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# THE MINERS MAGAZINE

INDEPENDENCE  
EDUCATION ORGANIZATION

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22  
TRADES UNION  
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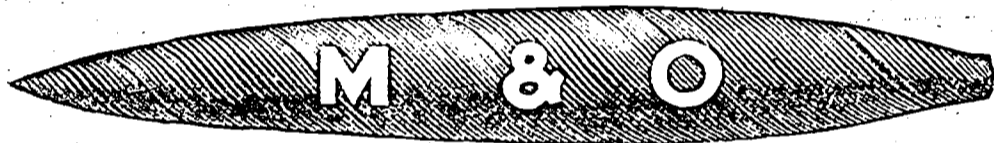
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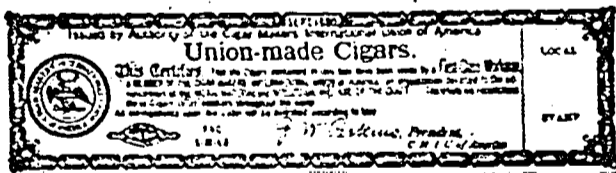
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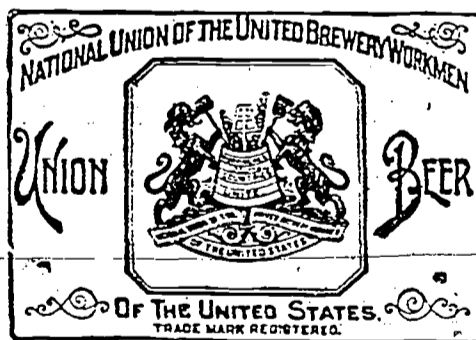
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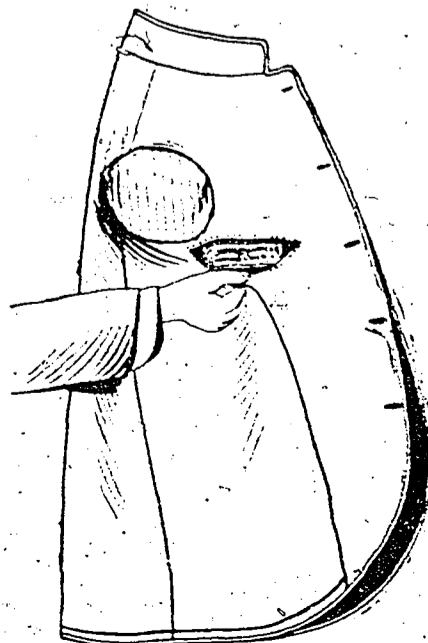
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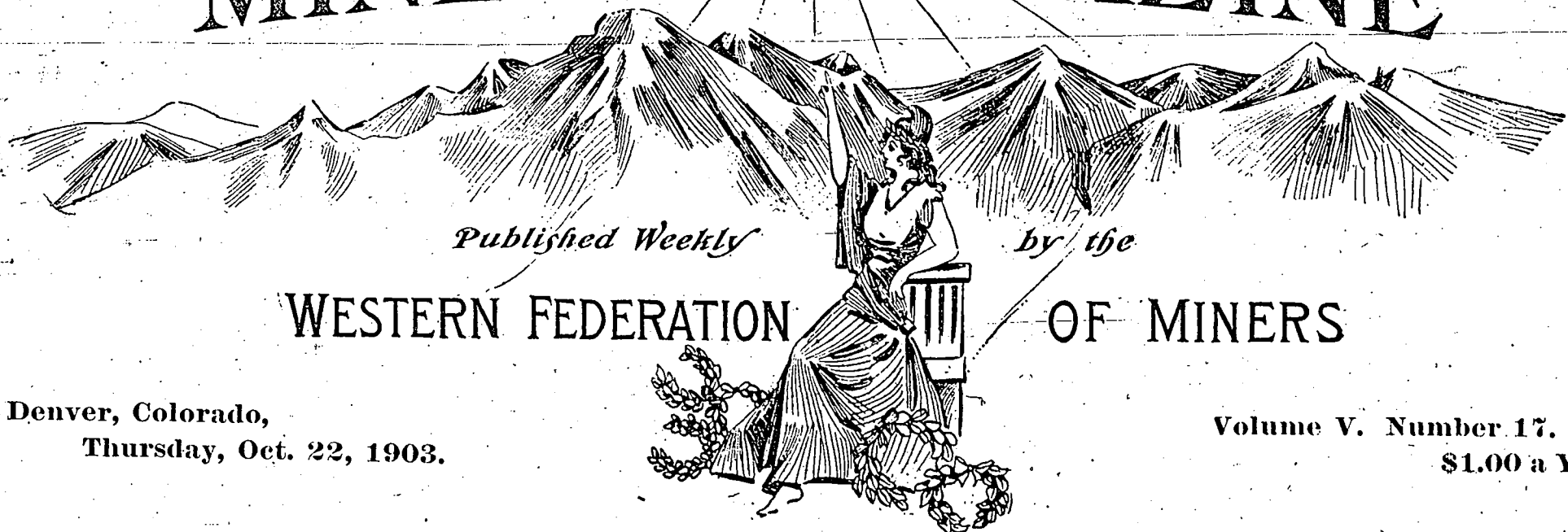


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EDUCATION INDEPENDENCE ORGANIZATION

# MINERS MAGAZINE



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 Communications not in conformity with this notice will not be published.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

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JOHN M. O'NEILL, EDITOR.

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625 Exchange Building, Denver, Colo.

DIVINE-RIGHT BAER, in conjunction with the other coal barons who own the anthracite deposits in the state of Pennsylvania, and who likewise have a railway monopoly, have defied the provisions of the census law. The geological survey and census office are unable to complete their reports unless furnished the information required by law. If Baer and his colleagues who have defied the government were coal miners, bayonets from Washington would be the remedy, but as Baer and his partners are heavy contributors to the corruption fund in election campaigns, this insult to the government will be accepted and condoned with affable grace.

THE AMALGAMATED Copper Company, operating in Anaconda, Montana, has discharged more than 500 of its employes for no reason save that they exercised their inalienable right to cast a ballot in accordance with the dictates of their judgment and conscience. These men, who have been thrown jobless upon the waves of the world, merited the vengeance of a trust because they refused to wear the political collar of a combination that respects no freedom or liberty that interferes with the mercenary growth of Standard Oil piracy. These brave, dauntless men who dared to sacrifice their jobs to maintain their honor and constitutional rights, will drift to the various mining and smelting districts of the West, and wherever they locate, the seed of an economic movement will be planted that will grow and expand until the political power of the masses shall be collected at the ballot box on the day of election and dethrone the arrogant might of "class conscious" plutocracy. Socialism will become lusty under the lash of persecution, and wherever the story of Amalgamated domination is told, there will be enlisted champions to join in the crusade against industrial slavery.

SHERIFF JOHN RALPHS of San Bernardino county, California, chaperoned strike-breakers that were gathered in the vicinity of Los Angeles, to the state line, at the request of the mine owners of Searchlight, Nevada. It has been generally supposed that the official power of a sheriff was confined to the county in which he is elected, but this precedent in California establishes the fact that a sheriff elected by the people of a county, working in the interest of corporations, can clothe himself with state authority and become the custodian of "scabs" without trespassing upon any rights of that element of American citizenship who depend upon a job for a living. The strike-breaker realizes that he is a moral criminal and needs about the same kind of an escort as the legal transgressor who is furnished with a guardian to accompany him to the penitentiary. As the laws of every state are placed upon the statute books at the command of the capitalists who own the representatives in legislative bodies, the workingman need expect no consideration until he votes for himself, and tears out by the root the system that breeds scabs and furnishes a sheriff to protect them in their fancied right to become the usurpers of strikers' jobs.

THE Y. M. C. A. AT DUBUQUE, IOWA, closed the doors of its auditorium to all missionaries who preach the gospel of Socialism. Never again, according to the mandate of these meek and humble disciples of the Redeemer, can a Socialist speaker defile the sacred precincts of this edifice that is dedicated to brotherly love. The exploiting-herd issued orders, and the Bible and hymn-book collection of fake Christians who never lost sight of the fodder-crib of their masters humbly obeyed, in the hope that another donation would come from the gentlemen who carry keys for the opening of bank vaults. The Socialist speakers in the Hawkeye State will not be discouraged or dismayed because the doors of this temple have been closed against them. The Christ whom these pharisees pretend to serve "had not a place whereon to lay his head," and yet the doctrines which he preached have lived through all the ages of persecution and will culminate in a practical realization when Socialism establishes an economic system that will enable all men to "do unto others as ye would that others do unto you."

THE ILLINOIS FACTORY INSPECTORS have been making raids on the sweat-shops of Chicago. Many children were found who were not more than six years of age, and even some of these baby slaves were "coached" to declare that they had reached their fourteenth year and consequently were immune from statutory violations. It is claimed that 18,000 children of school age are working in the factories and sweat-shops of Chicago, and that 8,000 of this number hold certificates from the school board as a permit to become exploited property.

The compulsory educational laws of the different states are practically worthless, and only have the effect of forcing impoverished parents and children to perjure themselves to escape the penalty of violating a statutory enactment. Necessity forces the child to enter the factory and the sweat-shop, and necessity knowing no law, the compulsory educational law becomes a farce, and child as well as parent become perjurers.

Poverty, the offspring of the capitalist system, is responsible, and until humanity becomes heir to an equal opportunity to live, the child will be an inmate of the mill, the mine, the factory and the sweat-shop.

CICERO, THE FAMED ORATOR, declared that "all artisans are engaged in a disgraceful occupation," and Aristotle went one better and said that "the best regulated cities should not permit a mechanic to be a citizen, for he could not be pure."

This nation of ours is densely populated with men and women who entertain the same sentiments as Cicero and Aristotle. Manual labor, among the rosewater and cologne element of society, smirches citizenship with an odor that is stench to the nostrils of the lazy and useless, who live, eat and dress upon the labor of others. In the early history of this country a fine-haired gentry refused to work, but when starvation confronted the colonists at Jamestown, the heroic mould of John Smith displayed itself, and, seizing the reins of government, issued the dictum that all gentlemen of the finer breed who refused to work should not eat. America needs a number of John Smiths to put the "smart set" of every city in the harness, and the burdens that now rest upon the shoulders of the masses would be lightened.

There is nothing in ethics or religion that justifies the theory that one man should labor to support another in idleness. Ignorance is the greatest enemy of the worker. Intelligence will unseat the idler from the back of labor, and the unrest and discontent that now pervades the wealth producers of the world is significant of the fact that laboring humanity is tearing the bandages from their eyes and beholding themselves as dupes of the cunning loafers. There will come a time when labor will be the badge of honor, and when that day dawns there will be but one class in all the society of the world.

MARK HANNA, the "full dinner pail" prophet of the Buckeye commonwealth, is expanding his lungs with screams to the hungry and ragged multitude to "stand pat" and "let well enough alone," in order that the Republican party of the states may have another term in the game of rob and plunder. The political lamentations of the boodle senator are truly heartrending when he exclaims: "I beg of you to rise up and kill the attempt to float the flag of Socialism over the state of Ohio." The prediction made by the smooth and wily Marcus some two years ago, that Socialism would challenge the attention of the Republican party in the next national campaign, is now assuming tangible shape, and the franchise grabber and president of the Civic Federation has become busily engaged in making frantic harangues against the specter that gives capitalism a nightmare. Marcus and the rest of the exploiting gang do not seem to realize that their unsatisfied greed has hastened evolution and presented problems to the people that must be solved without compromise or make-shift. The eloquent sophistry of Ohio's Republican war-horse will have but little effect upon the brainy element in the ranks of toil, who can see no "identity of interest" between the hovel-tenanted wretch and the multi-millionaire in a mansion. As the laboring men grow class-conscious and class-loyal, the closer we are drawing to the last act in the drama of a murderous civilization. Mark, in the near future, will be forced (to use the language of the song) "go away back and sit down."

