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THE MINERS MAGAZINE

INDEPENDENCE
EDUCATION ORGANIZATION

Published Weekly by the

WESTERN FEDERATION OF MINERS

DENVER, COLO.
Nov. 10th
1910
Volume XI
Number 385



WEALTH
BELONGS TO THE
PRODUCER THEREOF



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BUTTE, MONTANA

EDUCATION INDEPENDENCE ORGANIZATION

MINERS MAGAZINE



Denver, Colorado,
Thursday, November 10, 1910.

Volume XI. Number 385
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John M. O'Neill, Editor.

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

Card of the Homestake Mining Co.

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

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

Occupation

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Signed

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Department

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THE STRIKE of 45,000 garment workers in Chicago should leave no room to doubt that the "windy city" is being deluged by "prosperity."

THE ELECTION is over and the master class is jubilant. Strikes, lockouts, blacklists, bullpens, deportations, judicial tyranny, state militia and federal troops will continue to crush the labor movement.

THE HOG now occupies a prominent place in commercialism. Bacon has reached the skyscraping price of 40 cents per pound, but the workingman has been assured by the eloquent politicians that such a price is but a proof of our "prosperity."

DURING THE POLITICAL CAMPAIGN in the state of Nevada, the Southern Pacific Railway Company did the editorial work on a number of daily and weekly journals.
Hurrah, for a free press and free speech!

JOHN C. LOWNY, member of the executive board, has organized the Iron Mountain Miners' Union No 175 at Superior, Montan. John McMullen is the secretary-treasurer and the new union starts off with a membership of seventy.

A JUDGE of the United States Supreme Court, on account of old age, retires from the bench and he receives a pension of \$12,000 per annum. A working man retires from his job on account of old age, and he goes to the poor house. "We are all equal before the law."

THE RESPECTABLE ELEMENT lynched Christ about nineteen hundred years ago on Calvary, and it is not surprising that the respectable element in Tampa, Florida, lynched two labor organizers a few weeks ago. The lynching of Christ did not kill Christianity, nor will the lynching of labor officials kill the labor movement.

JUDGE GARY of the Steel Trust in a recent address to a body of foreign manufacturers emphatically declared for co-operation. The industrial tyrant of the trust realizes that co-operation means life and that competition means death. It is only the thoughtless workingman who can be drugged by that hoary chestnut: "Competition is the life of trade."

THE POWER that wields the sceptre in Spain is trembling through suspicion of the loyalty of the army. The army is made up of human beings, and even soldiers sworn to uphold the rule of royal parasites may forget their allegiance to the throne. It is possible for a soldier to feel the pulse-beats of the common people and proclaim death to the reign of tyranny.

POVERTY is a social disease. The poor as a class cannot escape poverty. It is inherent in the nature of the social system. Wealth accumulates in the hands of the few, because the laws endow the few with the legal power to draw from them the wealth that the masses produce. Poverty is no longer due to the paucity of wealth. It is due to the inequitable distribution of it. Society makes and enforces the laws which make millionaires and paupers. It can abolish these laws and free itself from the disease of poverty.—Chicago Daily Socialist.

JAMES A. PATTEN, the multimillionaire who for years has been a gambler with an international reputation, recently occupied a pulpit in one of the churches at Evanston, Ill. Patten preached on "Honesty." It was certainly an appropriate text for a man who has juggled with the necessities of life, and who, while in London, England, was almost mobbed on account of his infamous reputation. It is only in America, the land of Liberty, where Patten could desecrate a temple of God with his hypocrisy.

BARNEY O'CONNELL, one of the State Senators of Colorado, brought suit against the Denver Post for defamation of character. Barney entertained the opinion that the Post had damaged his spotless reputation to the extent of \$100,000 and expected a judgment for that amount. But when Barney's political record was investigated it was found that a judgment for "30" cents would have been excessive.

A jury discovered that Barney's record could scarcely be fumigated, and it is now hoped that Parson Buechel will confer on Barney another honorary degree as remuneration for his shattered reputation.

IN THE STRIKE of the Garment Workers of Chicago, the clothing merchants hired the thugs of detective agencies, and these thugs brutally assaulted girls and women. When men of honor and manhood came to the rescue of the outraged girls and women, the noble and gallant police force of Chicago reinforced the thugs, to protect them from the indignation of citizens who had not yet lost their reverence for the gentler sex.

We should be proud of a civilization that uses the club of a policeman and the sandbag of a thug to suppress the rebellion of girls and women against soulless exploiters.

IT APPEARS that the black man is in a fair way to be conceded those rights that are guaranteed by the Fifteenth Amendment. In the United States Circuit Court at Baltimore, Judge Morris recently

handed down a decision which renders the law of Maryland that was passed in 1908 as unconstitutional. The law of Maryland is held to be in conflict with the Fifteenth Amendment. An appeal has been taken to the Supreme Court of the United States, and if the Fifteenth Amendment means anything to the highest judicial tribunal of the nation, the political combinations that have raised the cry of "white supremacy" to disfranchise the negro, will be halted in their infamous work of constitutional assassination. A number of the Southern States that have torn the ballot from the hands of the black man may be forced to restore him his constitutional heritage.

THE CHAIRMAN of the legislative committee of the American Federation of Labor has issued a report in which it is claimed that the political campaign that has been waged by the A. F. of L. has resulted in the relegation of sixty members of Congress who were opposed to labor legislation. If that is true, it seems strange that the American Federation of Labor has been unable to elect a respectable number of members of organized labor to the House of Representatives. The report of the chairman of the legislative committee is but an idle boast that will appeal to no one except the laboring man, whose brain is shrouded in the fogs of ignorance. If the A. F. of L. has been the means of closing the political careers of sixty members of Congress, then why does not the report point to some men whom the A. F. of L. has elected to Congress?

The chairman of the committee has been "hitting the pipe."

THE COMMITTEE appointed by the convention of the State Federation of Labor of the State of California, has made an investigation of the Los Angeles Times explosion and has issued a report, giving the cause of the explosion as due to the leakage of gas. This report has been scouted by the capitalist press, and the attitude of subsidized organs will not be any surprise to intelligent men and women in the labor movement.

It is but natural that the organs devoted to the interests of the interests should repudiate and treat with contempt such a report.

It is only reasonable to presume that the enemies of the labor movement will find a sufficient number of Harry Orchards and Jim McPartlands to furnish the necessary testimony to give color to the charge that the building was dynamited by the criminals of organized labor. The report of the committee is published in this issue of the Magazine and is worthy of careful perusal.

THERE was an aristocratic wedding in New York a few weeks ago that united in wedlock a wealthy Adam to a fashionable Eve. Percy W. Evans, the magnate of a big shipping concern, was hitched to Mrs. Mary Schley Bowen, a society lady from the Golden State.

The contracting parties as they marched down the aisle of the "temple of God" with "two hearts that beat as one" were accompanied by bridesmaids whose names are as follows: Kondo-Sun, Pinka-San and Otovo-Geish. The bridesmaids were dogs, and came from a patrician kennel in Japan.

One of the bridesmaids had fleas and delayed the wedding ceremony.

But when the fleas were extracted from the foliage of the unfortunate bridesmaid, the ceremony proceeded which united the couple—much to the delight of the dogs.

It is needless to say that the dogs were the honored guests at the wedding feast.

How long will the impoverished millions of the country remain passive while such travesties are perpetrated in mockery of the destitution and misery that curses the earth?

TWO PROPRIETORS of moving picture houses in New York City, Jacob Bloom of 17 Stanton street and Charles Rothstein of 265 Avenue A, have been sent to jail for thirty and twenty days respectively for admitting unaccompanied minors to their places.

There is nothing like alertness and zeal on the part of our officials. The morals of the children must not be contaminated, the lives of the children must not be endangered.

But when was the last arrest and imprisonment for violating the

child-labor law? Has a single manufacturer, within the past year, been imprisoned for violating it? Not one.

Evidently it does not contaminate the morals or endanger the life or health of a child to admit it to a factory. Besides admission of children to the factories means so much more profits to the owners.

A meaner, more sickening farce was never run. It is easier to get convictions for violations of the law admitting children to places of amusement than for violation of the child-labor law, for where there is one case of the former there are scores of the latter. But the city and state officials simply dare not enforce the child-labor law.—New York Call.

THE FIAT of nature is inexorable. There is no appeal for relief from the great law which dooms us to dust. We flourish and fade as the leaves of the forest, and the flowers that bloom and wither in a day have no frailer hold upon life than the mightiest monarch that ever shook the earth with his footsteps. Generations of men will appear and disappear as the grass, and the multitude that throng the world today will disappear as the footsteps on the shore. Men seldom think of the great event of death until the shadow falls across their own pathway, hiding from their eyes the faces of loved ones whose living smile was the sunlight of their existence. Death is the antagonist of life, and the cold thought of the tomb is the skeleton of all feasts.

We do not want to go through the Dark valley, although its dark passage may lead to Paradise; we do not want to lie down in the damp grave, even with princes for bedfellows. In the beautiful drama of Ion, the hope of immortality, so eloquently uttered by the death-devoted Greek, finds deep response in every thoughtful soul. When about to yield his young existence as a sacrifice to fate, his Clemantha asked if they should meet again, to which he replies:

"I have asked that dreadful question of the hills that look eternal—of the clear streams that flow forever—of the stars among whose fields of azure my raised spirit has walked in glory. All were dumb; but as I gaze upon thy living face I feel that there's something in the love that mantles through its beauty that cannot wholly perish. We shall meet again, Clemantha."—George D. Prentice.

