

LABOR IS ENTITLED

TO ALL IT PRODUCES



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## DIABOLICAL PLOT OF CAPITALISTS

The secret arrest of President Chas. H. Moyer and Secretary William D. Haywood, of the Western Federation of Miners, and the secret extradition from their homes in Denver by means of a special train to Boise City, Idaho, and their incarceration there upon the alleged charge of complicity in the assassination of the late Governor Steunenberg, of Idaho, is the latest of a long series of outrages perpetrated upon these leaders by the Western mine owners and their Standard Oil allies in their desperate determination to crush out the Western Federation of Miners, the only thing that stands in the way of their absolute and despotic sway in the mountain states. Governors of states are their tools, judges their vassals, editors their special pleaders, and preachers their apologists and defenders. The police departments of the cities are their personal watchmen and the state militia their private armies.

But one thing they could not get in their clutches. The rigid integrity, unflinching loyalty, intrepid courage and unceasing vigilance of the leaders of the Western Federation baffled every attempt they made to corrupt and crush organized labor. For once they were dealing with men whose honor was absolutely proof to the jingle of gold.

These men must be put out of the way. Fair (?) means had failed. Foul ones are now in order. Pirates have no scruples. Murder will succeed where gold fails.

That is why this whole infamous outrage was concocted and perpetrated in secret instead of the requisitions being issued and the arrests and extraditions made in the usual way and under the forms of law.

Every detail was prearranged in this dark and devilish conspiracy, this foul and damnable plot, hatched out in the festering brains of the mine owners and eagerly and sympathetically entered into and carried into execution by their political hirelings, the governors of Colorado and Idaho, and clinched by the railroad corporations, to ambush, kidnap and destroy the officials of a labor union they had not gold enough to debauch, cunning enough to outwit, or power enough to frighten or intimidate.

In all the history of the country there is no parallel to this monstrous outrage. It is as black and infamous as any crime of

BY EUGENE V. DEBS

Language fails utterly to do justice to the cold-blooded brutality of these hyenas in human form; and I cannot but wonder if the railroad men who handled that train knew what a crime they were committing against their brethren in toil, and if they did, what kind of union hearts they carried in their bodies.

the Inquisition committed in the Middle Ages.

The charges are preferred in the dark by unknown persons, the tools of corporations who do anything they are paid to do, from arson to assassination; the governors of two alleged sovereign states, both the venal vassals of the same corporations, pool their powers to pounce upon the unsuspecting victims, and the railroad corporations have the special train all ready to tear these men, free citizens of the republic, from their families and rush them over a cleared track to separate cells in a foreign penitentiary to await their doom.

Language fails utterly, to do justice to the cold-blooded brutality of these hyenas in human form; and I cannot but wonder if the railroad men who handled that train knew what a crime they were committing against their brethren in toil, and if they did, what kind of union hearts they carried in their bodies.

Moyer, Haywood, Pettibone, St. John and their associates had no more to do with the assassination of Steunenberg than babes unborn. I know them thoroughly well, and they are brave and honorable men to the last drop in their veins. Cowardly assassination does not lurk in their honest, fearless natures.

To every decent man the very thought of assassination is shocking and abhorrent, but is it strange that Frank Steunenberg came to his death by that ignominious means? Is there not in the tragedy the element of retributive justice? Ask the hundreds of innocent miners brutally bull-penned by him in the Coeur d'Alene! Ask the defenseless wives and daughters of these same bull-penned victims who were insulted and violated by the black hirelings in uniform who

were doing Steunenberg's bidding! No defense of assassination is attempted in saying that when ex-Governor Steunenberg was blown into eternity he but reaped what he himself had sown, for even the dogs cannot stand between men and the consequences of their acts.

What, then, is the object of these swift and summary proceedings against Moyer, Haywood and their co-workers? The slimy "sleuth" who "worked up" the case tells us bluntly that it is to murder them, to get them out of the way. Brutally horrible as is this confession, now that the victims are safely within the walls of a plutocratic bastille, it is to be commended as the only straightforward feature of the whole criminal conspiracy.

And now that we understand the program of the plutocrats, what are we going to do about it? Fold our hands supinely and see our comrades murdered to glut the vengeance of our enemies for having been true to us? Are we, the workingmen of the land, whom they have so loyally and fearlessly served at such a terrible price to themselves to desert them in the hour of their direct need? No! By the gods we will have the manhood to stand by them, and if they hang these innocent victims, these intrepid and incorruptible men, we will make them hang or shoot us also, for it is infinitely better to die like men than to live in the damning disgrace of our own craven cowardice.

Moyer and Haywood and their associates could have had millions of dollars if they had been corruptible. They have had rare opportunities to line their pockets by betraying labor, but they have spurned the dirty gold of the bribe-givers and have stood faithfully at their posts, and now they must die, for the Standard Oil brigands have decreed it and their command is the supreme law of the land.

The miserable pretext that more confessions have been made, that incriminating testimony has been "unearthed," that the lives of other political and judicial hirelings have been "threatened," that certain unexploded bombs have been "dug up," will not deceive men who have had experience with these corporate criminals and know, as the writer knows by his own personal experience, that they are totally destitute of

scruples and will stop at nothing to put out of the way any who refuse to do their bidding.

If ever the working class had true leaders, Moyer, Haywood and their colleagues are those leaders. They have fought the good fight; they have stood stanch and true, and that is their crime and their only crime—loyal devotion to the working class—and this is the crime of crimes against the Standard Oil bandits that rule the nation, crush and rob the people and riot in the bloody booty.

If Moyer and Haywood are criminals, so are all workmen who know their rights and dare maintain them. If they ought to be hanged, so ought we, and there is but one course for us to pursue, and that is to call upon all who are ready to do their duty to come to the front and see that fair play is done their comrades, or fight to the last ditch and, if need be, die there. Patrick Henry said, "We must fight." It looks very much as if that point had again been reached. A hundred thousand courageous men can strike terror to the hearts of the craven criminals who have throttled the republic. Even a few thousand who have the right spirit can turn the tide.

Appeal to the courts, does someone suggest? What courts? The courts that belong to the criminals that are murdering us? The late Judge Lyman Trumbull and the late Judge John Reagan, great jurists and honest judges, both declared that the courts were controlled by the plutocracy, and more recently Judge Steele, of the Supreme Court of Colorado, declared that civil liberty had been stabbed to death by the Supreme Court of that state, while District Attorney Jerome, of New York, charged that the Supreme Court of that state was the creature of a saloon-keeping boss of corporate capital.

The plutocrats control Congress, the courts, the army and navy, and we have but ourselves to rely on, and the sooner we realize this fact and act accordingly the better it will be for the working class and the country at large.

Moyer, Haywood, Pettibone, St. John and their comrades are not only innocent of crime, but they are the manliest of men. They have been tried by fire and proved true. That is at once their virtue and their crime. Their honor is unsullied, their character stainless. They have fought for labor

and bear the scars of battle upon their bodies. They are our comrades. We know them and we love them, and by the eternal we are not going to dishonor them and disgrace our cause by abandoning them to their enemies.

The working class of the United States are about ready for action. Thousands upon thousands will scorn to act like whipped spaniels when their leaders are ambushed by the hirelings of their exploiters.

The cooked-up testimony of sneaks and assassins in the service of capital shall not hang the honest men in the service of labor. Upon this issue all the organized workers in the land will unite and a million of others will join with them. From Massachusetts and New York to California and Washington, and from Minnesota to the gulf the working class will arise and their tramp will be heard in the land, and the plutocracy, by God, would better think twice before they attempt to carry their murderous program into execution.

EUGENE V. DEBS.

Washington's Birthday,  
1906.

## ONE UNION, ONE LABEL, AND ONE ENEMY

By W. F. TULLAR

Should mankind cease to aid one another, they would perish. Life is sustained by the working class, laboring together to produce life's necessities.

Production, therefore, must continue or society must fall. So the working class must shoulder the task of ensuring the continuance of production. Between the workers, who create, and the shirkers, who appropriate all wealth, there must be a constant struggle—a struggle of classes. There can be no community of interest, no mutual helpfulness. They are antagonistic and their antagonisms are based upon their respective material interests in the wealth that labor creates.

This struggle of classes is the direct result of industrial evolution: the product of this twentieth century means of production—modern improved machinery.

That the present system of production must end and, as a consequence, the present struggle of classes be wiped out, is clear to all who have carefully studied the question.

Class struggle compels class organization. This is a fact the capitalist class realized long years ago and one that the workers must realize if they ever expect to better their material interests. The organization of capital is the greatest in the world's history. The once small railroad is now a part of a great system of railroads. The once small steel mill is now a branch of the giant steel trust. The same is true with oil, meat, coal, and nearly all industries. Why not so with labor?

The capitalist class alone understands the true definition of the term "In Union There is Strength," for their union is not divided into crafts; they stand solidly together on industrial lines. How is it with labor? Divided! The capitalist class assists one another in every manner possible. The working class is constantly fighting among themselves. Is it not imperative, then, that the working class should organize in the same manner in which the capitalist class is organized and form a labor trust? We be-

Forced by conditions, the scab goes to work as a machinist; the good union molder is there to furnish him castings; the good union blacksmith is there to make him forgings and to dress the machine tools for him. The union machinists who are on strike are sent to jail or clubbed for violating some injunction which proudly bears the union label of the printers' union. And this is called working-class organization!

lieve it is, and the Industrial Workers of the World meets the demand.

To organize and weld the wage workers together into a powerful organization on the industrial field is its primary object. One of the bulwarks of capitalism is the division of labor into petty craft unions, and the consequent scabbing of one set of workers against another. The organization of Industrial Workers of the World is based upon the principle that the material interests of all wage workers are alike, and that the true and only form of organization is that which includes all workers. An industrial union in which are associated all the workers employed in any one industry is the only form of organization that promises successfully to combat the aggressions of the capitalist class and put an end to the wage wars which have been fostered by the old trades unions.

This must be admitted by all intelligent workers who have carefully studied the economic question. In no industry has the fallacy of craft unionism been more apparent than in the metal and machinery industry.

The machinists, molders, blacksmiths, metal workers, boiler-makers, pattern-makers, electricians, iron and steel workers, metal polishers and stationary engineers have been waging wars against each other over jurisdiction, scabbing upon each other by remaining at work when the workers of one craft were out walking the streets for better conditions. And fight they will until all

come together with the helpers and common laborers into one solid, class-conscious organization under the banner "An Injury to One is an Injury to All." This can never be accomplished as long as we have our warring national bodies. Time and again have they tried to get together, only to be still farther divided.

Why should we continue to support a losing proposition? Is it not high time we quit scabbing on one another and strike together? Would not the long list of defeats have been turned to as many victories if we had been allowed to strike together? And nothing but a scrap of paper, called "Our Sacred Agreement," has prevented us from striking together. Yet we will allow ourselves to be surrounded by an impregnable wall of false pride and refuse to join hands with our fellow craftsman, our helpers and common laborers.

Look at our once glorious trade, and what do we find? A mere skeleton of its former self, wasted away by classification and specializations. We are not known as mechanics any more; we are only specialists or "hands." This classification and specialization has reduced us to a level but little above the common laborer, the man upon whom we shower our contempt; the man we have been taught to ignore because he did not serve an apprenticeship and is, therefore, beneath us in society. This man, then, becomes our enemy, a stone around our necks, as we shall see.

United States statistics show that 85 per cent of the male population of this country, over sixteen years of age are engaged in gainful occupation, and the remaining 15 per cent appropriate 83 per cent of the value of the country's product, leaving the remaining 17 per cent of the country's product for the 85 per cent of our people. The same statistics show that organized labor has increased wages 28 per cent, and that the cost of living has increased 42 per cent, leaving us 14 per cent worse off than before. The common laborer has to stand the same increase in cost of living as the rest of us, but

has not received the increase in wages. He is, therefore, brought to the verge of destitution.

Now, I stated before that classification and specialization had reduced us to a mere level of the common laborer—the stray yellow dog, whom we take a kick at whenever he comes near enough. Now we go out on a strike for better conditions or for a union principle, and the first man who is appealed to is this common laborer. The boss approaches him and offers him from \$4 to \$8 a day to scab. He stops to think. He takes a look at his family in some remote part of the city, sitting around a small stove, which is kept warm by the coal his children have picked up around the streets and railroad tracks; he sees his wife out washing and scrubbing, if she is able, then he thinks about that weekly pay envelope of from \$24 to \$36. The natural instincts of a father, a provider for his children, are so strong that he yields to the tempting offer and becomes a scab in the eyes of the world, not because he wanted to, but because organized labor

made him. He goes to work as a machinist. He is put to work on some machine. The good union molders are there to furnish him with castings; the good union blacksmiths are there to make him forgings, and to dress the machine tools for him. The work is simple, because classification and specialization made it simple, and in two weeks he is able to produce as much and sometimes more than the man on strike. The union machinists who are on strike are sent to jail or clubbed around for violating some injunction which proudly bears the union label of the printers' union. They send around a committee or business agent to settle the strike. The boss says no. He has no grievance with his employes; he has nothing to arbitrate. His work is going on just the same. His output is just as large and sometimes larger. His weekly pay roll is much larger, but that does not hurt him, for his union pays the increase, and we machinists may go to—any old place. So we continue the strike for months, and finally declare the strike off, and proceed to start

all over again in the same manner as before. We have been fighting this way for twenty-five years, and are steadily sliding down hill, and the farther we go the faster we slide. The Industrial Workers of the World is the only means by which we can protect ourselves. It is a class-conscious labor organization for and by the working class, affiliated with no political party. We believe that when the working class of this country is organized economically they will of necessity vote as they are organized—a political unit. We must become class-conscious. We must teach working-class economics. We must organize in one union with one label, to fight one enemy. We appeal only to your intelligence and ask you to study this question. We must be progressive and meet the demands of industrial evolution.

Join the Industrial Workers of the World in their fight against wage slavery, and enjoy with us the day when the worker shall receive the full value of his-product.