IN THE GREAT CITY OF CHICAGO, where organized labor boasts of 240,000 strong, a powerful body is to be formed and launched to fight with all the power of combined wealth, unionism and Socialism. D. M. Parry and a number of radical antagonists from various states throughout the country have formed the nucleus of an organization that proposes to wrest the boycott and strike from the hands of laboring humanity and leave unionism on the industrial field without a weapon to fight the battles of the future. A call has been sent out to the employers of labor from the Atlantic to the Pacific to assemble in the city (that is famed for wind and big-footed women) on October 29th and form an organization that is to be known as the National Federation of Employers. One of the great principles that this organization proposes to uphold is the "open shop," a principle that is likewise dear to the heart of our strenuous and patriotic President. The slogan of the organization will be "Death to Socialism."

"Whom the gods would destroy, they first make mad." The Socialists will accept the gauntlet thus thrown down, and the missionary labor among the toilers will be carried on with redoubled vigor. The sooner the capitalist class lines up in battle array, the sooner will the great army of exploited humanity stand together as a unit, and commence the laying of the cornerstones of a republic in which labor shall be triumphant and free. The conflict on the economic field will educate the masses to use the ballot; and that weapon, wielded with an intelligent conception of the class struggle, will silence forever the contest between exploitation and exploited for supremacy.

A NOBLE AND UNSELFISH apostle in the vineyard of the Lord, located in the obscure little hamlet of Baraboo, Wisconsin, has voluntarily come to the rescue of the International Typographical Union and gratuitously, "without money and without price," suggested a clause to be inserted in the pledge of the printing trades that will not only meet with the approbation of the Catholic church, but, if adopted, will gladden the covetous soul of every commercial brigand and pirate that lives upon the accumulated spoils of over-worked and ill-paid humanity. This zealous and suffering martyr whose shoulders are scarred from bearing the cross for Christ's sake, actuated by spasms of religious fervor, suggests the following:

"And we further swear that our obedience to the law of God and to the civil law shall ever come before our obedience to any order of this union, which we swear to abandon if it should command unjust acts, and we swear that we recognize and shall ever recognize the right of the employer to hire non-union labor at his discretion, and the right of all men to belong to a union or not, as they choose, and to work for whatever wages they see fit."

Such is the prescription offered by Rev. J. T. Durward of Baraboo, Wisconsin. The members of the International Typographical Union will never be able to liquidate the debt of gratitude which they owe to this godly man whose supernatural wisdom and tender heart prompted a solution to the vexed controversy. We trust that the members of the Typographical Union will be able to appreciate the yeoman service of this profound thinker, whose mighty brain grapples the dilemma, and formulated an oath that bears the inspiration or heavenly guidance. Put God in your oath; permit every printer to become a "rat" if he wants to, and let every type sticker sell his labor for any old thing, and the Reverend Durward will feel amply repaid for his Herculean efforts to square you with the church. The doors of the confessional will still be open to you, and absolution will flow as freely as sparkling vintage at a Bradley-Martin ball. Be generous to your masters, and you will still retain a license to save your soul. Hurrah for Durward! He is the Moses of the twentieth century who has cleared the atmosphere and led the printers out of a wilderness of confusion.

THE SALARIED CHIEFS of the American Federation of Labor have again issued an order to the rank and file of the organization to line up and flood the chambers of Congress and the Senate with another cargo of begging petitions for favorable labor legislation. At the last session of the national law-makers the legislative lobby of the American Federation of Labor whined for an eight-hour law and Chinese exclusion, but the waste basket became the tomb in which were interred the measures asked by the committee, whose anger becomes aroused when a per-capita tax-paying private recommends the introduction of political discussion in the union. Notwithstanding the fact that the American Federation of Labor had a paid lobby perambulating among the representatives at Washington, the Dick military bill was passed without even a protest from the Gompers brigade.

As long as organized labor will permit a committee to beg for legislation, just so long will labor be insulted. When labor goes to the ballot box and demands justice with the ballot, then will labor receive the recognition that is due honorable manhood. A vagrant may excite pity, but can never command respect.

THE POLITICIANS of both the old parties are working day and night among the "labor skates" for their influence and campaign service for the year 1904. The members of organized labor who offer adoration in the temple of the Republican god (\$) are being impertuned to spout their oratorical indignation against any movement that will place the President of the United States on the unfair list, while the "skates" who slobber about Jeffersonian simplicity and Jacksonian honesty are working a graft with the Democratic party to put the odium of unionism upon Roosevelt for his attitude in the public printing controversy. The great rank and file of organized labor should realize from a survey of Democratic and Republican states, that labor is confronted with the same struggle, and that labor can never be emancipated until the system which legalizes the taking of profit from the labor of the masses to enrich the few, shall be swept from the face of the earth.

The environments which surround the President of the United States make of him a creature to carry out the will of the powers behind the throne. It was those environments which forced Roosevelt to reinstate Miller in the bookbinding department; to pardon the Alabama convicts who had made chattel slaves of black men and to refuse the pardon of two union sailors who have lain in prison for years regardless of all the petitions of the American Federation of Labor asking for their release. The very fact that the political strength of the working class is divided by capitalism into the Democratic and Republican parties, is the reason that labor is always upon its knees begging for petty favors and hand-out legislation. Let labor unite at the ballot box, and labor will resolve itself from a beggar to a full-fledged man, too proud to beg and too proud to be a slave. The "grafters" and "skates" should receive the immediate attention of every honest, upright man in unionism who believes in that grand equality of human liberty that needs no master and no slave.

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT, by his action, has indirectly declared the pledge of the International Typographical Union to be more or less treasonable to the constitution of the United States when he requires a printer born on American soil to swear allegiance to the organic law of the nation in consideration of holding a mechanical job at Washington. With the innovation of the President and the anathemas issued by the Caesars in the Catholic church, the printer finds himself challenged to a combat which admits of no honorable retreat. When the International Typographical Union and all the other organized crafts throughout the land shall tear down the barricades which imprison simple trades unionism solely upon the economic field and rally the organized hosts upon the political battleground, presidents and monarchs in ecclesiastical courts will render no verdicts against the onward march of humanity to the highest summit in ideal civilization. When the functions of government become the property of the class whose brawn has furnished the blood for the arteries of commerce, then will labor occupy the throne and wield the scepter, and when labor reigns-omnipotent, church mandates founded upon hoary superstition will fall as harmless as flakes of snow upon the rock-crowned peaks of a mountain range.

Through all the centuries of time, the church has been affiliated with the ruling class. In the Spanish-American war the church in Spain was pleading with the God of battles to crown the arms of the Spaniard with victory, while the church in America was invoking the same God to make brighter the constellation in the blue field of Columbia's banner. The church in every land is playing the role of the diplomat, and when labor becomes heir to its own, the church will change its policy to harmonize with conditions. Labor must be loyal to itself before labor can command respect, and when labor is faithful to its own interests, labor will be supreme, unassaulted by shells from capitalism or excommunication bombs from the arsenals of Christian temples.

# Labor Must Maintain Liberty.

**M**EN IN THE RANKS of organized labor who are close observers must have arrived at the conclusion that the class in the avenues of manual labor are facing a critical and perilous period in the nation's history. The oligarchy of wealth which has assumed gigantic proportions, is surrounding labor with a conspiracy of legislation, the most damnable that ever marked any century of time in the world's history.

Laws are drafted and passed which upon a cursory glance appear as guileless as the dimpled smiles of a sleeping babe, yet upon investigation the dagger and stiletto that assassinate human liberty lie concealed behind the verbal mask of pretended innocence. Labor to-day lies bound and gagged, and if unionism fails to break the chains through the united political might of the toiling millions, then American manhood is doomed to a peonage far more servile than the chattel slavery of the ante-bellum days. The armory of wealth is loaded with legal weapons to fight labor on the industrial battlefield. Judicial decisions have been rendered, one after the other, which practically nullifies all the effective features of the strike, and labor beholds itself struggling under the ban of laws that have been drafted and adopted at the bidding of corporate greed. The boycott, the weapon of labor, has been declared unlawful; while the blacklist, the weapon of the employer, has been legalized. The postmaster general proposes to attach the mail service to every train to render labor legally help-

less in the declaration of a strike. The power has been placed in the hands of a President to draft every able-bodied citizen in the United States and equip him with all the modern machinery of war to uphold and protect the sacred and pre-eminent rights of property. The centralization of military power in the hands of one man presages the coming of capitalistic imperialism and casts the shadow of a struggle unparalleled in all the ages of the past. If the rule of gold and greed will not yield to the peaceable, constitutional power of ballot-armed plebeians, then will the tornado burst in all its fury and desperation will nerve the arm of pauperism to strike a blow for "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness."

The fakirs in the ranks of organized labor can little longer play the role of hypocrites and subserve their own interests by preaching conservatism. The war is on, and the fight will never end until manhood and womanhood are the standards of value in a civilization that knows no master and no slave. The liberty of man, woman and child is threatened, and the spirit of '76 must be rekindled to save this republic, that was built during the darkest night of blood that the world has ever seen, from the vandalism that now endangers the life of the nation.

Upon labor hangs the destiny of this country, whose soil is peopled with the nationalities and creeds of the world, and labor must hold high the torch by whose light the great mass will reach the goal that opens into the dawn of a cooperative commonwealth.

## "Am I My Brother's Keeper?"

**I**N THE STRIKES which are being waged in various parts of the jurisdiction of the Western Federation of Miners, a number of miners manifest a reluctance in taking up the battle of employes of mills and smelters. The objections that have been raised by these miners have been based upon the grounds that the miner occupied a much higher pedestal in the industrial field than the wage-convict of the mills and smelters, whose niggardly wages and long hours have written upon his face the lines of hunger and covered his nakedness with the rags of penury.

For the intelligent consideration of the miners who have murmured against standing with the mill and smeltermen in a battle for the most vital principle of organized labor, we clip the following from an exchange and submit the same without comment:

"We sometimes hear well-paid and well-organized mechanics speak with lofty contempt of their less fortunate fellow workmen, the 'common' or 'unskilled' laborer, and mock at the idea that these men have an equal right to consideration in the labor movement. Such a feeling is utterly out of harmony with the spirit of the labor movement, and a policy based upon it—a policy which regards the interests of the skilled workmen as superior to or separate from those of the unskilled—is sure, sooner or later, to bring its own retribution.

"Carlyle, somewhere, tells a story of the days when the English prisons, through the cruel neglect of the magistrates, were hotbeds of disease, so much so that special form of malignant and highly infectious fever developed, known as 'jail-fever.' So long as it was only the poor devils of prisoners that suffered, judges and officers of the law paid little attention. But one day it happened that a miserable, ragged old woman was hauled from such an infected prison and brought to the bar for trial. Hardly were the proceedings opened before the judge, the sheriff, the attorneys and the jurymen were taken with the symptoms of jail fever. Court was adjourned and within a few hours all were dead. Thus, says Carlyle, did this wretched old vagrant prove her sisterhood with My Lord Justice. The moral and its application should be clear. If skilled workmen, who get relatively high wages and have powerful organizations, forget the responsibility which their good fortune imposes upon them to help raise and strengthen the ill-paid and poorly organized; if, while recognizing the bond of fraternity within their several crafts and with other skilled mechanics, they refuse to treat the less skilled men as brothers and equals, then assuredly, in the long run, those laborers will prove their brotherhood to the bitter cost of them that denied it.

