared they will not go out to battle against their brothers across a border line at the bidding of a master or a boss. Three times in recent years have wars been prevented by the messages the Socialist workers sent to their comrades across the line. It is a significant fact that the rulers can no longer trust their own soldiers and dare not fight where the old methods of making working men hate each other have altogether failed. If there is anything that women should be vitally interested in, it is that *war should be stopped!* Mothers, join hands with the Socialists and cease bearing children for murder at a rulers' commands!

## Unite Industrially and Politically

**T**HE STRIKE now in progress in Lawrence, Mass., is but another chapter in the process of civilization. We must be thankful for the fact that the news of the actual happenings gets before the people and that through that the great mass of people who know nothing of organized labor are learning that there are two sides to every industrial dispute. Their cool judgment will aid us in securing legislation that will stop the brutal acts of hired thugs recruited into the militia for the purpose of being used against strikers. We remember the time of the A. R. U. strike the different regiments of the state militia of Illinois were recruited in two weeks to their full number, and that it was the new recruits and not the regular members who were sent to the front to shoot down innocent men and women on the streets as they are now doing in Lawrence. This butchery in the name of law should be stopped. It should be so that neither the state militia nor the regular army could be called into active use only in the case of rioting of such a nature that the regular peace officers cannot handle it, and if it is left to organized labor to solve the problem there will be no rioting during the strike periods. Hired agitators are placed in the ranks who commit the overt acts for which the men who went on strike are held responsible. The private detective advises the breaking of laws; the private detective advises, by inflammatory talk, disregard of property and human rights, and then the private detective turn state's evidence against the members of the union who foolishly fall into the trap. For the private detective must make good or lose his job.—Exchange.

The above in a labor journal is the expression of an editor who con-

demns the brutality that is usually perpetrated in every conflict between masters and slaves. The crimes that have been committed in the name of law at Lawrence, Mass., have aroused his indignation, and in his journal he has filed his protest against the outrages that have been inflicted on men and women, struggling for conditions that will make it possible for them to live.

This editor does not seem to realize that almost every law that graces the statute books has been enacted in the interest of a class of privilege. The great mass of the people have been blind to the fact that a class struggle is raging throughout every nation on earth, and that the comparatively few who are clothed with economic power have been able to enact legislation that holds the many in subjugation.

The vast majority of the people labor under the delusion that because they are equipped with ballots and have been permitted to cast their votes for candidates for legislative bodies, that they have a voice in the enactment of laws which they are commanded to respect. But the majority of the people have been duped by the cunning political ingenuity of the hirelings of a master class, and the slave class have been using their political power to clothe with authority representatives of capitalism, who through the enactment of laws, have placed property above the liberty and happiness of humanity.

The militia was created and has been supported to maintain privilege on the throne of authority, and if the laboring people yearn to escape the outrages of which this editor now complains, they must unite industrially and politically, and overthrow a system that demands armed might to support it.



## Discussion Will Be Welcomed

THE VERY REV. A. P. DOYLE, of Washington, D. C., has written a lengthy article in the February issue of "The Columbiad," under the heading: "The Growth of Socialism and How Can the Knights of Columbus Most Successfully Combat It?"

The article is an appeal to the Catholic Knights to study socialism, so that the orators and writers of that organization may be able to meet socialists in debate on the rostrum and socialist journalists in discussion.

The socialists will welcome the appeal of Rev. Doyle calling on the Knights of Columbus to study socialism; for if the Knights study socialism, they will become socialists. Rev. Doyle in his article, says: "The socialists themselves consider the Catholic church the only solid bulwark that they cannot sweep away." The socialist has no desire to sweep away the Catholic church, but if the Catholic church stands in the way of economic freedom for labor, then this bulwark which the clerical gentleman boasts of will be swept away and buried in the same grave as the profit system.

If the Catholic church is such a bulwark as the Rev. Doyle por-

trays, it is somewhat strange that this bulwark has been practically "swept away" in France, that the bulwark is crumbling in Spain and Italy, and its stronghold is now recognized in America. Again, if the Catholic church is such a bulwark, why is there so much misery and poverty in the world today, and why has not this bulwark been used to save the disinherited millions from the yoke of abject slavery? Why has not this bulwark saved the home of labor from the greed of capitalism and why has not this bulwark locked the doors of the prisons of profit against the childhood of the land, that is being slowly murdered in mill, mine, factory and sweat shop?

If this bulwark has its working clothes on, why are there nearly a million social outcasts in dens of shame and why are the courts grinding out 70,000 divorces annually?

The Rev. Doyle and all his lieutenants who will attempt to bolster up capitalism, will discover that Socialists will only be too glad to meet their opponents in debate, and the sophistries and fallacies that have been utilized to prop a civilization that groans from the pangs of wretchedness, will be swept into eternal oblivion.

## "A Study of Debs"

A READER of the Miners' Magazine at New Orleans has sent us a late copy of "The New Orleans Item," containing an editorial entitled "A Study of Debs" and requests us to comment on the same. The editorial is as follows:

"The strange thing, to one not a Socialist, at the Debs lecture, Tuesday evening, was to see the workingmen present. Old grizzled man with long white beard, and venerable air of a prophet, with face and hands seamed and seared with toil, young mechanic, evidently dressed out in Sunday best, day laborer with inevitable heavy forward droop of shoulder—all were there avidly drinking in the speaker.

"And yet one left the building with the feeling that it was not what the man had said but what he was that carried away his hearers. The applause was indiscriminating and frequently ill-timed. It was not so much that they cared for what he said, but that they cared that he cared for them—if this does not confuse the point.

"The man, himself, tall, lank, beak-nosed and long-chinned, has the profile of a hawk or a kite. When speaking he leans forward grotesquely with arms flapping loosely in front of him and coat swinging, the resemblance is oddly complete. He has the gift not of wisdom but of epigram. He sees no side of a subject intensely. This is evidenced by his manner of address. "The capitalist owns the tools," he said, "the workingman uses them." A splendid antithesis! And yet he neglected to mention the vital fact that it is the capitalist who creates labor-saving machinery.

"It would be an unkindness to suggest that the man does not believe what he says. There can be no doubt, after hearing him speak that he is in earnest. He is sincere in his convictions. Yet, one does not carry away from him a feeling of conviction or persuasion. His words are inconclusive. Like all great agitators, he takes so much for granted. The chief feeling that one has, when he has finished speaking, is that he is most at home in his scathing denunciation of existing conditions.

"An ill-balanced man, a dreamer, surely, yet who can say on looking at the earnest faces that form his audience, how subtle an influence he may be in shaping Tomorrow?"

The above editorial in a daily journal which offers to its readers "A Study of Debs" is even more charitable than the majority of daily publications that, in order to merit the approval of a master class, generally deliver a verbal castigation to every agitator who has the temerity to raise his voice in defense of the impoverished and oppressed. The New Orleans Item in the first paragraph of its editorial manifests some surprise to see workingmen present at the Debs lecture. Did the Item expect to see other than representatives of the working class present? Did the Item expect to behold bankers, lawyers, princely merchants, bloated bond-holders, coupon-clippers, brokers and other licensed robbers attending a lecture that had in it the remedies to lift humanity from the bondage of wage slavery?