THE ANTHRACITE MINERS are in a bad way from the standpoint of organization. As a result of the meddling of Roosevelt in the strike of 1902, when the Big Noise forced a commission upon the men after they virtually had the strike won, and which commission in turn forced the open shop upon the miners, the various districts in the hard coal field are in a chaotic condition. John Mahony of Hazleton, writing in the New York Call, shows that as a result of the Roosevelt conspiracy the once powerful union of the anthracite miners has dwindled until it has become a mere shadow and the active workers have nearly all been blacklisted and driven from the districts or are cowed to a point where they dare not call their souls their own. In the Hazleton district but 30 per cent of the men are in the union, in the Schuylkill district but 14 per cent remain, and in the Wyoming district the percentage is about the same. Roosevelt's commission broke the backbone of the union by conceding the right to the coal barons to discharge men for "pernicious activity" or who had been imprisoned for any cause or no cause. The spies and petty bosses of the operators systematically singled out the "agitators" for discharge, and thus placed a premium on servility and treason to the union. Now many of the men, although smarting under all forms of oppression, dare not protest for fear of becoming marked and laid off and bringing suffering upon their families. Still Roosevelt had the audacity to visit the anthracite region several months ago, accompanied by photographers and press agents, who took fine pictures and wrote glowing stories of the enthusiasm with which the hot air merchant was received by the poor, enslaved workers when he announced, "I am ex-President Roosevelt," and who imagined that the demagogue had entered the region to rescue them from their deplorable condition of bondage into which he had plunged them. Officers of the United Mine Workers understand the situation thoroughly and have been making a hard uphill struggle to attempt to save the organization from complete annihilation, but they have met with poor success. It is probable that the best organizers in the U. M. W., including Mother Jones, will enter the anthracite region in the near future and endeavor to recover lost ground and reorganize the men who were demoralized by the biggest humbug of the age—Roosevelt.—Cleveland Citizen.

Wasted Energy

THE FOLLOWING has been sent out by the United Press, concerning the action that is to be taken on vice by the American Purity Federation:

"Chicago, Nov. 1.—Admitting that Chicago is the most morally corrupt city in the United States, but declaring that at Washington, right between the White House and the Capitol, is the most flagrant example of open segregation of vice in the nation, the American Purity Federation in session here expects to start a "clean-up" movement that will begin in the National Capital."

The above in the United Press is but a repetition of the many instances in which some reform organization issues a declaration about a "clean-up" relative to vice.

The "clean-up" has been announced frequently, but the "clean-up" never takes place.

The short-sighted reformers do not seem to realize that under the present industrial system a "clean-up" is impossible.

The members of the "clean-up club" may launch a crusade in Washington, D. C., that will remove the painted ghosts, or white slaves, from the "bad-lands" which they now occupy; but these unblushing women and their male associates in moral degeneracy will take up their habitation somewhere else.

Prostitution is only one of the many evils that is bred from capitalism, and until capitalism is overthrown a crusade upon vice is but wasted energy.

The following, in the Denver Express of last week, will show how futile are the efforts of so-called "purity" movements to "clean up" the cesspools that come from the sewers of a demoralized civilization:

"Mayor Robert W. Speer was asked today what were the methods of collecting campaign funds from the city employes. He replied:

"What are you bothering the city for? If you want some real

interesting information go to District Attorney Willis Elliott and Sheriff Nisbet. Those two are conducting a systematic round-up of the women of the underworld and their parasites. They have held up every one of the resort-keepers on the "row" and that is something we do not do down here, no matter whether we ask city employes to contribute to the campaign fund or not!

"We receive our contributions from men who hold office and draw salaries under the Democratic administration. We do not bleed the Market street denizens. But the District Attorney and the Sheriff's office do," declared the Mayor.

"Women of the underworld refuse to say what sums they have paid to the Sheriff's office or to the office of the District Attorney. They all seem afraid to talk on the subject.

"Hangers-on in the Market street district say that the women have 'given up' this year to the Republican machine the same as usual. There is no complaint upon the part of the women; they understand, it is said, that it is well to be friendly with the 'powers that be.'

"It is known that the down-town saloons have been assessed \$25 apiece for the Republican 'barrel.' Positive statements have been made that a Deputy District Attorney collected the money from the Seventeenth street saloonkeepers.

"The money has been contributed by men who are in most cases Democrats, and many of them are men who have not violated the law. They declare that if they do not 'give up' they will be made to suffer."

The above in a daily journal of Denver demonstrates that the very men whom the people elect to office are as debauched and as depraved as the unfortunate wretches who are reeking with the filth of moral rottenness.

Public officials sworn to uphold the law levy assessments on the shame of fallen women to strengthen the machine that is deemed essential for the success of a political party.

An "American Purity Federation" attempting to "clean up" vice while the present system remains, will be as futile in its efforts as a pigmy attempting to strangle a giant.

Professional Calumniators

SINCE THE EXPLOSION at Los Angeles, which destroyed the building and plant of the Los Angeles Times, the daily press has contained many reports as to the cause and circumstances of the explosion, but the majority of the reports which have been written and sent out have but one object in view, and that is to fasten the explosion on organized labor.

Nearly every labor-hater of the Post, Parry & Kirby type, has been interviewed as to his conclusions relative to the explosion, and almost invariably, these labor-haters have not hesitated a moment to charge the labor movement as responsible for the destruction of the plant of the California scab sheet, the Los Angeles Times. These pompous gentlemen who belch their venom and vitriol against organized labor do not produce any evidence to support their statements, taking it for granted that a master class, or the defenders of a master class, are justified in charging any crime to the callous hand of the "undesirable citizen" who dares to identify himself with a labor organization. The following in a press dispatch from San Francisco will show the character of the reports being heralded throughout the country, in the hope that the public mind may be prepared for the infamous conspiracy that is now being hatched to convict members of organized labor, to appease the ire of labor-crushing fanatics:

"San Francisco, Oct. 29.—'Dead men tell no tales!'

"Attorney Earl Rogers, representing the citizens' committee investigating the dynamiting of the Los Angeles Times, quoted this sentence tonight in an interview, in which he intimated that the men who took the actual part in the dynamiting plot had been put out of the way by the 'higher-ups' in the conspiracy.

"Speaking of the chase for the dynamiters, which began four weeks ago today, when the Times building was destroyed, he cited the case of scores of miners connected with the Colorado labor troubles who have never been heard of since the destruction of mines and disorders in the Cripple Creek district.

"I don't know whether the men we have been looking for in connection with the Times dynamiting have been done away with,' he said, 'but they certainly have dropped out of sight completely. So far, our work on the case has been largely a matter of luck. Sooner or later someone will drop a word that will place us on the right track. The men we want, if they are living, will be found. In a few days we will issue circulars, with their descriptions and photographs. We have had pictures for some time, but until now we have not been ready to publish them. Many subpoenas for the grand jury have been served, but we cannot yet give out the names of the persons summoned.' "

The above, coming from the lips of an attorney who has been retained by the adversaries of the labor movement, certainly pays a tribute to the brilliant genius of the disciple of Blackstone. Such driveling sounds like the mental vomit of an imbecile.

A lawyer, without an atom of testimony, rushes into print and intimates that men "higher up" have done away with the men actually engaged in the explosion, in order that justice might be balked in unearthing the criminals actually engaged in the explosion.

According to the theory of this pettifogger, whenever a crime is committed, it is only necessary that another crime shall be committed in order that the identity of the former criminal may be lost.

But the citizens' attorney speaks of the "scores of miners connected with the Colorado labor troubles who have never been heard of since the destruction of mines and disorders in the Cripple Creek district."

This lawyer, who seems to be seriously affected with a running off at the mouth, did not take the trouble of naming the miners who had never been heard of or the mines that had been destroyed.

It is always less difficult for a cheap shyster who libels the legal profession to indulge in generalities than to be specific.

But it seems that a former territorial governor of Arizona made himself accessible to the newspaper reporter while in California and had himself quoted as follows:

"I would be willing to offer my entire fortune, every last cent of it, in the capture of the men who dynamited the Times building and destroyed the lives of so many of its faithful workmen!" declared Isaac Stoddard, former territorial governor of Arizona, who arrived at the Alexandria yesterday after a tour of the Orient. Mrs. Stoddard accompanies him.

"It was only three or four days after the terrible disaster that word came to us by wireless," he continued. "That the unions would do such a thing there has never been a doubt in my mind—not for a minute. With the experience I had as territorial governor in 1902 during the strike of the Western Federation of Miners at Morenci and Clifton, I know they would stop at nothing to gain a desired end."

Stoddard told of the troublous days in the territory when federation men with rifles and revolvers drove off the owners of the properties, closed the smelters, mines and all the works, and perpetrated a number of outrages on the citizens of these places who would not take up their cause. His immediate action brought government troops to the disturbed places within seventeen hours after his notification and in less than two weeks he had crushed every semblance of a strike.

"It was at that time that the unionites realized that they were not in union-ridden Idaho where they had things all their own way, and it certainly should be taught them that they cannot run California. Through San Francisco's weakness and the present Los Angeles disturbance, eastern papers have given credence to the notion that the unions can run the Golden State."

It could hardly be expected that a man who, as a general rule, is selected as the governor of a territory would express himself otherwise. Politicians of small bore, who are appointed as governors of territories, have always been anxious and willing to cast aspersions upon any movement that shows resistance to the combinations that select territorial governors. It was but natural that Stoddard should play the role of the lickspittle, and exclaim:

"That the unions would do such a thing there has never been a doubt in my mind—not for a minute."

The unions that have spent millions of dollars for the care of widows and orphans, that have buried their dead, that have ever responded to the cry of distress, that have fought child-slavery in the mill, factory and sweatshop, in the mind of this cringing, crawling craven, perpetrated the crime that resulted in the destruction of the Times building.

This ex-official of Arizona talks about members of the Western Federation of Miners parading his domain with rifles and revolvers, "driving off the owners of properties, closing mines, smelters and all the works, and perpetrating outrages on a number of citizens of these places who would not take up their cause."

The governor admits that the troops were called out and that he was master of the situation, but he does not say that anyone was convicted for these crimes which he charges against the Western Federation of Miners. Stoddard is as brazen and as shameless a liar as ever raped the truth. The strikes at Clifton and Morenci were not declared by the Western Federation of Miners, but unorganized slaves, driven to desperation through unbearable conditions, rebelled against the despotism of corporate tyrants, and Stoddard, the official flunkey of a Mine Owners' Association and a smelter combine, suppressed unorganized strikers with military might.

But regardless of such hyenas as Rogers and Stoddard the labor movement will survive and carry on its mission until the workers of the world shall win the crown of economic liberty.

Must Proclaim War

MEN OF THE LABOR MOVEMENT, who observe closely, have realized for some time that not only is capitalism fighting the labor movement in the open, but that every weapon that can be used under cover is being utilized to subjugate the working class.

Whenever some catastrophe takes place during a conflict between employer and employe that is shrouded in mystery, every mortgaged sheet opens its editorial columns to slander a movement that has struggled to bring to the homes of the toilers some of those rights that we boast of as being guaranteed by the fundamental principles of the constitution.