"'Am I my brother's keeper?' Will you or not? Yes, you are your brother's keeper as he is yours, and on him, among many brothers, that is strongest to do and endure, rests the greatest burden of responsibility, and he that is weakest has the greatest claims upon all. This is no mere fine sentiment and idealistic talk. It is hard fact, and the sooner it is recognized the better for all.

"The brotherhood of labor is a brotherhood in sufferings and wrongs. The workers are the disinherited of the earth. They must toil in order to live. They can toil only by a master's consent, granted only for his profit. Because they are so many and so poor they are driven to compete for permission to work, and by their competition they are kept in poverty. It is this fact of competition—this fact that they are able to take each others' places, and by the necessities of their position they are often forced to do so—it is this fact, in one sense, that proves the brotherhood of the workers, just as their common liability to infection proved the human sisterhood of the ignorant old woman in rags with the learned judge in gown and wig.

"But, the highly-skilled mechanic may say, 'these common laborers will never be able to take my place; I don't need their help, nor need I fear their enmity.' Don't be too sure of men in this world. Granted only a little time, more than once, when the workmen of some trade have thought themselves secure against any attack, an inventor has come along with a little device that knocked them sky-high—revolutionizing the whole trade, so that men could learn it in a few weeks instead of having to spend years in apprenticeship. Then the men of that trade felt the need of friendly and fraternal feeling on the part of other workmen to protect and help them in rebuilding their organization and winning back the ground lost. And, even though nothing of that kind happens, don't forget that the boss can afford to wait a good deal longer than you can; that there are bright young fellows among those laborers who only need the opportunity for a little training and practice in order to learn your trade well enough to do it at a pinch, and that if you fail to help them now when they are in need they are going to feel that they have a perfect right to take advantage of your time of trouble to raise themselves to your level and help your boss against you in doing it.

"Be sure that your bosses—not only out of their mouths, but especially through their subsidized professors and editors and preachers and other spokesmen—are going to use every opportunity to create dissension and division within the ranks of the working class. If you, being relatively fortunate now, look with scorn on your poorer brother, you need not be surprised if he looks with envy on you. It is a bad thing to envy; it is a worse thing to be envied. The boss knows that, if you don't. He will teach it to you, if you don't learn otherwise.

"But if those common laborers are capable of injuring you, so are they capable of helping you. They would rather help you than hurt you, if you give them half a chance. If you, who get your \$3.50 a day, show yourself willing to go on a strike, if necessary, to help those poor fellows to add a quarter to their \$1.50; if you show a fearless front to the boss on their behalf, you may be sure they are going to appreciate and remember it.

"A chain, it is proverbially said, is no stronger than its weakest link. The unskilled workers now constitute that weakest link in the chain of the labor movement. It is our duty and interest to strengthen it."

"**M**OTHER JONES," the great evangelist of the United Mine Workers of America, has come to Colorado. The silvery haired Joan of Arc, who has planted hope in the despairing hearts of the miners in the anthracite regions, will lift her voice in the state of Colorado for the economic liberty of the wage slave.

**L**OUIS F. POST, in an article in his paper, The Public, of Chicago, has the following to say about anarchy:

"Using the term 'anarchy' in the usually accepted sense, we shall find it well exemplified in the Cripple Creek region of Colorado. In that region anarchy in military uniform holds sway. Workingmen are arrested by a mob and held in captivity without known offense or warrant; the civil courts are defied with insolence by this mob; the mob wears the military uniform of the state; the Republican governor who might restrain it gives it carte blanche; and an employers' association pays its wages. Uniformed though it be, and acting by the authority of the governor, it is a lawless mob none the less. This is anarchy, but these anarchists fall under none of the condemnation with which the plutocratic press is wont to attack those of much less dangerous types."

## Senseless Oratory.

**T**HE KNIGHTS OF COLUMBUS gathered recently in Carnegie hall, New York, to celebrate the anniversary of America's discovery. The orator of the day was the celebrated W. Bourke Cockran, who has won a national reputation as a platform speaker, and whose eloquence has resounded in the congressional chambers at Washington. The famed orator reviewed the march of civilization from the fifteenth century down to the present day, and concluded that the only blot that cast a shadow upon the otherwise spotless escutcheon of America's honor is the frequency of divorce. The following is a sample of the senseless drivel with which Cockran entertained his auditors:

"The present condition of society here is full of promise. We have the greatest fortunes of the earth—greater than a Roman ever dared dream of—and, though philosophers say that where wealth accumulates men decay, I see no cause for despair. When a large fortune is not gained by robbery, by fraud or by the manipulation of the laws, then it can be but a boon to the nation. My neighbor's prosperity increases my own and that of the earth.

"Nor do modern fortunes tend to the increase of luxury. On the contrary, men become more self-denying. I see no sign of decay in the human race here. The labor question is in process of solution, and every row is a step toward this. A laborer cannot get more pay than the value of his product, for then the product ceases to be made. Nor can he get much less, because of the element of competition. The laborer of to-day is not a servant, but a partner of his employer, and their good rests in a mutual understanding.

"But the blot I see upon our civilization is the increasing number of divorces. In the ancient state the supreme importance of life was to secure the importance of the state. To-day the end of life is the individual good. But the individual good lies in the prosperity of the family, and it is at this that the divorce strikes. If not checked, it will destroy the family.

"The remedy for this, as I see it, is to realize that matrimony is a state, not a contract; and divorce must be stopped. Divorce strikes at the virtue of our women, and this virtue is what preserves the state. Divorce is the one foul growth upon our soil, and upon its riddance depends the fate of our future.

"IF WE ARE TO CHOOSE BETWEEN DIVORCES AND POLYGAMY, GIVE US POLYGAMY."

The ex-congressman who glories in flights of rhetoric and sentences decorated with the tinsel of verbal gaudiness, beholds no danger in the accumulation of vast fortunes, providing the fortunes are not "gained by fraud, by robbery or by the manipulation of the laws." Cockran takes a pride in declaring that we have fortunes "greater than a Roman ever dared dream of," but he was careful not to acquaint his audience with the cause which brought about the downfall of the Roman empire. The very fact that a small percentage of the people of the Roman empire had a monopoly on the "fortunes" hurled the monarch of the world from his throne of grandeur and wrecked a civilization that was reared upon the poverty of a disinherited mass. Rome fell through the exploitation of humanity, and history throughout all the ages has repeated itself wherever capitalism has wielded the scepter of sovereign might. All the great individual fortunes have been piled up, under the protection of law, for the men who belonged to the exploiters, were always the power behind the throne which framed the law to shield them in their conspiracy. The Rothschilds of the old world can light Europe with the flames of war, while the Rockefellers, the Goulds, the Vanderbilts and the Morgans of America are in a position to command a Congress and a Senate, to issue a proclamation that will take the farmer from his plow, the blacksmith from his forge, the carpenter from his

bench and the miner from the bowels of the earth, and send them forth to murder by law the humanity of other nations, in order that multi-millionaires may have more markets in which merchandise may be unloaded.

The law of God in the commandment, "Thou shalt not kill," does not affect the conscience of the Dives, as long as the impoverished rabble, deluded by patriotism, become the butchers to assist the uncrowned kings of finance to climb to the highest rungs in the ladder of arrogant wealth.

The orator for the Knights of Columbus declares: "Nor do modern fortunes tend to the increase of luxury." Such a statement is nothing more nor less than a falsehood from the lips of a professional liar. Never in the history of the world is such prodigal extravagance witnessed as here in America, where, Cockran declares, "we have the greatest fortunes of the earth—greater than a Roman dared dream of." Yachts, automobiles, palaces and mansions for the rich, and hovels for the poor, the victims whose labor furnishes the means to banquet dogs, cats and monkeys to develop the hilarious levity of the "smart set" of every metropolitan city of America.

Cockran says: "A laborer cannot get more pay than the value of his product, for then the product ceases to be made. Nor can he get much less, because of the element of competition." According to the philosophy of Cockran, whenever any product of labor ceases to bring profit, its manufacture will cease, no matter if human life depends on the production of the article. This very admission on the part of the famed orator is unquestionable proof of the merciless system under which we live. The few own the tools of production which the many must use to produce the necessaries of life; and yet, profit for the few is the stimulant which actuates the owner of the machinery of production to permit the great mass to labor, in order to exist. Without profit, the machinery of production would become idle, the great mass would be unemployed, and the law which protects the sacred right of private ownership would deny the starving laborer the right to use the tools of production to protect his life. If the laborer received but little less than the value of his product, because of the element of competition, why is it, to use the language of Cockran, "we have the greatest fortunes of the earth—greater than a Roman ever dared dream of"?

The only deplorable wail that Cockran has against our civilization is divorce, and he offers the following prescription: "The remedy to this, as I see it, is to realize that matrimony is a state, not a contract, and divorce must be stopped." It is a wonder that the New York spouter did not offer as a remedy the old hackneyed phrase, that matrimony "is a condition and not a theory." This would be as logical as the meaningless and brainless divorce remedy offered by Cockran to the gathering assembled in Carnegie hall.

The remedy for divorce is the economic freedom of men and women, the abolition of a system that makes the mass of humanity the slaves of the comparatively few. When capitalism and wage-slavery are abolished and all humanity have an equal inheritance in the natural resources of the earth, and the machinery of production and distribution, men and women will enjoy industrial liberty, and receiving the full product of their toil, will voluntarily enter wedlock after being thoroughly satisfied that there is a congeniality of disposition and traits of character between the two who are contemplating matrimony. Extreme poverty and extreme wealth is the cause of divorce and when the profit system is exterminated from our civilization, divorce will become a relic of a barbarous age.

**T**HE FOLLOWING concerning the important movement of establishing co-operative stores appears in the Associated Press dispatches of October 10th:

Topeka, Oct. 10.—It is learned here to-day that the Santa Fe employes have decided upon starting a co-operative store in Albuquerque for the purpose of furnishing groceries and supplies to railroad men at living rates. The men have subscribed the necessary amount and selected a manager. They expect to pay cost for their goods, plus a small per cent. for running the store.

The movement inaugurated by the employes of the Santa Fe railway is being considered by men of all crafts and the time is but short when the co-operative general merchandise store will make its appearance in every town and city throughout the United States. The organization of "Citizens' Alliances" and the contemplated federation of employers' associations, together with all the elements in society antagonistic to organized labor make the co-operative store an imperative necessity. When the forces of unionism invade the commercial domain and concentrate their surplus savings to embark in business, the very life of such organizations as a "Citizens' Alliance" is threatened, and it is only a question of time until the middle class will become defunct. The formation of "Citizens' Alliances" has caused the workingman to do a little thinking of his own and he now proposes to enter the game of business competition and wipe out of existence the mercenary aggregation that has consolidated to wreck and shatter organized labor. The "Citizens' Alliance" is destroying "the goose that lays the golden egg," and it can be safely predicted that between the trusts and the co-operative stores that will be established by the laboring people, the reign of the small business man is drawing to a close. On with the dance!