## THE "BORING FROM WITHIN" POLICY

By JULIUS ZORN

The experience of the past teaches us that the industrial form of organization is the only correct one. It will hasten the time when workingmen will be free from wage slavery. It will unite them on the economic field, and this will be followed by unity on the political field. It is, therefore, the most powerful means for bringing about the co-operative commonwealth.

I read with great interest the first number of "The Industrial Worker," and am more than pleased with its contents. Compared with other labor papers (so-called), I must say that it is clearly in the lead. I looked in vain for a picture gallery of labor "leaders"; I found no long-winded articles that said nothing. All is good, sensible, thoughtful reading matter, just what the workers need. It fills the bill, and in my opinion is exactly what the labor movement has too long been without.

I am especially pleased with the stand taken by my dear old comrade, Eugene V. Debs. In his attitude towards the new organization he is sticking close to the fundamental things he has advocated for years. He is true to his principles. And I must say that it is a most deplorable fact that scarcely any of the Socialist Party papers have a single good word for the organization. This dog-in-the-manger attitude is very strange when we remember that these same papers have made it almost their principal business to ridicule and denounce the American Federation of Labor and speak for industrial organization. Now that we have an industrial organization, filling all the requirements needed and full of promise as a powerful instrument in the hands of the working class, these same papers are opposing it absolutely or ignoring it as too unimportant for notice. They stick, not to their principles, but to the graft and craft system of unionism they have fought for years. How they can do this, when, as they have often said, the policy of the American Federation of Labor is dictated by the Civic Federation, and that the very existence of the old trades unions largely depends upon the permission of manufacturers' associations, is more than a plain man in the rank and file of the army of labor can understand.

I am now well satisfied that under the old form of organization nothing more can be accomplished of any real benefit to the working class. I hope that at no distant day the United Brewery Workers, together with other progressive organizations, will be a part of the Industrial Workers of the World. It is my firm conviction that, through the Industrial Workers, the time is not far off when we will have one great harmonious economic and political movement.

I am now well satisfied that under the old form of organization nothing more can be accomplished of any real benefit to the working class. The American Federation of Labor does not recognize the class struggle, which is the greatest fact in our time; it stands for harmony between capital and labor. Where is the socialist who stands for that? The American Federation of Labor has no right to pose as the labor movement of this country. It organizes only a part of the workers in certain industries, only the most skilled ones, in fact, leaving the unskilled and poorer-paid unorganized to shift for themselves. At the same time its labels are granted to firms employing only a few skilled or organized people. Such an organization has no right to talk about being the labor movement of the country. All attempts to better the conditions of the well paid at the expense of the poorly paid are criminal. The socialist who stands for that sort of thing has a good deal to learn, no matter how much he knows.

The office-holders of the American Federation of Labor, as well as some socialists, are making a big howl about the Industrial Workers dividing and disrupting the labor movement. It is simply ridiculous! Division and disruption is the work of the American Federation of Labor. It is practiced right along. Craft trade unions are fighting other craft trade unions for jurisdiction. Instead of organizing the yet unorganized millions of toilers, the plan is to divide more and more those that are organized.

There are organizations in the American Federation of Labor that are more or less organized on the industrial basis, and because of it have met with some success. For instance, the United Brewery Workers. Up to about six years ago this organization was not interfered with by the American Federation of Labor, in thoroughly organizing the brewery industry, taking every workman employed into the organization. The brewery workers built up a good, strong organization, all the workers employed being benefited. No sooner had this been accomplished than along came the officers of the American Federation of Labor, with other disrupters from the stationary engineers and the "Brotherhood" of firemen, and demanded a division of the brewery workers' membership. The very thing they have done they now charge the Industrial Workers of the World with attempting to do. Yet the fact is that the Industrial Workers of the World seeks to unite and not divide or disrupt.

The question arises: Why do the officers of the American Federation of Labor (and others) want the workers divided in craft or trade unions? Why are they specially anxious to divide and disrupt the United Brewery Workers? My answer is that it is done for the benefit of the employers. As a former officer of the United Brewery Workers I know what I am talking about. I have had an opportunity to see behind the curtain. I refused to stand for renomination and reelection because of what I learned.

So far, I am glad to say, the disrupters and divisionists, posing as labor leaders, have not gained very much ground on the United Brewery Workers. The organization still stands as an industrial body, and I hope that at no distant day, together with other progressive organizations, it will be a part of the Industrial Workers of the World. It is my firm conviction that, through the Industrial Workers, the time is not far off when we will have in this country one great harmonious economic and political movement. This is my hope, as well as my conviction.

Russia has one Czar; America has one for every state in the Union.

# EASTERN ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT ITS BEARINGS ON AMERICAN LABOR

BY DANIEL DE LEON

Which I wish to remark—  
And my language is plain—  
That for ways that are dark,  
And for tricks that are vain  
The heathen Chinese is peculiar.  
Which the same I would rise to explain.

That a poet of such deep penetration as Bret Harte was not likely to sacrifice sense to rhythm may be easily supposed. By the term "heathen Chinese" he meant not the denizen of the "Middle Kingdom" exclusively. There is more than one passage in the author's short stories of Western pioneer life that indicates that the term was meant by him to cover the Eastern Asiatic in general; of course, the Japanese included—above all, that both the term and the poem, in this instance, was a bit of arch satire intended to sober up our Eastern (Western civilization) conceit, and thereby give timely warning to those who could take it. Poet satirists are not expected to be expert economists and sociologists. They give no reason for the faith that is in them: they have none to give. They project themselves into the future, lightly bounding over the intermediary steps. Slow-plodding Time comes limping up behind, and furnishes these steps. The following headlines and gists of news paragraphs that have appeared in American and European papers and magazines, the well-posted Paris "Revue des Deux Mondes" among the latter, since the sun-burst of Japanese might and genius in Manchuria look at first blush like a chaotic jumble: "£75,000,000 secured in England by a Japanese promoter to establish manufacturing plants in Japan"; "Chinese boycott of American goods"; "The Japanese navy yards are now equipped to build and launch their own battleships"; "The Morgan syndicate received from China \$6,000,000 in consideration of its surrendering its railroad concession"; "In one month 29 'American' mills were set up in Manchuria; they were 'American' only in original design; they were Japanese built and improved upon"; "The Chinese hostility to and suspicion of the Japanese is dying out fast; a large percentage of the students at the colleges of Japan, military and civil, are Chinese; Japanese drill-masters abound in the Chinese army, and also as administrative officers"; "A new national anthem has sprung up in China; it invokes the deity to raise China from subjection like a lion unfettered; it is sung like a hymn." These headlines and passages be not a jumble. They are stepping-stones, or facts, or premises from which prose logic deducts conclusions, and arrives abreast of poetic flight.

Capitalist society is pivoted upon "production for sale." Production for sale implies the existence of two classes—one that has taken and holds the necessities of production and, as a consequence, does not work; the other, the class from whom the necessities of production, together with the fruit thereof, have been taken and are held, and, as a consequence, must do all the work. Without going into all the other consequences of such a social system, as unnecessary to the subject in hand, one consequence it is well to grasp fully. In a measure, the development now going on in the Far East, as indicated by the above quoted passages from the press, may be termed "the Chinese-Japanese dust that comes from the American-European capitalist mud." The particular consequence of capitalist society that must be grasped is that it smothers itself with its own goods. The working class, paid the pittance of wages for the plentiful wealth that it produces, cannot buy back

but a small portion thereof. The surplus must find "foreign markets." These, foreign markets capitalist nations first seek to secure within one another's boundaries. Effort in that direction is speedily blocked. "Tariff wars" mark the high-water line of the blockade period. The congestion of wealth, originally affecting each capitalist nation separately, becomes international, spreads over them all like confluent small-pox. The "heathen's" territory is thereupon jointly invaded. The outlet afforded relief. So successful were the "Christian" capitalists in their policy of intrigue, chicanery, rapine and even slaughter, applied to "heathen" nations, that they concluded the "heathen" was everywhere a providential article, placed there for the special purpose of enabling them to veil their one aspiration—the laying up of treasure on earth. Rendered giddy with blood and success in this direction, American-European capitalism forced open, fifty years ago, the doors of China and Japan. No chivalrous Spanish conqueror, in sight of the Incas' or Montezuma's glittering hoard, was more dazzled than was the vulgar American-European capitalist class at the vista of the illimitable Chinese-Japan "markets" that spread before their eyes and opened to their imagination. They chuckled and licked their chops. But they had overreached themselves. Many an American-European capitalist thinks today to himself, and if he does not yet, will soon do so: "Had we but let China and Japan alone!" If they had, they might have long, many, many more centuries been growing fat at the expense of other "heathens." The Chinese-Japanese "heathen," however, is typified in Bret Harte's Ah Sin. Somehow he was a "heathen" of a different calibre. While far behind in industrial development, there was behind his almond eyes a brain that could "see through the game." He would have been happy to be let alone. Finding that was not to be, he quietly made up his mind not to be "heathened," and to beat at their own game the American-European intruders, in turn, typified by Ah Sin's adversary, Bill Nye. Japan took the lead and set the pace.

In the short space of this article details must be omitted. Suffice it to say that Japan sent her best young men to European and American schools, colleges, technical, civil and military institutes. There they imbibed all the mechanical knowledge that capitalism had stored up. Laden therewith they returned home and unloaded. The result was instantaneous. Already by 1889 Japan had 35,000 spindles; ten years ago she had come up to 380,000; three years ago to a million. Hand in hand with this increase in capitalism, Japanese importations of raw materials, like cotton, increased by leaps and bounds from 31,000,000 pounds of raw cotton in 1889 to 67,000,000 in 1891, and to over 100,000,000 three years ago. Nor did that, which this development theoretically indi-

cates, remain absent—in even tempo with the increase of Japan's importations of raw material did her importations of manufactured articles decrease, and her exportations of these manufactures to Asiatic markets, once controlled by American and European capitalism exclusively, increase. Ah Sin was quietly getting in his innings; the innings he, more lately, scored in Manchuria paralleled on the military and supplemented the innings that he was scoring on the industrial field; if even the first were phenomenal and the second startling, the innings that are imminent, and the shadow of which are cast before them by the press items already quoted, indicative of China's having taken the Japanese contagion, may be expected to be phenomenally startling and startlingly phenomenal.

The conclusions, immediately deductible, from the preceding sketch, rough-drawn though it is, are obvious. No laws need be passed in the Eastern Asiatic nations to cause deep commotion in America. The tremendous impulse that capitalist production is taking in China under Japanese guidance—will of itself act as a blockade against American goods. American-European capitalist mechanism, coupled to Chinese-Japanese patience, perseverance, genius and nimbleness, above all to a mass of ready-made proletarians, in such actual and immediately available numbers as to out-run the wildest cravings of the American capitalist class, will throw up manufactures in heaps so mountain-high that they will over-top the tallest high-tariff walls. None such would be needed in China and Japan. The outlet hitherto enjoyed by American goods, and the still broader and deeper outlet which Chinese-Japanese markets were expected to afford and upon which American capitalism was counting, will be cut off. England has been able to stave off labor troubles through the outlet of vast colonies. America has none such. With tariff wars by Germany, threatened ones from England, and, on top of all, China-Japan producing, to the extent that inevitably they will be producing, the blockade of American goods, is translatable into "industrial crisis," probably also "financial panic" in America. The phenomenon will then be seen here, on a scale never seen before, of stores bursting with goods, and yet clothesless, shoeless, foodless workingmen; of mechanical appliances of first order and magnitude ready for operation, and millions of arms ready to operate them, yet one and the other smitten lame.

The vista, opened by such a prospect, and due to the causes sketched above, points to a multitude of further possibilities. It is not merely Chinese-Japanese capitalism that is about to enter upon its stage of virility. The sense of outrages, long endured at the hand of American-European governments, has sunk deep in the hearts and minds of the Chinese people. They have had the opium trade forced upon them; they have had their ports seized upon by the foreigner; the smirking missionary—the advance agent of the merchant, who, in turn, ever was the precursor of armed occupation—has chicaned under the pretext of Christianizing them. Under the plea that expatriation and emigration was a cardinal right of man, and a sacred duty of Christianity to safeguard, their territory was bombarded open by the

combined gunboats of America and Europe, and yet, as the Tsen-li-Yamen derisively observed to the American diplomats who sought subsequently to negotiate treaties preventing the emigration of Chinese to America, "when the first treaty which you forced upon us was signed, you in America clapped your hands with joy, and now you are the first to try to escape its consequences, to abrogate it, and to violate what you called the 'sacred right of emigration'!" America will be the first country with which Chinese capitalism, inspired by pent-up resentment, will settle old scores. Plugugly though Roosevelt is, it is no mere plugugliness that has recently caused him to hurry troops to the Philippines. The time is not yet for the clash. But the clash seems inevitable. American capitalist interests, wounded in their vitals by the economic development of China, will resort to the methods of old. It will not, then, be old China that will be assailed. The conflict will bear an aspect squaring with the new economic power of the "heathen." When this happens Japan will be, can be, no neuter. Her recent treaty with Great Britain covers her back and flanks from the side of Russia. Our American "contract-made" navy, along with its blustering crew of admiralty incompetents, will be swept from the Pacific.

Will the working class of America require the experience of the working class and peasantry of Russia to disillusion us touching the invincibility, wisdom and virtues of our own ruling class? Or will they, before matters come so far, be amply disillusioned on those heads by their economic experience at home—an economic experience that the economic development in the Far East will have helped to bring home to them? Will they have grasped the fullness of the meaning of the declaration in the preamble of the Industrial Workers of the World, to the effect that their lot is bound to be one of decreasing well-being until they shall have joined their forces on the political as well as on the economic field and dethroned the capitalist class, whose rule is one of combined unfitness and bestiality? The heavy, brooding clouds that are gathering over the head of the American working class from the opposite shores of the Pacific do not threaten us with an influx of Chinese or Japanese immigration. The economic development that those clouds are the condensed vapors of, will rather tend to keep the Chinese and Japanese at home. While these clouds are big with evil to us, or with good,—good, if we understand their cause; evil if we don't—the myriad Ah Sin is working out his own destiny.