No one can deny that every department of government is being used as an ally of the employer to strip the toiler of so-called legal rights and constitutional liberties.

The armed power of the state and nation is at the command of combinations to shackle the brawn and bone of the land into mute submission.

But the most dangerous ally of the exploiters is the judiciary.

The courts can no longer be seriously considered as the temples of justice.

The lawyer who has put on the judicial gown panders to the influences that gave him a seat on the bench.

The decisions of courts prove beyond every question of a doubt that the judiciary is controlled by a class of privilege against the class whose labor produces the wealth of the world.

The courts have declared that the boycott was an unlawful weapon because the boycott was one of the most powerful weapons that labor wielded in its battles with a master class.

But, while the courts have held the boycott unlawful, the blacklist has been legalized because it was one of the weapons of the employer.

Picketing has been held to be criminal and the courts have gone so far as to issue a restraining order against labor organizations distributing relief amongst striking members, because such relief would be inimical to the interests of exploiters who were waging war against the labor movement.

At every election of state or nation labor is clamoring for legislation, but what merit can there be in legislation as long as a court exercises authority to annul any act passed by a legislative body.

The common people must open their eyes to the degeneracy of the judiciary, and with a mighty voice that will be understood proclaim war upon a system that debauches public office from cellar to cupola.

Unfit to Advise

UNDER THE CAPTION "Vote for Friends" the Labor Journal of Zanesville, Ohio, had the following editorial advice:

"The Labor vote can make or unmake an occupant of a public office, and should always endeavor to put into office those who are friendly to their interests, no matter what party he may belong to. This year there are some on both the old parties that have been weighed in the balance and found wanting, and they are the ones that should be let severely alone when the process of marking your ballots is taking place. Workingmen should cast aloof from all partisanship and vote only for men that can be depended upon when they are elected. Those that have made records antagonistic to the welfare of laboring people—and especially organized labor—should be remembered at the polls by a boycott. Now's the time to show your strength—and see that you do it."

The above is the same advice that has been given year after year by every so-called labor journal that commits treason to the working class.

"Vote for Your Friends" has been the political war-cry of every treacherous labor journal that has received the Judas-money of the

combinations that are day after day riveting on the limbs of labor the shackles of absolute servitude.

No labor journal would dare to proclaim to labor, "vote for your enemies," because such a proclamation would relegate such a sheet from the field of labor journalism. "Vote for your friends" is the cry of the hypocrite and traitor who hides his duplicity behind the pretended friendship for the working class.

"Vote for your friends no matter to what party they belong," has been just exactly what labor has been doing for these many years, and a number of the labor journals have been resorting to every species of devilish ingenuity to betray the working class at election time by painting devils as angels, for the dirty dollars of a master class.

The Labor Journal of Zanesville, O., wants the laboring man to vote for his friend regardless of what party to which he may belong.

The "friend of labor" can be no better than the party which places him on the ticket, and the "friend of labor" must obey the mandates of the party or be repudiated by that party.

The editor of the Zanesville Labor Journal is either an ignoramus or a traitor, and being either one or the other, is unfit to give advice to the laboring people as to the manner in which they shall exercise their right of suffrage.

Report of the Committee on the Los Angeles Explosion

LOS ANGELES, California, October 26, 1910.

TO THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL of the California State Federation of Labor:

Your Committee, appointed October 4th to investigate the circumstances of the Times disaster, beg leave to submit the following report:

On the afternoon of the 4th this committee called upon Mayor Alexander and informed him of our desire to co-operate with the committee of business men whom he had already appointed to report upon the causes of the catastrophe. The mayor refused to grant our request; saying that he had no right to give us permission to go upon private property, and, further, that to allow us to act would be unfair to the other committee since the latter had already about finished its investigations.

The mayor told us that the owners of the Times had ordered the city employes off the premises, and that the laborers digging at the ruins had quit work at noon that day.

Mr. Humphreys, who was in charge of the city diggers, happened to come into the office at this time, and, upon being asked the pointed question, asserted that the city employes were still working, but, casting a quick glance at the mayor, caught himself and said, "They are probably off the premises by this time."

These incidents your committee took as evidence that their services were not welcome, and that for some reason the mayor did not wish us to investigate too closely the circumstances surrounding the disaster.

After some parley, however, this committee secured permission to pass within the police lines at the Times building, and proceeded to view the wreck from the adjoining property, which was as close to the ruins as we were permitted to go. From these points of vantage we

observed the wreck for about two and one-half hours. The committee of business men made a brief investigation, and reported within a few days. Your committee has continued its work, unceasingly, for a period of nearly four weeks, and has spared no effort nor expense to uncover the truth, not only of the immediate cause of the catastrophe, but of the circumstances and motives involved in the charges of crime which have so readily been made against organized labor in connection therewith.

The Public Should Now Be Able to Face the Facts.

Four weeks have now passed since the terrible explosion, which destroyed the building of the Los Angeles Times, wrecked its printing plant and snuffed out the lives of twenty-three of its employes.

Four weeks should be time enough for the public mind to regain its equilibrium. The average citizen, who has no interests at heart except those of justice and fair play, ought now to be able to look the situation squarely in the face. He ought to be able to hazard a fair guess as to the cause of the explosion, as well as to who are the criminals, provided there are any criminal acts connected with this woeful affair.

Since the truth itself seems to have been deliberately distorted—for reasons that will hereafter appear—in order that a just judgment may be arrived at it will be necessary here to present the situation as it stands: We believe the following to be a fair and honest statement of facts:

At 1 o'clock on the morning of October 1st, the Times building was destroyed by an explosion and fire, the fire enveloping the building so quickly that a score of the employes were unable to escape and were burned to death while several others were seriously injured.

Within an hour after the explosion Harry S. Andrews, managing editor of the paper, issued the following public statement:

"The Times building was destroyed by dynamite early this morn-

ing by the enemies of industrial freedom."

Why Were Union Men Accused When There Was No Evidence?

This assertion was made before Mr. Andrews had the slightest evidence as to what caused the explosion, much less as to who—supposing the cause to have been dynamite—committed the crime.

A few hours later the Times issued an edition from its auxiliary plant. Page-wide, its headlines read:

"Unionist Bombs Wreck The Times!"

General Harrison Gray Otis, proprietor of the Times, although he had not yet arrived in Los Angeles nor had interviewed anyone who was acquainted with the primary facts of the disaster, made, in effect, the same statement as did Andrews. The statements of both were telegraphed to all parts of the world, and were undoubtedly read by tens of millions of people.

In every succeeding issue for many days and repeatedly in each issue the Times reiterated the charge that its building had been blown up by members of labor unions. Monday morning, October 3rd, it made the statement:

"That the Times building was wrecked with dynamite and more than a score of innocent lives sacrificed to labor union vengeance is an established fact. The gas explosion theory began and ended in malice."

From this it might be supposed that some evidence had been discovered implicating union men. Such was not the case. No one had been accused, no one was even under suspicion. Not a shred of evidence as to the identity of the dynamiters—if there were dynamiters—had been discovered, or alleged to have been discovered, by anyone, not even the Times itself.

The Times Lays Foundation for Second Haymarket Case.

Wednesday, October 5th, the Times printed an editorial arguing that, should the alleged crime be brought home to the door of any members of a labor union, though it be found that they had neither part in nor knowledge of the crime, the leaders of organized labor in the state of California should be hanged as "instigators"; in other words that the barbarous principle employed to execute innocent persons subsequent to the Haymarket affair twenty-three years ago be resurrected to bring about the death of men whom the members of California labor unions have elected to their executive offices.

October 7th the Times printed the headlines:

"Connecting the Leaders. Tveitmo's Friend Sought as Dynamiter."

The evidence upon which it was sought to base these statements was so utterly inconsequential that no other newspaper, not even those which seem to have joined the Times in the conspiracy to lay the blame on organized labor, made any mention of it.

Finally, from that day to this, the Times has, daily, through insinuation and innuendo, attempted to rivet upon the public mind the belief that union men, active in the existing strikes in Los Angeles, planned and ordered the dynamiting of its building, although it has been unable to present the slightest evidence to support such a belief.

Inasmuch as there are many persons of fair mind who are not acquainted with General Harrison Gray Otis and his newspaper, nor with the industrial situation in Los Angeles, and who, therefore, seeing bold and unqualified assertions that dynamite was used to blow up the Times building, and that unionists were the dynamiters, would naturally suppose that there existed evidence to support such assertions, it would seem important to shed some light upon these matters.

As a publication, the Los Angeles Times is notorious throughout the world as having no rival as a hostile and unscrupulous enemy not only to unionism but to progress generally.

On the subject of "industrial freedom" it is no exaggeration to say that General Otis is insane. Otis' war against unionism has always been a matter of "principle," not of pocketbook. Years ago his assaults on the Typographical Union brought him to the verge of bankruptcy but his fanaticism drove him to fight on.

Otis' Life Dream the Extermination of Unionism.

The dream of General Otis' life for the past twenty years has been the extermination of unionism in Los Angeles and there has not been a trick so low, a calumny so vile, that he has not resorted to if he thought it would work toward that end.

Repeatedly, when employers have expressed a willingness to treat with their employes on a basis of equality, Otis has resorted to blackmail to compel them to stand out for the "open shop."

Otis allied himself with the Southern Pacific railroad machine and thus became a power in politics, in order that he might use this influence in all its ramifications against organized labor.

Otis created the Merchants' and Manufacturers' Association, the Citizens' Alliance of Los Angeles, and gained control of the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce, to use them as weapons against organized labor.

Otis acquired other publications, notably the Daily Journal and the Daily Herald. He published the latter under other nominal ownership, using it in a pretended fight against his own policies, in order to gain a clientele of readers beyond the reach of the Times, so as to propagate among them later for his own ends.

Otis hired spies to join the unions and mingle with union men in the hope of securing evidence of criminality or other evidence which he might use to their detriment.

Trumpeting abroad the report that unionists were plotting to do him violence, Otis made of his editorial rooms an arsenal, then employed every means at his command to goad union men to attack him or to make a demonstration in front of his office, in order to furnish an excuse for a massacre.

Otis Has Dipped His Pen in Infamy to Vilify All Progress.