Did the Item expect to see ministers of the gospel who cringe to capitalism and judges who render verdicts for trusts and corporations listening to this man whom railway magnates imprisoned and whom every journalist mortgaged to privilege has taken a special pleasure in slandering? The audience that greeted Debs in New Orleans knew Debs and Debs knew his audience. If Debs "has the gift not of wisdom but of epigram" the exploiter and literary flunkies have but little to fear.

If he is but a "dreamer" and "an ill-balanced man," then why does the Item declare: "How subtle an influence he may be in shaping Tomorrow?"

The Item recognizes the eloquence and the power of Debs and realizes that his logic appeals to the reason of the class that are slowly opening their eyes to the infamies and crimes that are committed under the black flag of industrial piracy, but the Item has not got the courage to say so. Debs needs no tribute of praise from a prostituted pen and the hireling of capitalism who slanders for his salary cannot reach him with his missiles of vituperation.

## Disgusting Adulation

THE DULUTH Labor World had the following editorial under the caption: "The Law Vindicated":

"An inspiring, though none the less deplorable, illustration of the vindication of the law's majesty and its disregard for individual station, whether high or low, is furnished in the imprisonment of a millionaire offender convicted of peonage.

"Step by step, through all the graduations of appellate courts, the case was fought with desperate energy by the ablest of attorneys until the very doors of the Supreme Court of the United States were reached, but all to no purpose, he had to take what the law said was justly coming to him.

"We don't care what any one says, the judges and courts of this nation, both state and federal, have no superiors as such on this planet, and the nearest approach to them as equals are those of the British empire. In hasty moments we may register vigorous protests against court decisions, which upon cooler reflection we are compelled to admit were right after all. For one, we have full faith and confidence in the integrity of our American courts."

The above, if appearing in a subsidized organ, would cause but little comment, as it is only natural that journals that are consecrated to the hellish system of exploitation would defend the judiciary, an insti-

tution that Baer, the industrial despot of Pennsylvania, designated as "the bulwark of American liberty."

Because the courts have convicted a heartless monster, who established peonage in a southern state, and because this soulless criminal was a millionaire, a labor journal must forget every judicial infamy that has been perpetrated upon the common people and laud the integrity of the ermined gentry, whom every sane and intelligent man in the labor movement knows are arrayed against the slave who toils for a master.

The millionaire of the south who was convicted of peonage had no defense that justified a court to permit him to escape with impunity.

Had the courts before whom this profit-monger appeared permitted him to escape the penalty of his infamous crimes against human liberty there would have been heard from ocean to ocean the thunders of an indignation that would have shaken "the temples of justice" of America, and right well did the judges know that they could not afford to assassinate justice in broad daylight. The crime of this millionaire was so glaring that not even the slightest loophole could be found through which he might escape the penalty of his brutal infamy, and because the courts have convicted a moneyed villain a labor journal must indulge in editorial gush to pay a tribute to the judiciary.



#### INFORMATION WANTED.

Anybody knowing the whereabouts of John McNelis, age about forty-nine years, will please communicate with the secretary of Bisbee Miners' Union, as a matter of importance necessitates his presence. Address E. J. MacCoshen, Bisbee, Arizona.

#### INFORMATION WANTED.

Eureka, Utah, February 5, 1912.

Miners' Magazine:

Information wanted as to the whereabouts of one John F. Hanserd. Anyone knowink this gentleman please communicate with the secretary of Tintic Miners' Union No. 15, W. F. M.  
J. W. MORTON,  
Secretary No. 151, W. F. M.  
(Seal)

#### UNEMPLOYED LEAGUE.

Portland, Oregon, Jan. 26, 1912.

To All Labor Organizations of the Pacific Coast:

There are at present in the City of Portland about 14,000 unemployed workmen and women. Reports from adjacent cities indicate similar conditions. The reason for this cannot be attributed to business depression but is for the most part the result of misrepresentation and lying advertisements spread broadcast throughout the country by the "Boosters' Clubs" and commercial bodies of the coast cities acting in concert with the railroads which gave special low rates to the Pacific coast throughout the summer. The congested labor conditions operate favorably to the employer, by reducing labor to starving conditions, and thereby enabling the employer to dictate the most abject terms to the worker.

There is no indication of a cessation of this false representation to the eastern workingman and the resultant prospect is for a continuous increase in the army of the unemployed, while the employers, commercial bodies and municipalities are taking no steps to alleviate the condition of the unemployed already here. For this reason the unemployed of Portland have organized for redress of grievance and propose that all labor bodies on the coast take steps to remedy conditions by similar organizations and demonstrations, protests and demands looking to the same end, viz., that aid and employment be given to the hungry thousands thus betrayed by the "Boosters Clubs," real estate boomers and strike-breaking organizations of employers. It is up to all labor organizations to co-operate in this movement to the end that we shall act as a unit for the preservation of our organizations and the relief of the sufferings of the unemployed. Otherwise the consequences of the presence of this army of competition in the labor market will of necessity operate disastrously to the labor unions now seeking to maintain a living scale of wages. "A hungry stomach knows no law."

The action of the police in rounding up large bodies of workers and ordering them out of town is inhuman, in that it forces them to the alternative of facing exposure along the roads amid the rigors of midwinter, to starvation or into crime. Your protest and demands should cover this phase of the situation and promptly and effectually stop it. We urge that you take action in concert with us.

THE LEAGUE OF THE UNEMPLOYED,

W. T. NEF, Secretary.

#### A PLEA FOR THE INDICTED LABOR MEN.

From an Editorial in the Los Angeles Citizen.

There is not a weapon or method in all the long list of hell's equipment that has not been brought into play by the powers arrayed against organized labor.

From the bomb of the hired anarchist to the gatling gun of the subsidized militia.

From the den of the private detective to the Cabinet room of the White House.

From the plot of the thug in the dive to the scheme in the Presidential chamber.

From the illiterate slander of the low-browed slum boss to the learned lie of the high-browed supreme judge.

Nothing, nothing has been left unused by the enemies of labor.

The miracle of democracy is shown in the patience and peaceableness of the working people under the severest strain ever put upon the backs of aspiring humanity.

Was there ever a closer analogy to the attitude of the Son of Man, of whom it was written in prophecy, "He was led as a lamb to the slaughter, and as a sheep before its shearers is dumb, so he opened not his mouth."

Had organized labor been actuated by the spirit manifested by its opponents, rivers of blood, instead of the calm deliberations of fair-minded and honest-hearted citizens would have marked the labor movement of America.

When the McNamaras were arrested and kidnaped, organized labor did its plain duty and proved consistent with its true American spirit by hastening to their defense.

The McNamaras were known only as brother workers and the victims of a hellish conspiracy—that of the National Erectors' Association—to wipe organization among men of the crafts exploited by it out of existence.

This conspiracy was no creature of prejudiced imagination. It is a reality. It is becoming more and more manifest.

The plea of guilty of the McNamaras did not dispose of the conspiracy. Neither did it excuse it.

The fact remains that the Erectors' Association is engaged in a war to the death against organized labor and that organized labor must continue its contest in the same manner and spirit that have marked its movement from the beginning.

