

VOLUME LXXXIII.

MAY - AUGUST, 1906

FOUR MONTHS

THE OUTLOOK COMPANY
NEW YORK /

which the experience of the trustees can at this time supply.

From the standpoint of the administration of trust funds, and particularly of educational trusts, this board of trustees presents two characteristics of unusual interest. The first is that Mr. Carnegie has placed the administration of this great gift for education in the hands of supposed experts, representative of the entire country. Heretofore gifts for education in America have been the gifts of private philanthropy, a philanthropy directed in nearly all cases by the personal acquaintance of individuals or by personal knowledge of a particular institution or community. It will be an interesting outcome of this fund to observe the lines upon which a body of experts in education, drawn from all parts of the United States and Canada, will administer a fund for education.

A second interesting fact involved in the establishment of this board of trustees is the formation thereby of a central agency in educational administration, which represents not a locality or a single institution, but which aims to take into account the educational needs of all sections. The single step of adopting a modest but reasonable definition of a college is a far-reaching one in edu-

cation. This idea of the scope of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching as a centralizing and standardizing influence in American education promises to outweigh in importance the primary purpose of the fund, great as that primary purpose is. The influence of such an agency, if wisely directed, in clearing our ideas of educational administration and in setting fair standards can scarcely be overestimated. If it accomplishes nothing other than to call attention to the need of doing thoroughly the grade of educational work in which an institution is embarked, it will have accomplished much. If the trustees of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching can make plain the lesson that it is the duty of a high school to do well the work of a high school and not try to be a college, and that it is the duty of the college to do the work of a college and not to try to call itself a university, a great step will have been taken in academic consistency. If they shall succeed in dealing in a generous and yet sincere and wise spirit with the questions of denominational and State control, they will have served a still larger purpose in contributing to the sincerity and thoroughness of American education.

THE WESTERN FEDERATION OF MINERS¹

BY WILLIAM HARD

THE United Mine Workers, Mr. Mitchell's organization, existing mainly in the coal fields east of the Mississippi River, is a business enterprise. The Western Federation of Miners, Mr. Haywood's organization, existing mainly in the metal fields west of the Mississippi River, is incidentally a business enterprise but fundamentally a philosophical agitation.

The United Mine Workers accepts the present industrial system and regards

the employer as its partner. The Western Federation of Miners denounces the present industrial system and regards the very existence of the employer as an evil.

The United Mine Workers is interested mainly in the division of the proceeds of the present industrial system between itself and its partner, the employer. It wants to increase its own share of the proceeds and it wants to reduce its partner's share. The Western Federation of Miners, on the other hand, is interested mainly in the elimination of the employer. It wants more wages, of course, but if it should succeed

¹ This is the second article of the series on "Industrial Democracy," announced in our April Magazine Number. The first article, "Miner and Operator," appeared in that issue of *The Outlook*. Editorial comment upon the questions discussed in this article will be found on another page.—THE EDITORS.

in establishing a scale of even a hundred dollars a day it would still be bound by its principles to spurn the relaxing comforts of prosperity and to nerve itself to a continuation of the struggle.

Edward Boyce, as President of the Federation, addressed its annual Convention in 1902 as follows:

There are only two classes of people in the world. One is composed of the men and women who produce all. The other is composed of men and women who produce nothing, but live in luxury upon the wealth produced by others. As we have no animosity toward any human being on earth, but earnestly desire the elevation of all to a higher standard of living, I beseech you to leave nothing undone to educate the members of this organization so that they can proceed upon intelligent lines to better their conditions of life and thus set an example to others. The time has arrived when this organization should array itself upon the side of the producers and should advise its members to take political action and work for the adoption of those principles that are destined to free the people from the grasp of the privileged classes. Every individual who labors, be that labor what it may, is entitled to the product of his labor, and it is your duty, if you are true to those you represent, to advise them to join hands with the thousands of intelligent men and women throughout the world who are battling for the abolition of the wage system and the emancipation of the wage-worker from the grasp of corporate oppression for the co operative brotherhood of man.