Otis gathered about him a body of professional libelers and union haters, and, from first to last, carried on a campaign of vilification,

lying and libel unique in the history of journalism. This campaign was directed not only against unionism and unionists, but against progressive ideas and progressive persons of every sort. To Otis, every class of reformer, from the advocate of direct legislation to the conservationist, was alike a "red," "anarchist," "crank" or "disturber."

As a result of Otis' bitter hostility, and the uncompromising attitude which his bulldozing tactics compelled the employers to take, it was inevitable that a time should come when there would be a sharp contest between the forces of organized labor and the employers' associations in Los Angeles.

The great humanitarian movement for the association of the workers of the world may be hindered and checked for a time, but as surely as the world is marching forward so surely will this vast movement extend itself. By his fanatic opposition to unionism as a principle Otis was only laying up for Los Angeles lockouts, strikes and boycotts, which are only the fruit of a misunderstanding and misappreciation of the beneficent ends of labor unionism.

Los Angeles being an "open shop town," wages are generally low. The skilled mechanics in the metal trades, for example, have been receiving from \$1 to \$3 a day less money than mechanics of the same standing are receiving in other cities of the United States. The brewery workers have also been receiving a wholly inadequate wage.

In May of this year the men in these two crafts decided to ask for more wages, as a partial offset to the increased cost of living. Making their advances in the most respectful and tactful way, the Brewery Workers Union asked an increase of from \$2 to \$3 a week. The Metal Trades Council asked for a minimum wage of \$4 a day. The Brewery Workers were promptly locked out. The communication of the Metal Trades Council was consigned to the wastebasket, and when it became evident that the mechanics were to get no consideration whatsoever they went on strike.

The Los Angeles Strikes Were Begun in Justice and Conducted in Peace.

At the time of the Times disaster both these struggles seemed on the point of being won by the union men. Despite the exasperating efforts of the police to stir up trouble the men have indulged in no serious acts of violence and every precaution has been taken to prevent members from resisting the aggressions of the police. There have been many arrests, but nearly all of these have been the arrest of peaceful union pickets in enforcement of the anti-picketing law which the City Council passed under pressure from the Times and the Merchants' and Manufacturers' Association.

But the strikers were on the point of winning. For the first time it appeared that the grip of the Times on the industries of Los Angeles was about to be broken. Wherefore the attacks of the Times upon organized labor became more infuriated, more insane than ever. During the few days previous to the disaster the Times applied, in its columns, the following epithets to unionism or unionists:

"Sluggers," "union rowdies," "hired trouble-breeders," "horde," "lawless agitation," "bullies," "disturbers of industrial peace," "organized ruffianism," "ruffians," "brutes," "mob," "rabble," "gas-pipe ruffians," "organized rowdyism," "bunch," "local malcontents," "union brutes," "strong-arm union-labor gang," "roughnecks," "lawless ones," "union wolves," "toughs," "corpse-defacers," "murderers" and "assassins."

Without the slightest foundation for its statements, during this period the Times charged union men with some of the most heinous crimes: among them several attempted dynamitings. The day previous to the disaster the Times accused Los Angeles unionists variously with attempting to blow up the Hall of Records, with attempting murder, with conspiring mayhem, with attacking a corpse.

During this period General Otis, the Times, the Merchants' and Manufacturers' Association, and their allies, were exerting tremendous efforts to bring about a coalition of employers on the Pacific Coast, for the purpose of launching a war of extermination against organized labor from Seattle to San Diego.

Such was the situation just previous to the blowing up of the Times.

Why Did the Times Building Burst So Suddenly Into Flames?

It has not been established that the Times building was destroyed by dynamite.

The only two points which can possibly be urged in support of the dynamiting theory after four weeks of investigation are:

(1) That a committee appointed by the mayor reported the conclusion that "the explosive used was one of high power, such as nitroglycerine or a product of nitroglycerine."

(2) That the day following the disaster "infernal machines" were "discovered" in the vicinity of the homes of General Otis and Secretary Zeehandelaar of the Merchants' and Manufacturers' Association.

As to the report of the committee it must be remembered that this committee consisted of business men whose position would make them naturally subject to the influence which the Times and the Merchants' & Manufacturers' Association have sought to exert upon them.

As to the "infernal machines" which the Times would have the world believe clinches the dynamiting theory, these "infernal machines" were "found" by Detective Tom Rice, the same individual, strangely, who "found" the sticks of dynamite in the Hall of Records, the same individual who "found" the sticks of dynamite at the Alexandria Hotel.

Dynamite has been "found" before by detectives working in the interests of employers in time of strike. And time and time again it has been proved that the finders were the planters.

Who is Detective Tom Rice?

The same individual who gained notoriety for hunting political refugees for the Mexican government, the man who criminally assisted in the arrest and attempted kidnapping of Magon, Villarreal and Rivera

three years ago; the side-partner of the notorious Talamantes, now charged with trafficking in "White Slaves"—both of them still members of the Los Angeles police force.

Infernal Machines Were Planted to Support Dynamiting Theory.

Rico "found" two "infernal machines." These "infernal machines" consisted of a bundle of supposed "dynamite sticks attached to an alarm clock, the whole being contained in a suit case. In "finding" one of the instruments of terror, Rico "accidentally" started the alarm with his pocket-knife and the "explosion" was so tremendous that it failed to destroy the clock. It is upon such "evidence" as this that the police base their "dynamiting" theory.

On the other hand, to those who are familiar with the peculiarities of explosions by dynamite the evidence furnishes an overwhelming certainty that there was no dynamite connected with the affair.

Our Investigation Developed the Following Facts:

That the sound of the explosion was deep and rumbling, like cannon or distant thunder.

That the explosion and fire were simultaneous, the entire building having been enveloped in flames within ten seconds after the first report.

That the flames shot straight toward the sky, blowing upward from the ground floor through three stories and through the roof and past the sixth-story windows of the section of the building to the northward.

That the power of the explosion as well as the flames tended upward and not outward; the outside walls of the building generally remaining standing.

That even some of the window panes of the building were not broken, while almost no window panes were broken in the surrounding buildings.

That various employes of the Times smelled gas on the night of the tragedy, the fumes being so strong as to cause a feeling of nausea in several cases.

In our opinion these facts prove conclusively that the destruction was caused by a gas explosion, and not by dynamite.

Dynamite Could Not Have Wrecked the Times, Because:

Gas explodes with a booming or rumbling sound. Dynamite explodes with a splitting, crackling noise.

Gas explodes with a flash of flame. Dynamite does not make fire. When exploding, it lets loose elements which put out fire.

A gas explosion blows upward, dynamite with equal strength in all directions. Had the Times been destroyed by dynamite of sufficient strength to blow upward through three stories and through the roof, it would also have blown every wall of the building into fragments.

A slow explosion such as that by illuminating gas does not disturb the atmosphere sufficiently to break window panes at long distance. The opposite is true of dynamite. Had the Times been destroyed by dynamite, every outside pane in every building for blocks around would have been shattered into bits.

As to the employes smelling gas, we have considerable evidence to add to what the Examiner printed October first, before the word went about to hush up the evidence pointing to a gas explosion. Said the Examiner on that fatal morning:

"There were a number of theories by those familiar with the geography of the Times building to account for the explosion. In addition to the declaration that the building had been dynamited, there was the theory that the explosion came from an ignition of the stock of ink, oils and other highly inflammable and explosive materials used in the printing and kindred processes. They were kept in the alley separating the tall Times building from the main structure on the corner. This was known by some of those familiar with the building as 'Ink Alley.' There was also the report that the explosion had been caused by gas, which several in the building smelled during the evening."

The theory has been advanced that a dynamite explosion occurred near a gas main, broke the gas main and thereby caused an explosion of gas which fired the building. But gas does not explode until it is mixed with air. Gas ignited from a broken gas main burns as a gas jet burns; there is no explosion. The gas may escape and disseminate into the surrounding atmosphere and then be exploded. But this could not have been the case in the Times disaster, since fire and the explosion were simultaneous.

Why Have Authorities Suppressed the Truth About Gas Leaks?

Gas could not have entered into the Times disaster unless the gas had already escaped and was diffused more or less throughout the building. This must have been the case, for the sudden enveloping of the entire building in flames cannot be accounted for in any other way. The only tenable theory so far advanced is that leaks in the Times building let loose so much gas that, by coming in contact with an open fire—such as a lighted match or the fires of the printing department—there was a disastrous explosion.

It may be imagined that gas will not explode when it is not so strong as to cause suffocation. This is a mistake. An example in point is that of the Tuneson saloon, which was totally destroyed in 1894. All night the poker games went on. Gas was smelled, but it was not strong enough to stop the games. The saloon was lighted by electricity. Just before dawn the games broke up and the saloon was closed. A few minutes later the day bartender arrived. He entered, lighted a candle, and an explosion followed which entirely wrecked the building.

Otis Evades Punishment for Crime by Charging Crime to Others.

There are two powerful reasons why General Otis, knowing the disaster to have been the result of accident, might insist that the cause was dynamite, and attempt to fasten the guilt upon members of labor organizations. Monstrous as it appears, the past record of General Otis proves him capable of such a crime.

First, he would strike a blow at unionism.

Second, he would be acting in self-defense.

Supposing it were shown that the Times building was destroyed by an explosion of gas, which ordinary care would have prevented, in what position would that place General Otis?

He would be unable to collect insurance. He would be liable for tens of thousands of dollars damages for the deaths of his employees. He would be in danger of prosecution for criminal carelessness. Public opinion would turn violently against him. He would lose his commanding influence in the business world of Los Angeles. Los Angeles would be unionized. Otis' life dream would be shattered.

These are the apparent reasons why Otis is charging that dynamite was used and that union members were the dynamiters.

We have said that General Otis is capable of the monstrous crime of insisting that the cause of the Times disaster was dynamite, in order that he might turn it to account in his campaign against unionism, and at the same time himself escape the consequences of criminal negligence.

This is an opinion of union men. Read now the opinion of Hiram Johnson, republican candidate for Governor of California, an opinion expressed in a speech delivered in Los Angeles during the present political campaign.

This is the Sort of Man Who Dominates the Investigation.