In the cases of Messrs. Tveitmo, Johannsen, Munsey, Clancy and all others who have been or may be involved by the machinery of inquisition utilized for the advantage of the enemies of labor, the duty of organized labor is plain.

#### THE NEED OF THE HOUR.

By Clyde J. Wright.

No system can succeed in the hands of its enemies. It amounts to nothing if a friend of the present system advocates radical measures.

No system can succeed in the hands of its friends unless its friends understand the system in all of its details.

Socialism is a philosophy. Like all untried systems it is first a theory. To make that theory a fact is like building to the plans of an architect. In this revolution we are now in need of both builders and architects. It is possible to have an organization that begins and ends within itself. The Socialist party conventions and internal factional child's quarrels at times made some of us think that we needed two organizations, the one for factional "fusses," constitutional amendments, and "leaders' kindergartens, and another organization to fight capitalism and make our theories a legislative reality.

There grew up a rank and file that were suspicious. Capitalism is responsible for this. Suspicion meant experimenting; and experimenting, even if it was expensive, was educational. It is bringing forth for the first time the possibilities of a democracy.

The suspiciousness at first was only distrust. The suspicion and distrust as often caused the rank and file to interfere with good work as with bad work. But its evolution is the hope of the world if it continues to make progress.

The rank and file is commencing to learn by its expensive blunders and to gauge its distrust to the point that will safeguard without damage to effective legislative construction.

The past dreamers and enthusiasts are just commencing to catch the meaning of legislation, political action and organization. They commence to see the other half of Socialism. The evolution of our party will bring order out of chaos as these busy brains absorb the ideas of government construction.

Capitalism never did let the people know how necessary it was to have organized management both before election and after. Capitalism never did let the people know how much campaign money was actually needed and how much of it was unnecessary graft. The common people never were taught how much it costs to run a press without corruption money. All this had to be learned and the Socialists had to learn it in their own way.

Socialism can only succeed in the hands of its friends. Its friends are the rank and file of the common herd. And there its progress must wait until the rank and file qualifies, organizes and plans its battles and pays its bills. Socialism will die anywhere else. It could die in the hands of its friends and will if its friends don't apply themselves to the real problems of organized political action, but everything indicates that the rank and file are upon the threshold of an awakening.

#### THE WAGE SLAVES.

Written for Miners' Magazine by W. E. Hanson, Butte, Montana.

In the early morn ere the whistle shrill,  
Or the deep-toned bell strikes seven,  
See the crowds as they march to mine and mill,  
The makers of wealth and its leaven.

Noise and bustle, hurry and din,  
Whirr of wheels and clanking loom,  
Toil and sweat the crust to win,  
And one day nearer the wage slaves' doom.

What is human life to those that employ  
Flesh and blood their wealth to increase;  
What right has a slave his life to enjoy,  
What right to contentment, joy or peace?

Swing the hammer and skim the slag,  
Watch that they earn their paltry pay.  
See that their efforts never lag,  
Keep them dumb with nothing to say.

Make hammer and anvil sing a song,  
Sweat in the grime and burning dust;  
For wealth is mighty and wealth is strong,  
And slaves will toil, for wage slaves must.

Urge them on with whip and curse,  
It adds more wealth to the rich man's purse.  
What if one faint and totter and fall?  
It is only a wage slave after all.

Another one waits to take the place,  
Another slave in the losing race,  
Another one sits where the dead one sat,  
And another grave out on POVERTY FLAT.

O, God in Heaven, beyond the sky,  
Hast Thou never gazed with loving eye  
On the hapless millions who slave and toil  
For a crust to eat and six feet of soil.

Are they slaves on earth and forgotten in Heaven,  
After the promises Thou hast given?  
Or have they been doomed by Thee at birth  
To be ruled and owned by wealth on earth?

Peace comes at last—no whistle shrill  
Calls them to factory, mine or mill;  
No longer driven, no more oppressed,  
Sleeping at last in "ETERNAL REST."

At rest in their graves so damp and cold,  
In time to be part of the graveyard mold.  
Their labors are over, answer me pray,  
"Is there a GOD and a JUDGMENT DAY?"

#### "PHOSSY JAW" STAR CHAMBERED.

That the Esch phosphorus bill, which prohibits the use of poisonous phosphorus in matches, has been referred by the House committee on ways and means to a secret sub-committee of five has just been made public in dispatches from Washington.

Prominent members of Congress say this is unprecedented. The personal appeal at a recent hearing on the bill, of a match-worker

pitifully disfigured by "phossy jaw," together with evidence showing that in one of the newest match factories fifteen per cent. of the employes have had their jaws cut out in the last three years, increased the popular demand that the bill be passed. An exhibit shown at the hearing included pictures of afflicted workers, photographs of jaws removed from sufferers, as well as death certificates and hospital records of "phossy jaw" victims.

#### Demand Protection for Match Workers.

This bill, on account of the loathsome nature of the disease it would wipe out, has been championed by the press, the pulpit and the public in general. Hundreds of organizations, from academies of medicine to trade unions, have passed resolutions denouncing the wrong done American workers by needlessly exposing them to "phossy jaw" and urging the passage of this protective legislation.

Professor Henry R. Seager, of Columbia University, who is president of the American Association for Labor Legislation, which organization drafted the bill presented by Mr. Esch, said at a recent hearing on the bill in Washington:

"Though most of the manufacturers would be glad to see the use of this poison prohibited, none of them can stop using it at present until a law is passed to that effect, because of competitive conditions. The only way to deal inexpensively and effectively with this matter is to pass the Esch bill."

#### A Cent a Year to Every Match User.

It is estimated that the use of a substitute for the poison would entail an annual additional expense of only one cent to every match user.

Representative Esch said that all sorts of sanitary precautions had been taken in every country, but it was found impossible to prevent the workers from getting phosphorus necrosis while continuing to use the poison. In Europe government commissions of experts were appointed to find out by scientific investigation if some substitute for the poison could be found. Sesquisulphide of phosphorus was one of the harmless substitutes found, and that, among others, is now used in practically all civilized countries of the world except the United States. The patent in this, held at one time by the Diamond Match Company, was canceled last year at the request of President Taft, so that it is now available to all manufacturers.

Factories in the United States have been unsuccessfully experimenting with the sanitary precautions which all other nations have long since proved futile.

#### "Phossy Jaw" Inevitable When Poison Is Used.

"Phossy jaw," declared Mr. Esch, "is entirely unnecessary. America is the only civilized country of commercial importance that has not absolutely prohibited this poison by national legislation. Ten European countries have entered into a treaty agreeing not to use it."

Mr. Esch told the committee that "phossy jaw" is now an "American disease." He said: "The only way to wipe out this national shame is by prohibiting the use of poisonous phosphorus by an internal revenue tax. This is the only effectual remedy."

When this bill was first introduced by Representative Esch in June, 1910, it was referred to the committee on ways and means and by them referred to a sub-committee of which John Dalzell of Pittsburgh was chairman. The only result was another year's delay. Notwithstanding the fact that it was not reported out of committee and consequently never came before the House for a vote, several congressmen in answers to letters from their constituents are saying that they "voted for the bill last year." This is a peculiar mistake.

