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# INDUSTRIAL WORKER

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## HOLD YOUR COURSE!

By ERNEST UNTERMANN

In a short while the thinkers of the Industrial Workers of the World will meet in convention. There will probably be the usual clash of opinions on present-day differences. There will, perhaps, be the usual attempts on the part of individuals or minorities to offer their particular predilections to the convention as substitutes for the chosen policy of the great majority, regardless of whether these predilections are proof against the test of historical experience or not. There will no doubt be glorifications of purely industrial activity, especially aggressive and pointed assertions of the superior merits of industrial unionism over everything else. There will, very likely, be sneers at political activity, and reflections upon existing revolutionary working-class parties.

Of all the pure and simple labor unionists, the industrial pure-and-simpler is the most absurd. A pure and simple craft-unionist has at least the excuse that his whole environment tends to obstruct and confuse his entry into class-conscious labor-politics. And we can understand and accept this excuse, for our past experience has taught us that there is indeed much truth in it. But there are no such extenuating circumstances for the industrial unionist who belittles or repudiates political working-class solidarity. Every avenue of industrial unionism points straight toward revolutionary labor politics as the indispensable supplement of revolutionary industrial organization. You cannot overthrow the ruling class by a pure and simple industrial strike. You cannot touch their political power with a general industrial strike, unless it is accompanied or followed by a corresponding assault upon the political citadels of plutocracy.

The time may come when the exploiting classes will attempt to curtail the political franchise of the working class. But it is not yet. And it seems to me that the best way to encourage the ruling powers and render safe their attack on the elective rights of citizens would be to show how little some citizens care for their political rights. On the other hand, the more we insist on our political rights and use them uncompromisingly in our own class-interest, the farther

No man can resign himself forever to the degrading servility of absolute non-resistance. There are times when the discipline of non-resistance must nerve us to dare the utmost. Retaliation becomes at times a sacred duty which must be fulfilled at any cost.

will reach our general social influence and the wider will be the circle which the rulers would stir up by an attempt on their part to tamper with the elective franchise.

In the meantime, while we are opening new avenues for freedom by our own efforts along lines of industrial organization, let us not lose sight of, or neglect opportunities which capitalism had to grant us in spite of itself. Industrial unionism will be so much stronger, the more unitedly it will march to the ballot box.

At present not only the unorganized, but also the organized workers are still divided economically and politically. Even the industrial unionists are still divided on political lines. And when you will stop to think for a moment, you will see that organized labor has certainly not accomplished any more by economic action than it has by political action. In some respects it has accomplished less on the economic than on the political field. You might, therefore, decry economic organization on the same grounds that some advance for decrying political organization.

Political solidarity will increase to the extent that industrial unionism will grow in volume and perfection. Political unity among revolutionary workers will be gradually accomplished as surely as industrial unity. But it will come through historical growth, not through any arbitrary endorsement of any of the present revolutionary parties by resolution. And to the extent that the historical process will unite the class-conscious workers industrially and politically, will the frictions due to imperfect development disappear.

For this reason, do not permit yourselves to be misled into a premature endorsement of either of the present revolutionary parties in the United States. If the majority of you are in favor of either party, you will support it even without a resolution, and you cannot prevent the minority from supporting whom they wish. A resolution is, therefore, useless. Don't waste any time over it. Let them sneer at the "slowshulist" party. Let them denounce the Socialist Labor party. Let them decry all political action. Do not heed them. The Industrial Workers of the World will find its political bearings in due time.

Of course, we need not deceive ourselves as to the effect which the successful growth of revolutionary working-class politics will have upon the ruling powers. We know that their desire to curtail our political rights will grow to the extent that we show them our political solidarity and determination. But so much more necessary will it be for us to be in a position to marshal a vast host of revolutionary voters at such times, so that we may not only be able to repulse the capitalist attack on our political rights, but also turn this attack into an added means of increasing the number of voting revolutionists. An extended strike of our industrial organization will precisely be a strong weapon in helping to repulse such an attack on our political rights.