Johnson is not a member of a labor union. He is a lawyer who first gained the enmity of the Times by his part in the prosecution of the "higher-ups" in the San Francisco graft scandal, friends of General Otis. Later he led the "insurgent" element in its efforts to oust the Southern Pacific from its age-long control of the Republican party in California. Said Mr. Johnson:

"In the city from which I have come we have drunk to the very dregs the cup of infamy; we have had vile officials; we have had rotten newspapers; we have had men who have sold their birthright; we have dipped into every infamy; every form of wickedness has been ours in the past; every debased passion and every sin has flourished. But we have nothing so vile, nothing so low, nothing so debased, nothing so infamous in San Francisco, nor did we ever have, as Harrison Gray Otis. This man has attacked me on the only side to which I will not respond, concerning which, rather than respond, I will lose the governorship of the State of California. He sits there in senile dementia, with gangrened heart and rotting brain, grimacing at every reform, chattering impotently at all things that are decent, frothing, fuming, violently gibbering, going down to his grave in snarling infamy. This man Otis is the one blot on the banner of Southern California; he is the bar sinister upon your escutcheon. My friends, he is the one thing that all California looks at when, in looking at Southern California, they see anything that is disgraceful, depraved, corrupt, crooked and putrescent—that is Harrison Gray Otis."

And this is the man whose influence is very strong upon the press dispatches and news reports sent out from Los Angeles relating to the disaster, who dominates the investigation into its causes, and who will attempt to direct the prosecution in case any union man should be arrested for suspected complicity in the alleged crime!

The theory upon which General Otis is trying to make the world believe that organized labor blew up his shop is the theory of motive; that is, that organized labor expected to profit by such a disaster in its efforts to unionize Los Angeles.

The answer is that no sane union member could have expected anything of the sort.

Times Disaster Brought Joy to Hearts of all Union Haters.

There is not a union man in California who could not have foretold that, if the Times were blown up, evidence or no evidence, organized labor would be accused of the job; that the Times would be the first to make the accusation; that every union-hater in the universe would take up the cry; that Employers' Associations, Merchants' and Manufacturers' Associations, Chambers of Commerce and every voice of Big Business, would join in the chorus of accusation; that the incident would be joyfully seized upon as an excuse for inflaming the mind of the public against unions and unionism, for instituting a more bitter, unfair and lawless campaign against organized labor than has ever been seen before, for bringing every available weapon into play to realize the ambition of General Otis—the extermination of the unions.

And exactly this thing happened!

"The unions did it!" shouted Otis, Chandler Andrews, and the M. & M. And every unfair employer of labor, every professional scab, every lickspittle newspaper, every tool of Big Business, took means to spread that impression among the people.

The Los Angeles Herald declared:

"The police force of our city should at once begin a cleaning out process and should not rest until every man who has been attracted to the city by the pending labor troubles has been driven from the city or incarcerated in jail."

Daily Newspaper is Punished for Mentioning the Word "Gas."

When the Los Angeles Record, a newspaper which was not whipped into line, published a manly editorial pointing out the probability of an explosion by gas, a concerted attack by members of the M. & M. caused the withdrawal of so many advertisements, and the threatened withdrawal of so many more, as would have compelled a less courageous newspaper to cease its demands for justice forthwith.

"The gas explosion theory began and ended in malice." Such was the attitude of those in charge of the investigation. Huge rewards were posted for the arrest and conviction of the supposed criminals and the police disregarded an investigation into other possible causes besides dynamite.

Within twenty-four hours after the blowing up of the Times elaborate plans were laid for the wholesale persecution of union men in Los Angeles.

Within a few days we expect to have a fund of \$1,000,000," said

Secretary Zeehandelaar of the M. & M., "with which to hunt down the criminals and carry on the work of this organization." And Zeehandelaar made it plain that the "work of this organization" meant the extermination of unionism in Los Angeles.

At a time when the actual rewards offered aggregated about \$50,000 and the money for "hunting down the criminals" was said to be from half a million to a million dollars, the funds for the bereaved families aggregated less than \$5,000.

Five thousand dollars for the families of the dead and one million dollars to hang somebody! That is how little Otis thinks of his employees! That is how much Otis thinks of exterminating unionism!

Looks Like Authorities Planned Massacre of Union Men.

Organized labor had planned a monster parade for Monday, October 3. Out of respect for the dead the parade was called off. Nevertheless, wagonloads of guns and ammunition are reported to have been hauled to police headquarters to be used in a massacre in case the union men changed their minds. There was no attempt to parade and not the slightest disturbance or threat of disturbance, yet a large body of police was sent to patrol the streets in the neighborhood of the Labor Temple, to jostle, abuse and threaten pedestrians, seemingly for the purpose of stirring them into resistance, in order that some of them might be beaten and killed.

But unionism cannot be killed. As long as men and women are endowed with ambition to broaden and expand their lives, as long as there is progress, as long as there is hope, as long as the world has virtue, as long as men love their wives and children and wish well for their neighbors, human beings will organize into unions and the great humanitarian movement of labor will go forward.

No union man blew up the Times. There is no sane union man who could not have predicted that the dynamiting would be used as an excuse for a general and indiscriminate persecution of union men and women. Union men generally are sorry for the wreck of the Times, sorry as human beings for the individuals who suffered; sorry, as union men, that General Otis has found another weapon with which to assail them.

The "Criminal" Theory Is Full of Thin Spots

If the Times was blown up by a man who wished to wreak vengeance on Otis, why did he act when Otis was out of the city—which he must have known—and when Chandler, Andrews, and all but minor employees were out of the building? He could hardly have designed to inflict a mere property loss upon Otis; he must have known that the building and its contents constituted only a small fraction of Otis' fortune.

If the dynamiters pictured by the Times were so expert and so clever, why did they make such a tremendous success in one case and such a miserable failure in four? Why did they plant one bomb so harmless that when it exploded it did not injure an ordinary alarm clock? and why did they leave attached to another "infernal machine" so palpable a clue as the manufacturer's tag?

What dynamiters with criminal intent would be so foolish as to purchase five hundred pounds of the explosive at one time? Why would three of them, instead of only one, expose themselves to the scrutiny of the powder salesman?

The purchasers of the five hundred pounds of dynamite gave the names of Bryson and Morris. Bryson and Morris have been found and, according to the Times, they correspond to the description given by the dynamite buyers. Why were not Bryson and Morris arrested? Were they taken before the parties who sold the dynamite and rented the launch Pastime for identification? Were they the men who bought the dynamite to use in blowing up stumps? What story have they to tell? If the dynamite chase is not a fake, if it is being carried on in good faith, why is there an evident attempt to hide these men and suppress their story?

The description of the man Bryson is so distinctive that anyone could pick him out in a crowd of thousands? If the police are really looking for Bryson, is it not a little strange that they have not found him? And the "real Bryson," according to the Times, is an actual "double" of the fake Bryson? And yet the "real Bryson" has not come into the limelight. He is known, but his story is suppressed.

Note how many legitimate causes for suspicion crop out as one goes along!

Why Not Accuse Hiram Johnson, Francis Heney, or Father Yorke?

That organized labor was his enemy is the only ground which Otis can set forth for his awful charge.

If this were sufficient grounds for accusation, which it is not, even were the dynamite theory sound, how about Otis' other enemies? They are legion. As Otis has villified and misrepresented organized labor, so he has villified and misrepresented countless individuals. To Otis every reformer is in the same class with the unionist and he is calumniated as such. Hiram Johnson, Francis Heney, Pinchot, John D. Works, Father Peter C. Yorke, Mayor Alexander, are but a few of the most prominent Americans upon whom Otis has poured his vials of vituperation within the past few months.

And there are thousands of lesser individuals who have a grievance against the Times for unjust attacks made upon them at one time or another. If it were left to a question of motive, all of these persons would stand in the same class with members of labor unions. In fact, if any such wished to blow up the Times he would know that the unions would be the first to be accused by Otis and that he himself would escape suspicion. Naturally, a person in such a position would be much more likely to contemplate crime than one who knew that suspicion would be pointed his way.

It is hardly necessary to state that not for one minute do we believe Johnson, Heney, Pinchot or any of the other victims of Otis capable of the crime which he is so anxious to impute to union men.

Who Profits by the Disaster More than Harrison Gray Otis?

If the Times theory of "motive" were rigidly and impartially ap-

plied to the situation, let us see in what position it would place Mr. Otis himself.

If organized labor were inclined to charge Otis with intentionally blowing up his own building, it could make out a far stronger case on "motive" than Otis makes against organized labor.

Organized labor is not inclined to make such an accusation. At the same time it is only fair to say that such a thing is not beyond the possibilities. Such things have happened before. The world knows that the Mine Owners' Association of Colorado blew up the Independence depot, killing a crowd of their own seabs, in order to accuse the Western Federation of Miners of crime and furnish an excuse for the lawless deportation of union miners. The world knows that hirelings of the Pullman Car Company set fire to its own property in the A. R. U. strike in order to lay the blame on the strikers and furnish an excuse for calling out the soldiers.

In view of which facts the police should leave no avenue of investigation unexplored.

Who, in all the world, profits by the dynamiting of the Times but General Otis?

He gains in reputation among the only class of people for whose good opinion he cares. In the end he stands to gain in dollars and cents, for he is more than ever the leader of the anti-union millionaires of Los Angeles. Finally, he seems about to satisfy the mad passion of his rancid heart, the dream of his life; he feels that he is about to fulfill his insane mission—the extermination of unionism in Los Angeles.

For a Long Time Otis Had Been Preparing for Catastrophe.

Were we to accept the theory of wilful dynamiting, there are several other facts as yet unmentioned which might be pointed out why the police should make investigations into the movements of the proprietors and managers of the Times previous to the explosion.

It is generally reported that plans for a new ten story building for the Times were already drawn up at the time of the disaster.

It is certain that the civic improvement plan of the city, which provides, among other things, for the extension of New High street and the consequent tearing down of the old Times building, had been publicly approved by the owners of the Times.

It is certain that the Times was prepared for an early moving. A complete auxiliary plant, with presses installed and everything ready for operation, had been established at College and New High streets, and a Times auxiliary job office had been established across the way. The Times itself boasted that because of the readiness of these auxiliary plants the Times did not lose an issue.

Still another thing, how did it happen that the valuable records of the Times, the accounts, the ponderous books, were saved, when all stories agree that the entire building was a mass of flames within a few seconds of the explosion? Is not the business office of the Times practically deserted at one o'clock in the morning? Is it possible that the big books could have been carried out in the space of a few seconds, when there was not time to save human lives? Possibly this question can be answered by the Times, but isn't it rather queer that the Times has not voluntarily explained this point?