At the recent hearing on the Esch bill in Washington, January 10th, Professor Seager said to the members of the committee:

"I think it is not too much to say that the eyes of the country are upon you in this matter and any idea that it may be put off will be received without enthusiasm by the American people."

### A LETTER TO THE GOVERNOR OF OREGON.

Portland, Oregon, January 25, 1911.

To Your Excellency:

The Central Labor Council of Portland and vicinity herewith submits for your consideration the evils caused in the state of Oregon through false advertisements, which have brought to the state of Oregon many thousands of men, women and children from the eastern and middle western states.

Large numbers of these people are now destitute, after having spent their savings in railroad fares and in vainly seeking work. Their suffering at present is so intense that the city council of Portland was forced to appropriate a large sum of money to put some of these actually starving people to work on park and street work at wages below the prevailing rate for laborers. Private charity has and is still being taxed to its utmost.

The fault for this lamentable condition of affairs lies with unscrupulous employers of labor and a certain type of real estate men. For years false advertisements about land and labor conditions in Oregon have been placed in the Eastern papers.

These advertisements lured to Oregon homeseekers, mechanics and laborers, who, on arrival here, quickly found that they had been duped.

Oregon, comprising a territory of 96,000 square miles with a population of about 700,000 people, is in the main a great wilderness of forests and mountains. The forests are largely held for speculation by the railroad interests and other great corporations. To clear an acre of this forest land, after it has been logged off, costs from \$50 to \$100 per acre. Hence there is little chance for paying farms on such lands except for men with considerable capital.

Open country, suitable for farming, has long ago been taken up, and prices for such farm land are very high.

Railroad transportation throughout the state is very poor.

The orchard lands are held for almost fabulous prices, in the hope that easterners can be fooled to buy them. The same trick that was played twenty years ago in southern California, when orange orchards sold for \$1,000 an acre.

The bottom of these wildcat schemes dropped out in California, and the Coxy army followed. The bottom of Oregon's wildcat schemes is now dropping out; hence idleness, destitution and a general reign of crime committed by misled and desperate men.

Of course the great majority of the employers of Oregon deplore the practices which have brought about the present chaotic industrial conditions in this state. The great majority of real estate men are opposed to the bunco tactics of the minority. But up to date with no tangible results for betterment. Therefore the Central Labor Council of Portland and Vicinity appeals to you to give this matter publicity in your state and prevent great injustice and suffering to men, women and children of your state who otherwise might fall victims to false advertisements sent from Oregon.

Specially dealing with labor conditions in Oregon, we wish to state that out of the population of 700,000 there are 207,000 in Portland—our principal city. This readily shows that the remaining 500,000 are scattered over 96,000 square miles. In the East when work becomes scarce in one city or state mechanics and laborers can easily move to another city and state and seek for work. The great distances in our state make such moving a great hardship and very expensive.

The almost criminal practice of some employers of labor in advertising in eastern papers that wages of carpenters in Portland, Oregon, are \$7 per day for eight hours, with steady employment guaranteed, can not be too strongly condemned. The facts are that carpenters' wages in Portland are \$2.50 to \$4 per day, hours range from eight to ten and as a rule there are three men looking for each job. The same conditions prevail in many other trades.

In conclusion we wish to state that we love our city and state. It pains us to advertise to the entire country the distress and disease among our people caused by some money-mad employers and real-estate sharks. But we feel it is our duty as citizens of Oregon and of the United States, to expose swindling that already has caused untold suffering.

We welcome to our state men and women who have a true understanding of conditions in Oregon. There is room for such immigrants to aid us in the development of our resources. What we protest against is the unscrupulous exploitation of deluded people. We are, very respectfully,

CENTRAL LABOR COUNCIL OF PORTLAND AND VICINITY.  
WILL DALY, President. ARTHUR W. LAWRENCE, Secretary.

### NEWS FROM WASHINGTON, D. C.

(By National Socialist Press.)

Washington, D. C.—Victor L. Berger, the Socialist congressman, has introduced a bill in the House providing for the government ownership and operation of the railroad, telegraph, telephone and express properties engaged in interstate commerce.

The bill provides:

That the Congress shall select a commission of 12 persons, experts in the valuation of properties, and it shall be their duty to arrange for and supervise the appraisal of the actual physical valuation of the tangible material, real and personal, of said properties. The actual appraisal of the valuation of such properties shall be made in each case by a sub-commission of five experts appointed by said commission, and these sub-commissions shall report their findings to the said commission.

That the said commission shall cause to be issued bonds, in denominations of \$50 and multiples thereof, bearing interest at the rate of two per cent. per annum, to the aggregate value of the ascertained valuation of said properties, and shall offer these to be exchanged at a pro rata value for the share and bonds or other certificates of ownership of the companies owning such properties, exchange to be based upon the actual values ascertained to be embodied in such certificates of ownership.

That if the owners of the properties refuse to surrender them for the value offered, the President shall employ such means as may be necessary to take possession thereof.

That Congress shall create a Department of Transportation and Telegraphs, of equal rank with the nine departments now represented in the Cabinet, and that when the property is transferred to the government, this department shall have control of the same. Every such property shall be operated on a work day of eight hours and under, at least, the rate of wages prevailing at the time of acquirement in the industry of which such property is a part.

That in like manner the express properties so acquired shall be taken over and operated by the Postoffice Department.

That it shall be the duty of both the Department of Transportation and Telegraph and of the Postoffice Department to make immediate provision for the institution of sinking funds for the retirement of the bonds before mentioned after the expiration of not more than fifty years.

#### Wants Strike Investigated.

Charging that the employment of inexperienced men in the work of repairing locomotives and cars on the Harriman lines has resulted in the loss of life and property and in the delay of the United States mails, Berger has introduced a resolution providing for the election of a committee to investigate the strike of the machinists and other shopmen on these lines.

Berger charges the Harriman lines with refusing to treat with their former employes for purely speculative and stock-rigging purposes. The companies involved are doing this despite the fact that they cannot efficiently operate their lines under present conditions.

It is generally known in Washington that the federal departments have been most lenient with the Harriman lines since the strike began. The Postoffice Department for instance has so far tolerated the unreasonable delay of the mails caused by the strike on these lines. The department has not collected a penny in fines against these railroads which are due under the law governing delays of the mails.

#### Berger Ridicules Nobility.

Berger has demonstrated to the powers that be that there is a third party in Congress. When the admirers of Count Francis von Luetzow of Bohemia had obtained permission from Republican Leader Mann and Democratic Leader Underwood to adjourn the House in the nobleman's honor they did not reckon with the Socialist member of Congress. Accordingly, when Representative Underwood asked for unanimous consent to take a recess for fifteen minutes to give the Count "an opportunity to make an address on universal peace," Berger rose and said:

"Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, which I reserve for the first time since I came here, I should like to know the grounds on which we invite this foreign nobleman to address the House. As far as I know, Mr. Speaker, the only claim Count Luetzow has to fame is that he was the secretary of the Austrian embassy in London once upon a time—that he keeps a stable in England and that he fought a duel twenty years ago in which nobody was hurt. It was a sort of a scrub affair—and he is now a man of peace. Moreover, Mr. Speaker, the Count was never to my knowledge a member of any parliament, and he is not a famous statesman. We must not be too lavish with our honors. I should be willing illustrious parliamentarian or scientist, whether he came from Russia, from Germany, from Austria, from Bohemia or from France, address this House. But he must be more than a titled man."