**E**UGENE V. DEBS, after delivering a masterly address in the city of Fort Worth, Texas, on October 6th, was interviewed by a reporter of the Fort Worth Register and had the following to say in regard to the friction that has taken place in the public printing office at Washington:

"A very severe blow has been struck at organized labor and its effect will be very far-reaching, as it will virtually non-unionize the government printing office and other departments of the public service, and will also serve as a precedent for employers of labor generally. The 'open shop' was possible some years ago when organized labor was weak and it was accepted as a temporary compromise. But to-day the 'open shop' is practically impossible. An office must be all union, or all non-union. If part of the employes are union and part non-union they are not only in ceaseless conflict, but the union men can be discriminated against and the union rendered wholly impotent. Any contract or agreement or regulation that the union may propose would be binding on its own members only; and it is admitted that separate contracts for union and non-union men would but serve to further complicate matters, the effect of which would be to virtually deprive the union of all its power, and thus destroy what it has taken years of organized effort to accomplish.

"When a lawyer is employed by the government he must be a member of the bar; that is to say, of the lawyers' union. Otherwise he is not considered competent or qualified to serve. The same is true of the physician, who must be a member in good standing of the medical association to secure an appointment in the public service. The labor union is not more unreasonable in demanding the standard of acceptance that is asked of the professions. I shall be mistaken if organized labor does not realize what the decision of President Roosevelt means in the Miller case and register a widespread protest that even the President of the United States may not ignore or disregard."

# For the Benefit of the Bishop.

**BISHOP SPALDING** of Peoria, Illinois, who for years has been recognized as one of the great pillars of the Catholic church in America, has aired his profound thoughts on the work of the anthracite strike commission and in a general way surveyed the industrial field, but the learned divine in his long and scattered dissertation on economic conditions, fails to light the taper of hope in labor's breast. The great multitude who have looked with reverence upon men holding exalted positions in the church will be disappointed when digesting the airy chaff that comes from a man whom it was supposed was able to write a prescription that would ease and ameliorate the distress which afflicts the wage-slaves of the nation.

This member of the strike commission who has gained reputation and renown in the Catholic world for his familiarity with theological lore, declares that "compulsory investigation of the affairs of great corporations and of trades unions seems to point to the solution of the strike measure and its cause."

We would respectfully ask the learned bishop, would it not be far better to investigate the CAUSE that gave birth to the corporations and the trades unions, than to investigate the corporations and the trades unions?

We maintain that the corporations and the labor organizations are maladies in our economic life, and would it not be far more feasible and logical to "investigate" the "cause" which breeds the disease than to investigate the disease itself? Would the bishop have any respect for the ability and attainments of a physician who would merely confine himself to the investigation and treatment of an epidemic of typhoid fever, and pay no attention to the unsanitary surroundings that bred the germs of the disease?

The bishop says: "In general there were exaggerations of conditions in the anthracite regions. Here and there were wretchedness and squalor, but these were not worse than may be found in Chicago, not worse than individual instances here in Peoria." Does the bishop desire to allay intelligent discontent by telling the anthracite miners that they are no worse off than the wage-slaves of Illinois? Does he believe that the peons of the Keystone State will derive consolation and satisfaction to learn that their brethren on the bosom of the Prairie State are struggling with "squalor and wretchedness?" Does the bishop desire to verify the old, threadbare and worn-out chestnut that "misery loves company?" Will the heart of the anthracite miner cease to have yearning aspirations to climb toward the summit of industrial liberty, when he learns that "squalor and wretchedness" are among the rewards doled out by capitalism to the exploited victims of Chicago and Peoria? Why does the bishop use the language of condonation for "squalor and wretchedness" in Pennsylvania because misery and want exist in Illinois? Does he believe that the dissemination of such knowledge among the serfs that inhabit the Baer dominion will have a tendency to reconcile the captives in wage-bondage in Pennsylvania? Will "squalor and wretchedness" in Illinois comfort or alleviate the lot of the miner in the anthracite regions? According to the bishop, the weary and heavy-laden proletariat of the mines should wipe away his tears in the consciousness that his brother in Illinois is chained in the fetters of abject servitude and should rejoice that corporate greed in Illinois has not overlooked the opportunity to degrade man.

The bishop intimates that through the appointment of the strike commission "employer and employed have been brought from extremes of social conditions near enough together to see the common manhood binding them together; on both sides, concessions have been made; the employer has been shown some of the hardships of the employe living in the squalid shack, and the employe, in turn, has seen some of the slave-driving exactions which wealth imposes upon its possessor."

The very language of the bishop establishes the fact that our present industrial system produces "extreme social conditions," and yet this holy man of God, whom the capitalistic press refers to as an eminent sociologist, has nothing to offer to exterminate the "squalid shack" and the "slave-driving exactions which wealth imposes upon its possessor." If the strike commission brought employer and employe so near that they could see "the common manhood binding them together," why did the commission draft an iron-clad contract and exact the signatures of both parties to the controversy? If the bishop had faith in "common manhood binding them together," why was the miner sentenced for three years to carry out the edict of the commission? Why did the commission place the slightest restraint upon the economic liberty of the miner, if the investigation brought the slave and master "near enough together to see the common manhood binding them together?"

The bishop says: "Both parties to the long contest are the better for the arbitration. Irritations and misunderstandings on both sides have been swept away."

If the statement of the bishop is true, we would respectfully ask his lordship, what caused 30,000 of the anthracite miners to rise in rebellion a few months ago? If "irritations and misunderstandings had been swept away" by the commission, why was it necessary for President Mitchell and the leaders of his organization to use all their influence and eloquence at a recent convention to pacify and hold in subjection the 30,000 miners who declared themselves ready to engage in another conflict? If "irritations and misunderstandings were swept away," why have 3,000 men in the anthracite regions been blacklisted by the coal barons and refused the right to return to work?

The bishop says: "Labor and capital are allied forces and workers and owners should live in peace and work in co-operation." He

might as well say to the dove and the hawk, the lamb and the lion, and the fox and the fowls of the barnyard, "to live in peace and work in co-operation."

The bishop well knows that the workers and owners, who are the laborers and the capitalists, can never live in peace and co-operation. Capitalism depends for its existence upon the confiscation of the surplus products of labor. Can the robber and the robbed live in peace? Does the bishop give his sanction and indorsement to a system that gives but seventeen per cent. to the man who works, and exacts eighty-three per cent. as an assessment on the worker for the privilege to be the slave of the "owner"? The very fact that labor organizations exist, that strikes are prevalent in almost every nation of the globe, that economic leagues, citizens' alliances, and manufacturers' associations have been formed, and that strike commissions have been established, are unanswerable arguments in support of the proof that our industrial and commercial system is morally rotten and that the "workers and owners" cannot "live in peace and work in co-operation."

The bishop says: "We should not have a class so soon out of touch with the man who labors with his hands." Where is his "ounce of prevention" or his "pound of cure"? What is his remedy that will span the chasm that lies between the "worker and the owner"? The "should" of the bishop has no virtue and contains no panacea to "bring the elbows of labor and capital in touch with each other."

The bishop declares: "Certainly it is a truth not to be disputed that if something is not done toward the destruction of our destructive competitive system, Socialism will find its opportunity." The bishop knows that Socialism is inevitable. When he speaks of the "spirit" that "has defiled our rivers, until in our cities to-day a thirsty man may not get a glass of water that is fit to drink," when he declares that the "spirit" for accumulating riches "has blackened and poisoned the atmosphere with smoke and noxious vapors, desecrated the face of nature and made hovels for the occupation of man where not even swine could live in comfort," he knows that there will be no "peace and co-operation" between the "workers and the owners" until profit, which feeds capitalism, is banished from our civilization.

Rivers will be "defiled," nature "desecrated" and men shall "live in hovels" until Socialism tears from the throne of greed the soulless monarchs of avarice, and arms humanity with the undisputed right to have free access to the resources of nature. Rent, profit and interest freezes the generous impulses in the hearts of men, and nothing is sacred that interferes with the ambition of the licensed few to accumulate millions at the expense of the many.

The bishop closes his lengthy article by handing out the following dose of verbal soothing syrup as a means to lessen the sin of a sorrowing, suffering and depraved world:

"The church should do what it is possible for it to do to improve the civil and economic conditions of the people." The very sentence used by the bishop conveys the fact that the church has failed to perform its duty and that the bishop is cognizant of that fact.

Let us furnish a few statistics for the benefit of the bishop, which may have the effect of exercising the gray matter in his dome of thought. We have 189,932 churches that lift their spires toward the stars, and we have 112,876 priests and preachers who pretend to preach a gospel that will make men and women fit subjects for the kingdom beyond the grave.

Notwithstanding the churches and the army of priests and preachers, we have 102,329 prisoners in our penitentiaries and nearly 24,000 children in our juvenile institutes.

For the year ending January 1, 1903, there were 11,781 murders, 8,291 suicides, 144 hangings and 96 lynchings.

We have 199,981 inmates in our pauper and benevolent institutions, 2,500,000 professional tramps, while 3,000,000 of our pauperized citizens make application to our charity institutions for assistance.

We have 500,000 prostitutes recruited from department stores, mills and factories, and Chicago alone, the great metropolitan city of the state in which state the bishop preaches the doctrines of Christianity, furnishes 30,000 between the ages of fourteen and twenty years whose cheeks have lost their blush of shame.

We have 63,801 illegitimate children in "the land of the free and the home of the brave." Our insane asylums and institutions for the feeble-minded have a population of 189,121, and our deaf, dumb and blind institutes show a registration of 82,860.

Under the beneficent influence of the churches, we have 6,749 distilleries and wholesale liquor houses, 271,186 saloons, and our consumption of the fluid that steals away men's brains is 1,140,764,716 gallons.

In this vaunted republic of the world, where the door of the public school is supposed to be open to all, there are 8,246,857 of our citizens above the age of ten years who can neither read nor write. We have 22,000,000 school children, but 6,000,000 never enter a school.

What are the causes for such effects? The question is answered by statistics: Six per cent. of the people, or the capitalist class, own 82 per cent. of the wealth; 19 per cent. of the people, or the middle class, own 15 per cent. of the wealth, and 75 per cent. of the people, or the working class, own 3 per cent. of the wealth.

The daily average wages of workingmen are \$1.22; women, 67 cents, and children, 29 cents; while Schwab, the president of the steel trust, received a salary of \$3,500 a day, Carnegie \$52,000, Morgan \$138,500, and Rockefeller, \$350,000.

Has the bishop no remedy to offer to change this system that starves humanity and submerges the world in an ocean of misery?

These statistics have been taken from the United States census and compiled by Thomas K. Bates of Chicago, Illinois, and admit of no successful contradiction. The bishop frowns upon Socialism, but we challenge him to name any other remedy that would bring about the economic emancipation of man. As long as the resources of nature and the machinery of production and distribution are the property of the captains of industry, the war of conflict will go on between the "worker and the owner" and "peace and co-operation" will never reign on this planet until masters and slaves become men. The bishop may preach the Golden Rule and exhort his creed followers to love their neighbors as themselves, but all his pulpit oratory will be in vain as long as our system breeds tramps and millionaires,

penitentiaries and asylums, prostitutes and paupers, profit and perjury, murder and suicide, and clouds the world in the gloom of a starless night. When the "worker" receives the full product of his toil there will be no capitalist; and the greatest tyrant that has ever lived to curse and blast the human race will go down to death amid the jubilation of industrial freemen. The clerical army whose honest convictions are smothered by the influence of moneyed potentates, may check Socialism, but they cannot stop it. Thrones, harps and crowns in the mansions of the blessed are losing their significance with men and women with empty stomachs. A premium in the world beyond the grave for rags and hunger on this sphere, is at a discount. The church must drag itself out of the rut, or perish in the ruins of a corrupt past.