After listening to this speech, the Convention made the following declaration:

We, the tenth annual Convention of the Western Federation of Miners, do declare for a policy of independent political action, and do advise and recommend the adoption of the platform of the Socialist Party of America by the locals of the Federation in conjunction with a vigorous policy of education along the lines of political economy.

Thus, in the heart of the Rocky Mountains, in a region which had known but one generation of the modern system of industry, there was adopted by native-born Americans a philosophy wrung by Karl Marx from the accumulated oppressions of centuries of European life. Thus did the American frontiersman develop in forty years into a cosmopolitan proletarian.

There is usually one of two reasons for the presence of a large number of Socialists in any trade union. One is

the influence of Europeans; the other is a particularly spectacular triumph of the machine over the man, and a particularly cruel displacement of human beings by superhuman tools.

The first of these reasons, the influence of Europeans, is illustrated in many cities by the brewery workers and by the bakers. The other, the encroachment of the machine, is illustrated by certain locals of cigar-makers and of machinists.

The Western Federation of Miners, however, has not been devoured by the machine, and it does not contain more than a small percentage of Europeans. Whatever of lawlessness there has been in the history of the Western Federation has been American lawlessness. Whatever of radicalism there has been in that history has been radicalism cherished and propagated by Americans. That favorite National scapegoat, "the foreigner," cannot be loaded with the sins of the Western Federation and driven out into the desert of contemptuous indifference.

The explanation of the Socialism of the Federation may possibly be that certain men of a socialistic temperament just happened to be prominent in the organization, and that they converted the other prominent members. So modest an explanation, however, does not comport with the dignity of the modern scientific sociology which can distinguish the chemical ingredients of all human actions, and therefore it becomes necessary to suggest another explanation which is of a bolder kind, and which really contains a great deal of truth.

The Western mines are full of long-limbed, frank-eyed men who have adventured themselves far and wide upon the face of the earth. There are Eastern miners who were blacklisted after leading unsuccessful strikes. There are cowboys who tired of the trail. There are farmers who preferred prospecting to plowing. There are city men who burst the bars of their cages to breathe the open air of the West. These adventurous characters, going out into a new country and plunging into the virgin, everlasting hills, where it would seem that at last all men would stand on the

same footing, have suddenly discovered that amid these primitive surroundings the modern industrial system is not only found, but is found at its worst.

No one would try to find a parallel anywhere else on earth for the reckless unscrupulousness and maddening insolence of the corporations of the Rocky Mountain States. And practical anarchism among corporations is always a strong promoter of theoretical Socialism among trade unions. If the latter is too theoretical, it at least cannot be said that the former is not sufficiently practical.

The radicalism of the Western Federation of Miners prevents it from joining the American Federation of Labor, the central body to which most American unions belong.

Mr. Gompers, Mr. Mitchell, and other officers of the American Federation talk about the "common interests" of labor and of capital. They also eat dinner with August Belmont. These habits of theirs are regarded unfavorably by the Western Federation of Miners. The leaders of the Western Federation look upon all talk about the "common interests" of labor and of capital as just so much opiated soothing-syrup for infants. And they are grieved to see any labor leader sinking so low as to eat a cut off the same steak with a man whom they regard as the most successful strike-breaker and scab employer in the United States.

But it is not only the oratorical and convivial pursuits of the leaders of the American Federation of Labor that are obnoxious to the leaders of the Western Federation of Miners. The quarrel goes deeper. The American Federation of Labor tolerates "craft autonomy." That is, when there are several crafts in the same industry, the American Federation of Labor usually allows the members of each craft to maintain their own union if they so desire. The teamsters, for instance, in the packing industry have a union of their own; and so have the firemen; and so have the carpenters. These men want separate unions, and the American Federation of Labor consents.

The leaders of the Western Federation of Miners believe that such a division

into crafts is fatal. They demand that labor be organized, not according to crafts, but according to industries. All persons employed in the packing industry should be included in one comprehensive and homogeneous organization. It should be impossible for the meat butchers to be called out on strike while the teamsters and firemen and carpenters continue at work. The employees of the whole industry should act as a unit.