Berger called attention to the fact that no Socialist had ever been invited to address the House. He gave as an instance the case of Soukop, a prominent Bohemian Socialist, who recently was in Washington. Underwood, seeing that Berger held the upper hand, practically assured the Socialist congressman that in the future foreign Socialist parliamentarians would be given the same honor. Berger then withdrew his objection.

#### Gompers Ready for Another Tour.

With the old party national conventions about to begin, Samuel Gompers and Frank Morrison have set out on their pilgrimage to beg for political alms. The American working class will soon again witness the humiliating spectacle of the so-called leaders of organized labor pleading with the plutocratic politicians to offer a few crumbs to those who outnumber and could outvote their exploiters.

Gompers' Washington lieutenants are planning to capture the two delegations from the national capital to the Democratic convention. They actually believe such politics to be worth while and practical. What will a handful of so-called labor delegates amount to in an old party convention? They may as well try to capture the convention by chloroforming the chairman.

## Berger on Economy.

Socialist Representative Berger took the floor for a minute to give the Democrats a lesson in economy. Estimating that it costs about \$30,000 a day to run the House, Berger said:

"We have spent three days in the consideration of a bridge bill, and at that rate it costs \$90,000. These people in Massachusetts are asking for \$15,000 as the government's share in the building of this bridge, and we are spending enough time on this bill to build six bridges at that rate. I ask this question: Is that good economy?"

## CIVILIZATION OF THE WHIPPING POST; DELAWARE'S IMPERISHABLE INFAMY.

(By Eugene V. Debs, in Coming Nation.)

The state of Delaware, one of the first in the Union to be settled by civilized people, is still in a state of bloody savagery. Cannibals would shrink from entering there after reading Delaware's twentieth century New Year's greeting to Christendom.

Dragging Quakers through the streets at the tail end of carts and hanging witches were acts of mercy compared to the barbarous atrocities committed in this year of 1912 by the Christian authorities of the state which Ingersoll declared was so small and shrivelled that when the tide was in, only one township was out of water, and which was better adapted to clam culture than the raising of human beings.

"Tied to a Cross—Lashed in Public" is the headline of a press dispatch dated Wilmington, Del., Jan. 13, 1912, the opening paragraph of which reads as follows:

"With hands tied to the extended arms of a cross and with backs bared to the zero gale two men were mercilessly lashed in the courtyard of the county workhouse here to-day, part payment of the toll the state exacts for their crime. John Brewington received forty lashes with a cat-o-nine-tails in addition to which he will serve two years in state's prison for highway robbery. Arthur Johnson received twenty lashes and will serve one year for larceny."

When one reads the account of this atrocious torture of human beings by the "Christian" authorities of a "civilized" state in a "free" republic, it is scarcely possible to realize that this is the twentieth century and that we are no longer living in the dark and horrid Middle Ages.

Millions of dollars are collected by the churches annually for sending missionaries abroad to Christianize and civilize the heathens of other lands, while the state of Delaware, one of the original thirteen colonies out of which the union was formed, and after four hundred years of Christian civilization, practices cruelties upon her children in the name of the "law" and with the blessing of the pulpit, which would make a cannibal tribesman or head hunter of darkest Africa or the South Sea Islands blush with shame and tremble with terror.

Let me proceed with the reading of this New Year's greeting which the savage state of Delaware, through the hardened beasts that administer the "law" which would be a disgrace to devils and for which they would be lashed out of hell, has issued to the civilized world:

"The men suffered frightfully from the cold, and from the blood-letting lashes, and staggered, semi-conscious, back to their cells. The whippings, as are all Delaware whippings, were public, and a morbid crowd stood against the prison walls and saw the heavy leather strap with its nine thongs cut deep into the quivering flesh of the wretches."

The human being who can read this shocking account without growing sick at heart and revolting against it with all the white-hot indignation of an outraged soul is still in the hyena state of his development.

The furrows "cut deep into the quivering flesh" are for life. The hideous scars remain forever. The victim carries through life the marks of degenerate Delaware's twentieth century civilization.

Branding a wretch with a hot iron until he writhes in the convulsions of agony is less cruel than Delaware's satanic infliction. The ingenious Christian officials who rule there chortle with glee as they witness the excruciating torment and feast their eyes upon the livid and distorted features of those images of God, whose transgression is mercifully treated with the refinement of torture instead of burning them alive at the stake.

A decent dragon would fly in horror from such a shocking scene.

Now, steel yourself for this:

"The men were to have been lashed early today, but the two degrees above zero weather chilled Warden Crawford (too bad that the delicate sensibilities of this official monster should have been 'chilled' by the zero gale—nothing else could have penetrated his alligator hide) to such an extent that he postponed the whippings until the day warmed.

"In the afternoon when a four degree rise in temperature was noted Crawford bundled himself in a fur-lined overcoat, put on heavy gloves and ordered the men brought out. Each wore a heavy blanket wrapped around his neck but his back was nude. The prisoners' hands were encased in gloves as their extended arms were lashed to the cross-bars."

The officiating hyena, it will be observed, took the utmost precaution to protect his own precious hide from the biting blasts. If there was one spark of the divinity that raises man above the brute before he began to cut the flesh from the backs of these wretches into red ribbons frozen to his lash, it was extinguished before he completed his bloody function, and God and the angels must have wept above the heart-rending scene.

Oh, what a burning shame, what a revolting atrocity, what a foul and damning blot upon the state of Delaware.

Once in his life when all his wrath was aroused by the cruelties of slavery, Ingersoll exclaimed: "I wish there were words that coil and hiss and were fanged like snakes so that I could express my horror of chattel slavery." And so I feel when I attempt to express my horror and detestation of the revolting barbarities practiced in the shadow of her courts of justice and temples of worship by the Christian commonwealth of Delaware.

Every one of the official torturers, from the beast who wielded the bloody lash to the heartless legislator who enacted the law, the sodden judge who pronounced the sentence, and the pious savage who followed with his benediction, every one of them is a professed Christian.

It is in this way that they forgive the erring, love mercy and follow in the footsteps of the sad and suffering Christ.

If the Christian priesthood and ministry of Delaware, and beyond the boundaries of Delaware, over all the states of the Union, do not life up their voices in a cry of protest against mutilating and disfiguring the children of God in the name of Christian civilization, then it is because the currents of pity have frozen in their veins and their souls have been deadened in the service of Mammon, and in vain will they plead that they are followers of the Christ who pitied the unfortunate, forgave the erring, loved the poor and friendless and "had not where to lay his head."

Now comes the tragic climax:

"Brewington was whipped first. His back, blue from cold, shivered and shook as the first blow of the strap fell, cutting nine bloody welts straight across. Ten times the scourge fell, straight down, and ninety livid welts showered on his quivering back. Then, by moving his position, Warden Crawford made the strap strike at an angle. The blows thus completed, the angle was changed, until when the forty cruel blows had landed, a perfect grill of embossed flesh torn and bruised showed across the wretch's back.