## The Cripple Creek Situation.

THERE HAS BEEN but little material change in the strike situation in the Cripple Creek district during the past week. It is estimated that about 500 men are working on the unfair mines, but the meager output from the mines upon which they are employed furnishes conclusive evidence that the character of men secured by the Mine Owners' Association are miserable failures as miners. It is reported upon reliable authority that the strike-breakers realize that when peace reigns once more in the Cripple Creek district their names will find no place on the payroll of the corporations, and acting upon this assumption, they are merely putting in time for the coin there is in it. The mine owners have an elephant on their hands, and how to get rid of the burden gracefully without submitting to unconditional surrender, is the great conundrum which is puzzling the shrewdest brain of the gang, who avowed that the Western Federation of Miners must be exiled from Colorado's greatest gold belt.

During the past week several hundred of the state militia have been returned to their homes. The real reason that a reduction was ordered was owing to the fact that the representatives of the Mine Owners' Association had failed to keep their promises to the governor in furnishing the almighty dollars in liquidation of military service rendered. The state militia has been in rebellion, and the long and loud denunciations that have been uttered among the uniformed gentry against that most honorable body of anarchists known as the Mine Owners' Association, created a scare and those who were murmuring loudly were sent to their homes, for fear that Colorado's army of soldiers would throw down their arms and desert on the wholesale plan in disgust.

The majority of the members of the state militia belong to the wage-slave class, and many of them have families, but the wants of

wives and children at home did not appeal to the generosity of the mine operators, who have shown a disposition to use anybody and everybody to accomplish the destruction of the Federation. As a result of the soldiers' pockets being empty, the second-hand stores of the district have been doing considerable business in the purchase of rifles, pistols and blankets which the brave boys have been forced to pawn, on account of the delinquency of the Mine Owners' Association.

It is reported that George Bernard, one of the heaviest stockholders in the El Paso Gold Mining Company, has lost control on account of the great expense to which he was put in the early stages of the strike. It is also said that Superintendent Bainbridge, who supervised the construction of the drainage tunnel, has been relieved of his position, and it is openly asserted that men who have posed as mighty factors in mining in the Cripple Creek district are showing symptoms of a financial collapse.

The press contained a report last week that the Mine Owners' Association had raised by telephone \$165,000 to pay off the expenses of the state militia, and it is now hinted that the soldiers will be paid by telephone.

All the commercial elements have been working night and day to head off the court-martial proceedings, as it is claimed that "niggers in the woodpile" will be exposed that will not be complimentary to the honesty of leading members of the Citizens' Alliance.

The members of the different unions of the Cripple Creek district are as determined as ever to win this battle, and the failure of the strike-breakers to produce ore is strengthening their convictions that the mine owners must eventually capitulate to save themselves from bankruptcy.

### Western Federation Notes

Terry Peak Miners' Union No. 5, of Terry (Black Hills), South Dakota, has forwarded \$200 to headquarters, the proceeds of a ball given in aid of the Cripple Creek strikers.

The Ajax Mining Company has closed their property in the Cripple Creek district. The unfair mine that has been operated by strike-breakers failed to pay expenses and it is reported that a shut-down was ordered by the stockholders.

President Moyer during the past week has been busily engaged holding conferences in the Cripple Creek district with the leaders of the different unions who have charge of the strike. He reports the unions standing as a unit for victory.

Joy Pollard and Frank Cochran of the Cripple Creek district, in conjunction with local speakers, addressed a mass meeting of mine workers on the night of October 13th in McDonald's opera house at Negaunee, Michigan. The speeches were well received and the situation in Colorado was thoroughly reviewed by Pollard and Cochran, who won the earnest sympathy of the Michigan miners.

The strike-breakers who were imported to Randsburg, California, to take the places of union miners, have struck for higher wages. The Yellow Aster Mining Company refused to grant the demands made by the striking strike-breakers, and as a result the property is idle. The usurpers learned by experience that the wages paid rendered it impossible for a man and his family to even provide the common necessities of life. The union men at Randsburg feel confident of victory.

It is reported in the daily press of Denver that representatives of the Mine Owners' Association, the American Smelting and Refining Company, the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company and the United

States Reduction and Refining Company have formed a combination to raise funds to fight the Western Federation of Miners to the death. When the services of a coroner are required to hold an inquest on the Western Federation of Miners in Colorado there will be some decomposing carrion among the corporations that will be demanding interment.

On October 15th the members of the Smelters' Union of Salida, Colorado, walked out of the Colorado and Ohio company's smelting plant. The men were working on an eight-hour basis since last spring but the company decided to put the employes back on an hour day, hence the strike. The following is the scale submitted by the union: Furnace men, eight hours, \$2.50, present scale, \$2.75; helpers (left blank); feeders, eight hours, \$2.50, present scale, \$2.75; feeders' helpers, eight hours, \$2.15, present scale, \$2.25; tappers, eight hours, \$2.15, present scale, \$2.25; charge wheelers, \$2.15, present scale, \$2.25; drivers, eight hours, \$2.15, present scale, \$2.25. Pot pushers and yard men have been working ten hours. The union decided to take no action concerning them.

#### ASKS FOR INFORMATION.

J. J. Boyd, a coal miner of Belleville, Illinois, asks for information as to the whereabouts of one Y. W. Boyd. When last heard from a year ago, was a resident of Durango, Colorado. Anyone knowing the present address of Y. W. Boyd will confer a favor by communicating with J. J. Boyd, Belleville, Illinois.

#### AM EMBEZZLER AND ABSCONDER.

The financial secretary, C. E. Bradd, of Mercur Miners' Union No. 199, of Mercur, Utah, has embezzled \$400 belonging to the union and absconded. All members of the Federation are requested to exercise their vigilance in the discovery of the whereabouts of C. E. Bradd, and communicate with the present financial secretary.

L. ROBERTS

Financial Secretary, Mercur, Utah.



# THE CLASS WAR IN IDAHO.

BY JOB HARRIMAN.

## Chapter III.

It will be remembered that Bradley of the Bunker Hill and Sullivan, Esler of the Frisco, and Campbell of the Standard mines were the men who determined the policy of the Mine Owners' association toward the miners' union in 1892. The same companies have been most prominent during the difficulty of 1899 and in all the intervening troubles. Shortly after the '92 lockout, the Frisco put in a new manager named Joe McDonald, and later on the B. H. & S. followed by putting the reins in the hands of Mr. Burbage.

Both of these men were entirely devoid of conscience, and the former was both a thorough mining man and an exceedingly cunning and adroit general. It is about these two men, together with Mr. Whitney of the B. H. & S. and Campbell and French of the Standard, that the web of facts concerning the trouble since 1893 is woven. In surveying the battle field of 1892, the grave blunders made by the association were plain to be seen. They had attacked the \$3.50 rate of wages while their own reports showed that the mines were declaring enormous dividends. They had failed to alienate the sympathy of the public from the miners' union and thereby had left open the only resource from which the miners could draw supplies in their hour of need. They had intensified this sympathy by enjoining the men from using moral suasion. They had still further aroused the public sympathy and thereby increased the miners' resources, by importing into the state an armed force of Pinkerton men, against whom there was already a determined protest in every state. They had boldly taken the aggressive instead of throwing the miners in a position where they would appear as the aggressors. And by these blunders they had developed the union into such a power that they themselves were compelled to surrender.

It became evident that if the mine owners were ever to succeed in reducing the miners' wages, they must first destroy the sympathy between the public and the miners' union, and draw the miners into such a position that they would appear to be on the aggressive instead of the defensive. Then they might attack and destroy the union because of its alleged misconduct, while the wages question should carefully be kept in the background to be settled when the union was destroyed.

With what adroitness and skill the plans were laid and executed will appear only in part in the following facts.

While all the other companies had surrendered to the union and were paying the \$3.50 scale, it was agreed among the members of the association that the B. H. & S. should not surrender on this point, nor should that company even recognize the union. Thus it was certain that this mine would become an eyesore to the union. And the mine owners constantly irritated it, by insisting that the miners should unionize the B. H. & S. and compel it to pay the \$3.50 scale, or else permit a reduction in all the other mines. The B. H. & S. was also diligent, and seized upon every opportunity, legitimate and otherwise, to aggravate this ill feeling.

One instance arose when in 1894, the owners of the B. H. & S. notified their men that there would be a still further reduction in wages, although they were already paying less than the union scale. They shut down, they said, for the purpose of permitting the men to vote upon the proposition of accepting \$2.50 and \$3 a day. They stated that, if this proposition was rejected, the mine would remain shut down indefinitely.

The proposition was unanimously voted down by the miners. Nevertheless, on the following day the mine opened up as usual and paid the same scale which it had been paying.

The falsehood could only increase the contempt which the men already entertained for the company and was a further evidence that the company's word was not to be depended upon.

### Election of 1894.

Again, when the elections of 1894 came on, the company posted notices to the effect that if the labor candidate, Eugene Sage, was elected, the B. H. & S. would shut down indefinitely. In this culpable manner, the company endeavored to buy the votes of their men. But the men were loyal and every candidate on the labor ticket was elected. The mine continued operations, and the miners certainly continued to grow in contempt for the company.

During the same year, there occurred a cave-in at the B. H. & S., resulting in the death of three men. The coroner's jury found that the deaths were caused by a cave-in resulting from the carelessness of the officers of the B. H. & S. Co.

At this time the men signed a petition to the governor, requesting that the mine inspector be compelled to do his duty. But the governor immediately sent the petition to the company, and at once the company discharged every man who had signed it. Their places were filled by imported non-union men. Such was the redress they receive.

This method of attack continued until November 22d, when silent contempt for the company ceased to be a virtue, and the miners called a mass meeting and demanded: First, that the B. H. & S. should not discriminate against organized labor; second, that the men now in the Coeur d'Alenes should be given preference in employment; third, that no man should be imported while there was an oversupply at hand. The employers replied that they proposed to operate their mine in the future as they had in the past.

The miners then put the following question to Mr. Bradley, the spokesman of the company: "Are you aware that members of your company, contrary to their agreement with the K. of L., have written east for miners, to come and take the places of men now employed, at a lower wage than was agreed upon?" Mr. Bradley answered: "NO."

But men who had been imported on contract to work for less than current wages rose and testified to the fact, and a letter to that effect, over Mr. Bradley's own signature, was handed to him and he was made to read it aloud. Then, amidst the jeers of four hundred men, he was permitted to retire, despised by them all.

The company then decided upon a lockout, and the mill and mine were shut down at once. This also was done in the dead of winter; but this time only one mine was involved, and the funds in the treasury of the local federation were sufficient to provide for the men who were out. The fight lasted for almost five months. During all this time the other mine owners constantly expressed contempt for the B. H. & S., and thereby encouraged the miners in their action. Yet the association, B. H. & S. included, was holding secret meetings and improving every opportunity which would tend to lead the men into some unwise action. But wise counsels prevailed in the union and peaceful methods alone were employed.