The American Federation of Labor, it is true, compromises with the idea of industrial organization. It allows the United Mine Workers to extend its jurisdiction among persons who are not miners, but who work in or around the mines. And it has allowed the longshoremen to annex dock and marine engineers, licensed pilots and tugmen, steam pump operators, lumber inspectors, and many other classes of workmen who are employed on, along, near, or not far from the shore. But the American Federation of Labor is an opportunist body. It has a reverence for the inevitable. When the craft unions in any industry are too strong to be gobbled by an industrial union, the American Federation of Labor allows them to continue on their unassimilated way. And, on the other hand, when an industrial union becomes so popular and so powerful that it can protect a whole industry and can suck into itself the membership of the craft unions, the American Federation of Labor, oblivious of principles and dominated by facts, gives that industrial union a formal authorization and a paternal blessing.

This policy of day-by-day and hand-to-mouth wisdom seems to the leaders of the Western Federation of Miners to be little less than treasonable.

At last year's Convention of the Western Federation President Meyer said:

We have been taught that in unity there is strength. Will the advocates of craft autonomy undertake to point out the united action of the poor striking machinists on the great Santa Fé system who have been struggling for many months for living conditions, while the union engineer, the union fireman, and the union man in the train service, employed by the same company, have continued to work? Was there united action between the United Mine Workers and the brotherhoods of railway employees when they transferred

the coal mined by scab labor from the mines of Colorado and moved the trains which deported hundreds of striking miners from their homes and loved ones and deserted them on the plains of New Mexico?

Mr. Gompers says that when a wage reduction is proposed, it is better to resist and lose than not to resist at all. If Mr. Gompers advocated the resistance of all organized labor, I would agree with him; but when he advises the resistance of a part of organized labor while another part, by continuing their employment, furnish the employer with the weapon to defeat those who are engaged in the battle, then I claim that such a policy is not only inadequate, but that it is an injustice to those who are asked to take part in the conflict.

Alienated from the American Federation of Labor, representatives of the Western Federation of Miners attended a convention in Chicago last year at which a constitution was adopted for a new central labor body called the Industrial Workers of the World.

There are at least a billion industrial workers in the world to-day, if we allow five hundred million representatives to the "parasitic classes." Of this billion the Industrial Workers of the World now has about one hundred thousand. The Western Federation of Miners furnishes two-fifths of the one hundred thousand. The rest is dispersed in small locals all over the country.

There was something grotesquely grandiose, but also something profoundly stimulating to the imagination, in the plans laid at that first convention of the Industrial Workers of the World in a musty hall over a saloon on North Clark Street in Chicago.

According to their constitution, the Industrial Workers of the World are divided into thirteen international departments—the Department of Farming Industry, the Department of Foodstuffs Industry, the Department of Mining Industry, etc. A large wheel, with divisions marked by spokes, shows the exact location of each human being. In each international department there are local unions. In case any local union within a department goes out on strike and needs support, the executive board of the department is authorized to call out all the other local unions. Similarly, in case any international department goes

out on strike and needs support, the executive board of the whole organization may call out all the other international departments.

Obviously, this is a provision by means of which the executive board of the whole organization may call a general and universal strike of all the Industrial Workers of the World. The American Federation of Labor brandishes no such weapon.

The psychology of the Industrial Workers of the World is the psychology of the Western Federation of Miners. It is a psychology which leads to the adoption of the universal strike as the means of an industrial and political revolution.

The internal policy of the Western Federation of Miners is consistent with its published principles. The most important part of this policy is an aversion to the signing of contracts with employers. A contract is regarded as a manacle. It binds one union when another union might need its help. Presumably if a contract could be signed by the whole working class of the United States with the whole employing class for the term of a year at a fixed scale of wages, the Western Federation of Miners would not seriously object. But in the absence of such a possibility it seems to the Federation that contracts interfere with the mobility and flexibility of the working class. In other words, the hostility of the Federation to the idea of a contract is in one aspect merely the reverse side of its attachment to the idea of the sympathetic strike.