"Brewington uttered not a sound though his lips were bleeding from the

bites he gave as the scourge whistled through the air and he stiffened for the coming pain. His arms were freed and he staggered back from the cross. Guards seized him, without washing away the blood, and rushed him, half-frozen, back to the cell.

Johnson, nude to the waist, stood by all the while, shivering with cold and fright. Involuntarily he braced himself as each blow landed on Brewington's shoulders as if he could feel the pain himself.

"Then when Brewington's torture was ended, Johnson was led to the cross, pilloried and lashed."

All words are futile and all language fails here. We are simply speechless with amazement and dumb with shame and horror.

Let those who charge Socialists with being beasts for seeking to humanize society and put an end to "lawful" practices which would sicken a savage, take to themselves all the credit they are entitled to for these unspeakable crimes.

If these two mutilated human beings, scarred with Delaware's bloody lash and bearing the marks of shame to their graves, have not been changed into fiends, murderers and assassins and do not turn upon the brutes that outraged their manhood, it will be because they have infinitely more of the Christ spirit in their lacerated bodies than have the monsters that whipped them into insensibility.

Instead of Delaware sending missionaries abroad to civilize the heathens, some of the tribesmen and cannibals of these lands should go into Delaware to un-civilize the man-whipping gorillas of that state.

It remains only to be said that the capitalist system is at high tide, and that Socialism is at a low ebb, in Delaware.

The circulation of the Appeal to Reason is smaller in Delaware than in any other state in the Union, and that is one of the reasons why the civilization of the whipping post flourishes there.

Capital punishment, and every other crime perpetrated by the state upon its unfortunate children, for whom the state itself is responsible—for maintaining the society which produces them—is disappearing before the march of Socialism as the mist disappears before the sunrise.

The whipping outrages of Delaware will be wiped out with the capitalist system which they typify when the rising sun of Socialism lights the world.



## UNFORTUNATE VICTIMS OF SOCIAL WRONGS.

Society is prone to hold its skirts aloof when it sees a man or a woman that has gone astray. The convict just released from prison finds a cold world, and the girl that has erred seeks friends in vain.

How often might these unfortunates, victims many of them of social wrong, more sinned against by society than sinning, turn upon society with the words of Omar Khayyam:

"O thou, who didst with pitfall and with gin  
Beset the road I was to wander in,  
Thou wilt not with predestined evil round  
Enmesh, and then impute my fall to sin!"

But that is just what society does, and we go on trying to save people from sin without removing the snares that are continually entrapping more victims.

In homage to the God Profit, society maintains the saloon, the gambling hell, the brothel, and tolerates conditions that drive men and women into such places.

But there is a change coming. The society of the future will employ no girls at less than a living wage; and then we shall see what becomes of the red light district, whither girls now sell themselves in their distress. The society of the future will not doom any to bare, squalid homes, will not drive its workers to the verge of collapse; will not deprive them of the possibility of any real enjoyment; and then we shall see how much attention the saloon will have for strong, prosperous men with bright homes.

Sin is a dark fact, but when we succeed in abolishing the social system, that is largely responsible for luring people into sin, we may be surprised at the clearing up that will ensue.—Florida Beacon.

## IS MURDER MURDER?

Is murder murder? That is the question.

Roosevelt says it is.

We say that it depends upon the incentive and the perpetrator.

Mine operators, mill, factory and sweatshop owners and railway corporations can, to roll up profits, murder thousands every year and go unpunished—it is not murder.

If a workingman, smarting under oppression and wrong, in attempting to rectify the wrong, takes life, he is punished—because that is murder.

Since the McNamaras were sentenced, thousands of men, women and children have been murdered in factories, mills, mines and on railroads for profit, and no effort is made to punish the guilty; no investigation is ordered by the President or by Congress.

Why this difference?

Because capitalists control our government in all its branches.

It used to be wrong to kill a chattel slave, because he represented so many dollars of capitalist investment.

It is not wrong to kill a wage slave, because he does not represent anything but himself, his family and the two or three thousand dollars invested in him by his parents. The capitalist has not invested a cent in him—and that makes all the difference.

We are told that the courts hand out justice to all alike, but Justice is represented as blindfolded—and we think she is if she cannot see any difference in the treatment of the poor and rich in the courts and the judgments meted out to them.

In short, Uncle Sam, you are the biggest liar, hypocrite and all-round humbug on the face of the earth today. You pretend to protect the workers in their natural rights to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, while you connive with capitalism to oppress, rob and murder them by wholesale.

Why don't you investigate these mine, railroad and other disasters? The most stupid toiler in the land knows it is because every government department is dominated by dollars.

And this is why we are going to dethrone the dollar and enthrone humanity.

Socialism will make man more precious than gold.

It is written, and will be accomplished.—Social Advance.

## POVERTY AND DRINK.

It is regrettable to notice so many otherwise intelligent people so stupid as to ascribe to the traffic of alcohol, the causes of poverty. It is a notorious fact that the wealthy classes in this country are the large consumers of spiritous liquors. In New York alone last New Year's Eve over \$1,500,000 worth of champagne was consumed by the rich, and about the only effect it produced upon them was a sick headache. It did not make them poor; but this manifest extravagance and dissipation on the part of other than the actual victims of poverty was just as much the effect of the cause of poverty as misery itself. Just as imperfect circulation of blood will produce clammy extremities and overheated centers, so does the unequal distribution of labor's product produce revelry and luxury in high places and poverty and suffering in low places.

That Boston divine who recently declared from the pulpit that eighty-three per cent. of the poverty in America is caused by drunkenness is certainly off his base. In putting strong drink as the cause and poverty as the effect, the reverend orator ignores the almost unanimous conclusion of sociologists, economists and all careful observers, who assert that poverty is the cause and drunkenness the effect.

Men drink because they are poor, because they find life hard, because they are out of tune with their environments, because their hopes and dreams are unrealized. The desire for liquor is not an uncaused and unrelated fact. Its cause is largely economic.

Banish the cause of poverty, and the cause of drunkenness will disappear. Lift a part of the heavy burden that rests upon the shoulders of labor, and the laborer will not seek to drown the memory of it in drink.

There is a classic passage in one of the books of the late William James that presents another, and, no doubt, profounder view of the problem. Temperance and prohibition orators might well commit it to memory and recite it to their audiences:

"The sway of alcohol over mankind," says Professor James, "is unquestionably due to its power to stimulate the mystical faculties of human nature, usually crushed to earth by the cold facts and dry criticisms of the sober hour. Not through mere perversity do men run after it. To the poor and unlettered it stands in the place of symphony concerts and literature. And it is part of the deeper mystery and tragedy of life that whiffs and gleams of something that we immediately recognize as excellent should be vouchsafed to so many of us only in the fleeting earlier phases of what in its totality is so degrading a poisoning.

Society would be immeasurably advanced if those who presume to outline its course would study as deeply as Professor James the causes of social evils. That Boston preacher is a fair sample of our clergy, many of whom are well-meaning men and undoubtedly are sincere in their work of reforming the drunkard, but they are deceiving themselves and also those whose credulity is their only mental asset.—United Mine Workers' Journal.