Which is why I remark,  
And my language is plain,  
That for ways that are dark,  
And for tricks that are vain,  
The heathen Chinese is peculiar—  
Which the same I am free to maintain.

#### Revolutionary Ebb and Flow

Bourgeois revolutions leap from success to success, their successive dramatic effects surpass each other, men and things seem to sparkle, ecstasy is the prevailing state of mind. \* \* \* Proletarian revolutions, on the contrary, constantly make their own critique, continually interrupt their course, return upon what seemed accomplished and begin it anew, cruelly scorn the imperfections and weaknesses of their own first attempts, appear to conquer their adversary only to permit him to rise in greater strength; they shrink with fear before the immensity of the end they pursue, until the situation arises which makes retreat impossible.—Karl Marx in "The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte."

"Your Honor," said the attorney, "this man's insanity takes the form of a belief that everyone wants to rob him. He won't allow even me, his counsel, to approach him."

"Maybe he's not so crazy after all," murmured the court, in a judicial whisper.

# PLAIN WORDS TO SOCIALISTS

By A. M. SIMONS

Just a few words to the members of the Socialist Party. How much longer do you propose to permit yourself to be spewed upon and played with by the corrupt oligarchy in control of the American Federation of Labor? Does it not begin to dawn upon you that your efforts for socialism within that organization are well-nigh fruitless, and that the day of its usefulness as a weapon for the defense of its members upon the economic field is nearly at its close? Do you not realize that affiliation with that organization by any organized body of men is a source of weakness rather than strength?

The policy of "boring from within," while it has succeeded in honey-combing the rank and file with the principles of socialism, has now reached a point where further efforts can only accomplish the disintegration of the unions themselves. So far from weakening the hold of the "Gompers machine," that machine was never so strongly entrenched as at the present moment. Bound, as the leaders are, body and soul to the Civic Federation, the "capture" of any union by those who hold and assert the principles of socialism means the exclusion of that union from further influence in the central organization. The acceptance and open recognition of the class struggle means ostracism from any possibility of exercising any voice in the direction of the American Federation of Labor. Nor is this condition improving. On the contrary, the socialist influences in the official circles and in the national conventions of the American Federation of Labor was far greater ten years ago than today.

The corrupting, deadening influence of the Civic Federation alliance is spreading like a canker sore into ever new fields. It is now plainly evident that the only road to preference and power within the American Federation of Labor lies through the capitalist-controlled channels of the Civic Federation. It is a spectacle unique in the annals of labor. Never before were the policies of the organization of labor determined around the mahogany tables of the master class. This foul alliance is now so close that to sever the connecting bond is impossible. Are there any who deny this? Is there a member of the Socialist Party who any longer believes that these two organizations can be separated? If not, is there any such who believes that the efforts of the working class ought longer to be used to support that alliance?

If these facts are true, is it not criminal to any longer arouse hopes in the rank and file of the unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor of being able to gain a victory for socialist principles within that body? It is all very well to claim that the old trade unions are engaged in the class struggle. In so far as this is true it is in spite of, and not on account of, the American Federation of Labor. The class struggle is a fact and not an academic invention, and the wage slave will struggle against the master whether organized or not. He seeks constantly to obtain more of his product, better conditions of toil. But the more consciously and intelligently he does this the more effective his fight. Who will deny at this present moment that every energy of the official machinery of the American Federation of Labor, is used to

prevent his fighting intelligently and consciously and effectively?

These things being true, does not the socialist party who gives aid and comfort to the Civic Federation controlled by the American Federation of Labor permit his trade union left hand to undo what his socialist right hand is seeking to accomplish.

The Gompers-Belmont machine no longer maintains an attitude of indifferent toleration toward the socialist workers within the union. It has declared open, bitter war upon them. It is utilizing all the forces of official organizers, publications and personal influence, assisted by secret intrigue, to drive them from the unions or to undermine their influence. To tell the truth in the union today is to sow the seeds of disintegration, for the union is built upon a lie—the lie of the identity of interest—and this lie is no longer whispered softly within the inner circles. It is made the fundamental article of the union creed. The struggle between the socialist and the "pure and simpler" within the unions is no longer a battle of ideas, but a contest against intrigue, chicanery and official corruption.

It is a battle in which there is nothing to be gained and everything to be lost. You are playing with marked cards and staking your principles and your life energies against a worse than useless organization. For it is now being borne in upon every student of labor and industrial conditions in America that, even if the dishonest officials of the American Federation of Labor could be disposed of, the organization is no longer capable of effective fighting. The history of the last few years indicated this: the last few months are proving it. Imperfect in its form of organization, its hesitating half-hearted method of fighting renders it incapable of meeting the demands put upon it by the new industrial conditions; incapable of utilizing but a fraction of its forces at a time, it faces a compact organized capitalist class; unnerved by its political emasculation, it has no answer to the death-dealing blows of injunction judges, so that even if it were not completely unmanned by its corrupt alliance with the Civic Federation, it would still be utterly unfitted for the emergencies of the present industrial battles. Every day sees these weaknesses accentuated, by the sharpening and strengthening of the forces of the opposition, with no sign upon its part of any movement toward remedying the defects.

Under these conditions, and backed by these arguments drawn from the weakness of and corruption of the American Federation of Labor upon the one hand and its own adjustment to those conditions and avoidance of those weaknesses, the Industrial Workers of the World asks your support. This organization has now lived past the experimental stage during which its enemies had planned its funeral. It has made a greater growth than was ever made by any previous labor organization in America during the same length of time after its formation. No socialist denies the correctness of its principles, the efficiency of its method of organization, or the honesty of its administration. For these reasons it has a right to expect and demand your support.

# LABOR UNIONS VS. INSURANCE SOCIETIES

BY J. BILLOW

We are living under a system of private ownership in the means of production. The owners have the government, the laws and the police to protect their interests. What has the working class, the class that produces all the necessities of life? They have not even an organization to effectively resist the encroachments of the capitalist class. Let us take one of the alleged working class organizations, the Cigarmakers' International Union, and see what it does for the workers. The Cigarmakers' International Union does not try to organize the people engaged in this industry. Why is this? Why does an organization that pretends to be interested in a certain class of working people not try to organize them? The answer is plain: Because the cigarmakers think themselves skilled and elevated above other people in the industry; they will not "lower" themselves by even attempting to get the tobacco strippers organized.

Section 64 of the Cigarmakers' International Union constitution says: "All persons engaged in the cigar industry, except Chinese coolies and tenement house workers, shall be eligible to membership." Again it is declared in section 156: "No union shall be allowed to furnish the labels for cigars made in whole or in part by machinery." It must be understood that the Cigarmakers' International Union has no hold on shops that don't use the label, unless they scab it on the Spanish cigarmakers. You can see by the two quotations how anxious they are to organize "all persons engaged in the cigar industry." The Cigarmakers' International Union will organize all those "engaged in the cigar industry," except the stripper, the roller, the bunch-breaker and those that work with machines; they will not bother with the casers, stockmen and women, while the organization of people who clean up the shop or stamp and paste their blue label, is entirely out of the question. Yet all these people are "engaged in the cigar industry." The truth of the matter is that they can't organize them. How can people who earn from \$2.50 to \$8 or \$10 a week pay an average of from 40 to 50 cents a week to the union? It is common sense that high dues cannot be paid by people "engaged in the cigar industry" who receive from \$2.50 to \$10 a week.

In section 64 they say: "The acceptance of rollers and filler-breakers as members by initiation or by card shall be optional with local unions, except in places where the system has been already introduced."

A roller or bunch-breaker joins the union, let us say, in New York; he comes to Chicago, or any other place where the teaming system is allowed. He cannot go to work in any union shop, even if there are jobs to be had, and the local union can refuse to accept his card. Although the card is from the same international union, the local union need not recognize it.

Is it to be wondered at that out of 250,000 people "engaged in the cigar industry" the Cigarmakers' International Union has only 44,000 organized, according to its own claims? Another phase of the Cigarmakers' International Union is that it is a union for the bosses quite as much if not more than for the working class. Section 156 says: "Nor shall it (the blue label) be allowed on any cigars sold for less than \$20 per thousand." A genuine labor union would not trouble itself with the business of setting prices on cigars. That is a function that

It becomes more and more evident that the employers of the largest shops in the country need an organization to fight for their interests. They have it in the Cigarmakers' International Union. Those who are underneath cannot organize into the Cigarmakers' International Union for the reasons stated. They can only organize in the Industrial Workers of the World, which is based on the class struggle and has no high initiation fees nor high dues. When insurance and trade union are combined, the latter goes out of business.

belongs to the boss. A labor union is supposed to be organized to look after the interests of its members, and not to fix the selling price of goods in the interests of a boss.

The Cigarmakers' International Union is not a labor union, but an insurance society. The meetings are taken up with sick rates and death benefits, almost to the exclusion of consideration of the workers' conditions in the shops.

Perhaps I cannot better describe the Cigarmakers' International Union than by quoting the conditions existing in England in the middle of the nineteenth century, as they are set forth in Professor Sombart's "Socialism and the Social Movement in the Nineteenth Century." The author says:

"Thus gradually the trade unions and their regulations were recognized by the employers; the latter declared themselves ready to deal conclusively with the representatives of the workman, and took part in arbitration, conciliation, etc. Was it really because Carlyle had so advised? Was it not rather merely out of purely selfish motives? Was it not that the conservative, aristocratic trade unions were a bulwark against all tendency to revolution, sure and strong as no police regulations could erect, and because methods of agreement offered a useful means of avoiding strikes and consequent disturbances of trade?"

Continuing, on pages 68-69, Sombart shows the true spirit of craft unions in the following language: "This practical tendency finds its true incorporation in the old English trade union, which, as I have already said, is the shrewdest scheme for the protection of personal interests that has ever been conceived; diplomatic, adroit, smooth towards that which is above—towards the employer; exclusive, narrow, brutal towards that which is underneath—towards four-fifths of the outsiders, the poorer classes of workmen. The trade unions are capitalistic and businesslike organizations, which the calculating, practical sense of the English workman has infused with his spirit. Hence, surely in great part, their large results. \* \* \* It was the coincidence of a number of circumstances favorable to capital that produced this businesslike organization—that specific time which we call English. Thus there is no socialism, no social movement in the strict sense of the term, no struggle of classes; but there is a social peace, or at least an approach towards such, upon the basis of political economy."

It becomes more and more evident that the employers of the largest shops in the country need an organization to fight for their interests. They have one in the Cigar-

makers' International Union. But those who are underneath, the poorer classes of workmen, cannot organize into the Cigarmakers' International Union for the reasons stated. They can only organize in the Industrial Workers of the World. Based on the class struggle, it has no high initiation fees nor high dues. We have no sick or death benefits, because we claim that when insurance and trade union are combined the latter goes out of business, while the insurance scheme alone remains. We claim further that by paying \$14 out of the \$20 that one must pay to the Cigarmakers' International Union, better insurance can be had from other societies. The cost of membership in the Industrial Workers of the World is \$6 a year, and the benefits you get will be such as are shared by your class in general. Read the literature of the Industrial Workers of the World; think it over and join a union of your class.

## HERE'S A PICTURE FOR YOU

The "Social Democratic Herald" says: "Bro. James Sheehan, acting business agent of the Federated Trades Council while Brother Weber is out in the state, went to the Schlitz brewery last Wednesday to investigate two structural iron workers from Chicago, who were known to be non-union. On being asked if they were members of the Structural Iron Workers the men finally admitted that they were not, but drew out of their pockets cards of the Industrial Workers of the World, duly signed by Sherman and Trautmann—one of them also drew out a party card which showed he was a member of the Tenth and Eleventh ward branch in Chicago! On being interrogated the brewery proprietors denied that they had tried to violate their agreement with the brewery unions, but said the men represented themselves as union men and claimed to have regular cards. However, the employment of the men was a clear violation and the brewery finally took the work away from them and they slunk back to Chicago."

The above confirms a fact with which many have long been acquainted, that the "Social Democracy" of Milwaukee is subordinate to American Federation of Labor trades unionism. A socialist is not permitted to work because he carries the Industrial Workers of the World card!

## THE MODEL WITNESS

The Opposing Counsel: "What is your name?"  
The Witness (appealing to the judge): "Am I obliged to answer this?"  
The Judge: "You are."  
The Witness: "My name is Todgers."  
"First name?"  
"I decline to answer."  
"On what ground?"  
"It would be construed into a reflection on the good taste of my parents."  
"Where were you born?"  
"I decline to answer."  
"Why?"  
"Because all my information on the subject is of the hearsay character."  
"But you were there at the time?"  
"I decline to admit it."  
"What is your age?"  
"Before answering I desire to consult with my attorneys."  
"What is your ostensible business?"  
"I do not remember."  
"Are you in any way connected with the Ramrod Trust?"  
"I do not remember."  
"What is its capitalization?"  
"I do not remember."  
"What is your salary?"  
"I do not remember."  
"Are you married?"  
"I do not remember."

The Judge: "The hearing will now be adjourned until 10 a. m. tomorrow. And I want to congratulate the opposing counsel on the marked progress they have made in advancing the case."—The Plain Dealer.