There is not the least doubt that the weapons of the mind are the strongest and most effective in the armory of revolutionary labor. The centuries of social revolution are alive with proof that peaceful organization and serene education are vastly superior in method and results to violent measures. And it is also certain that the intelligence of the working class would never make a wrong choice between these opposite methods, if the choice were with the workers.

But unfortunately the choice of weapons is not left with us. Only too often have the ruling powers, in spite of their vaunted civilization and Christian ethics, chosen the path of beastly brutality instead of calmly demonstrating their alleged mental superiority by leading us upward on the road of



love and peace. At such times the passion for retaliation, or the necessity of self-preservation, have pressed the weapons of force into the hands of labor.

We know the appalling results which such isolated outbreaks have had for our class, yet, it is certain that such outbreaks are under certain conditions inevitable. We know their cost. We know their outcome. We know that they do not emancipate us from industrial and political slavery.

But no man can resign himself forever to the degrading servility of absolute non-resistance. There are times when non-resistance is wise and a proof of superior discipline. There are other times when this very discipline must nerve us to dare the utmost. Peaceful organization and education are at times impossible, because the ruling classes and their followers have not reached that stage of civilization in which they would realize the uselessness and stupidity of suppressing mere symptoms while nursing their cause. And no true man, no true woman, especially if they are as high-spirited as the class-conscious workers, will stand up calmly to be murdered, or to see their comrades murdered in cold blood.

There are times when lives will be lost, one way or another, and when bullet and sword can give the only inhuman answer to the overbearing brutality of the exploiting classes.

We sometimes find ourselves in situations which are pregnant with the most appalling possibilities. So long as legal methods are sufficient to thwart the illegal designs of the capitalist class, it would be folly to resort to exceptional measures. But where all legal means are powerless to cope with the lawlessness of the exploiting classes, and where so much is at stake that we must dare all, it would be equally folly and worse cowardice to remain inactive out of excessive respect for forms of law which the capitalists themselves do not respect.

Retaliation becomes at times a sacred duty, which must be fulfilled at any cost. When a crime is so inhuman, so brutal, so useless, and so revolting, as to defy all expression, then a determined halt should be called to those who perpetrated it, and the penalty of an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth, exacted to the full limit. And this penalty should be exacted in such a way that it will entail the least possible loss on the working class, and inflict the least possible injury on its organization.

We know only too well, that the hydra of capitalism cannot be killed by cutting off a few of its heads. Others will grow as fast as we chop off the old ones. But even so, there may come a time when it might be good policy to impress the hydra with the fact that losing heads and growing new ones on the sores is not pleasant.

Realize, however, that the adoption of drastic measures, under the present circumstances, is fraught with great dangers. Realize that but a very small number of comrades will at present be ready to undertake steps which practically amount to a throwing away of their lives. Realize that any general uprising, which would set in motion the majority of the American working class, is entirely out of the question for many years to come.

There are those among us who will not hesitate to throw away their lives at the drop of a hat, if thereby they can teach the capitalist class a much-needed lesson and set a brave example to other comrades. I welcome this spirit. I think it is worthy of admiration. I am ready to throw in my lot with these comrades at any time.

## A KIDNAPER'S CONFESSION

Here is an extract from a letter written by Governor McDonald, of Colorado, to J. C. Lamb, Dryden, Mich., concerning the arrest of Moyer and Haywood:

"THE GOVERNORS OF THE VARIOUS STATES, AT A CONVENTION HELD SEVERAL YEARS AGO, ADOPTED RULES WHICH ARE MUCH MORE STRINGENT THAN THE UNITED STATES LAWS, AND WHICH ARE FOLLOWED BY MOST OF THE GOVERNORS, AND THIS STATE IS PARTICULAR THAT THESE RULES BE FOLLOWED IN ALL THEIR DETAILS."

Read it again! The governors of the states hold a meeting, not provided for by law, and "adopt rules," without reference to law; these "rules" are, he says, "much more stringent than the United States laws" and are followed in Colorado "in all their details." That is to say, the whim and caprice of the governors overrides the laws of the country; without the consent of the people and with entire disregard for the law-making bodies of the country, they agree to adopt rules and enforce them as individual autocrats. No political action required, you see; just an agreement among governors—the same governors who cant and prate about anarchy.