## MORGAN'S GOSPEL NOT "GLADLY HEARD."

Conventional politeness of course demands that public meetings shall not be wantonly interfered with, but meetings that can be broken up by the audience asking questions, possibly deserve to be broken up. A news item from Pittsburg states that this has been the fate of a "Men and Religion Forward Movement" meeting, at the hands, or, rather, the voices, of the local Socialists, a Socialist clergyman himself taking the leading part.

Nobody ever heard of a Socialist meeting disbanding because a few among the audience asked questions. On the contrary, as is well known, the custom is to invite questioning from the audience.

The audience in this case, or some of them, at least, wanted to know if J. Pierpont Morgan's money was not financing the movement that the meeting represented. There was, of course, no direct answer, as an admission to that effect would at once "queer" the meeting with the audience. The reply took the form of accusing the questioner of being a "politician" and came from one Raymond Robins, a man who has been a dubious character in reform politics for many years himself, and who is now thoroughly distrusted by the working class since entering the service of Morgan.

Religion is a private matter, says the Socialist platform, but "religion" financed by great capitalists, and organized purposely for the object of being thrust upon their wage-slaves, is a proposition of a very different sort, and the audience in this case, composed of the exploited slaves of the steel trust, were perfectly justified in asking questions as to the financial source of the outpouring. Anything of that sort engaged in by Morgan and his associates is rightly suspected of taint by the workers.

That this suspicion is well founded is recognized by the managers of the Men and Religion Forward Movement, who, to avoid offense, have taken Morgan's name from their literature and issued orders that "politics," that is to say, social questions, shall be eliminated from the meetings. At the beginning of the movement this matter was not calculated upon, and on several occasions it was publicly declared by its speakers, including the reform politician before mentioned, that one of its purposes was to divert the minds of the workers from Socialism. In Pittsburg and the surrounding districts especially, its operatives were instructed to discover the political affiliations of anticipated converts, and the schedule of questions which they were to fill out in the form of reports, laid special stress on the Socialism or non-Socialism of the person investigated.

The workingmen of this country have long passed the point where they will submit to sit quietly and listen without question to the evangelist whom they suspect of being directly subsidized by the exploiting class. They will no more permit it to pass without vocal objection than the capitalists of a wealthy congregation will permit their pastor to deliver his message from a socialistic point of view. In both cases religion ceases to be solely a private matter, and in the latter the capitalists will be the first to insist that their pastor is injecting "politics" into his religion.

It is fitting and appropriate that this hypocritical movement should first come to an open encounter with Socialism in the Pittsburg district, whence Morgan and his associates have extracted so much of their economic power through the blood and sweat of the unfortunate toilers in the steel mills, and it is gratifying to see that the insolence of the attempt at spreading the Morgan evangel among them was promptly and openly resented. We have to stand for the capitalists' exploitation, until we can get rid of it, but, fortunately, we don't have to stand for his "religion." It is too highly flavored for our consumption, and in this case the workers of Pittsburg have evidently discovered that "you can perfume 'religion' as much as you will, but the odor of Morgan will cling to it still."—New York Call.

## THE BOY SCOUTS.

## If They Are Not Military, Let Them Abandon Military Codes and Practices.

The founder of the Boy Scout movement, General Baden-Powell, is in Chicago to "review" the army of children that has been gathered together by some foolish persons, some well-meaning but superficial persons and some whose ideas of human society are entirely at war with the progress of events.

In this army of boys of tender years are mostly the sons of workingmen. For these lads we have only affection and good will and anything we may say as to the harmfulness of the Boy Scout movement is not intended to place censure upon the individual boys who have been caught by the glamor and heroics of this semi-military organization.

We are compelled to condemn the movement itself, however.

First, it is inconsistent with the advancement of the human race towards peace and the broader ideals of human brotherhood. In a word, the Boy Scout movement is based upon the standards of an age that is passing away, an age of class rule, an age of servility.

Second, it directly develops a military spirit in the rising generation which is calculated to create undue homage to those who possess the power of the law, in place of any rightful respect to the law itself. Thereby it creates a readiness on the part of the rising generation to blindly answer the call of big business interests, who control the machinery of the law today, when the workingmen attempt to redress their grievances by strikes.

This is an age which calls for the giving of minds to the service of society, not the giving of bodies. It is the age that calls for statesmanship, not for militarism.

The problems before the human race today are not how to marshal armies, not how to develop unquestioned obedience, not how to catch weasels, not how to penetrate forests, but how to adjust the relations of men so as to insure to all the full benefit of man's conquest over the elements.

Wars belong to the past. Even capitalism itself is abandoning war between nations, and the only object it can have in furthering the military spirit is to retain the blind allegiance of a sufficient number of the workers to constitute them into a military power which can be used for the perpetuation of class rule.

In the Boy Scout movement there is nothing that tends to develop the human brotherhood idea. All its code is individualistic. It suggests a personal help idea, the Good Samaritan practice, but these are things that can be found in the most brutal of soldiers.

The new age calls for a Good Samaritan who will not kill with one hand and swathe wounds with the other. It demands collective sympathy. It demands acts of kindness and righteousness to the whole of society. It demands consideration of those things that make for the welfare of all the human race, and those things are inconsistent with the military idea.

The military idea is stern. It assumes always that its general is right. It never questions. It blindly executes orders. It prohibits collective thinking, collective judgment. It is the antithesis of democracy.

The promoters of the Boy Scout movement will argue that it is not military in character, but every sensitive, plastic, young mind beneath those military hats knows that it is military. They are caught by the soldier idea and it is to that idea that they respond.

If the Boy Scout movement is not a military proposition, let its promoters abandon the military form. Let them assemble these boys into councils instead of regiments. Let them abandon all suggestion of killing man or beast. Let them substitute books for their imitation guns. Let them substitute practice in democracy and self government for military evolutions.

Let them so organize this vast body of boys as to forever eliminate any possibility of these boys turning guns against their own fathers and brothers at the behest of big business.

Then, and not until then, will the organized workers cease their opposition to the Boy Scout movement.—Chicago Daily Socialist.

## FEAR OF SOCIALISM.

Everything seems tending to Socialism," said Mark Pattison at Biarritz, adding: "I hate it!"

Asked why it was not more stoutly opposed, he pointed to the sea: "Men can build moles and breakwaters, but the resistless tide rolls on. What is to be will be, in spite of you or me."

Thus the Century magazine, one of the two remaining 35-cent monthlies, opens an editorial in its January issue, under the title, "The Warning of Socialism."

Aye, the resistless Socialist tide rolls on!

Once despised as a thing conjured out of the mind of the ignorant workers, Socialism has now become the ghost that haunts every banquet board of the masters. Once laughed at as a political joke, Socialism has now become the problem of the hour. Once dismissed by the masters with a sneer and a wave of the hand, Socialism is now their greatest fear.

But some of the masters still hope to be able to defeat Socialism.

The editors of the Century magazine, as good standpatters, think that the Socialist movement will be defeated by the old parties gobbling up its program and putting it into practice.

Childlike indeed is the faith of some standpatters.