# THE GENERAL MOVEMENT

## HERE'S ANOTHER RECORD

From January 20th to February 20th, inclusive, charters were issued from the General Headquarters to local organizations as follows:

Progressive Local of Industrial Workers, Joplin, Mo.; Long Island Industrial Mixed Local, Jamaica, N. Y.; Deutscher Industrieller Arbeiter Verein, Cincinnati, Ohio; Cigarmakers' Industrial, Cincinnati, Ohio; Typographical Industrial, New York, N. Y.; San Diego Industrial, San Diego, Cal.; Woodworkers' Industrial, Cincinnati, Ohio; Store and Office Employees, Globe, Ariz.; Potomac Lumbermen's Industrial, Potomac, Mont.; Perry Industrial Mixed, Perry, O. T.; Missoula Industrial Workers, Missoula, Mont.; Hamilton Industrial Mixed, Hamilton, Ohio; Italian Broad Silk Weavers, Paterson, N. J.; Power Workers' Industrial, Helena, Mont.; Manhattan Industrial, Manhattan, Nevada; Piano Workers' Industrial, New York, N. Y.; Durant Industrial Workers, Durant, I. T.; Columbus Industrial Mixed, Columbus, Ohio; Rhyolite Federal Industrial, Rhyolite, Nevada; Canton Industrial Mixed, Canton, Ohio; Plainfield Industrial Mixed, Plainfield, N. J.; Carteret Industrial Mixed, Carteret, N. J.; Havre Laundry Workers, Havre, Mont.; Havre Workingmen's Industrial, Havre, Mont. Total, 24; Metal and Machinery Department, 9; grand total for the month, 33. Total of local organizations effected since the convention in July, 1935, 333.

## They Shunned Debates

The "great debate" for which arrangements were made at Pittsburgh, February 15, 16 and 17, turned out to be a big Industrial Workers of the World propaganda meeting. It was expected that a joint debate between Industrial Workers of the World and American Federation of Labor representatives would take place, but the latter failed to put in an appearance, for the reason, no doubt, they were advised that intelligent discussion was not in their line. President Sherman and Secretary Trautmann were on hand, however, ready to meet the "gladiators" of the American Federation of Labor, who at the eleventh hour decided that they had nothing worth presenting to a working-class audience. Not so with the Industrial Workers of the World men, who had the pleasure of addressing on the third night one of the largest and most enthusiastic gatherings of recent years in the city where capitalist industry every year murders thousands of the working class.

Organizer Markley writes that "Sherman from the first moment had the audience well in hand, and with logic, pathos and emotion he fired them to enthusiasm. Trautmann's arraignment of the American Federation of Labor as a capitalistic and not a labor organization was a virtual avalanche that carried before it all opposition, and cries of approval came like thunder from all parts of the hall. Divers views were harmonized on this occasion; all sides agreed that we must unite and that Sherman and Trautmann were doing splendid work for the Industrial Workers of the World."

## Typos Break Away

The San Francisco "Chronicle" of February 8 printed the following dispatch:

Santa Cruz, Feb. 7.—The local typographical union, a branch of the international union, which is one of the mainstays of the American Federation of Labor, has withdrawn from the local Central Labor Council and the California State Federation of Labor, which is affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. In a series of strongly worded resolutions the local union condemns the policy of President Compers and appeals to all other printers' unions to join in a movement to withdraw the International Typographical Union from the American Federation of Labor and to join the new Industrial Workers of the World, fathered by Eugene V. Debs and other radical leaders of the labor movement.

In the resolutions the practical politicians are denounced as corporation hirelings, the officers of the American Federation of Labor are declared to have upheld pernicious ideas as to the relationship of employer and employe and the only method of attaining industrial peace is said to be for all workingmen to band together for the control of the municipal, state and national governments.

## Metal and Machinery Department

This department is forging ahead with remarkable strides and is doing business East and West in a manner that is highly gratifying. From January 20th to February 20th there were issued nine new charters, each of them taken out by a fine body of workmen. Two of these charters were granted to unions formerly affiliated with the International Elec-

trical Workers, at Schenectady, N. Y., a body of workers among whom the principles of Industrial Unionism are getting a strong hold. Two new charters were issued to locals in Chicago and two to Canadian locals. Shop meetings are held in Chicago nearly every night and the interest is extending. Schenectady averages about 100 new members a week, and the locals everywhere are gaining in membership. The sentiment favorable to the Industrial Workers of the World at Kansas City among machinists is increasing and the membership growing.

Resolutions adopted by Newburgh (N. Y.) Local, No. 228:

Whereas, President Moyer, Secretary Haywood and C. A. Pettibone, a former member of the executive board of the Western Federation of Miners, the Mining Department of the Industrial Workers of the World, have been kidnaped and taken from the state of Colorado, of which they are residents, into the state of Idaho, where they are held on the trumped-up charge of complicity in the murder of ex-Governor Steunenberg, and

Whereas, This outrage, committed upon our brothers of the Western Federation of Miners by the mine-owning branch of the capitalist class, is with the evident purpose of throttling the revolutionary organization of the working class and to deflect public attention away from their own dastardly deeds; therefore be it

Resolved, That Local Newburgh, No. 228, of the Industrial Workers of the World, while extending sympathy to the men under arrest, also pledge to them the moral and financial support of Local Newburgh, No. 228, of the Industrial Workers of the World.

T. M. LONG, President.  
N. E. SMITH, Vice-President.  
JAMES MCGARREY, Sec'y-Treas.

The following resolution was carried by a unanimous vote by Branch 86, Socialist Labor Party, of Allegheny County section:

Whereas, At the present time we, the members of Branch 26, Socialist Labor Party of Section Allegheny County, recognize that the economic organization of the Industrial Workers of the World stands for the emancipation of the working class; therefore we deem it the duty of all members of the Socialist Labor Party to join the said organization and work for the emancipation.

Fraternally yours,  
JOHN DESMOND, Secretary.

Local New Orleans of the Socialist Party, at a meeting held February 24, unanimously adopted the following resolution:

Resolved, That it should be the duty of every wage worker to affiliate with no other labor union than the Industrial Workers of the World. We warn the workers to beware of all parties, whether directly capitalistic or decoy ducks under spurious names such as union labor or home rulers, prohibitionists, populists, municipal ownership and Hearst democracy. We also warn the workers to beware of all capitalist labor unions which under the misnomer of American Federation of Labor and Railroad Brotherhood and others, who by attempting to harmonize the workers and capitalists play into the hands of the oppressors of labor.

Some of the paltry opponents of the Industrial Workers of the World are circulating a report that this paper is printed in a non-union, "rat" shop. We have neither time nor inclination to keep track of the baseless charges made against us by a lot of croakers playing the critic and calling themselves socialists; but concerning this last contemptible accusation, we wish our friends everywhere to know that the establishment where "The Industrial Worker" is printed is union from top to bottom, and we court the fullest investigation of this statement. Every bit of printing used by the national office, in all departments, is produced in union offices affiliated with the union printing trades organizations. But "every knock is a boost." Let the knockers keep on knocking, fame and fulminate. It is our success that's worrying them.

Compers' instruction to the champions of division in the labor movement not to engage in any debates with anybody connected with the Industrial Workers evidently had the desired effect at Pittsburgh. But if there is any credit in their attempts to shun discussion, they are welcome to it. The workers themselves are beginning to understand.

President Sherman is meeting with extraordinary success in his present Eastern tour. At Pittsburgh the enthusiasm aroused by his public addresses was tremendous. His appeals for working-class solidarity in behalf of the worst paid and worst treated were electric in their effect. On February 23d, he spoke in the Labor Lyceum, Philadelphia, where the deep impressions he had made at other places were repeated.

Cincinnati Industrial Unionists are congratulating themselves on the success of their educational campaign. So successful has it been in shattering some of the idols of Gompersism that a Chicago University professor has been announced for lectures twice a month to contact the Industrial Workers of the World propaganda. But it's too late. The light has penetrated too far and can't be put out by an intellectual extinguisher from the Midway.

Prominent union men who a month ago were opposing the Industrial Workers of the World are today among its enthusiastic supporters. The heaven is working and the truth is being accepted everywhere.

When the weavers at the Moosup (Conn.) silk works were forced to go on strike, February 16th, they immediately began to look to the Industrial Workers of the World and one hundred and forty-five of them signed for a local organization.

There will be a mass meeting under the auspices of Cigarmakers' Local Union, No. 158, Friday evening, March 30th, at Workingmen's Hall, Twelfth and Waller streets, to be addressed by Chas. O. Sherman, Wm. E. Trautmann and Lillian M. Forberg. The occasion will be one for letting the light into dark places. There will be no charge for admission and everybody will be welcome.

## THE BANNER OF LABOR.

By Charles Stewart.

Air—"The Star Spangled Banner."

(Written for "The Industrial Worker.")

Oh say can you hear, coming near and more near,  
The call now resounding, Come all ye who labor?  
The Industrial band throughout all the land  
Bid toilers remember each toiler's neighbor.  
Come, workers, unite, 'tis Humanity's fight;  
We call you; come forth in your manhood and might.

## CHORUS.

And the banner of labor will surely soon wave  
O'er a land that is free from the master and slave.

The blood and the lives of children and wives  
Are ground into dollars for parasite's pleasure.  
The children now slave till they sink in their grave  
That robbers may fatten and add to their treasure.  
Will you idly sit by, unheeding their cry?  
Arise! Be ye men—see the battle draws nigh.

## CHORUS.

And the banner of labor will surely soon wave  
O'er a land that is free from the master and slave.

Long, long has the spoil of labor and toil  
Been wrung from the workers by parasite classes.  
While Poverty, gaunt Desolation and Want  
Have dwelt in the hovels of earth's toiling masses.  
Through bloodshed and tears our day star appears  
"Industrial Union" the wage slave now cheers.

## CHORUS.

And the banner of labor will surely soon wave  
O'er a land that is free from the master and slave.

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# INDUSTRIAL WORKER

Advocate of Industrial Unionism for the Working Class

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JOLIET, MARCH, 1906.

## Conspiracy of Capitalists Against Organized Labor

When the late Thomas B. Reed, speaker of the House of Representatives, declared in 1892 that the government of the United States "is an irresponsible despotism," he spoke with the authority of one who possessed that inside knowledge of government affairs which, if it were general among a people that really loved freedom, would produce a revolution in twenty-four hours.

We have had quite recently in Russia an illustration of how a responsible despotism may be called to account by the people compelled to live under its regime. But in a despotism that is irresponsible, like that of the United States, nobody is liable, none are amenable, all are careless of responsibilities, while the working people of the country are the victims of a system of graft that has usurped government and made the republic rotten before it was ripe.

Nearly every state in the Union, ostensibly under a government of the people, is in the grip, government and all, of a gang of robbers, or the political agent of a gang of robbers, organized for plain robbery under the name of business.

These political agents are the reputed great statesmen of the country. They sit, many of them, in the nation's highest legislative chamber. They have been guilty of every crime against the public welfare that their own ingenuity, supplemented by the cunning and prostituted learning of a horde of legal parasites, could devise.

Courts have been made vehicles of the miscarriage of the justice, and officers of courts are the vassals of those able to pay. The litigant from the ranks of the common people, with justice on his side, seldom hopes to win; the party with nothing but plunder never expects to lose.

Our "statesmen"—the statesmen of capitalism—would, if they spoke the truth,

agree with Reed that government is "an irresponsible despotism." But they care nothing for that. They have long since abandoned the ideas and ideals of their predecessors. They secretly applaud a military satrap who says, while serving his capitalist masters, "To hell with the constitution!" For they are so patriotic that they would see every vestige of their dear republic destroyed before relinquishing any of the prerogatives and opportunities to plunder which an "irresponsible despotism" has conferred upon them.

Some of them who have been guilty of crimes still retain their seats in the "august" Senate. One of them, who has been all his life a corrupter of the law-making bodies of the country, a proved liar and perjurer, asks if there is any reason why he should resign! But over them all and dominating them is the huge beast, of which John D. Rockefeller is the Christian head, the Standard Oil; and the aggregation of freebooters says: "We are bigger than the government. We own the Senate and the House."

Everywhere there is corruption and open defiance, or secret conspiracy, against the use of the powers of government to control or regulate their exploitation of the working class, whose labor has produced a fabulous prosperity.

The influences that are working to establish the despotic sway of capitalist cormorants has in its subtler forms, through a National Civic Federation, succeeded in putting a gag on the mouths of representatives of labor in the American Federation of Labor and effectually restricting that liberty of speech which should characterize a working-class movement.

Bearing all these facts in mind, when we turn to Colorado the present situation in that state and the arrest of Moyer, Haywood, Pettibone and their associates is clearly seen in the light of related conditions prevailing throughout the country. The capitalist class is brutally indifferent to the means whereby their power is perpetrated. They brook no opposition to their absolute rule. This has been in evidence throughout the devastating career of the Standard Oil. It has defied law, destroyed property and ruined persons whenever and wherever opposition had to be met. In the West it has seized the natural patrimony of the people and is resolved there as elsewhere to rule or ruin.

It is a part of the Mine Owners' Associations of the Western states, which have for several years past sought to crush out the Western Federation of Miners, of which Chas. H. Moyer is president and Wm. D. Haywood secretary. Possessed with the fatuous idea that if these men, and a few of their comrades could be PUT OUT OF THE WAY the miners' organization would be made incapable of effective resistance to their schemes for more plunder, the Mine Owners' Associations have pursued them with a fiendishness unparalleled in the history of any government on the face of the earth.

In their dastardly and unhuman crusade they have had the backing of governors of states, police, militia and courts of "justice." They have concocted and carried out plots to destroy property and commit murder and then endeavored to enmesh our comrades by accusations of crime. They kept Charles Moyer for months in a filthy bull-pen, under unspeakably horrible conditions, without trial or due process of law, but solely as an exhibition of their malignant hatred and brutality, and with the intention of breaking the man physically and mentally.