In consequence of not demanding a contract the Federation naturally does not demand a closed shop. As it does not ask the employer to bind himself by a contract to anything, it does not ask him to bind himself to the exclusive employment of union men.

In three other respects besides its failure to demand a closed shop the Western Federation of Miners follows a policy which has often been admired by enemies of trade unions. The Western Federation has no apprentice system. It does not restrict output. And it discourages jurisdictional quarrels between rival trade organizations.

Speaking of the apprentice system,

Mr. Haywood, the leader of the Federation, has said:

The system of apprenticeship, as established by the painters, printers, plumbers, plasterers, and other trade unions, is nothing less than a form of bondage, serfdom, and slavery that has no place in a labor organization in a country believing in free institutions. You take the position that there shall be a certain number of apprentices to a certain number of journeymen, never as many of the former as of the latter. You do not even provide for the boys that you are rearing. Forced out into the world, unable to find employment because of the restriction of the number of apprentices, they must take up vocations that are not under the jurisdiction of craft unions, or else work at a trade as non-union men. The pure and simple trade unions are partly responsible for the deplorable condition of the working class. The walls that you have built around your unions have been of no material benefit. They are responsible for the open shop. The open shop is the result of the closed union. What we need to-day is the open union. Open wide your doors so that every person employed in the industry in which you are engaged may join your union. Combine your forces with the industrial unions of other industries, and you will be able to lift your entire membership to a higher plane of life.

As a parallel development to this distrust of the apprentice system, and as a further evidence of devotion to the idea of an "open union," the Western Federation of Miners at its last convention adopted a rule to the effect that any member of any bona-fide labor organization might become a member of the Western Federation of Miners upon a mere presentation of his union card and without any payment of initiation fees. "We are not trying to build up any job trust," said a speaker on the floor of the convention. "Organized labor should be a body of brothers. And if a workman has paid one fee to get in, he ought not to be asked to pay it again."

In the matter of restriction of output, the Western Federation of Miners has never been seriously accused of attempting any restriction even through the spontaneous and unauthorized action of its rank-and-file members.

In the matter of jurisdictional quarrels the Western Federation of Miners champions a policy which, if universally adopted, would check most such quarrels

at their source. The Federation believes in industrial organization, and in its own case it includes within its membership, so far as it can, all persons working in or around the mines, the smelters, and the reduction mills. In other words, it tries to cover the whole metal-producing industry, and it discourages all craft unions within that industry. It is, therefore, impossible for two unions to quarrel over their respective claims to be exclusively employed in the performance of any particular kind of work in or around the mines. All the men in or around the mines belong to the same union. No employer could reprehend jurisdictional quarrels more vehemently than they are reprehended by the Western Federation of Miners. The employer reprehends them because they bring business to a standstill without his being in any way to blame. The Western Federation of Miners reprehends them because they break the working class up into feeble fragments.

In this matter, as in others that have been mentioned, the Western Federation, out of antipathy to the employing class, follows a course of conduct which, out of antipathy to trade unions, is cordially recommended by Mr. Parry and his friends.

So much for the philosophy of the Western Federation of Miners. Now for the lawlessness with which it has been charged.

There can be no doubt that members of the Western Federation of Miners have frequently coerced non-union men. Abundant and conclusive evidence on this point is furnished by the impartial and colorless report made by Mr. Walter B. Palmer to the Bureau of Labor, and published as an official Government document.

A programme of intimidation has at times, in certain mining camps, become the equivalent of a closed shop contract. The employer was not asked to exclude non-union men. The union excluded them spontaneously, without bothering the employer about it.

In the use of the pen the Westerner is almost as telling as in the use of the revolver. The following critical disser-

tation on the nature of the "scab" was posted in the Cripple Creek district:

WHAT IS A SCAB?

A scab is to his trade what a traitor is to his country, and though both may be useful in troublesome times, they are detested by all when peace returns. A scab is the last to contribute assistance when help is needed, and the first to grasp benefits he never labored to procure. He cares only for himself. He sees not beyond the extent of a day. For a monetary consideration he would betray his friends, family, and country. In short, he is a traitor on a small scale, who first sells the workingman, and is himself afterwards sold in his turn by his employer, until at last he is despised by both and detested by all.