Compare Situation With That Previous to Independence Depot Affair.

Compare the situation in Los Angeles just before the Times disaster with the situation in Colorado just before the blowing up of the Independence depot. What was the situation in Los Angeles?

1. The Metal Trades Council petitioned the manufacturers to raise wages proportionately to the increase in the cost of living. The reply came back: "We take pleasure in notifying you that your communication was consigned to the waste-basket." The Times gloated over this answer.

2. A strike was called, June 1, for the purpose of increasing wages. The Times called the union men thugs, murderers and assassins for striking.

3. Though fifteen hundred union men went out but two disturbances occurred during the first four weeks. One was a fist fight between a union man and a non-union man. Though the evidence failed to show which was at fault, the union member was fined \$50, while his opponent went free. The other disturbance was the assault of a union man by a policeman. The unprovoked character of the assault was so plain that the policeman was arrested and fined one dollar. The Times commended the officer for beating the striker.

4. An injunction was issued to preserve the peace that had not been disturbed. During the three months in which the injunction has been in force but one out of the fifteen hundred strikers has been charged with violating it. But this did not stop the Times from calling the strikers "strong arm men" and "dynamiters."

5. About the middle of August the city council passed a special ordinance designed to prevent the strikers from doing anything in furtherance of the strike, even though they did it peaceably. This in face of the fact that the city attorney advised that no such ordinance was necessary to preserve the peace. During all of this time the Times vilified the unionists in the foulest terms, repeatedly charging crime when no evidences of crime existed.

6. The union men continued to conduct their strike peaceably and in conformity with the state laws. Nevertheless the "anti-picketing ordinance" was employed to put over two hundred of their number in jail.

Never Were Prospects Brighter for Unionizing Los Angeles.

7. The ordinance proved a failure, as three-fourths of the trials resulted in acquitted or hung juries. The last trial before the catastrophe resulted in a vote of eleven for acquittal and one for conviction, which the Times falsified to read one for acquittal and eleven for conviction.

8. The strike was winning. More men were out than ever before. There was more strike money coming in than ever before. The efforts of the police to stir the strikers into riot had failed. The injunction and the ordinance had failed.

9. Finally, the annual convention of the State Federation of

Labor was about to be held in Los Angeles. That convention was to be opened by a monster mass meeting preceded by a parade in which no fewer than 20,000 union men would have taken part. A national convention of the American Bankers' Association was in session in Los Angeles. A national convention of Mine Owners was also in session in Los Angeles. The Times and the leading spirits of the M. & M. were aroused to a point of frenzy over the coming demonstration of organized labor. Long had Otis boasted that Los Angeles, was, industrially, the "freest" city in America. Certainly, from the point of view of the union-haters, the crisis was extreme.

The crisis preceding the blowing up of the Times presents a strange parallel with the crisis which preceded the blowing up of the Independence depot by the agents of the Colorado Mine Owners' Association.

Otis and His Fellow Conspirators Are the Criminals.

And yet we are not charging General Otis with perpetrating a similar outrage. We are not charging Otis with dynamiting and murder, but we are charging him with crimes scarcely less heinous. Summing up, finally in our judgment the facts indicate:

1. That the explosion was not by dynamite—that it was gas.
2. That General Otis knows that the Times was destroyed by gas, but that he is deliberately exploiting the dynamiting theory, first, in order that he may escape the just consequence of criminal negligence; and second, in order to further a conspiracy to launch an indiscriminate

persecution against the 20,000 union men and women of Los Angeles, and the 100,000 members of labor organizations throughout the State of California.

3. That the fabulous rewards offered for the apprehension of the fictitious criminals were offered primarily for the purpose of turning the public mind entirely away from the facts pointing to a gas explosion, in order that organized labor might forever bear the odium of the supposed crime; that a secondary purpose of these rewards is to tempt unscrupulous detectives to manufacture a case against some prominent member or members of labor unions. For one-fiftieth the reward that has been offered in this case Pinkertons have plotted and perjured away the lives of innocent men many many times.

We have diligently hunted down the facts and as diligently have weighed them, and such are our conclusions. We believe that any unprejudiced person going over the situation will draw the same deductions as we have drawn.

Respectfully submitted,

H. BARTLEY, Chairman;
A. C. ELLSEN, Secretary;
EDWARD CROUGH,
HARRY WELTON,
E. F. FANNING,
E. F. MASON,
F. D. WARWICK.

Report of President Charles H. Moyer on the Lockout in the Black Hills

DENVER, Colorado, October 21, 1910.

To the Officers and Members of the Western Federation of Miners.
Dear Sirs and Brothers:

After a two weeks' investigation in that part of our jurisdiction known as the Black Hills, I shall endeavor to as briefly as possible give you my views as to the situation at the present time and my opinion as to what should be the policy of our organization in the future.

First I will call your attention to the fact that before this letter reaches our membership in remove parts of the jurisdiction one year will have passed since the Homestake Mining Company issued its damnable decree that no man could work in the mines of South Dakota and retain his membership in a labor organization. Eleven months have the miners in the Black Hills walked the street in idleness, denied the opportunity of earning an honest livelihood for themselves, their wives and little ones, and the only reason given by Mr. Grier to the present time being that he locked them out because they were going to strike—but Mr. Grier has not yet produced an official notice from the Lead City Miners' Union to that effect, neither can he do so because there is no record of any such action being taken, and no one knows better than this so-called friend of unionism who for years has posed as an advocate of the right of labor to organize and who in 1905 in a resolution which was drawn up in the Homestake office to be passed by the Lead City Miners' Union, was praised for the consideration and fair-play with which he treated those who were under him. The same men who voted this resolution five years ago typifying Mr. Grier as an ideal are today watching their idol from a distance. He is still in active management of the Homestake Mines, continued by that just and generous employer, Mrs. Phoebe A. Hearst, whose treatment of her employes, as stated in the same resolution had endeared her to all. It is strange, indeed, that in a period of a few short years this wise and far-seeing benefactor who received from the Lead City Miners' Union an expression of deepest gratitude for her noble spirit of fairness and affectionate regard for the people of Lead City, should remain as silent as the grave, while Tom Grier, if we are to believe the New York manager of the Hearst estates, has been clothed with the power to inaugurate and carry out a policy which leaves in its wake suffering and misery; which drives from their homes the Homestake heroes—so-called by Mr. Grier—who would have given their lives to save the Homestake mines and mills; which demands of American citizens that they surrender their rights under the Constitution; that means a complete disruption and disbanding of an organization which has existed for thirty years—an organization which was caring for the sick and infirm workers of the Homestake Mining Company, burying its dead, and providing for its widows and orphans.

Was it because the Homestake management feared violence at the hands of these people who in the past had merited their praise? Was it because as Mr. Grier has stated the Western Federation of Miners is dominated by the Socialists? No, Mr. Grier knows full well that this is only a subterfuge and not to be taken seriously by the public. The Homestake management are familiar with the fact that the Lead and Central Miners' Unions took part in the organizing of the Western Federation of Miners, and have taken an active interest in its affairs for more than eighteen years, and at all times has been recognized by Mr. Grier as a part of that organization. He further knows that but a small per cent. of his employes were members of the Socialist party and that the Lead and Central Miners' Unions had never committed themselves to Socialism, their members being absolutely free to vote and act politically. What then, is the real reason of the Homestake lockout?

After working for many years in the Black Hills, being fully familiar with the status of union affairs, ever doubting Mr. Grier's sincerity when professing his willingness and desire that the Homestake employes be unionized, I had drawn my conclusions, but the same were not fully verified until after reading a newspaper published in Lead City known as the Lead Daily Call and recognized as the official organ of the Homestake Mining Company. That the public may be enlightened, this mouth-piece of Mr. Grier runs daily what they choose to term

the History of the Homestake Shut-Down. I shall not quote it in full, but only refer to those parts which the Call cites as having aroused the company to action, and the exact reason for the lockout, which I take must be official, as it has never been denied by Mr. Grier.

First, great stress is laid on a resolution passed in a mass meeting of Lead and Central Miners' Unions, October 10th, 1909, which was a notice to all ex-members to pay their arrearages, also to non-members to at once obtain cards certifying their membership. You will notice that this was not addressed to the company and no notice, either in writing or by committee, was served on the management to the effect that it was demanded that he compel his employes to become members of the union.

Then again the Call refers to a meeting on the 24th of the same month and produces in full a resolution passed, which is as follows:

"RESOLVED, by us, the members of the Lead City Miners' Union No. 2, W. F. M., and Central City Miners' Union No. 3, W. F. M., in joint session assembled, that all men neglecting or refusing to become members in good standing of the local in whose jurisdiction they may be working on or before November 25, 1909, will be declared unfair to the W. F. M., and be it further

"RESOLVED, That we, the members of the aforesaid unions, refuse to work with any and all men who become unfair to our organization by or through refusing to comply with the provisions of this resolution."

I call the careful attention of the members of the Western Federation of Miners to this resolution as it has been claimed the mere passing of the same one month prior to November 25th was the cause of the Black Hills lockout, and again you will note that this resolution was not addressed to the company but to individual workers who might not hold membership in the organization on November 24th, and was to act as a notice to them that they would be considered unfair to the W. F. M. if they failed to do their share in maintaining the organization, the benefits of which they enjoyed. The resolution concluded by resolving that the members of the union would refuse to work with non-union workers. Is there anything here in regard to a strike? Did this resolution provide that a committee should be appointed to notify Mr. Grier that the Homestake Mines and Mills would be struck on November 25th? Has Mr. Grier ever been served with an official notice in connection with this matter? I say emphatically, No, as he is also compelled to do, as no such action was taken by the union either in mass or regular meetings. Mr. Grier, and the Homestake management before him had transacted business with the Lead and Central Miners' Unions for many years. He knew that before a strike would be declared against his company that a committee would be appointed and call upon him, lay before him the grievance of the union and endeavor to adjust the same, and he, of all men in the Black Hills, knew that the purpose of these resolutions had been accomplished and Lead City, for the first time in its history, had become a union camp, and that there would be no strike on November 25th, and here we have the reason for the notice given on November 17th by the Homestake Mining Company that after January 1st, 1910, only non-union men would be employed. Remember that to this date in none of the resolutions passed by the union had there been any reference to a demand on the company for an increase in wages or a change in working conditions. No request that the Homestake Mining Company compel its employes to become members of the union, no mention of a strike, yet eight days before the time which was mentioned in the resolution passed by the union, Mr. Grier gives notice that after January 1st, 1910, no union men would be employed, and apparently in fear that there would be no strike on the 25th, not waiting to see what action would be taken by the union, seven days before the time specified in his first notice, he proceeded to lock the men out.