They brought against these men criminal

charges, not one of which has ever been proven, because no real proof was obtainable and the "evidence" they had, manufactured in the dark by hired spies and cut-throats, failed them. The Independence explosion has always been and still is charged against the miners' organization. What are the facts in that instance? It is unnecessary to go farther than to draw attention to two very significant facts in that connection: First, after the explosion the Citizens' Alliance of Independence gave a minute description of the infernal machine that was used; the description was printed by the capitalist newspapers all over the country. Now, since it is notoriously true that THE INFERNAL MACHINE WAS LITERALLY BLOWN TO ATOMS BY THE EXPLOSION and was reported to have been destroyed beyond recognition, and therefore beyond the possibility of minute description, the only possible conclusion that any sane mind can arrive at is that the Citizens' Alliance of Independence had guilty knowledge of the destructive contrivance before the explosion. Have the authorities of the sovereign state of Colorado made any attempt, upon this gentle hint from the Citizens' Alliance, to find the real culprits? No. It is still insisted that the miners' organization perpetrated the crime, and the gullible everywhere believe it. The second highly significant fact is that when the authorities at Independence turned loose their bloodhounds, expecting that the animals would go straight to the hut of a Western Federation miner, those creatures caught the right scent and WENT TO THE HOUSES WHERE DETECTIVES OF THE CITIZENS' ALLIANCE WERE SHELTERED! Did the state officials take cognizance of this incident? No. They still insist that the crime was committed by Western Federation men. The bloodhounds were taken back to their kennel. A fatal mistake had been made. The hounds found the hirelings of the real criminals, but were cheated to maintain the conspiracy.

The arrest of Moyer, Haywood, Pettibone and other members of the miners' organization is a conspiracy that has been hatched by the Mine Owners' Associations and carried out by officers of the law in the state of Colorado and the state of Idaho. It marks once more the seduction of government from its primary function as an instrument for the promotion of the common welfare of the people. It is a surrender by those in authority to the machinations of capitalist robbers and conspirators.

What is the object of these villainous persecutions, if not, as the detective, McParlan, declared, to see to it that our comrades do not leave Idaho alive? That they are in imminent peril is proven by the reign of terror inaugurated and maintained in the state of Colorado by their persecutors for three years past.

Realizing the danger, the officers of the Industrial Workers of the World on February 20th, two days after the news of the arrests was received, issued and sent out broadcast over the country the following declaration and appeal:

### SHALL OUR BROTHERS BE MURDERED?

Beginning at the Coeur d'Alene in 1897 a reign of lawless violence has been waged by the capitalist class in the Western states, one phase of which was the unparalleled series of outrages perpetrated against the laborers of Colorado. Throughout this conspiracy there had been continuous attempts to crush the labor organizations of the miners by seeking to foist upon them the crimes committed by the capitalist conspirators themselves. Every one of these attempts has failed. In spite of suborned witnesses and terrorized and corrupt juries, every case has ended in complete acquittal. The failure of the



conspirators' diabolical schemes has filled them with desperation.

The renewal of these outrages in the present arrest of Charles H. Moyer, Wm. D. Haywood and their associates marks the culmination of this conspiracy. The secret arrest, illegal deportation and general criminal character of all the proceedings mark this as the first step to railroad these innocent men to the gallows, in the hope of thereby breaking up the radical working-class organizations and putting an end to all resistance to tyranny.

We declare the arrest to be the result of a conspiracy premeditated by the capitalist pirates of the West, led by the mine owners and backed by the Standard Oil Company. The latter had disposed of Heinze, of Montana, as an antagonist of its interests and found only the radical organizations of the working class left to oppose it. To put Moyer, Haywood and their associates out of the way would effectually clear the field for their brutal reign under the black flag of piracy. And this is the evident intention of the gang which has pursued our comrades mercilessly for years.

Speaking for the working class and the revolutionary working-class movement, we accept the challenge in the name of freedom and will meet this outrage as it ought to be met, by calling upon our comrades to confront these delayers of government who cry, "To hell with the constitution!" and resort to every desperate means to intimidate and, as the present situation shows, even to murder our fellow workers and comrades, who have never been proven guilty of a single offense charged against them.

Read the statement of one who was instrumental in kidnaping our comrades and separating them from their homes and families: "The officers of the Western Federation of Miners and those who were implicated in the secret designs of the leaders will never leave Idaho alive."

The Industrial Workers are hereby called upon to prepare for such immediate action as developments in this latest criminal outrage may warrant; first, by a series of mass indignation meetings, not to pass meaningless resolutions, but to act as becomes men conscious of their rights and determined to maintain them; second, by starting a defense fund, contributions to be sent to national headquarters of the Industrial Workers of the World, 148 W. Madison Street, Chicago.

It being evident that the Standard Oil freebooters have taken the law in their own hands, nothing remains for us but to meet them upon the ground and with the weapons of their own choosing. Workingmen of America, be prepared to act.

(Signed) CHAS. O. SHERMAN,  
General President.

WM. E. TRAUTMANN,  
Gen'l Sec'y-Treas.,  
Industrial Workers of the World.  
Chicago, February 20, 1906.

Responses immediately began to come in; the workers are thoroughly aroused to the importance of this latest incident in the struggle between entrenched wealth and the producers. To prevent a lawless body of ruffians, aided by the venal officials of two "sovereign" states from carrying their base designs into effect, is the supreme duty of the hour. Prompt and immediate must be the protest and action of the working class to defeat this conspiracy. The circumstances require the services of the best legal ability obtainable; and within a few days after the arrests the Industrial Workers of the World, co-operating with the Western Federation of Miners, had taken decisive action in that direction.

The Illinois United Mine Workers, in convention at Springfield, on February 21st, voted and appropriated \$5,000 for the defense. The next day the Smeltermen's union, of Butte, Mont., donated a like amount. It is probable that the legal battle in the courts will be extended over many months; this means the expenditure of much money. The money can be raised, however, without hardship to any individual if every man will do his duty.

The Socialist Labor Party of New Jersey at its annual meeting, February 23d, passed the following resolution:

Whereas, President Moyer, Secretary Haywood, and C. A. Pettibone, a former member of the executive board of the Western Federation of Miners, the mining department of the Industrial Workers of the World, have been kidnaped, by "due process of law," and taken from the

state of Colorado, of which they are residents, into the state of Idaho, where they are held on the trumped-up charge of "complicity" in the murder of ex-Governor Steunenberg, and,

Whereas, This outrage committed upon our brothers of the Western Federation of Miners, by the mine-owning branch of the capitalist class, is with the evident purpose of throttling the revolutionary organization of the working class and to deflect public attention away from their own dastardly deeds; therefore, be it

Resolved, That the state convention of the Socialist Labor Party of New-Jersey, while extending sympathy to the men under arrest, also pledges to them the moral and financial support of the organization in this state, and would warn the ruling class that this year is not 1887.

Sympathetic telegrams pledging support were sent to Moyer and Haywood from the national office of the Socialist Party, Chicago, Eugene V. Debs; Chas. O. Sherman, the miners' unions and labor organizations all over the West. The Chicago "Socialist" published the proclamation of the Industrial Workers of the World in its issue of February 24th and the "Social Democratic Herald" of the same date had no mention of the arrests—not a line!

Repeated attempts were made in Chicago by representatives of the Industrial Workers of the World to get into the daily newspapers a statement of the working-class view of the arrests. The manager of the Chicago "Tribune" promised to "make a note" of the proclamation issued by the Industrial Workers of the World, but failed to keep his promise. Two days later the "Tribune" came out with a leading editorial agreeing with the Mine Owners' Associations and McParlan that the men ought to be hanged.

The Associated Press (in Chicago) refused to handle a statement on the arrests from Eugene V. Debs, on the ground that it was a "personal opinion," and the case must be "tried in court." They had "handled" the personal statement of McParlan that the Western miners' officials "would never leave Idaho alive," and didn't propose that the salutary effect of that "personal opinion" should be offset by anyone speaking for the working class.

Brothers and Comrades: The Western Federation of Miners is the Mining Department of the Industrial Workers of the World. Their fight is ours. The capitalists do not want the workers organized industrially, according to the plans of the Industrial Workers of the World. The fight is against this revolutionary form of organization, which they know contains the possibilities of their ultimate defeat and overthrow. We are determined that this form of organization shall prevail. The capitalists do not want a working class that is conscious of its rights; that understands the class struggle. We are determined that the workers shall be so informed and so organized. We are determined that there shall be no reconciliation, on the Civic Federation and American Federation of Labor order, between capital and labor. We are opposed to the fundamental lie that the interests of labor and capital are mutual. We are opposed to the paltry heresy that there is no future for the working class but wage slavery, and we call upon the workers everywhere to rally, to agitate, to educate, to organize in one national union against one common enemy—the capitalist masters of our "irresponsible despotism."

John M. O'Neil, editor of the "Miners' Magazine," writes "The Industrial Worker" as follows: Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone were arrested late Saturday night, when the conspirators knew the courts were closed and that no legal action could be taken to stay the hand of the kidnaping aggregation until their victims were beyond the boundary of Colorado. The adjutant general of the state of Colorado, with a detachment of the militia, was used as a military escort to take the arrested

parties to the state of Idaho. A special train was furnished by the governor of Idaho, thus showing that the corporations and the official machinery of Idaho have entered into a collusion similar in character to the many outrages which have disgraced the state of Colorado.

The capitalist press is now loaded with every character of a story to bring infamy upon the arrested men and to poison public sentiment against them. The capitalist press has resolved itself into judge and jury, have tried the prisoners, brought in a verdict and without any evidence found them guilty. I have no fear of results. You are aware that during the Colorado troubles the same charges were raised against the Western Federation of Miners and declarations were made to the effect that dozens of members of the organization would die upon the scaffold as a result of the crimes that were charged against the organization. The organization met every charge in court and every member was exonerated without even the shadow of suspicion resting upon any of them.

The arrest of the president and secretary of the Western Federation of Miners, in my mind, is due in a great measure to the fact that the Mine Owners' Associations of the West entertain the idea that with the president and secretary behind the walls of a prison the organization would be much weakened. Their scheme is to disrupt and shatter the Western Federation of Miners. They did not seem to realize that the Western Federation of Miners has within its membership hundreds of Moyers and Haywoods who will spring to the helm at a moment's notice and carry on the work of the men who are now the victims of corporate anarchy.

The latest news of importance, received just before we go to press, is that a statement issued by Conspirator Gooding, of Idaho, to the effect that Harry Orchard had made a full confession of twenty-six murders, in which "all the accused persons were interested," has aroused the ire of the state's attorney general, James H. Hawley. The latter says the statement is "wild."

"I had nothing whatever to do with the statement," said Mr. Hawley. "It was prepared and given out contrary to my advice and against all rules of decency and good taste, which I have tried to observe in my professional conduct."

Another matter which has angered Mr. Hawley is the position he is placed in by the authorities at the penitentiary, who are acting altogether under the instructions of the governor. WITHIN THE PAST FEW DAYS THE WARDEN HAS REMOVED THE ELECTRIC LIGHTS FROM THE CELLS OF THE PRISONERS, AND AFTER THE SUN HAS SET THEY HAVE NO OPPORTUNITY TO READ OR WRITE. IN ADDITION, THEY ARE KEPT IN SOLITARY CONFINEMENT AND NOT ALLOWED TO EXERCISE.

As a result of conferences with Clarence S. Darrow and representatives of the Industrial Workers in behalf of the Western Federation of Miners, the noted attorney left Chicago on Saturday night, February 24th, and is now engaged in the case with Attorneys Richardson and Murphy.

Edlin—he of the Capmakers' Journal—is still writing open letters, letters that are open to ridicule and arouse suspicions of the writer. But we shall have to pass them up to attend to business of real importance.

The brutality of the gang of kidnapers and minions of the Mine Owners' Association in Colorado is illustrated by the inhuman treatment of John Carley, who was tied up by the thumbs and suffered excruciating agonies. How the smug hypocrites would have rolled their eyes in holy horror if this thing had happened in Siberia!

The working-class movement is as big as all the interests of the human race. The race exists upon the results of what work is done in the world. No work being done, the race ceases to exist. As the working class is first in production, so it should be first in possession and enjoyment of wealth. And it will be. The working-class movement will make sharers in the work of the race. None will be shirkers; all will be workers.

### An Abandoned Ideal

For 2,000 years, according to Christian reckoning, people have been taught that the chief end of man was to become like Christ; to live the Christ life; to accept Christ as their great exemplar; to abandon the world and its allurements and follow the letter and spirit of Christ's teachings. The Christ life was the inspiration and dynamic force of the Christian religion.

But the exigencies of capitalist economics are playing havoc with the ideal. Just as "other worldliness" has practically been abandoned in the struggle for existence here and now, giving rise to clerical investigations of the why and wherefore of working-class indifference to things spiritual, which is a universally recognized phenomena, so the preachers of capitalism come forward to tell us that it would be a calamity if Christians tried to live the Christ life.

It is a new departure for the Christian ministry, so we quote the words of John D. Rockefeller's pastor, of the Fifth Avenue Baptist Church, New York, in a sermon at Mandel Hall, University of Chicago:

"If all Christians tried to copy Christ's life, all business, science, commerce and agriculture would cease and an era of disintegration would ensue. It would be the greatest calamity possible."

Thus, bit by bit, a religion that has been made subservient to capitalist interests and which lacks a really moral element is passing away, or changing to meet the economic exigencies of the ruling class.

The same preacher who thus demolished the Christian ideal also went on record with this bit of capitalist wisdom: "All that is necessary for any young man to do to become a multi-millionaire is to decide what branch of business or industry he wants to follow and then concentrate all his energy toward success," and he added that Rockefeller got his millions by "work"! We suppose it was merely the prophecies due to the time and place that prevented the university students from laughing the shameless time-server from the chapel.

The printers at the outset declared that their strike was to be a fight to a finish. That is probably the reason why Compers has failed to mix in.

We print elsewhere a venomous squirt from the "Labor Advocate," an alleged labor paper of Youngstown, Ohio, as an awful example to the working class of the dense ignorance of many editors who are supposed to understand working-class interests.

A monkey can be trained to act like a man; but man, having superior intellect, can act like a monkey with no training at all. And that is what some of the opponents of the Industrial Workers of the World are doing. But really we are getting along fine in spite of it all.

The report having gained currency that Industrial Workers of the World men have taken the places of striking printers, we wish to say emphatically that the report is absolutely false. We call for proof. We challenge our traducers to show up their evidence. If they can make good and prove that any Industrial Workers of the World men have taken the places of striking printers, the course of the national officers of the Industrial Workers of the World will be clear; such members will be forthwith expelled.