The literary effect of this little tribute to the "hero" of the industrial struggle was heightened by the appended portraits of thirty different scabs, with the two postscripts, "Remember these faces. You will meet them again," and, "Second edition. More coming."

On other occasions the verbal persuasion of non-union miners has been even more direct. For instance:

TO ALL NON-UNION MINERS OF THE CRIPPLE CREEK DISTRICT

You have no doubt read and thought about our circular which was posted throughout this district pretty thoroughly about five weeks ago. This notice is issued for the purpose of reminding you that the 15th of September is near at hand, that the time of grace has about expired. You have had two pay-days in which to decide whether you are for us or against us. There is no middle ground. If you are working in or around the mines, this means you. Now do not throw this to one side and say, "Only another bluff." If you are from Missouri, come into some of the unions of the Western Federation and we will show you that we are trying to help you as well as ourselves, and as the 15th is only about six days away, *you'll have to hurry.*

(Signed)

CRIPPLE CREEK EXECUTIVE BOARD
WESTERN FEDERATION.

In addition to the coercion of individual non-unionists, there have been a few occasions on which armed bodies of union men have stormed mining property and captured it. One such occasion was in 1899 in the Cœur d'Alenes. Another was in 1901 in Telluride.

These transactions did not take place, however, in Suffolk, England. They took place in the Rocky Mountain district of the United States. They took

place in a region in which even in the complete absence of trade union disputes the law has sometimes seemed to be mainly an incidental argument which a man might use in a personal denunciation of his antagonists. The readers of *The Outlook* are familiar with the quarrels between the sheepmen and the cattlemen on the ranges of the Western country. Those quarrels have had nothing to do with trade unionism. They have been purely a matter of business. Yet they have resulted in many murders; and thugs have been hired by one side of the dispute to assassinate employees of the other side.

The failure of the State Legislature of Colorado to pass an eight-hour law after being ordered to do so by an amendment to the State Constitution was one of the most scandalous triumphs ever won by a lobby. And even now, when the law has at last been placed on the statute-books after a series of bloody strikes, a Labor Commissioner appointed by a mine-owning Governor has been obliged to admit that it is effective only in those places where union labor is strong enough to enforce its operation.

Look on two pictures:

First. The 1894 Cripple Creek strike is over. Adjutant-General Tarsney is attorney for some of the miners. He is staying at a hotel in Colorado Springs, which is the city of the millionaires of the mountains. At midnight fifteen masked men enter the hotel. They lay hands upon Tarsney. They take him to a desolate spot five miles from the city. There they strip him, tar him, feather him, and leave him. He gropes his tortured way through a dark and rough country till he finds a farm-house.

Second. The strike of 1904 is on in Cripple Creek. The Western Federation of Miners has opened a co-operative store. This store is to supply the necessities of the members of the union. On the 20th of August a mob collects. There are five hundred men in it. Many of these men are industrious, thrifty, well-known citizens. They gather in front of the miners' store. They smash the windows. They break down the front door. They enter the interior. They destroy the merchandise on the

shelves and on the counters. When they retire, the property of the Western Federation has been ruined.

The fact is that the members of the Citizens' Alliance and the members of the Western Federation of Miners are brothers under their skins. They come in the main from exactly the same breed. Two men go out prospecting. They come from the same town in Ohio. Their claims are half a mile apart. One man strikes gold. The other doesn't. One man becomes a millionaire and a member of the Mine-Owners' Association. The other becomes a workingman and a member of the Western Federation. When you look at a group of mine-owners and then at a group of Western Federation officials, you are struck with their native resemblance to each other and with their common Americanism. They were all of them American adventurers before they became employers and employees.