Admitting that the rising tide of Socialist ballots at the last election caused many people to incline to Mark Pattison's opinion, the Century proceeds to demolish the Socialist vote as a Socialist vote, branding it in large part as a vote of protest.

"Our established social and economic systems are not going to crumble before a swift onset of Socialism," says the Century, as a reassurance to its supporters, who are our masters. "They will endure a long battering, will undergo a great deal of quiet, unperceived amending."

There's the nubbin of conservative faith.

Capitalism will withstand, in the opinion of its beneficiaries, a bitter onslaught by the Socialists. Shrewd capitalist politicians will amend the ways of the government, hand out sops to the slaves, and thus Socialism will be stayed. But they miss their guess this time. The tide is rolling on, will roll on ever faster.

Progressive measures, so-called, whether introduced and put into practice by the Insurgents or progressive Democrats cannot, and will not stop the rising tide of Socialism.

"Shortly before he died," says the Century, "the late Duke of Devonshire wrote, 'The Socialists are making tremendous progress and I do not see who is to stop them.'"

It is fitting that an organ of American plutocracy should turn in its fear to a member of the English land-thieving aristocracy, it is perfectly proper that it should share his fears.

"For that matter," the Century adds, "it is the Socialists who will stop themselves. Some of them will become so extreme that they will repel instead of attracting adherents. Others with a modicum of political power entrusted to them, will turn conservative by force of circumstances."

The Socialist movement will cease to grow only when industrial democracy has been won only when political and religious democracy are supplemented by industrial democracy, only when life is guided by social democracy—only when the people are free industrially, politically and spiritually.

Organized in class unions industrially, the workers will see to it that the Socialists entrusted with political power do not become conservative. That, of course, the Century overlooks. But we do not overlook the industrial factor, and we are not afraid of the canker of conservatism being able to eat out the revolutionary vitals of our movement.

The workers make everything, but get little of anything. The masters make nothing, but get most of everything. Capitalism is a game of fleecing the workers. And the workers are learning the fact. They are awakening, organizing and preparing to come into their own.

The resistless Socialist tide rolls on. What is to be will be, in spite of all the masters between heaven and hell. Industrial democracy, the right of the people to own their industries and run them for the service of all, not for the profit of a few masters, is the next stage in social evolution. It's coming, coming fast, and nothing can stay its rising tide.—Free Press, Newcastle.

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

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LIST OF UNIONS

Table with columns: No., Name, Meet'g Night, President, Secretary, P.O. Box, Address. Lists unions from ALASKA to MINNESOTA.

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Table with columns: No., Name, Meet'g Night, President, Secretary, P.O. Box, Address. Lists unions from MISSOURI to WISCONSIN.

STATE AND DISTRICT UNIONS.

Utah State Union No. 1, W. F. M., Park City, Utah
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Flat River District Union No. 9, W. F. M., Flat River, Mo.
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San Juan District Union No. 3, W. F. M.
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Independence Ladies' Auxiliary No. 1, Independence, Mo.
Elvins Ladies' Auxiliary No. 9, Elvins, Mo.
Eureka Ladies' Auxiliary No. 3, Central City, S. D.
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**THE "HOCH" OF THE PROLETARIAT.**

On the streets of the principal German cities, in the intense cold of a winter night, on the 12th of January, 1912, hundreds of thousands of Socialist women and men stood for hours watching the "red" returns flashed on the bulletin boards.

As the returns of Socialist victories were shown again and then again, till wonderment had almost ceased, the multitudes of workers broke into frenzies of thunderous applause. The mighty "Hochs" of that momentous night have reverberated and rolled across both land and sea with ever increasing volume.

Today and every day, the mighty "Hochs" are rolling on and on.

They have been heard in the damp, dark dungeons of the Siberian north; they have penetrated the foul torture chambers of Saints Peter and Paul, beneath the windows of the Palace of the Czars.

They have cheered the starving peasants of India and distant China, they have startled the dreamy people of Northern Europe and fired the people of the British Isles.

The thunder of their tones has aroused the brave and hardy northerners and stimulated the struggling but determined southmen of the American continent.

The echoes of those mighty shouts have reached the ears of the proletariat of Australia.

The "Hochs" are going on and on and on, encircling the globe.

These "Hochs" are as the roar of the lion as he roars out his salute to the rising sun of hope in the morning and hails the setting sun of peace as it sinks to rest.

The echoes of this shout of freedom will never, never cease.—Chicago Daily Socialist.

**In Memoriam.**

Rossland, B. C., January 30, 1912.

Whereas, The Supreme Ruler of the Universe has called to her eternal rest the beloved wife of Brother Robert C. Brown; and,

Whereas, Mrs. Brown was a loving wife and a kind mother, whose womanly virtues endeared her to all who knew her; therefore, be it

Resolved, That we extend to the sorrowing relatives our heartfelt sympathy in their bereavement; and, be it further

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be sent to the bereaved family and a copy spread upon the minutes of this meeting.

(Seal)

H. VARCOE,  
THOMAS NIMSICK,  
S. J. GRANT,

Committee.

**IN MEMORIAM.**

Whereas, As an outcome of the capitalist system of industry, labor is continually making sacrifices through premature death; and,

Whereas, We are called upon to mourn the loss of our brother, Joseph Magnino, cut off in the prime of life by death due to suffocation in the North Franklin mine; and,

Whereas, Mullan Miners' Union No. 9, W. F. M., has lost a sincere and worthy defender of the cause of labor organization, this district and the working class in general a defender of its rights; therefore, be it

Resolved, That as a token of esteem we drape our charter for a period of thirty days, a copy of these resolutions be spread upon our minutes and a copy sent The Miners' Magazine for publication.

(Seal)

M. D. NEEDHAM,  
JOHN MOEN,  
RICHARD CHESNUTT,

Committee.

**IN MEMORIAM.**

Whereas, Almighty God, through His silent, mysterious power, has taken from our midst, taken away from his earthly sorrows and sufferings a beloved union brother, John Harbison, who died in the county hospital, Thursday, January 18, 1912; and,

Whereas, The Western Federation of Miners has lost a true and loyal member; his earthly master a kind and faithful servant; therefore, be it

Resolved, That we, the members of Steptoe Mill and Smeltermen's Local No. 233, W. F. of M., in regular meeting assembled, do hereby endeavor to express our esteem and respect; and in token of that esteem and respect we drape our charter in mourning for a period of thirty days. Be it further

Resolved, That, though we mourn our loss, we would not wish him back among us to suffer with us or to endure with us the silent, mental suffering known only to those who are conscious of the existing unequal struggle for justice and who feel most keenly the heavy hand of oppression. Oh, spirit of our departed brother, we mourn for thee! Alas, we mourn for the weakness of ourselves and those who fear to stand firmly for justice and the truth of the saying that "Right wrongs no man." Be it also

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be sent to the Miners' Magazine, Copper Ore, White Pine News, Ely Record and Expositor for publication.

(Signed)

E. A. REDWANZ,  
E. G. MARQUISS,

Committee.

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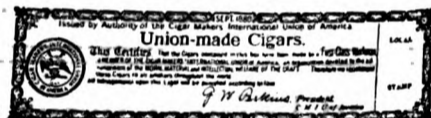
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