The international president of the International Association of Machinists, James O'Connell, and local officials in Chicago, have sent out simultaneously two statements intended to have the effect of checking the membership from investigating the Industrial Workers of the World. The president's statement is distinctly in opposition to Industrial Unionism, while that of the local leaders is a plea for it—with the International Association of Machinists in control, and both are misrepresentations of the Industrial Workers of the World and its officers. Between the two opposing attitudes, the members should have no difficulty in deciding what they will do.

## Variety of Opinion From Various Sources

### WONDERFUL LOGIC!

The Liberator  
A member of the American Federation of Labor, after writing a long article in an exchange, and in said article attempting the wonderful feat of riding two horses going in opposite directions at the same time, concludes his labored contribution in the following language:

"The trade-unionist will ask Brother Debs what will be the effect of the formation of new unions in the crafts as proposed by him if not to further intensify and increase 'craft jealousy, craft dissension, craft strife—the very things the capitalist desires.' That is the testimony that has already reached us from New York, and the far-seeing ones are asking themselves the question if it would not have been better for the new unionists to have stayed within the ranks of the old union and pursued their propaganda there for the industrialization of the labor movement rather than to have deserted to a new union with the direful results that are sure to follow. At any rate, since the step has been taken, it is to be hoped that wiser counsel will prevail and a more temperate and conciliatory attitude will be taken toward the old organization."

Wonderful logic! How can "craft jealousy" be engendered in an organization whose cornerstone is solidarity? If craft jealousies spring up it will be because the underlying principles of the Industrial Workers of the World are either misunderstood or else disregarded. "Far-seeing ones are asking themselves the question if it would not have been better for the new unionists to have stayed within the old organization," etc. "Nowhere in nature does the new grow up within the old. The new takes root, fruitifies and grows; the old gives way, sloughs off, falls into decay. If it is a new birth then the offspring leaves the old body and makes its independent way. The Industrial Workers of the World is a new birth; it has nothing in common with the old craft unions. It believes in 'taking and holding the means of life,' the old unions wish to let the bosses, keep it."

### INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM BINDS

The People  
What craft unionism establishes with regard to each separate craft, Industrial Unionism establishes for all together. The consequences of the two systems are as different as night is from day. Craft unionism dislocates the labor movement into as many members as there are crafts; Industrial Unionism binds them all into ONE union. Craft unionism demands loyalty only from the members of that particular craft organization towards one another; Industrial Unionism demands loyalty from all the members of the Industrial Workers of the World towards one another. Craft unionism denounces a scab only the member of that particular craft organization that remains at work where it has declared a strike, and it allows the members of the other craft organizations in the identical shop to remain at work; Industrial Unionism, being ONE union, brands as a scab whatever other craft organization remains at work in the establishment in which any one member, whatever his special craft, is on strike by the authority of the Industrial Workers of the World. Craft unionism deliberately keeps the majority of the working class disorganized, closes the shop against them, and thereby compels scabbery; Industrial Unionism opens the shop, and thereby its own doors, to all, thereby leaving no room for "involuntary scabbery" on the same principle that the socialist republic will leave no room for "involuntary poverty." In short, taking the picture presented by the conference between railroad presidents, or capitalism industrially organized, on the one hand, and autonomous miners on the other—taking that picture as a horrible example to be eschewed, and as a foil on which to contrast the Industrial Workers of the World, craft unionism is smitten with locomotor ataxia; Industrial Unionism is in vitale control of the power to co-ordinate the muscles of the labor movement into harmonious action.

### AN EDITOR HAS THE JIM-JAMS

Union workmen of Youngstown (O.) town, beware the false doctrines of the Industrial Workers of the World, an unlaughed idiotic, anarchical organization whose chief motive or object is to destroy that splendid society of organized workers, the American Federation of Labor. Workmen, pay no attention to the disciples of Most and Ling and Parsons and the murderers of McKinley and Garfield. Give no heed to a society whose national organizer openly boasts that there are no such things as God, as the Truth, and sinners and laughs when the

Golden Rule is mentioned. Turn away from an organization who would, if it dared, tear from every flag-staff in the United States and trail in the mire the good old stars and stripes, the emblem of true liberty and progress, and in its stead flaunt the gory crimson rag of anarchy, revolution and war.

The Industrial Workers of the World has a meager, skimpy following of deluded, benighted residents of this city in its local circle, but see to it, true workmen, that it gains no headway. The American Federation of Labor is good enough for us.

### "Another Closed Shop"

The following dialogue is reported almost verbatim as it occurred between an organizer of the Industrial Workers of the World and a justice of the peace in a Texas community recently:

Industrial Workers of the World Organizer: "I hear that you have charge of the Trades Assembly Hall; I would like to rent it for a meeting of the Industrial Workers of the World."

Justice of the Peace: "I am on the board of trustees and the other two members have told me to take care of the renting of the hall, but I could not let you have it for your meeting, as circulars coming here show that you people are fighting the American Federation of Labor."

Industrial Workers of the World Organizer: "I am not here to discuss the merits or demerits of any labor organization just now. It's a pure business proposition. You people have a hall and we want to pay for the renting of it."

Justice of the Peace: "Ain't you fighting the American Federation of Labor? and do you think we would give you the hall to fight us?"

Industrial Workers of the World Organizer: "Now that you put it in that light, I will answer: We are not fighting the wage workers who hold membership in the American Federation of Labor, but we are fighting the so-called labor leaders who are responsible for the present craft form of unionism. But I will pay right now and invite you people to either debate or question me, if you will agree to rent the hall."

Justice of the Peace: "This Industrial Workers of the World is a scheme of the socialists, and we know that unionism and politics won't mix."

Industrial Workers of the World Organizer: "In Powderly's, Ratchford's and in your case, they seemed to mix pretty well."

Justice of the Peace: "The trade-union movement must stay out of politics."

Industrial Workers of the World Organizer: "We propose not only to keep the trade-union movement as such, out of politics, but we also propose to keep the so-called labor leaders in a position where they can't use the labor movement as a footstool, so that the capitalist political parties will reward them for their actual or prospective treason to the working class."

Justice of the Peace: "It was a lot of socialists that started this new movement, and even the best socialists in the country are fighting them."

Industrial Workers of the World Organizer: "So far, so good; I am glad that you see it in the same light as the good socialists. When democrats, republicans, populists, good socialists and others fight a movement on the part of the workers to better their conditions, it only proves their unity of purpose, and that is to save themselves, even if treason to a class must be the means. I will no doubt rent a hall in this town, and will advertise a meeting and invite you and anyone else that has objections to the program or principles of the Industrial Workers of the World to be present and take exception to anything that I chance to say."

### "The Jungle"

Here is a book that will either draw the fire of capitalist writers in a terrified attempt to disprove it, or else be met with a conspiracy of silence—"The Jungle," by Upton Sinclair. In either case it puts into the shade government investigations of the beef trust, and it cannot be ruled out of court by an exception from a trust lawyer. It is out and accessible to the people. The people are going to be tremendously affected by the awful picture within and about the stock yards; and they are going to place responsibility for the fearful conditions existing in the jungle of wild beasts where the Armour's and Swifts and Morris's coin millions and perpetuate a literal hell on earth.

Read the book and get others to read it. Get it out in thousands among the workers of the land before the enemy finds means of destroying it. The first edition of the book is 20,000 copies; it is nearly exhausted. A million copies should be printed. "The Industrial Worker" will fill orders at \$1.25, postpaid.

From every section of the country come reports of increase in membership of the local organizations and a widespread interest in the principles of Industrial Unionism.

## CALL FOR REFERENDUM ON THE CONVENTION

To the Department Organizations, Local Unions and Members of the Industrial Workers of the World, Fellow Workers:

The constitution of the Industrial Workers of the World provides for the holding of a convention on the first Monday in May. The general executive board was authorized to select the locality for the convention.

At the semi-annual meeting of the general executive board of the Industrial Workers of the World this matter was considered. Acting upon the request of the Western Federation of Miners, the Mining Department of the Industrial Workers of the World, the general executive board deemed it advisable to recommend the postponement of the convention to June 27, subject to a referendum vote of the entire membership of the Industrial Workers of the World. The request of the Western Federation of Miners was based on the following reasons:

Shortly before the first convention of the Industrial Workers of the World the Western Federation of Miners held a convention, at which delegates were elected to the convention in Chicago last year. The delegation installed the membership of the Western Federation of Miners as a working part of the Industrial Workers of the World and their action was ratified by a referendum vote. This would have necessitated a change in the constitution of the Western Federation of Miners, but such can be done only at a convention. This convention would take place after the date set for the convention of the Industrial Workers of the World should the same be held as provided for in the Industrial Workers of the World constitution. The Western Federation of Miners would have no convention between the two held by the Industrial Workers of the World. The delegates of the Mining Department of the Industrial Workers of the World would have no authority to make any proposition at the convention, not knowing whether or not the following convention of the Mining Department would fully endorse any action of their delegates. The convoking of any action of that department prior to that of the Industrial Workers of the World is out of the question. Other reasons also prompted the executive board officers to recommend this request favorably to the membership.

Acting under the authority placed into the hands of the general executive board, a referendum is hereby called, on the recommendation of the general executive board, on the following question:

"Shall the convention of the Industrial Workers of the World be postponed and held on June 27, 1906?"

The ballot to be cast to be either "Yes" or "No." In the absence of any rules governing elections and referendum votes, the following rules should govern this referendum vote:

Each department will institute a referendum among its membership, the same to be governed by the laws of that department. The general officers of the department will give the result of the vote to the general president or the general secretary-treasurer of the Industrial Workers of the World not later than March 15.

The unions directly chartered from the general administration will be guided in the referendum as follows:

Each union must elect a committee on election at its next meeting. Such committee to prepare ballots and announce the question to be voted on.

A special date to be set for the voting; ballots to be secret; every voter must write his own ballot "Yes" or "No."

Immediately after the polls are closed, the union previously designating the time and place, the election committee shall proceed with the counting of the ballots and ascertain the result. The election committee will then fill out the enclosed report blank, have it verified by the president and the secretary of the union, with seal attached, that the election was executed legally and in compliance with these rules. These report blanks must be forwarded immediately to general headquarters not later than March 15, the postal stamp date on letter of March 15 serving as guidance for the canvassing committee at general headquarters.

Standing vote in meetings will not be considered a referendum, and statements from union officers that a unanimous vote "for" or "against" the proposition has been cast will not be recognized.

Members at large will send in their vote in sealed envelope marked "ballot," so as to avoid opening the same before the official count takes place.

Every member should vote, and a general discussion should precede at a meeting prior to the voting.

Provisions should be made that night workers can also cast their ballot.

CHAS. O. SHERMAN,  
General President.  
W. E. TRAUTMANN,  
General Sec'y-Treas.

### THE STRIKERS

Out on the roads they have gathered, a hundred thousand men,  
To ask for a hold on life as sure as the wolf's hold in his den.  
Their need lies close to the quick of life as the earth lies close to the stone;  
It is as meat to the slender rib, as marrow to the bone.

They ask but the leave to labor, to toil in the endless night,  
For a little salt to savor their bread, for houses water-tight,  
They ask but the right to labor and to live by the strength of their hands—  
They who have bodies like knotted oaks, and patience like sea-sands.

And the right of a man to labor and his right to labor in joy—  
Not all your laws can strangle that right, nor the gates of hell destroy,  
For it came with the making of man and was kneaded into his bones,  
And it will stand at the last of things on the dust of crumbled thrones.

—Edwin Markham.

### The Pension Grant

A bill presented in Congress on February 8th, by Mr. Gardner, of Michigan, provided for the annual pension appropriations, was accompanied by a speech containing some very suggestive information on the American pension-graft. The bill appropriates for pensions \$139,000,000. The amount it carries, Mr. Gardner shows, is more than twice the annual pension expenditures of France, Germany, Austria-Hungary and Great Britain combined. Austria-Hungary spends on her standing army of 469,771 men and her pension system together less than half as much as we spend for pensions alone. Yet this year's pension bill is not exceptional. The expenditures to "patriots" in that line have remained practically stationary for fifteen years. Every year it has been predicted that the next year would find us going down-hill, but although pensioners drop off the rolls at the rate of fifty thousand annually, there are always fifty thousand new ones to take their places.

Mr. Gardner shows that, judging by the analogy of past wars (we are now paying five pensions on account of the Revolution, which ended a hundred and twenty-three years ago), there will be sixty pensioners of the Civil War in the year 1989. That is to say, if a child born after the close of the war grew up and had a child at the age of twenty-five, and that child should have another child at the same age, and that child should have another child, and that child should grow up and pay taxes for pensions on account of a war that had ended before his great-great-grandfather was born.

The Civil War was estimated to have cost about six billion dollars, and Mr. Gardner predicts that before the accounts are closed we shall have paid an amount equal to the first cost in pensions. Already we have spent \$3,223,414,578 on that account. There are now more Spanish War veterans on the pension roll than the entire number of Shafter's army in Cuba. In that whole war there were 698 deaths from wounds, 6,610 from all causes including disease, and 9,378 casualties of every description. There have already been filed 69,687 applications for pensions on account of that war—more than two-thirds as many as were filed in the same length of time after the Civil War, in which over seven times as many men fought fifteen times as long, with the loss of over fifty times as many lives—and it is estimated that in twenty-six years from now the number of Spanish War pensioners will exceed 133,000, or about four times the number of men that ever heard a Spanish bullet. At that time we may expect to have all told about half a million pensioners, even if we have no more wars in the interval. Foreign critics who accuse us of bellicose designs do not realize how heavily we are bonded to keep the peace. Neither have they any idea what a wonderful thing American "patriotism" is.

Events justify the organization of the Industrial Workers of the World. The working class, rent into divisions, economically and politically, can never win out. Unity is the word that should be on everybody's lips. Unite and conquer; factionalism is death.