Practically identical in breed, the mine-owners and the miners are practically identical in temperament. They transact their affairs on both sides with an untrammelled recklessness which is appalling, but which, if the distinction be admitted, savors of anarchy rather than of illegality. The situation is like that in the rough early mediæval States before the central authority had established its power by means of police. It is not the kind of situation which exists in more modern communities, where the law has become firmly established, but where a low and perverted criminal class has been produced. The lawlessness of the Rocky Mountain States is the lawlessness of men not yet reduced to order. It is not the lawlessness of perverted men escaping from order. It is constitutional. It is not pathological. It is occasionally committed by the highest and most powerful, just as in mediæval times it was occasionally committed by counts and dukes. It is not confined to a specialized criminal class.

One consequence of this difference between the West and the East is that the violence of the West has in it a great deal less of sullen, sordid gloom and a great deal more of irresponsible Titanic irony. For illustration read this story:

Thirty-three union men, without accusation and without trial, on July 13, 1904, were deported from Cripple Creek. A special train conveyed them southward. By the next morning the distance of half the length of the State of Colorado separated them from their wives and homes. At half-past four, as dawn was breaking, the train stopped. The boundary line of New Mexico had been reached. The prisoners were put off the train. Each of them was offered two loaves of bread, two cans of beans, and a tin cup. These offerings were accepted by some of the men, were rejected by others, and by still others were first accepted and then ostentatiously thrown away. In accordance with General Bell's orders, the men were now requested to move over the boundary line into New Mexico. They did so, and then turned to jeer at the soldiers. "Do you want to know what I think of General Bell?" shouted one of them. "Well, I think that if you tied a noose tight around his neck you could slip it off over his head without mussing his hair. That's what I think of the size of his intellect. Tell him I said so." Near the boundary line there was an immense boulder. One of the deported men, scrambling up to the top of this boulder, waved half a loaf of bread over his head, shouted, "Give me liberty or give me death," grinned derisively, and hurled the half-loaf far away into the desert. As he did this a friend appeared beside him and, striking a stage pose, began to warble, "Sweet land of liberty, of thee I sing!" This vocal offering was appreciatively received by the audience. The whole group of deported men took up the refrain, and they were still rendering all possible bass and tenor variations on "Sweet land of liberty" when the train withdrew northwards and left them in the desert, thirty-five miles from Tres Piedras, New Mexico.

It has been said that individual non-unionists have been coerced. It has been said that armed bodies of union men have on several occasions made attacks on mining property. These two charges cannot be denied. But there is a third charge which is even more serious. It is said that the leading officials

of the Federation constitute an "inner circle" devoted to outrage and assassination and responsible for such spectacular and horrible acts of violence as the attempt at train-wrecking on the Florence and Cripple Creek Railroad, the fatal explosion in the Vindicator mine, the fatal accident in the Independence mine, the fatal explosion in the Independence railroad station, and the assassination of former Governor Steunenberg, of Idaho. These acts are on an entirely different plane from ordinary acts of violence, and they should be considered separately.

No one can prove that the Western Federation did not commit these acts. No one so far has been able to prove that it did. The judicial machinery of the State of Colorado has been in the hands of the enemies of the Federation. Many "confessions" have been secured. Many announcements have been made to the effect that the leaders of the Federation would soon be hanged. Yet not a single conviction has been recorded. In fact, no approach has been made to a conviction. In every case the prosecution has collapsed so instantaneously and so ignominiously that the trial has seemed to be instituted more for the purpose of humiliating the defendants than of convicting them. The news of an indictment makes the front page of the newspapers. The news of an acquittal makes the seventh.

Each of the outrages above mentioned was repudiated vehemently by the Federation. In most cases, if not in all, it offered a large reward for the apprehension of the guilty parties.

The least farcical of all the trials in connection with these outrages was that which followed the attempt at train-wrecking on the Florence and Cripple Creek Railroad. Here there was a "confession" by a man named McKinney. McKinney said he had committed the deed in company with certain unionists. On cross-examination he was forced to admit that he was a detective in the employ of agents of the Mine-Owners' Association. This does not mean that the mine-owners themselves were cognizant of his employment. On further cross-examination McKinney was forced further to admit that he had been

ordered to secure the wrecking of a train for the purpose of discrediting the Federation. The cases against the men accused by McKinney were at once dismissed. But McKinney himself was never tried. S. D. Crump, attorney for the Mine-Owners' Association, went on his bond.