At this time a wave of religious warfare was sweeping over the country, and the A. P. A. was springing up in every vicinity. Mr. Bradley seized upon this opportunity, and succeeded in persuading a few A. P. A. merchants to circulate the following petition, which Mr. Bradley himself wrote:

"We, the undersigned citizens of Wardner and Kellogg, in consideration of the extremely low prices of lead and silver ruling, and in further consideration of the fact that the cost of living has decreased, believe that while these low prices continue, \$3 a day for miners and \$2.50 a day for laborers is a reasonable wage, and we further believe that the Bunker Hill & Sullivan Mining and Concentrating Company has the same right to manage its own

affairs as we have to manage ours, and we hereby pledge the company our cordial support in its determination to pay no higher wages while the prices of lead and silver are so low, it being understood that the said company will restore wages to the former basis of \$3.50 and \$3, whenever the prices of lead and silver advance so that the combined value in New York of 100 pounds of lead and two and one-half ounces of silver is not less than \$6.00."

At the time the mine shut down, the company was still declaring dividends of more than \$60,000 a month. They set the prices of lead and silver so high, in this so-called petition, defining the conditions under which wages would be increased, that they themselves knew that the prices would probably never be reached and they could never, under this agreement, be called upon to restore wages. Though the mine employs, when in full force, almost 500 men, yet their own report concerning the labor troubles show (page 25) that only 201 men in Wardner, Kellogg and all the surrounding country could be induced to sign this document.

Nevertheless, the A. P. A.s signed unanimously, and in return for this favor the association agreed to employ only such men as that organization should recommend. In this way they hoped to reduce wages and to develop a feeling which would disrupt the ranks of the union.

The reduction of wages was accomplished and for a time it seemed altogether probable that the bosses would succeed in disrupting the labor organizations. The mine owners were all diligently adding fuel to the flame, but with only temporary effect. By fomenting this religious strife, the mine owners thought they would surely be able to control the coming elections in the fall of 1896.

But the event of the elections in this district was just the reverse of what the companies hoped for and of what happened in other parts of the country. These men had been voting together for years, and the political conflict brought to light the plot laid by the mine owners. The result was that, in the fall of 1896, the men refused to permit a false prejudice to divide them in the political field, and they accordingly tabled all religious discussion and never again took it up. It is needless to say that the labor ticket was again elected by an overwhelming majority, and the war was continued at Bunker Hill.

During all this time, the association not only stood ready to support the B. H. & S. in any emergency, but it was diligent in keeping itself informed as to the inside workings of the miners' union, and also in employing every opportunity to destroy that fraternal sympathy which existed between the outside public and the Coeur d'Alene Miners' Union.

The capitalists remembered the great advantage they had obtained in the battle of 1892, by placing their detective, Allison, in the union and securing through him all the union's minutes and a knowledge of all its acts.

So also did the association keep numerous "spotters" in the labor organizations during these years, who supplied them with a knowledge of every important act. This the association was able to do by employing non-union men, who were always visited by a committee from the union, whose duty it was to explain the situation and invite them to join the organization. One month was always given each man in which to consider and then he was urged to act. Among these non-union men were to be found a few tools of the association, who had been selected and employed for the express purpose of acting as detectives. These would enter with the rest and thus the association was able to keep itself informed as to who were the officers of the union, who were on the executive committee, who were most active in opposing the association, and what was to be the important move of the future.

In my conversations with Mr. McDonald and Mr. Burbage they both strenuously denied this fact and insisted that, though they tried it, they were unable to gain an entrance into the union in the manner described or in any other way, since the union had been on its guard since 1892 and refused to take in the new men. The reason they deny this fact is that, if they were known to have had spies in the union, they would have been unable to make it appear that the union was guilty of conspiracy, without at the same time showing that they themselves knew the fact in sufficient time to have prevented the impending calamity. But if the reader will secure the pamphlet which the association has been circulating since the troubles of April 29, 1899, he will find (pages 11 and 12) that, "In 1894, the union submitted a list of twenty-three names of men employed in the Frisco and Gem mines whom they wished discharged because they would not join the union." And also (page 35) the pamphlet states that, in year 1898, "the new men joined the union through fear." Thus Messrs. McDonald and Burbage are proven by their own printed authority, to be making maliciously false statements for publication. Thus this avenue is confessed to have been open through which they could and did gain entrance for their tools. During the years immediately following 1892, it was the policy of the union, as shown (pages 11 and 12) in the above-mentioned pamphlet, to request the companies to discharge, not only the non-union men, but also the spies who were in the union and acting for the association. The association complied with this request, but in the meantime the traitors had supplied them with the names of the men who were brave enough to openly advocate the measure. These courageous men were soon informed that their services were no longer needed, and thus the association was gradually cutting off the leaders of the union and intimidating the rest of the members.

### How Mine Owners Forced Retaliation.

These facts gave rise to a new means of defense—a secret detective system within the union. The actions of these men were kept absolutely to themselves, and whenever it was learned who was acting in that capacity he was at once prohibited from serving, at the risk of losing his position. The reason for this great secrecy was the fact that spies would reveal every act. From this time on, whenever a traitor was discovered or a newly employed man refused to join the union, he was told to leave the camp. He was given time to act, and if he failed these unknown union detectives would don their masks and shoulder their guns and proceed to his place, take him out, march him down the canon, and give him orders to leave, which he never forgot or disobeyed.

Does this seem too severe? It was again only a defensive measure.

# Dry Climate Cigars

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Had the miners not taken this means of defense the bosses would have gradually replaced all strong union men with non-union men, and then they would have lowered the wages.

The mine owners persisted in employing non-union men to such an extent that the union detectives were compelled to run some one out every few weeks.

This method, however, supplied the means by which public sympathy with the union was for the most part destroyed and the union's greatest resource and protection in the time of strife was largely cut off. Whenever a man was run out of the canon, the Spokesman-Review of Spokane, which is owned largely by Campbell and Finch, gave extensive publication to the occurrence, falsifying the details and grossly exaggerating the facts, as it had done in the case of the Fourth of July affair. This notorious paper would lead the public to believe that the men were frequently beaten and robbed and many of them murdered. At the same time, it would laud the members of the association and make every effort to create a public sympathy for the mine owners by falsely representing that they were courageously conducting their business in spite of a band of desperadoes and cut-throats. The fact is that few were beaten, none were robbed, and, of all the cases in which either this secret detective force, or the union, was supposed to have taken an active part, only one man was killed. This man was proven to have been a traitor. The mine owners, in their pamphlet (page 8), state that "he was the first witness for the prosecution in 1892," and since that time he had been proven to have betrayed the union to the association on several occasions. On page 12 of the same pamphlet, they say he had been warned and the mine owners' journal had urged him to defy the order. Yet they confess that this murder was not premeditated, for they say (page 16) that "this foul murder must have disarranged the plans of the masked men, for they desisted from any further effort to find all the men for whom they were in search."

The fact is that he was told of what he had done and that he must leave. He refused to obey. He took a cabin, bought guns and revolvers, and he and his partner defied the men, and threatened the life of any one who came. He was a courageous and desperate character—one of the kind usually chosen to act as traitors—and the miners well knew that if the opportunity afforded, he would execute his threat. That bloodshed might be avoided, the secret detective force, whose names were not known to the union, went masked and armed in the middle of the day and took him by surprise while he was at work. They made their demand. He refused, jumped through the window, and started to run for his gun, which was in his cabin. The men knew what was coming and called to him to halt. He refused and they fired. But the murder was not premeditated, for "it disarranged their plans." Whatever extenuating circumstances there may be, this most unfortunate murder cannot be justified, and the union would have punished the guilty, had they been able to determine who they were. The sheriff could find no one who could swear to their identity, and the grand jury was also at sea. The union was undoubtedly anxious to have the man run out. But the worst punishment which they ever endorsed, and that only in extreme cases, was a flogging. Had it not been for the methods employed by the association, which forced the union into such a position that a secret detective force in the union was absolutely necessary, the probability is that the murder would not have occurred; and, even if it had occurred, the union would have been in a position to have punished the guilty.

This circumstance furnished an opportunity for the Spokesman-Review to rehearse many of the previous events and to misrepresent all of them and magnify them into the most heinous crimes, of which only "midnight assassins," "desperadoes" and "cut-throats" could be guilty. At the same time it carefully shielded the association from all blame. But it did not stop at this. Often men would leave the canon of their own free will, without any grievance having been at any time intimated against them, and yet long stories would run through the columns of this mine owners' paper, representing the man to have been run out, and beaten in a shameful manner, and robbed of all his possessions. When the facts to the contrary were brought to the knowledge of the editor, not a word of correction would appear. This was continued even after the trouble of April 29, 1899, as the following affidavit will show:

The State of Idaho,  
County of Silver Bow, ss.

Ellis Hale, being first duly sworn, deposes and says: That he has read that certain article entitled "Reign of Terror Begun Anew Up Canon Creek," printed in the Sunday (July 9) issue of the Spokesman-Review; that he has read the following statement in said article, to-wit:

"ELLIS HALE ALSO LEFT.

"Meanwhile a gang had met Ellis Hale just below Burke and after stealing his tools had warned him to leave on fear of being 'kneeboned.' Hale needed no second invitation, but took the train for Montana this morning. He was one of the best mechanics up the canon and was formerly employed at the Gem. Charley Sweeney of the Tiger-Poorman had offered him a place over the pumps, there, and late last night Hale with a little kit of tools started up for Burke from Gem. He was just on the borders of the town when a gang of twenty or thirty men surrounded him.

"What happened may never be known. The story believed here is that they threatened Hale that unless he quit his new job his family would first be killed and he would be 'kneeboned' afterwards. That he denied, and one man who saw him afterwards is quoted as saying that the crowd was made up of friends of Hale who took that time and place to argue peacefully with him. At any rate, the 'friends' stole his tools forcibly and warned him to get out. This morning he 'got'."

Affiant further says, that he is the Ellis Hale referred to in this article; that the statement there made that his tools had been stolen, and that he had been warned to leave on threats of being "kneeboned," and the further statement made in said article, and in the manner above set forth, that masked desperadoes had warned this affiant to leave said locality because he was about to go to work in one of the mines, is a base and unqualified lie.

Affiant further says, that he left the Coeur d'Alenes because he thought that no free American citizen ought to be asked to first obtain a permit before he could have the privilege of earning a livelihood by honest toil, and that he left for no other reason.

ELLIS HALE.

Subscribed and sworn to before me, this 10th day of July, A. D. 1899.

S. A. MERRILL.

Notary Public in and for Silver Bow County, State of Montana.

The Mine Owners' association did not stop at these misrepresentations. The capitalists themselves took a hand in the running-out business and then, by means of their paper, cast the odium upon the union and made the crime appear to the public to be as black as were the dungeons of their own hearts, where their own criminal schemes found concealment.

Records of Burbage and McDonald.

Is it possible that these prominent business men were capable of such criminal conspiracies? That the reader may entertain no doubt on this question, it will suffice to relate two facts. It will be remembered that Burbage was put in as manager of the Bunker Hill and Sullivan in 1892, and that McDonald took the reins of the Frisco at the same time. In 1894, it was only through the leniency of the judge that Mr. Burbage escaped criminal prosecution for perjury, having falsely sworn that he was a United States citizen in order to vote. Again, I have in my possession an affidavit which states that, in the year 1879, Mr. Hamilton and Mr. Goff owned a mining claim adjoining the large Jupiter mine at Bodie, California. The claim was thought



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to be a rich one. The company desired to buy it, but the owners refused to sell. Joseph McDonald was at the time working for this company, and he, with six other men, went to the cabin occupied by Hamilton and Goff, and shot and killed Goff; Hamilton escaped. McDonald was believed by all to be the leader. He with the rest were run out of the camp, and they all promised never to return to that state nor ever to operate in the state of Nevada.