The Industrial Council of New York City meets every Tuesday, 8 p. m., at 59 East Fourth Street.

### HEADQUARTERS OF THE WESTERN FEDERATION OF MINERS

Mining Department, Industrial Workers of the World.

Denver, Colorado, February 26, 1906.

To the Officers and Members of the Local Unions of the Western Federation of Miners:

Greeting:

On the night of the 17th of February, President Chas. H. Moyer, Secretary-Treasurer Haywood and George Pettibone were taken from their homes in Denver and spirited away to the state of Idaho, through a conspiracy that was hatched by the Mine Owners' Associations and carried out through collusion between the officers of Idaho and Colorado.

The nocturnal kidnaping of these men without being permitted to communicate with their friends or notify the attorneys of the Western Federation of Miners, is conclusive evidence that the recent outrage is but the continuation of the conspiracies that have already blackened and disgraced the state of Colorado.

The arrest of the officers of the organization and other men, who have been prominently identified with the Federation, is strong and convincing proof that the object of the conspiracy is to disrupt and ultimately crush the Western Federation of Miners.

The Mine Owners' Associations are acting in concert and have already created a corruption fund, which is to be used to stifle the conscience of men who are willing to sell their honor for gold.

You have already seen the press dispatches, which report rival detective agencies in a desperate struggle for the "blood money," which was offered for the arrest and conviction of the party or parties responsible for the murder of ex-Governor Steunenberg.

Someone must be convicted in order that the trained, professional liars of detective agencies may get the price of perjury, and that the vengeance of Mine Owners' Associations may be satiated.

The Western Federation of Miners must meet the emergency which confronts the organization, and this can only be done by securing the best legal talent in America.

When paid hirelings of Mine Owners' Associations and detective agencies measure their perfidy against the mighty intellects of giants in the legal profession, the conspiracy to send men to prison or the scaffold will be laid bare.

This latest conspiracy must be probed to the marrow, and we call upon the local unions of the Western Federation of Miners to come to the rescue with such generous contributions as will serve notice upon the enemy for all time that innocent men shall not be made the victims of a damnable conspiracy, and that the organization cannot be shattered and destroyed by the infamous machinations of corporation anarchists.

Send all contributions to James Kirwan, Room 3, Pioneer Building, Denver, Colorado.

JOHN C. WILLIAMS,  
Acting President Western Federation of Miners,  
JAMES KIRWAN,  
Acting Secretary Western Federation of Miners.

### Harry White's Graft

Papers have been filed in New York City in a suit brought in the Supreme Court by Thomas A. Rickert, president of the United Garment Workers of America, against Henry White, who was general secretary of that association from 1897 to 1904. By the terms of his agreement and the by-laws of the union, it is alleged he was expected to give all his time to the union in return for \$30 a week. As secretary he was intrusted with the purchase of a large quantity of the union labels for marking clothing. These and other supplies were procured from a concern known as the New York Bond & Ticket Company. It was discovered later, according to the complaint, that Mr. White had long been a shareholder in this company, and had shared in the large profits which it made on the business with the union. This is said to have been a breach of his agreement with the garment workers, so the court is asked to rule that Mr. White's outside profits belong to the union.

A Chinaman, clad in the typical laundryman's costume, entered a street car one cold day last winter, and took a seat next to an Irish woman of generous proportions. He shivered, shook himself, and then, with that yearning for human sympathy which extremes of temperature bring to the surface, remarked to his neighbor:

"Belly cold!"

The Irish woman was not socially inclined. She turned on him scornfully and snapped out:

"Well, if ye'd tuck yer shirt inside yer pants, ye laythen, yer belly wouldn't be cold."



**CALL FOR REFERENDUM**  
**RE. "S. C. SHORTY"**  
**"BY CLACK"**  
**thous.**

"Are the cans cleaned, Red? If they are, let's sit down and chew, as my stomach thinks my throat's cut."  
 "The drinking cans are cleaned, all right, but there is an 'old-timer' down and out in an empty on the siding, and I'm going over to get him to chew wid us."  
 "All right, go and hurry back before the tings get cold."  
 "Red" wends his way toward the box car and "Shorty" fixes things up for that meal. It's 2 p. m., but this is the first meal they've had in twenty-four hours.  
 "Won't he come, Red? What's the matter wid the old stiff, anyway?"  
 "He says he's too weak to walk."  
 "Too bad about dat old Yage. Perhaps he could be carried," says "Shorty" sarcastically.  
 "I don't tink dat stiff is lettin' on. I tink he's a very sick man. He says he's been here five days. Besides, Shorty, to me he looks like a lunger. He has that turrle hacking cough."  
 "Let's dig in and chew, and when we are trou, we'll see what we can do for him."  
 "Hang the luck. Just when we could do some good wid coin, we're both broke. It makes my heart bleed to see an old man like dat spending his last days in a box car."  
 "I don't tink flopping in gospel shons is good for you, Red. It makes you sort of creepy."  
 "Let's sit down and chew, and after we're trou I'll take what's left to the Yage."  
 "I didn't take long to eat what they wanted, as they did not have much anyway; but the largest part of what they had was wrapped up in an old newspaper and carried over to the car, where the old man was. The old man was sitting in the car with the side door open, his feet were dangling in the air, he was emaciated, very poorly clad, his eyes were sunk in his head, and dark, black marks, caused by suffering, were visible around them. He appeared to be a man of sixty, but in reality was just forty-one. The old man could not eat the food that was brought to him, but did drink some of the strong coffee. Just after he drank the coffee, he took a long coughing spell, which wore him out completely, after which he laid flat on his back.  
 "Shorty, you fix him up comfortably, and I'll go up town to get him a pill artist."  
 "All right, Red, I'll fix him up."  
 "Red" started toward the town, and knocked on the door of the only doctor in that small village. He was invited in by a little girl, and ushered into the front room. For over a half an hour "Red" waited to see the doctor, who was talking to the minister in the next room. Finally "Red's" nervous tension was somewhat relaxed by the doctor coming into the room, saying: "Well, young man, what can I do for you?" But before "Red" could reply, this doctor went toward the door, opening it, and let the minister out. When the minister was gone the doctor turned, and his impatient, beady eyes sharply looked at "Red." Parting his thin lips, he once more said, "Well, young man, what can I do for you?"  
 "Sir," said "Red," "there is a poor, old man very sick down by the railroad, and it would indeed be an act of kindness on your part to go down and look at him. You might perhaps relieve him of his terrible sufferings."  
 The doctor looked at "Red," and with an impatient motion of his hand, said, "Has he any money?"  
 "No, sir."  
 "Have you any?"  
 "No, sir."  
 "Well, who is going to pay me for my work?"  
 "Doctor, I have no money now, but my partner and I can work, and the

first money that we earn I'll promise you that we will pay you."  
 The doctor, pulling his watch out of his pocket, says: "It's now 4 o'clock. I have a couple of patients to see this afternoon yet; and I have an appointment this evening, so at best I cannot see the sick tramp today; but I'll come down in the morning."  
 "Red" felt like grabbing this miserable biped by the throat, and choking him within an inch of his life; but he restrained himself, and rapidly walking toward the door he opened it, and hastily left the office. To the car on the siding he hastened and when he reached there, the old man was asleep in a corner of the car. "Shorty" had performed a nice bed of straw, and had arranged things so that the old man could get a drink of water whenever he wanted it. "Red" jumped quietly out of the car so that he would not disturb the sick man and started to hunt "Shorty."  
 He found him in the "jungles," putting sticks on a blazing fire. "What are you cooking, Shorty?"  
 "I am cooking a gump, so that the old man can have some nice chicken broth when he wakes up. How did you make out with the pill artist?"  
 "The scoundrel won't come to see him."  
 "Expect not, but I had better luck. I went over to that house," pointing his finger toward a little wooden house, "and a kind, middle-aged lady gave me three blankets, and she told me to come over any time we needed anything for the old man."  
 "I'll bet she's a workingman's wife."  
 "You bet she is. Her husband is a carpenter."  
 "Where did you get the gump?"  
 "Glommed it, and I think that good woman saw me get it, as I had to run it down by the circle method; but she only smiled, turned her head, and then walked into the house. I then went over to her, and she gave me a few spuds, salt, pepper and greens."  
 It was not very long before the chicken was cooked, and a nice can of broth was carried to the old man by "Red." The old man was now awake, and the broth did him a lot of good. He also ate some of the chicken. The entire "supper" had to be served in the car, as the old man would not eat unless his friends ate also.  
 After supper the old man turned over and went to sleep. "Red" went out of the car to smoke, and "Shorty" went over to the good woman to bum a candle.  
 When "Shorty" returned he and "Red" jumped into the car. Going in the opposite end of the car, they spread their "bed," which consisted of a couple of newspapers. Taking off their shoes and coats, using their shoes for a pillow and their coats for a blanket, they retired.  
 In the course of the night they were awakened by that terrible cough, and the old man was heard to say, "Are you in the car, boys?"  
 "Yes," said "Red," jumping up. "Can I do anything for you? Light the candle, Shorty."  
 "Yes, please hand me a drink of water."  
 The candle was lit, and "Red" got him the water.  
 "Are you afraid of death?"  
 "No, neither Shorty nor I am afraid of it."  
 "Well, I think I am going to die."  
 "No, you're not; brace up, old-timer, we'll take care of you."  
 "I won't need much more care, boys; but listen quietly, and I'll tell you the story of a workingman's life."  
 "Shorty" arose and moved the candle toward where the old man was lying, and sat down close to him, while "Red," in his stocking feet, walked up and down in the box car.

"It's no use starting with my early boyhood days; only this, I did not get much of an education. At seven I was selling newspapers on the streets of a large city. At eleven I went to work as an errand boy, for \$2 a week, and in the course of a few years my wages were raised to \$3; and then, because the boss had a liking to me, he left me learn a good trade. At eighteen I was a nail-maker, earning, my \$1 a day. But I spent my money as quick as I made it. At twenty the daughter of the man for whom I was working, a girl of my own age, but well educated, took me in hand and made me study. To make that part as short as possible, the noble conduct of that little woman inspired me, and I braced up and became ambitious. We fell in love with each other. All of this took place unknown to her father, and when I asked him for permission to marry the girl, he discharged me, and threatened to disinherit her. I was not long in getting a new job, and of course we were married in spite of the objections of both her father and mother, and she was cut by her folks. That did not bother us, as I made enough to keep us comfortably. In the course of three years two sweet little children were born to us, and there never was a happier family. Things went on and when my youngest was nine years old a machine was invented that destroyed my trade in its entirety. We had saved a little, so we did not suffer from want for over a year. Besides, I was doing odd jobs as a laborer.  
 "One day the little girl came home from school complaining of a sore throat; she took diphtheria, and in a few days, in spite of medical aid, the little girl was dead. It nearly broke our hearts, and my dear woman carried on dreadfully; all the while holding the boy in her arms. It took nearly all our money to bury our little girl, and the day of the funeral the boy was taken sick, and the next day he was dead, and in two weeks more my wife took sick. She struggled hard; she knew I needed her, but do what she would, that dread messenger, Death, conquered her, and after she was buried, to drown my sorrows, I took to drink; but drink did not agree with me, so I hit the road, and have been on it ever since.  
 "For a year I traveled by myself, going anywhere, everywhere, and yet nowhere, when by chance I met up with one of the best fellows on earth. He and I were partners for eight years. We worked in harvest together, in extra gangs, done odd jobs, and bummed our way at times.  
 "One day we set out toward an extra gang; we were both broke; but we carried a bag of provisions. We had hard luck, and were getting ditched by miserable shacks, so we had to hit the rods. The train was going a pretty good clip; we both made it, he getting on the rods of one car and I on the next. We had gone about thirteen miles, when, above the noise of the moving train, I heard an agonizing scream. When the train reached the next tank, which was seven miles further, I jumped off, ran in front, but could not find Jim. There was nothing there but a tank, so I could not get any aid. It was a moonlight night, and not very cold, so throwing my bag on my shoulder, I starts down the track back over the ground we came, with the idea in my head that Jim was badly hurt. It did not take me long to walk the seven miles, and, right in the center of the roadbed, between the two tracks, lay poor Jim's head. It is not possible to describe my feelings, but I threw out the cans and other stuff from the bag, and carefully wrapping Jim's head in paper, put it in the gunny sack. Then I found his body, mimis the legs and an arm. I got the body in the bag and I started hunting for the legs. I found them horribly mangled. It took me over two hours to find the arm. But, aided by the light of the moon, I found it. Then throwing the bag containing Jim's body over my shoulder, I started to go back the thirteen miles to the last town. All of a sudden it became terrible dark,

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and then peal after peal of thunder rent the atmosphere, coupled with flashes of lightning, and then it started to pour. But carrying my dead comrade's body, I heavily trudge on until I arrived back in town. I took the body to an undertaker's establishment, and after I lifted the body from my shoulder, I dropped from fatigue.

"When I came to I found myself in a small hospital, quite sick; but in two weeks they turned me loose, telling me I was well. I learned that they had dug a hole in the ground just outside of the regular graveyard and buried Jim there. His is the only body in that particular 'potter's' field.

"Since that time I have been suffering from consumption; but nevertheless I have managed to stay on the road, and at times I can get light work to do. I guess I'll not do any more work, as I'm going. Good-bye, boys. You've been so good to me."

The old man lay very still. "Red" continued his march up and down the car and "Shorty" continued to sit with his head in his hands. About ten minutes had passed and "Red" said, "Touch him, Shorty. See if he's cold." After feeling the old man's body "Shorty" reflected.

"He must be dead, as he is cold."

"What shall we do?"

"I'll go up town and spring it on the public."

"All right, Red, you go and I'll stay here."

"I hear someone walking outside. I wonder who it is."

"Hello, fellows," said "Red," jumping out of the car very quietly. "Did you fellows just blow in on this train that pulled through?"