McKinney was the kind of man who came to the front very frequently during the Colorado troubles. Many such ruffians joined the militia in hope of adventure and of loot. Many of them have since been sent to jail on charges ranging from larceny to murder.

The responsibility for some of the outrages under consideration may rest upon the shoulders of men like McKinney. In other cases there may be no responsibility at all. The horrible massacre in the Independence mine had every appearance of an accident. Many such accidents have happened in the mines of the West. In this particular case the mine was closely guarded, day and night, to prevent the approach of union men, and a report made by a commission appointed by the State Superintendent of Mines showed that the machinery which gave way was in an extremely defective condition.

At the same time it would be absurd to say that there is not a possibility that in certain cases the responsibility may rest upon profligate and abandoned members of the Western Federation. There are such men in the mines of the West, and they are accustomed to deeds of violence in personal disputes, in business disputes, and in trade union disputes. All that can be said with certainty is that there has as yet been no proof.

To summarize:

The Western Federation of Miners gets its tone from adventurous native-born Americans suddenly thrown from the position of frontiersmen into the position of workingmen. That these frontiersmen, as workingmen and as members of the Western Federation, have used their guns in trade union controversies is indubitable. That the Western Federation, however, is an organized criminal clique, and that it accentuates and stimulates the gun-playing proclivi-

ties of its members, is, so far, unsupported by evidence. Particularly is there an absence of evidence to the effect that the Western Federation, or its leaders, or any of its responsible members have been in any way implicated in those appalling and dastardly events which are connected with the names of the Florence and Cripple Creek Railroad, the Vindicator Mine, the Independence Mine, and the Independence Railroad station. In its attitude toward the employer the Western Federation of Miners has adopted a policy of irrepressible conflict. By declaring in favor of the Socialist party it has foresworn the prospect of peace as long as the "co-operative brotherhood of man" is still unestablished. From the standpoint of the employer, who must deal with his men, and from the standpoint of practical trade unionism, which, in order to exist, must negotiate with the employer, this declaration of hostility to the very existence of the employer does not seem to be good business sense, and cannot fail to make settled business conditions almost impossible. As a business prop-

osition in a business world the Western Federation is, therefore, open to serious criticism. In its attitude toward the working class, on the other hand, the Western Federation has displayed an idealism which has brought a ray of imagination and of sentiment into the life of many an underground toiler. Opening its doors freely and gladly to all workmen, denouncing all devices for excluding outsiders and for making the trade union a monopoly, cherishing the interests of the unskilled man even above those of his more fortunate comrade, preaching the doctrine of a united working class, calling upon every workman to regard his brother's trials and ambitions as his own, fighting successfully for the establishment of eight-hour laws, offering to the anarchism of certain corporations the only real resistance which that anarchism has ever encountered, the Western Federation of Miners has contributed to the history of Western mining its one flash of social thought, its one deviation from a purely materialistic line of progress.

Chicago, Illinois.

NIAGARA FALLS FROM THE ECONOMIC STANDPOINT

BY H. W. BUCK

As our readers know, the Outlook recently believes in the preservation of Niagara Falls as a great scenic feature of the country. But the claims of those who regard its industrial value as more important than its aesthetic power demand for statement and logical consideration. The author of this article is an electrical engineer of standing, who has had a long and authoritative experience in the scientific development of electric power at Niagara Falls. Editorial comment upon his arguments will be found in another column.—The Outlook.

THESE are two sides to every question, and the recent outcry from all quarters of the country against the use of Niagara Falls for power purposes may be considered as the expression of opinion only from those who look upon Niagara Falls as a national spectacle, and who consider that its only value to the Nation can be represented as such. It is quite natural and proper to regard Niagara Falls from the sentimental and scenic standpoint, but it had been so regarded for many

years before it became a National industrial asset of great economic importance. The greatest argument in use for the development of power has been advanced by the engineers held that the capital has who have developed the power of the Falls have been the only ones to derive benefits from such development. There is another side to this question, however—the economic one—which has been forced to the front by the development in science, engineering, and industry during the past few years, and this