With the character of Messrs. McDonald and Burbage in mind, let us review a few of the most sensation happenings in the Coeur d'Alenes; and in the absence of positive proof as to who is guilty let us determine from the facts, if possible, at whose door motive would lay the crime.

Just previous to the election in the fall of 1898, Dan Connor was run out of the canon. He had been working for Finch & Campbell, the owners of the Spokesman-Review. He was a poor man. He stood well with the union. He was active in politics. He had recently arranged one of the largest political meetings among the union men that had ever been held in the canon. On the day after he was run out, when he arrived in Wallace, the sheriff and a number of union men and other citizens met him. He was asked if he could identify the men. He replied that he could. They all implored him to do so, and promised to protect him and prosecute the men, but he refused.

He then went to Spokane and was "interviewed" by the editor of the Spokesman-Review. A story of the "horrible crime" appeared, with the usual untruthful rehearsal of many past circumstances. Shortly after this "great crime of the union," this poor man, Dan Connor, bought a \$3,500 home and had cash to spare. Evidently, Connor had sold out to someone. Could it have been the union? Is it probable that the union would have run out one of their most active political managers, just previous to the election? Would not the union be the great loser by such an act? But who would probably gain? If Connor's friends could be persuaded that the union had run him out, they might be persuaded to vote against the ticket supported by the miners. Certainly the citizens of the district would be more or less influenced by such an unjust act. It will be remembered that the labor ticket in this district was standing alone against both the old parties, which the mine owners controlled. In the absence of positive proof of guilt, it seems to us plain, and we are willing that the reader should draw his own conclusions, at whose door motive will lay the crime.

Another sensational case was the Whitney murder. The facts were as follows:

McDonald owned the Black Bear mine, adjoining the Frisco, of which he was manager. It was rumored that McDonald was shipping Frisco concentrates, labeling them as Black Bear concentrates, and pocketing the money. To determine the truth concerning this rumor, it is said that Whitney was sent to the mine and given the position of mill foreman. Within a few weeks, Whitney was run out, shot, and killed. He was a union man from Butte. He stood well in his home union. He was highly respected by the men at the Frisco mine. When he took the position of foreman of the mill he did not come in contact with the union in any way, because the union only admitted underground men to membership. Hence the union could not possibly have had any grievance against him. But how about McDonald? He had been fighting the union ever since his Bodie experience, and especially since his advent in the Coeur d'Alenes. Is it probable that he would go to Butte, the hot-bed of unionism, and select a tried and true union man for a foreman to take the place of Ebbly, who was both a competent foreman and a non-union man?

The facts appear to show that he did not do this of his own accord, but that Whitney was forced into the mine by the stockholders. It will also be observed that he was put in charge of the mill, which is the only place where a man can determine the quantity of concentrates. But before he had time to make a report he was run out, shot, and killed. McDonald gave to the sheriff the names of the three Ebbly brothers as being men who knew something of the crime. Yet McDonald put Norman Ebbly, one of the three brothers, back in his old position, which Whitney had for so short a time occupied.

If McDonald thought Ebbly was innocent, why did he hand his name to the sheriff? If he thought him implicated, why did he re-employ him? Certainly, Whitney was now where he could render no report, and previous experience had proved that Ebbly would not render such report. Nor was any such report ever known to have been made. There seems to be no question that McDonald, of all men, was the one most interested in getting Whitney out of the way. The union had no such motive. And yet the Spokesman-Review openly charged the union with the crime. It might be well to mention that McDonald and the owners of the Spokesman-Review have, since the murder, floated both the Frisco and the Black Bear, and that they cleaned up more than \$1,000,000.

But will the reader say that, though the motive is there, yet McDonald was never proven to be guilty? If so, then we reply that there was no motive on the part of the union men and neither were they proven to be guilty. On his deathbed, Whitney said that he did not blame the union.

The following facts, however, will be more interesting, in that they can be traced directly to McDonald. It was said that arrangements had been made to run Ebbly out of the canon and that the day was set. Ebbly, on two different occasions, told his troubles to Sheriff Heney, saying that he had consulted with Joe McDonald, and that they both thought that Heney should lead a posse (which McDonald would furnish), and lie in ambush, waiting for the men to run Ebbly past, and, as soon as Ebbly was past, the posse should fire upon the men, killing some and routing the others.

Sheriff Heney refused to fall in with the plot, but began an investigation. He soon discovered that the services of a newly employed man had been secured to arrange with certain thugs who would do the work. The very men to whom this tool was sent were those most generally suspected of being guilty of the Whitney murder. Had Sheriff Heney fallen into the trap set for him, at least some men would have been murdered. The entire scheme was traced directly to Joe McDonald. It was evidently a plot to drive away some who were dangerous to him, because they knew too much, and also to place the sheriff in McDonald's grip. The scheme failed, Ebbly still held his position under McDonald, and was never driven out.

Any man who is capable of conceiving such a villainous scheme to sacrifice human lives, and who will bend his energies to execute it, will lend himself to any dire plot to further his own ends.

By all these facts, the mine owners are proven to be fully capable of plotting and carrying out the crimes of which they are accused, and which they try to lay at the door of the union.

What It All Proves.

When the facts show that, of all the run-outs which have occurred in the Coeur d'Alenes, more than 50 per cent. have occurred in McDonald's camp, and 95 per cent. of all the rest have occurred in the camp of Finch & Campbell at Burke; when the circumstances show that the mine owners themselves have been implicated in some of the most sensational cases, and that the facts cannot be explained on any other hypothesis, and yet the crime was charged to the union; when the facts show that men were frequently reported to have been run out, and the odium cast upon the union, while, as a matter of fact, absolutely nothing of the sort had occurred; when the facts further show that, of those who were run out, a very large number were so treated for no other reason than to afford a sort of a whipping-post, at which the union could be lashed with the public press; when, finally, the facts show that the mine owners continually forced the union to run out non-union men and detectives, and then used these acts as a shield behind which they hid their own crimes; and when the results show that the union is spotted with detectives, and that the frequent and persistent misrepresentations incited

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(DAILY AND SUNDAY)

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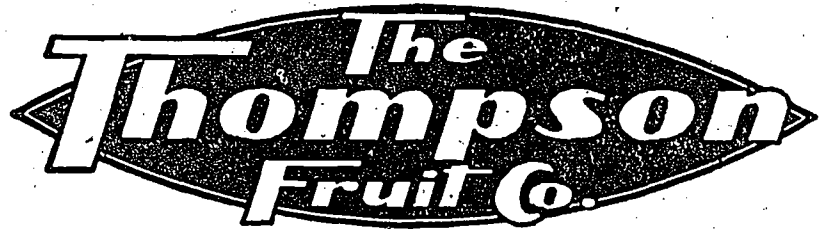
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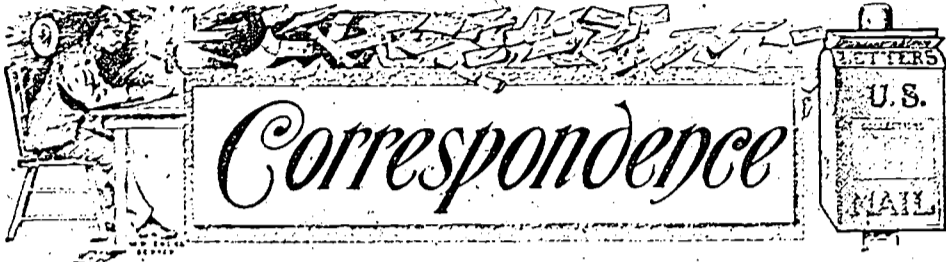
by the association have poisoned the public mind against the miners' union and have thereby destroyed the public sympathy with it and cut off its greatest means of support; the deep-laid plot and the adroit manner in which it has been executed not only becomes apparent to us; but it leads us to expect an early and direct attack upon the very existence of the union. We may also expect that the attack will be conducted with such skill and cunning that the capitalists will again succeed for a time in deceiving the public.

Thus, on the one hand, with their millions of dollars, with their detectives at their posts, and with the public in their favor, were the mine owners ready for battle. And, on the other hand, with a full treasury, with a thorough organization in every camp but one, with \$3.50 a day being paid in all but two of the mines, and with their power increasing in those two, the miners' union was prepared for the battle, confident that they would succeed in restoring the union scale at Warner.

Still, as from the first, was the union striving to defend the \$3.50 scale against the constant effort of the association to reduce it.

This was the condition of the two opposing forces at the beginning of the troubles which led up to the affair of April 29, 1899, at the Bunker Hill and Sullivan mine.

The question now is, who laid the plot April 29, and how was it executed?  
[To be Continued.]



A LIVE, LUSTY UNION.

Editor Miners' Magazine:

On page 88, official proceedings of the eleventh annual convention of the W. F. M., it is shown that Alamo Miners' Union No. 130 has a membership of twenty-two, does not show the amount of receipts, shows that no deaths have occurred and no sick benefits paid; in fact, it barely shows Alamo Miners' Union in existence.

The members of this union feel that a mistake has been made somewhere, and expect to have their report corrected. They wish to have it made known to all members of the W. F. M., through the columns of the Miners' Magazine, that Alamo Miners' Union is one of the best local unions in Oregon, which should be plainly shown by our last quarterly report. This report shows eighty-two members in good standing in last quarter and eighty-five members in this quarter. The amount of \$170.00 was paid by this union to cover assessment No. 2, levied by the executive board of the W. F. M.

Since our last quarterly report, we have initiated fifteen new members, and have several more applicants awaiting initiation. Since January 1, 1903, we have paid \$370.00 sick benefits, and \$90.00 funeral expenses.

This will show conclusively that Alamo Miners' Union No. 130 is very much alive and hustling, and we, the members of Alamo Union No. 130, wish that it shall be known to all members of the federation.

Hoping that you will give this space in the Miners' Magazine, I remain,  
Yours fraternally,

(Seal) LOUIS STEINMETZER,  
Financial Secretary, Alamo Miners' Union No. 130, Alamo, Oregon.

In the report referred to the unions marked with a star did not submit a yearly report. That Alamo No. 130 was not credited with its total membership as due to a typographical error.—Ed.

UTAH STATE CONVENTION W. F. M.

Editor Miners' Magazine:

At the semi-annual convention of the Utah State Union No. 1, W. F. M., held at Salt Lake City, October 6 to 10, 1903, the following resolutions on the situation in the state of Colorado were unanimously adopted:

Whereas, There exists today in the state of Colorado a condition that demands the attention of every liberty-loving citizen of this country, and

Whereas, the governor of the state of Colorado, James H. Peabody, has taken the reins of government entirely in his own hands, and at the solicitation of a few individuals, placed the military of the state at their disposal to deprive the citizens of the state of Colorado of their rights, as workingmen, to unite and demand justice; now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That we, the delegates to the first semi-annual convention of Utah State Union No. 1, W. F. M., request that the miners of the state of Colorado, in placing the militia in the Cripple Creek district, to arrest men and place them in a "bull-pen" without warrant or cause, and that we pledge our hearty support, both morally and financially to our brothers in the Cripple Creek district, and endorse their actions in making the demands they have made. (Signed)  
E. F. BOYLE,  
ALMA STONEBRAKER,  
LOUIS ROBERTS,  
Committee.

We have just concluded the most successful gathering of representatives of the locals of the W. F. M. in the state of Utah, ever held. The following is a list of the officers for the ensuing term:

- L. A. Prather, president and state organizer; Bingham.
- A. W. Charter, vice president; West Jordan.
- Joseph P. Langford, secretary-treasurer; Park City.