This is the history of the Homestake shut-down, so-called by Grier's official organ. Who is responsible? Who made the first official move as between the company and the union? Mr. Grier undertakes to justify his action by stating that the unions had declared a strike, but when

does his official organ inform us that a strike was voted? On the evening of the 21st of November, four days after he had issued his ultimatum.

Did Mr. Grier receive a notice from the union on the evening of November 21st, or at any other time, that a strike had been voted against the Homestake Mining Company? He will not answer "yes." Did he declare the lockout because Lead had become a union camp in fact? Here is the answer as published in his paper:

"The avowed determination of the organization to force the complete unionization of the camp meant, if the company allowed such action to succeed, the Western Federation of Miners would practically control the mines."

Is further evidence needed as to the reason for the Homestake lockout? Is Mr. Grier sincere when he says the organization would control the Homestake mines? He knows full well the Western Federation of Miners could not control the Homestake Mining Company. He knows that the law gives the few individuals he represents legal title to that part of the earth where the Homestake mines and mills are situated and even though every worker in his employ were a Socialist or a member of the unions this law would protect the property rights of his company, making it impossible for the employes to control its business affairs.

Why does Mr. Grier not come out openly and inform the public that for thirty years Lead had been a union camp in name only, that while he had always posed as a friend of organized labor that he has seen to it that at all times the majority of the Homestake employes were not members of the Lead and Central Miners' Union that he and his shift bosses acting under his instructions, have controlled the policy of these unions and that when he realized that the resolution passed and the aggressive work done in the fall of 1909 had resulted in the complete unionization of the camp, he saw that if the men were true to their obligation that he would no longer control the Homestake employes, that he would not be in a position in the future to insure the passage of resolutions by the union lauding to the sky himself and the Hearst estate; that should Edward H. Clark, manager of said estates again wire him, as he did October 24th, 1906, that it would be very agreeable if the union would meet and denounce the political enemies of William Randolph Hearst, he might not be able to reply by wire on the same day: "The union will meet in special session this evening and comply with your request." These are some of the real reasons for the Homestake lockout and given that the public may know where the responsibility lies.

The Call's history should leave no doubt as to why the most vicious blacklisting system against union men ever inaugurated was adopted by the Homestake Mining Company. Not an open, but a closed, shop. Not aimed alone at the Western Federation of Miners, but against unionism. Our organization being the paramount one must necessarily assume the responsibility and let the outcome be what it may our membership can well be proud of the battle waged. After eleven months of determined effort on the part of the employers to man their mines and mills with scab labor we find in the Terry district practically no output from the mines. Here was one of the most loyal locals in the Western Federation of Miners, chartered in 1893. The books at your headquarters show Terry Peak Miners' Union at all times in good standing. They have always been ready with their assessments and donations to assist their their brothers in times of need. While time and conditions have made it necessary for many of the members of Terry to go elsewhere, yet, we still find there about 125 men with their families, and 70 single men, as determined as they were when the struggle began. Victory in Terry would be ascertain as that the night follows the day were it not for the influence of the Homestake Mining Company. The attempt to man this district with non-union labor had failed and time will compel either a complete suspension or recognition of the union.

The Homestake locked out approximately 2,500 workers. Of these 2,200 were members of the Western Federation of Miners. There has been shipped to the Black Hills approximately 8,000 non-union men, and yet, today the Homestake mines and mills are not manned and the production of ore is far short of what it was under normal conditions. Here, as in Terry, our members have taken advantage of every opportunity to seek employment and become self-supporting, but it had been necessary, and is today, that someone stand behind the Federation flag in South Dakota and so we find approximately 1,500 men, women and children in Lead City, firm in their belief that justice will yet prevail and the order of the Homestake Mining Company, which should fire the spirit of rebellion in the heart of every American citizen, will be withdrawn.

The duty of the membership of the Western Federation of Miners in this critical time in the history of our organization should be plain to all. The issue is, shall we disband six local unions of our organization? Shall we say to these men who have given one year of their lives in this fight, "You must now surrender?" Let each and every member of the W. F. M. ask himself this question, "How much has the struggle in the Black Hills to maintain the right of the organization cost me?" His card will answer, if assessments are paid in full, one dollar per month, total, ten dollars. Then what has been the cost to the brothers in South Dakota? We have said in former reports that the average wage of the men employed in the mines of the Black Hills was \$90 per month, eleven months, \$990. Who has been the sufferers, the members who have contributed 100 cents per month or the man who, rather than violate his obligation, become a traitor to his fellowman and assist in driving unionism from the state, has given his monthly wage since November 25, 1909?

The sacrifice of these people should appeal not only to the membership of the W. F. M., but to every member of organized labor on the American continent. These workers are fighting the battle for unionism. Locked out in the dead of winter, they have gone on and on

through a year of time, living on the pittance received from their organization. Another winter now confronts them, yet there is no thought of surrender—it is "how shall we continue the fight?" To you, the membership, this question must be submitted. You are the ones who can answer.

I have been asked many times of late how much longer is this condition going to continue? Will the Western Federation of Miners declare the lockout off? I urge those making these inquiries to look the situation squarely in the face and ask themselves as union men, what is there to declare off by our organization? There is no strike in South Dakota, no demands on the employers, nothing to compromise. A lockout, yes, but declared by the Homestake Mining Company. They and they alone have the power to end it, and not the Western Federation of Miners. We might withdraw our people from the Black Hills, but surrender our right to organize—never. Is there a man who had obligated himself to practice the principles of fraternity by coming to the support of his brothers in time of trouble and affliction and that he will uphold and at all times aid in securing the rights of the workingman, who will say to the struggling brothers in the Black Hills, "One dollar per month is too great a price to pay in defense of that right?" Brothers, bring this question home to yourselves. Put yourselves in the place of the Black Hills miners who have stood by the banner of the Western Federation of Miners for nearly a year, who are firm in their conviction that victory will yet crown their efforts, and ask what you would expect of them were you to change positions.

How long will the struggle last? I am unable to answer. Have we a chance to win? Conditions warrant me in answering yes.

Owing to the fact, as I have said, a considerable number of our locked out members have secured employment elsewhere, expenses have been reduced, and while we must continue to provide the necessities of life for those who must remain to fight the battle, yet, if the membership will freely respond with the November assessment, and those who have neglected to contribute past assessments, will come forward at this time, the assessments can be discontinued for the months of December and January. Including November assessment the struggle in the Black Hills to maintain the right of the metalliferous miners to organize will have cost each member \$11.00.

Will a like amount be forthcoming if necessary to continue the conflict another twelve months? The past record of the membership of the Western Federation of Miners is the answer.

Let us on Thanksgiving, 1910, the anniversary of the date that the Homestake Mining Company inaugurated its campaign of extermination, from all parts of the United States and Canada serve warning on them and others that the injury to the miners in the Black Hills is the concern of every man who delves in the bowels of the earth; that we have nothing to surrender; nothing to compromise.

Yours for the Western Federation of Miners.

CHARLES MOYER.

President Western Federation of Miners.



ANOTHER ONE OF THE OLIVER COSSACKS BROUGHT TO HIS SENSES.

Virginia, Minn., October 24, 1910.

Nick Dillon, one of the star sluggers serving under Czar Foley and Grand Duke Madden and other steel trust monsters of the street trust empire in Minnesota, was hauled into Municipal Court today and after a lot of whispering and rather friendly tokens by the legal lights present, plead guilty to a charge of assault and using abusive language against F. L. Smith and J. F. Ford, employes of the Rainey Lake Railroad.

Great care was taken that none of the facts was brought to light in the court room, but it was said that the brute was fined \$10 and costs, which is as light as it could be made and still be said that there was law connected with the case.

This is the second case of the kind against this man in the last few months. This of course will make a lot of people ask "Who is this man Dillon?" That can be answered in this way only: He is an illiterate Austrian, who can speak but little English, and knows no more about the constitutional rights of a citizen that a pig does about Sunday school. One might wonder why it is necessary to give the authority of police to such a man. That can be answered by saying, why does the steel trust refuse to employ English-speaking men about its mines.

This being the second deputy sheriff that has been arrested in the city of Virginia in the last few months for assaulting a citizen, one might wonder what is the matter with the sheriff's office in St. Louis county. Is it coming to be as it was in the Wild West that a man has got to have a record before he is eligible to serve as a deputy sheriff, or is it the moving picture shows that are prompting the blood-thirsty aggregation into acts of violence?

In the recent case of Dillon it appears that on the night of Oct. 3, 1910, F. L. Smith, J. F. Ford and a number of other boys who were in the employ of the Rainey Lake Railroad were going on a hunting trip, and in order to save time were going to go up on a log train, which was to leave about midnight. The boys were all seated in the office of the roundhouse awaiting this train when some of the other boys, who were on duty, jokingly put a couple of torpedoes on the track. When the engine passed over them they went off and made a report like a gun. In a few minutes Big Nick, as he is commonly known about here, rushed in to the office and seeing the boys with the guns, said, "Come on, you God ———," and thereupon struck F. J. Smith several times across the legs with a heavy club, which is furnished him by the steel trust. The boys offered no resistance at all and went with the fool to the city jail, where they were locked up, but later released upon bonds. The boys went on their trip and upon their return appeared in the Municipal Court and the case was dismissed. Whereupon Mr. Smith swore out a complain against Dillon and after two weeks of waiting on the part of Mr. Smith, Mr. Dillon was finally induced to appear in court, and upon finding that it would not look well for the city attorney to defend a man accused of

a crime, Mr. George Shea was retained to defend the officer of the law. He at once asked for a continuance, but R. J. Montague, attorney for Mr. Smith, objected, saying that Dillon had plenty of time to prepare for trial, whereupon it was agreed that Dillon plead guilty and be fined \$10 and costs, and Dillon did so.

Mr. Smith will now bring suit for damages. And as to why Mr. Dillon is held in office is up to the sheriff.
JAMES W. DAILEY,
Secretary Workingmen's Political Association.