"Yes, Slim and I just came in. Is that car clean? Can a fellow flop in there?"

"Whitey, there is something wrong with this plug."

"Yes, there is something wrong," said "Red."

"An old-timer just died in the car I jumped out of."

"Is that straight goods youse givin' us?" said "Whitey."

"Yes, it's straight, and I guess I'll go up in town and report it to the bull."

"Never mind the 'bull,' Whitey and I have thirty plunks on us and we'll go wid you to the undertaker and get a box."

The three went to the undertaker's, and after a deal of trouble he was awakened. Finding out he could do business, he treated his peculiar customers in a businesslike way.

When the coffin was picked and the \$20 to go toward digging the grave, the undertaker sent for his man and had him haul the body from the car to his establishment.

The funeral was arranged for that very day, and when the minister learned that there was money in the crowd he wanted and got \$5 to say a few pious words over the dead.

The other \$5 was spent getting shirts, collars and neckties for the four "pall-bearers."

The whole town turned out to see that tramp buried, the majority walking to the graveyard and others riding in their own carriages.

The young minister desired to make an impression, so he started to roast the dead man for the mode of life he led. After using him as a horrible example and a warning to both old and young, the representative of the Lord prayed to have the old man's sins forgiven.

"Red" was impatient, and when the preacher was through he started to talk. Not having had any sleep the night before, his nerves being unstrung and his eyes bloodshot, he made a wild yet fascinating appearance. He began:

"Ladies and Gentlemen: The dead man whose body lays in that coffin in that grave, over whom dirt will be thrown shortly, is one of the nameless heroes—"

The minister had moved over toward the marshal, and after a few whispered words the marshal walked toward "Red," and telling him to shut up, placed him under arrest. "Shorty" walked over to the bull and said, "Arrest me, too."

"I can do that, all right."

So away from the graveyard "Shorty" and "Red" are dragged, searched and thrown into the city bastille.

"Whitey" and "Slim" left town after the funeral.

In the morgues "Red" and "Shorty" are tried as vagrants, found guilty and sentenced to work on the county roads for sixty days. At the trial (?) both "Shorty" and "Red" were denied the privilege of saying anything in their own defence. The doctor, minister and marshal testified against them.

IS THIS UNIONISM?

About ten days ago, a man who had followed the occupation of a coal miner for twelve years, called at the headquarters of the Western Federation of Miners. This miner had walked from Lafayette, Colorado, to Denver, a distance of some thirty miles, not having the necessary amount of money to pay his railroad transportation. He had gone to Lafayette to seek employment in the coal mines, and after considerable effort, was successful in securing a job. The foreman of the mine told him to come to work the following morning. There being a local union of the United Mine Workers at Lafayette, this coal miner called upon the president of the local union and presented a paid-up card of the Western Federation of Miners, but was told that such a card would not be recognized. He was further told that he must pay \$10, or secure two members of the United Mine Workers who would vouch for the payment of the initiation fee. This coal miner, being practically penniless, was unable to pay the \$10 and being a stranger and unknown in Lafayette, was likewise unable to produce the required security. He was bluntly told that the \$10 must be paid or security furnished, or he would not be permitted to work in the coal mines at Lafayette. It mattered not that he had been a coal miner in the state of Illinois, for nearly twelve years, and had carried a card in the United Mine Workers from 1894 until the early part of the year 1905. The fact that he had been a member of the United Mine Workers for eleven years in Illinois and bore the scars of the conflict in that state during the year 1897, yet, he must be re-initiated and forced to pay a fine of \$10 to prove to the president of the Lafayette local union of the United Mine Workers that he was still a union man. He was not eligible to fellowship with the members of the Lafayette local unless he was able to produce \$10 or security. It appears as though the president of the Lafayette local measures a man's unionism by dollars and cents. The paid-up card of the Western Federation of Miners, which was presented by this man, was absolutely ignored and the unfortunate victim was forced to turn his back on Lafayette and walk back to Denver because he was unable financially to respond to the policy as advocated and adopted by John Mitchell and his salaried brethren. The coal miner was cared for by the Western Federation of Miners, and he was furnished the means of transportation to a place where union men are not boycotted and blacklisted because they have not the price of initiation in their pocket.

If this man had been able to pay the \$10 there would have been no questions raised as to his eligibility to the United Mine Workers, but because he was poor, because he was a Lazarus, or because he showed membership in the Western Federation of Miners, the fraternal hand was withheld and he was forced to become a tramp, because Mitchell, the greatest labor leader this world has ever known has refused to recognize an interchange of cards between the coal and metal miners.—The Miners' Magazine.

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METHOD
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METHOD OF ORGANIZATION.

The general organization of the Industrial Workers of the World provides for thirteen International Industrial Departments, subdivided into industrial unions of closely kindred industries. Provision is also made for Local Unions.

A local union of the Industrial Workers of the World is directly subordinate to the General Executive Board, by whom its constitution must be approved.

Ten men wishing to form a local union may do so upon application to the headquarters and retaining \$20.00, which is the fee for a charter and full set of supplies.

Any agreement entered into between the members of a local union and their employer, to be valid and binding, must be approved by the General Executive Board.

Local Unions chartered by the general administration shall pay 25 cents per member per month, together with such assessments as are provided for by the constitution.

Members on moving within the jurisdiction of a local union must transfer their membership from the union at large to the local union.

Of the 25 cents per month paid by members of local unions direct to headquarters, 5 cents is placed in the "Defense Fund," and 20 cents in the "General Fund."

The constitution provides for one universal label for the entire organization.

All local unions must procure supplies, such as membership books, official buttons, labels, badges and stamps from the General Secretary-Treasurer.

Between all local unions and other organizations of the Industrial Workers of the World there shall be a free interchange of cards, and a paid-up membership card shall be accepted in lieu of initiation fee by all bodies subordinate to the general organization.

Where there are ten local unions with not less than 2,000 members in any one industry, the General Executive Board is empowered to call a convention of that industry and proceed to organize them as an International Industrial Department of the Industrial Workers of the World.

The foregoing gives a general outline of the functions of a local union and the method of organizing the same. Any additional information will be promptly supplied on application to the General Secretary.

THE PREAMBLE

THE working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of working people and the few, who make up the employing class, have all the good things of life.

Between these two classes a struggle must go on until all the toilers come together on the political as well as on the industrial field, and take and hold that which they produce by their labor, through an economic organization of the working class, without affiliation with any political party.

The rapid gathering of wealth and the centering of the management of industries into fewer and fewer hands make the trades union unable to cope with the ever-growing power of the employing class, because the trades unions foster a state of things which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping defeat one another in wage wars. The trades unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the working class have interests in common with their employers.

These sad conditions can be changed and the interests of the working class upheld only by an organization formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries, if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all.

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The great majority of capitalists, especially the shrewd, far-seeing ones, unqualifiedly approve the pure and simple trade union. Capitalists are not fighting the pure old brand of unionism; they have, in fact, formed an alliance with it, and the union is the silent partner in the firm.

If there be no necessary conflict between capitalists and wage-workers, it follows that all the fighting that is going on must be unnecessary.

The only purpose of the civic federation is by subtle schemes to reduce the trade union movement to harmless impotence. This is its real mission.

It is a fact that nearly all scale and strike-breakers are ex-unionists.

Why should the railroad employes be parcelled out among a score of different organizations? They are all employed in the same service. Their interests are mutual. They ought to be able to act together as one.

The labor leader who is not discredited by the capitalist class is not true to the working class.

There is but one hope, and that is in the economic and political solidarity of the working class; one revolutionary union and one revolutionary party.

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The machine was never known to join a union, or ask for a day off, or go on a spree, or go to sleep, or grow weary, or organize a strike, or talk about "rights," or be moved by "sympathy." The machine has no "dreams"; it is the obedient, uncomplaining slave of its owner.

A settlement of the labor problem is impossible with the detention of private property in the tools of employment and the ownership of the "jobs" by the class that owns the tools. The working class must own both jobs and tools—then the labor problem will be solved.

## MAN'S OWN LAND

Editor The Industrial Worker:

Even under the very noses of the recently savage Indian, the irrepressible class struggle rages. Its effect is made manifest by the Indian himself. Here in Shawnee one never sees the fantastic garb that is the natural attire of the "savage." Both the "buck" and the "squaw" dress themselves in the manner of their pale face neighbors—paper collars, high heels and other abominable things that proclaim the idiosyncrasy of civilization. The very expression of these aboriginals has taken on a business aspect. They pose and glide along; it would be a stretch of fancy to say they stand and walk. One seeing them going into the stores to do their trading can hardly imagine that these same people a few years ago were nature's children, running wild in their fantastic pursuits.

Shawnee is the division point of the Rock Island Railroad. The biggest portion of the population is made up of wage slaves; it is easy enough to acquire this information, not only by seeing the dirty shops, but the very appearance of the men denotes this self-evident fact.

One sees young men with eyes appearing to set back in their heads; this is because it is almost impossible to wash clean from the black dust that "athens" around the eyes of machinists, blacksmiths, firemen, engineers and other wage workers.

Of course, this is a union town. The Rock Island shops, as well as the road itself, employs union labor; the building trades, some clerks, barbers, butchers, bartenders and girls who work in a small overall factory, and the printers, and seven cigarmakers make up the army of organized labor.

The Industrial Workers of the World manifests its existence in this town, and the wage slaves jumped at the proposition, seeing in it their only hope of immediate relief and final emancipation. A goodly number of them applied for a charter. From its very start threats were made against those who were members of craft organizations and dared join the Industrial Workers of the World. This is especially true of the International Association of Machinists. They are generally the brightest men in the trades and quite independent; they are boomers, and when they lose a job they beat their way to another; they are missionaries for any principle or program they espouse. Undaunted by the International Association of Machinists' leaders, five joined the Shawnee Industrial Workers of the World local at its very beginning; many others are looking with

favor on this new labor body. The workers began to hear rumors of what was going to happen to the Industrial Workers of the World men, and as Brother T. F. Delaney is a member of the International Association of Machinists and he was elected president of the Industrial Workers of the World local, he was to be put under charges in his local union; but some of the upholders of the "pure and simple" labor unionism thought better of it, much to the sorrow of Delaney, as he wished a general fight, knowing that would enlighten the machinists all along the line as to the helplessness of the International Association of Machinists and the unfitness of the O'Connell ilk. The last heard of this matter was information given Brother Delaney by the president of the International Association of Machinists' local "that he had the charges written out against Delaney sidetracked."

"Carpenters and Joiners of America" was next heard from. All kinds of things were going to be done to the eight "wood butchers" who joined the Industrial Workers of the World. These eight brothers held a conference and prepared themselves for a fight to the finish, feeling sure that every honest carpenter, when he understood the program of Industrialism, would support them. Our carpenters made it known that if any funny tricks were sprung, buildings in their entirety would be built by Industrial Workers of the World labor.

While these incidents were raging the Industrial Workers of the World was carrying on some very lively propaganda; more and more were the workers interested asking questions, attending the public meetings and nodding their heads in approval of the idea of Industrial Unionism.

As is the case in all other towns where "pure and simple" has a hold, so-called labor leaders make their existence felt by underhand and treacherous tricks. There is a school here for developing labor fakirs, called the "Trades Assembly." This "Trades Assembly" has a president who is looking for a reputation. He wrote to Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor, vice-president of the "Citric Federation," socialist "killer" and general watch-dog in chief of the P. and S. style of "organized scabbery." Sammy, upon hearing that the Industrial Workers of the World was in Shawnee, replied promptly and ordered the "Trades Assembly" to fire out the Industrial Workers of the World supporters. Brother E. E. Matteson was a member of the assembly, representing the carpenters' union. This letter from Gompers was read and Matteson

was called upon the carpet. He justly claimed that the central body could not deal with him, as he was elected by his union. Never taking that into consideration, charges were about to be preferred. Then in justification of his position, Brother Matteson produced a constitution of the Industrial Workers of the World. Handing it to one of the officers of the central body, he told them that if they could show him a single thing in the Industrial Workers of the World constitution or in any of its literature that this new organization was likely to result in harm to the working class he would resign.

Taking no notice of Matteson's request, they were about to take action against him. So in self-defense, knowing that not much good can result from such a body at best, he volunteered his resignation as a delegate at the next meeting of the carpenters' union.

The seed of Industrial Unionism has been sown and is taking root; the fight rages. Let us reach the toilers and impress them with the principles of the Industrial Workers of the World and it will not be long before the working class triumphs. S. Shawnee, Okla.

## New School Reader

"Now, Johnny, what is a legislature?"

"Please, mum, but it is a body of men surrounded by the gas and other trusts, and individual members are sometimes offered as high as \$2,000 for their votes."

"For what purpose does a legislature assemble?"

"To make laws with holes in 'em and give taxpayers an idea that there is something doing."

"Of what does a legislature consist?"

"Of a senate, a house, a lobby, a dozen lawyers, about \$50,000 in cash and lots of gab."

"What is Congress?"

"A larger body of men selected by the railroads and trusts and surrounded by more temptations than a legislature."

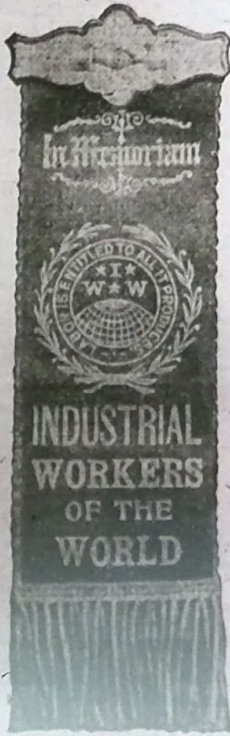
"How is it formed?"

"Of a senate, a house, unlimited boodle and more or less prerogatives."

"What is a prerogative?"

"Stealing government land, whacking up with rings, selling inside information to speculators and heading off committees appointed to investigate the beef trust and the railroads."

"Correct, Johnny. You look pale and tired, and you may now take your seat."



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