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We will forward, as soon as received, photographs of the different delegates for the Magazine, and will also send you a full account of the proceedings of the convention as soon as published.

Fraternally, JOSEPH P. LANGFORD,  
Park City, Utah, October 13, 1903. Secretary-Treasurer.

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the twenty-fifth of the month, and worked just one month, and alone, most of the time, managed to dig 242,200 pounds, or 121 tons of coal; this according to company's scale and weights allowed. This tonnage was marked on the basis of 2,240 pounds to the ton. After deducting expenses of board, machinery, tools, oil, powder-sack, etc., furnished at company's store, I had the noble sum of \$7.80 to the good; this after a hard twenty days' work. If a miner desired any necessary supplies in the store, he had to make a request in person at the office, and if he had sufficient tonnage ahead, he would be granted coupons, or company scrip, up to the amount of his credit, redeemable only in trade at the company's store.

One of the grievances which the miner had to contend with was, should a little roof or bony be discovered on top of a car, the miner, on appearing at the mine the following morning, would be directed to the bridge or tippie and see his check number on a chunk of bony. This meant that he had a day's rest prescribed by the company's officials. Further, this camp being situated in the "Land of Zion," and during the winter months a large number of adherents of Brigham Young's religious tenets are employed there. A bishop of the Mormon doctrine being placed by the company as check-weighman, naturally would favor his own disciples, to the detriment of the Gentile miner. Should a miner be so unfortunate as to have to support a family in said camp, he could be supplied with coal at \$2.50 per ton, being allowed from 1,800 to 2,000 pounds for a ton, although he dug some 2,240 pounds for 35 cents. Also I have it on good authority that a shoemaker is graciously allowed the privilege of patching the miners' shoe, but cannot make shoes to order, under penalty of having to leave the camp. The company store does not desire any competitive element to interfere with their business. I could write many more grievances, but think that the above will tend to open the eyes of an ever-patient but suffering community. Looking forward to the dawn of a brighter and happier day, when the man who digs "black diamonds" will receive the just reward that his labors underground merit.

Yours for fraternal advancement,

JAMES VICTOR EDGAR,

Late of Park City Miners' Union No. 144, Transferred to Lead City Union, No. 2.

**SOCIALISM IN BRITISH COLUMBIA.**

The Socialist party of British Columbia is forging to the front, and the laboring class across the border are demonstrating the fact that they have awakened to the real issue which confronts the humanity of the world and propose to bring about, by class conscious and class loyal political action, the industrial emancipation of the workers in the domain, where Dunsmuir has reigned as the corporate king. The following letter from the pen of Hugh Dixon, of Victoria, British Columbia, will give the readers of the Magazine a conception of the movement in British Columbia:

Victoria, British Columbia, October 5, 1903.

Editor Miners' Magazine—The elections here have come and gone, and we have come out of the fray O. K., the first time a Socialist has been run for member in British Columbia. Hawthorne Thwaite of Nanaimo, Parker Williams of Ladysmith, thanks to James Dunsmuir, are returned. Comrade Mills of Greenwood was only beaten by the Liberals by fifty majority. The returns stand: Brown (Liberal), 380; Spankie (Conservative), 263; Mills (Socialist), 330. The returns are not all in from Grand Forks, but if Comrade Riordan is beaten it will be by a small majority. Our local candidate here, Comrade Watters, polled 697 votes, and what a Conservative old town it is; and I think we did remarkably well. So, you fellows to the south of us need not think you have got it all your own way in making Socialists. We had some foreign agitators from your side—Comrade Wilson of California and Comrade Mrs. Irene Smith from Tacoma, Washington, and she is grand. The poor capitalists, if they could only keep these foreign agitators from crossing the line; but it is too bad they can't. But the best agitators—the Morgans, Rockefellers, Van Horns, O'Shaughnessys, and the balance of the exploiting class, not forgetting Mr. Dunsmuir, are the real ones that are making Socialists very quickly, and, as the Irishman says, "More power to their elbow." Now, you pitch in over there, or we will beat you in the race for Socialism.

The editorials of the Miners' Magazine are the best on the continent of America, without flattery. Keep right at it, Comrade.

Enclosed is the Socialist party platform of British Columbia, so you will see there is no grafting about our party. We know what we want, and that we are going to get. I also enclose \$1.00 for a renewal of my subscription. It should have been sent before, but we have been so busy fighting for humanity. I remain, your comrade for the cause of the oppressed workers,

HUGH DIXON.

P. S.—Comrade Mills of Greenwood lost by eight votes only—last returns.

**PLATFORM.**

We, the Socialist party of British Columbia, in convention assembled, affirm our allegiance to and support the principles and program of the international revolutionary working class.

Labor produces all wealth and to labor it should justly belong. To the owner of the means of wealth production belongs the product of labor. The capitalist system is based upon private or capitalist ownership of the means of wealth production, therefore all the products of labor belong to the capitalist. The capitalist is master; the workingman is slave.

So long as the capitalists remain in possession of the reins of government—all the powers of the state will be used to protect and defend their property rights in the means of wealth production and their control of the product of labor.

The capitalist system gives to the capitalist an ever-swelling stream of profits; and to the worker an ever-increasing measure of misery and degradation.

The interests of the working class lie in the direction of setting itself free from capitalist exploitation by the abolition of the wage system. To accomplish this necessitates the transformation of capitalist property in the means of wealth production into collective or working class property.

The irrepressible conflict of interests between the capitalist and the worker is rapidly culminating in a struggle for possession of the powers of government, the capitalist to hold; the worker to secure it by political action. This is the class struggle.

Therefore, we call upon all wage-earners to organize under the banner of the Socialist party of British Columbia, with the object of conquering the public powers for the purpose of setting up and enforcing the economic program of the working class, as follows:

1. The transformation as rapidly as possible of capitalist property in the means of wealth production (natural resources, factories, mills, railways, etc.) into the collective property of the working class.
2. Thorough and democratic organization and management of industry by the workers.
3. The establishment, as speedily as possible, of production for use in lieu of production for profit.
4. The Socialist party, when in office, shall always and everywhere, until the present system is utterly abolished, make the answer to this question its guiding rule of conduct: Will this legislation advance the interests of the



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working class and aid the workers in their class struggle against capitalism? If it will, the Socialist party is for it; if it will not, the Socialist party is absolutely opposed to it.

5. In accordance with this principle the Socialist party pledges itself to conduct all the public affairs placed in its hands in such manner as to promote the interests of the working class alone.

### RESOLUTIONS.

At a regular meeting of the joint council of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters on October 6, 1903, the following resolutions were passed: Whereas, At a regular election the eight-hour law for the state of Colorado was voted favorably by more than 40,000 majority; and

Whereas, The Western Federation of Miners in the Cripple Creek district are peaceably endeavoring to enforce the will of the 40,000 majority of legal voters of the state of Colorado; and

Whereas, Governor J. H. Peabody has seen fit to illegally and, contrary to the Constitution of the state of Colorado, call out the state militia to quell riot, where no riot exists, and to disrupt, if possible, the Western Federation of Miners; therefore, be it

Resolved, That we denounce the action of the governor and his able assistants in their illegal actions and arrests in the Cripple Creek district.

(Signed) DENVER JOINT COUNCIL I. B. OF T. Committee.

### A SCOTO-IRISH-AMERICAN'S PROTEST.

Here's a health to the boys whose stout hearts are beating.

With thoughts and with hopes just the same as our own,

Far over the sea we would send them a greeting

While we drink to the boys on the green hills at home.

The bishop stepped into my cabin one morning.

His face it was dark with a terrible frown;

Said he, "I have come to give you a warning";

Said I, "My Lord Bishop, be pleased to sit down."

"Now, don't interrupt me," he roared in a passion,

"I want no politeness from fellows like you;

You are sadly misguiding my flock, too confiding,

And driving to ruin the loyal and true.

"I know you're a rebel and in secret you're planning

To raise that old flag that must never be seen,

In darkness the flames of sedition you're fanning

By denouncing the Red and upholding the Green.

"How have you forgotten my prayers and my teaching,

To be subject to power, both abroad and at home?

The course you are taking the pope's heart is breaking;

Beware, sinful man, of the thunders of Rome."

Said I, "My Lord Bishop, with thanks for your warning,

I fear it's a part of a contract on hand,

For favors from England high projects you're forming

To force all the boys to give up the Old Land.

"But now you can take all you get from red England,

She'll pay you right handsome to sanction her laws;

But the vatican thunder can ne'er burst asunder

The bands that have bound us to Erin's old cause.

"Sure, it is hard to believe that we're acting so badly,

But we stand where we stood while you're moving away,

But my soul, sir, the bishop's mistaken us most sadly,

If they can't see that red is the green of to-day.

"Now, if with projects so bright in Great Britain,

The church with old Balfour intends to clope,

You may keep all your preaching, your prayers and your teaching,

Since Rome is against Ireland, farewell to the pope.

New York City.

JOHN F. KEARNEY.



Whereas, It having pleased the Supreme Ruler of the Universe to remove from our midst our worthy Brothers Michael McCormish and Michael Duffy, be it

Resolved, That in the death of those brothers, Park City Miners' Union No. 144, has sustained an irreparable loss from its ranks of two of its earnest and ardent workers in the cause of human rights, and be it further

Resolved, That Park City Miners' Union extend to the relatives of our late brothers our heartfelt sympathy in their hour of sorrow and bereavement, and be it further

Resolved, That as a mark of our esteem, the charter of this union be draped in mourning for a period of thirty days, a copy of these resolutions be sent to the relatives of our deceased brothers, to the Miners' Magazine for publication and spread upon the minutes of this union.

JOHN J. FITZGERALD,  
GEORGE M. CROSSMAN,  
EDWARD F. BOYLE, Committee.

Park City, Utah, October 15, 1903.

Whereas, It has pleased the Supreme Ruler of the Universe to remove from our midst our beloved brother, Roy W. Grimmer; therefore be it

Resolved, That we, the members of French Gulch Miners' Union No. 141, of the Western Federation of Miners, deeply mourn the loss of our brother and extend to his relatives our deepest sympathy; and be it further

Resolved, That our charter be draped in mourning for thirty days; that these same resolutions be spread upon our minutes and copies of the same forwarded to his father and to the Miners' Magazine, the official organ of the Western Federation of Miners.

J. J. CARTER,  
Recording Secretary, No. 141.  
French Gulch, Cal., October 12, 1903.

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Beer Bottlers and Bottle Beer Drivers Union No. 160—Meets first and third Saturday evening, Neef's hall. W. J. Maul, secretary, 955 Clark st.

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Brewers, Malsters and Coopers Union No. 76—Meets first and third Saturday evenings, room 20, Gettysburg building. Jos. Hoelzgen, sec'y, 2347 Eighth st.

Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners No. 55—Meets every Monday evening in Charles building. Wm. Stecker, secretary, 140 south Lafayette.

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Table with columns: No., NAME, Meet'g Night, PRESIDENT, SECRETARY, P. O. Box, ADDRESS. Lists unions across various states including Arizona, California, Colorado, Idaho, Kansas, Minnesota, Missouri, Montana, Nevada, New Mexico, Oregon, South Dakota, Utah, Washington, and Wyoming.

Table with columns: No., NAME, Meet'g Night, PRESIDENT, SECRETARY, P. O. Box, ADDRESS. Continues the list of unions from the previous table, covering states like Colorado, Idaho, Kansas, Minnesota, Missouri, Montana, Nevada, New Mexico, Oregon, South Dakota, Utah, Washington, and Wyoming.

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