CENSURES BOARD MEMBER TANNER.

Globe, Arizona, October 31, 1910.

Editor Miners' Magazine:

It was somewhat surprising to me to read in the Miners' Magazine of recent issue the excuse of Executive Board Member Charles H. Tanner anent his failure to organize a local at the Vulture mine in Arizona. All "Cousin Jacks," says Board Member Tanner—just fancy the magnitude of the situation—that great Vulture mine, employing thirty-five men and ALL "Cousin Jacks," so terrible this bunch that three renowned organizers had failed utterly to organize had failed utterly to organize them, so desperately wicked this Sodom of the Hassahamp district that it will evidently become necessary for the great hero of the twentieth century to make a return trip to put the finishing touch on this bunch of savages imported direct from "Cousin Jack" land. Even the return trip of our knight of the pen will be fraught with danger and possibly fruitless unless the immigration from "Cousin Jack" land should cease, and a few Americans get in there to place the strangle hold and make ready the advent of our hero.

Has some ignorant Cousin Jack written the document bearing the signature of Charles H. Tanner, executive board member, I should feel disposed to pass it over, but coming from an intelligent man (?) like Board Member Tanner, a representative of an industrial organization composed of and supported by men of almost all nationalities, makes it necessary, in my opinion, to call Board Member Tanner's attention to chances of his next failure being due to an over plus of Long Horns, Dagoes, etc. Personally I resent these terms, and hold that the time has arrived when the workers must pull together and fight one common enemy. Such terms as used by Board Member Tanner tends to unnecessary strife and discord.

The Cornishmen at the Vulture may be much to blame, may be deserving of censure, but surely the fact that a mine employs thirty-five men, mostly Cornish, can find its counterpart in history. The song says: "Ten thousand Micks laid down their picks when Marcus Daly died."

I believe we can get along without casting any reflection on nationalities, and that Board Member Tanner will do better service for those whom he represents when he learns to speak or write of a man or a body of men from the standpoint of justice, rather than national prejudice.

THOMAS J. KENT, Recording Secretary No. 60

WILL SOCIALISM DESTROY THE HOME?

By Robert Hunter.

It is sometimes said that Socialism will destroy the home, and when I hear it said I wonder what kind of homes.

Will it destroy the homes of the merry widows of Reno, Nevada?
Will it destroy the homes of the Young American girls who have married dissolute foreign noblemen?

Will it destroy the hovels and unsanitary, overcrowded tenements in which the poor are today herded like cattle?

Will it destroy the homes of the mothers who rise at dawn to leave for the factory?

Will it destroy the homes of sick fathers and anxious wives and hungry, fretting babies?

Will it destroy the homes of that multitude of women who have married not for love but for support?

A few years ago I spent some months in France, where the Socialists control a hundred or more cities.

It is common knowledge that among the poor of France illegitimacy is very common.

To what extent that illegitimacy is due to inability on the part of the poorest workmen to pay fees for the marriage service is not known.

But we do know that the fees charged by the clergy for performing the marriage services are sometimes exorbitant.

In any case a multitude of young boys and girls refuse to pay fees to the clergy and limit the marriage service to an announcement of the fact to their friends.

Well, in the great city of Lille the Socialists took action on this question of illegitimacy.

And to overcome it they established a free marriage service, the fees to the clergy being paid directly by the municipality.

Since that time thousands of marriages have been sanctioned under this new act and a great number of children, who would otherwise have been classed as illegitimate, are now legalized.

Does that look like an effort to destroy the home?
Now consider a few other facts. Who does not know that for millions of the poor capitalism HAS destroyed the home.

Go through any great center of industry and see the mothers who are forced to give their children to the street and themselves to the factory.

Some of them had hardly time to give birth to their babies before they were called back to the mill.

And this problem weighed heavily upon the heart and conscience of the working people of France.

And when they came into power their first great work was to try to solve the problem of the home.

Among other things they established public kitchens, so that soups, meats and vegetables could be obtained warm when the people returned from work.

They established nurseries to care for the babies of working mothers.

They established school restaurants for those children whose parents were imprisoned all day in the factory.

And why? Because CAPITALISM HAS DESTROYED those homes!

Socialists realize that so long as the present system lasts it is impossible for them to free from toll the mothers of their children, or to save the babies from neglect, or children from the streets, or all from actual hunger.

And there are few workmen who would not, if they could, destroy all the public nurseries and school restaurants and maternal homes if at the same time they could RE-ESTABLISH the home and give back to their babies a mother's love and care.

But CAPITALISM has made this impossible!

And it may be a curious and interesting fact to the clergy, who now attack Socialism that when the Socialists of France came into power they charged themselves FIRST to effect some solution of these very problems of the family and of the home.

And this, gentlemen, is a fair answer to your foul charges; but I know you will not read it or believe it.

Because GOLD has made you blind.

TAG DAY IN CHICAGO.

By Caroline A. Lowe.

With eyes opened wide in bewildered astonishment, eight beautifully gowned women, tag in hand, gazed helplessly at a poor little working girl, trembling with indignation before them.

"Tag me! Tag me! No, you can't tag me! Why should I give you my hard-earned money? Look at you! The price of that willow plume would clothe me for a year; that tailor-made gown I helped to make, Miss Fitchie. Oh, I know who you are—it's your father, that with two hundred other rich employers, went to Springfield last spring to fight a bill presented by five poor working girls. All we asked was an eight-hour day for women and children, but because you had to have silk underwear and hobble skirts and motor cars, your father fought us to the death. Some of the legislators were in sympathy with us, and had almost promised us a square deal, but he bought 'em off—and we lost. Every day thousands of women and children are at their slave tasks before daylight until long after dark for you—that you may live in idleness and luxury.

"What's that? You say that you are sorry for us! That labor is honest, Respect us? You despise us; you look with contempt upon us. If you respect us, why don't you respect our organizations? Where's the Union Label on this tag? Why do you insult honest labor by patronizing scab shops? If you respected us you would respect the only means we have of escaping from vile, demoralizing charity. Your churches and charity organizations refuse to recognize our union shops and ignore our union label, thereby aiding our employers in keeping us in poverty rather than aiding us in our liberation from the insult of charity.

"If you were truly sorry for the wretched conditions of today, you'd investigate wherein the wrong exists. Is it fair to make us work ten hours a day, six days a week, throughout the year, piling up great wealth, only to take it away from us? You divide this wealth into two piles, one four times as long as the other. And then you few rich people take the big pile and leave the little one for us millions of working people—and WE MADE IT ALL! Then you're not satisfied with forcing us to give up the big pile to you—you stand around on street corners, smiling at us so friendly-like, and beg from us the little pile left for us to LIVE upon.

"Not begging it for yourselves? You are helping our poor little orphan boys? What do you KNOW about the poor little orphans? I'm an orphan—my two little brothers are orphans—yes, and in that very institution you're begging for. Why are we orphans, Miss Fitchie? Because your father wouldn't let the men take time to repair a worn-out belt on my father's machine—a big rush order was on, and he worked the men long hours overtime—and that belt snapped and threw my father under the wheel, and—they brought him home, dead.

"When the lawyer tried to get some compensation for the murder of my father, the judge said that your father wasn't responsible—he said that father assumed this risk when he entered the shop and we could get no redress.

"Rather than leave her children alone all day while she was at work in the factory where she had worked before she was married, my mother took in washing. One cold day she was taken with pneumonia and the next day she was gone.

"THAT'S why you build Orphan Boys' Charity Homes. You murder their fathers and mothers; you destroy their home, and you think you're being GOOD to them by putting them in a big, cheerless house, where their little hearts hunger and grow hard and bitter, because you have stolen from them the love that only a parent knows.

"Why don't you go to your father and the two hundred other murderers who have robbed those orphan boys of their fathers and mothers, and tell them it is a death tax you are gathering, and they are the taxpayers. No! You steal from us the wealth we ourselves have produced; you murder us, and then—thieves and murderers that you are—you become beggars by wheedling us out of our paltry bread money, and smilingly pin a tag upon us as a token of our participation in your crimes. Were I to take that tag, I, too, would share your guilt. With you I become the murderer of my father and my mother and the destroyer of my brothers.

"Some day the criminal ignorance of the working class will disappear and you will not dare the insult of today.

"Not only shall the little pile of the wealth we produce be ours, but the large pile also. ALL of the wealth shall remain in the hands of those who produce it. Then we shall protect our own boys and girls, and when it so happens that NATURE robs one of these little ones of both father and mother, no despicable, degrading charity shall poison his life, but justice shall be his by right of life. Society will protect and conserve its own life in protecting and conserving the life of its children."

Suddenly she became aware of the growing crowd, the light of righteous wrath died in her tired eyes, a timid, half-understanding cheer came forth from the lips and hearts of the assembled workers, and she slipped away carrying with her the conviction of a duty unexpectedly met and bravely performed.

Contributions

Spokane, Washington, September 30, 1910.

Mr. Ernest Mills, Denver, Colorado:

Dear Sir—Please find enclosed an order for \$29.50, being the amount raised by assessment by the Cigarmakers' International Union of America, Local Union No. 325, Spokane, for the benefit of the striking miners in South Dakota.

With best wishes, I am,

Fraternally yours,

W. A. MITCHELL,
Secretary Cigarmakers' Union No. 325.

In Memoriam.

Mullan, Idaho, October 15, 1910.

Whereas, Death has removed from our midst our well beloved brother and vice president, Tonnes Nilsen, and,

Whereas, Brother Nilsen by his kindly and lovable disposition, his sterling character and his every efforts to improve the conditions of his fellow workers, had endeared himself not only to members of organized labor but to the community at large;

Therefore, it is appropriate that we record our sorrow at the loss of such a noble character, yet the greatest testimonial to his worth and standing in this community was exemplified by the closing of all business houses in town during the funeral of deceased, the high school band leading the cortege, the many beautiful floral offerings and the large number of people marching to the cemetery to pay their respects to the memory of their departed friend.

No word of this committee can add to the impressiveness of the scene, we can only add that Tonnes Nilsen as man, citizen and loyal friend was worthy of the spontaneous offerings of love and grief exhibited at his interment. The world is better for his having been in it.

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be spread upon the minutes and a copy given to the Miners' Magazine for publication.

A. E. RIGLEY,
ESTEN JOHNSON,
CHRIS PETERSON,
Committee.

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