How the rest of the patriotic governors must despise McDonald for giving it away!

But let us be clear in our minds before entering this path, that we are an insignificant minority, that we must act as a minority, that we shall have no support but ourselves, and that we must stand or fall with the full realization that we are sacrificing ourselves and setting an example which shall inspire others to continue so much more energetically the normal and peaceful propaganda of our aims.

Whatever may be our feelings, whatever may be the provocation, whatever we may vow to do individually or in small groups, remember that the normal way of attaining to our economic and political ideals is the peaceful conquest of the political powers through a class-conscious political party and the control of the social means of production by our industrial organization.

Of course, exceptional cases call for exceptional measures. But we must see to it that these measures are taken in such a way as not to defeat our ultimate aims. Remember that our persecuted comrades themselves would rather be sacrificed for the benefit of their organization than to see this organization defeated through any ill-directed attempt to avenge them. You will find a way to fulfill your duty towards them as well as towards our cause.

Much of the loss and defeat in earlier outbreaks of the working class was due to lack of preparation. The forces of labor had not been previously organized and drilled for such emergencies. Squads were formed on the spur of the moment, without trained officers and without sufficient general interrelation and control. Arms and ammunition were picked up at random. The questions of a commissary department and a

base of supplies were left to accident. Artillery was generally not on the side of the working class. No arrangements had been made for mounted scouts and a dispatch service. Still less forethought had been devoted to the care of the sick and wounded and the disposal of the dead.

A quick feat of daring, brilliantly executed by one man, or by a handful of men, does not require much preparation and cannot fail if well planned and managed. A few hours suffice to arrange and carry out such feats. This is the most effective and least uncertain way of meeting capitalist lawlessness by retaliation under the present conditions. Only single individuals or small groups can move quickly enough and safely enough to carry out their designs in spite of capitalist spies, secret service men and soldiers.

But let it be clearly understood that even a temporary outbreak of large bodies of organized men, if decided upon under stress of circumstances, will be more successful in case of success, and less disastrous in case of failure, if the following matters have been carefully weighed and pre-arranged: The mobilization of a trained corps of volunteers, fully equipped with modern arms and ammunition, and the eventual mobilization of a first and second reserve; a short manual of general instructions for the mobilized and unmobilized membership in times of unrest or actual hostilities; a universal cipher code, to be made known only to those whom the membership shall select for its operation; arrangements for the secretion of valuable documents of the organization at a moment's notice; a base of supplies for the mobilized, and, in case of a protracted general strike, for the whole membership and their families, with sufficient first-class ammunition for several months and ways of keeping up the supply; a news bureau in touch with the principal revolutionary organizations and publications by underground rail; a corps of skilled physicians and nurses; arrangements for the seizure of railroads, telegraphs and telephones near the selected place of action before the capitalist forces can move, and the destruction of strategic bridges, viaducts, etc., over which the capitalist forces and news must travel; the establishment of a complete line of dispatch riders in places where the destruction of the means of transportation is impracticable or inadvisable; arrangements for the seizure or destruction of all rifles, guns, ammunition, etc., of the enemy, that we can lay hold of before the first blow is struck; destruction of all documentary evidence of unpaid labor filched from the working class, such as deeds, mortgages, grants, bonds, etc., held by capitalists and used for the further exploitation of the working class.

These and similar measures, which must be pre-arranged, show that the question of exceptional steps on a large scale really confronts us with a vast and complicated problem of organization and funds which it will require years to solve. And even when we get it solved, we must be aware that unless we can precipitate a civil war of long duration which will forever weaken and disrupt capitalism, we must sooner or later suspend hostilities and return to a normal mode of the class-struggle under the utmost difficulties and losses.

So long as we are certain that the final civil war is out of the question, we must have a care not to over-reach ourselves, nor permit ourselves to be drawn into a protracted struggle when we intended to use arms only for a short period. Otherwise we should defeat our ultimate aims.



# Break Ranks! Come With Us!

E. J. FOOTE

You members of the Bakery and Confectioner Workers' Union and all members of the trade, organized or unorganized, are earnestly requested to cut loose from your old moorings and join a trade union of your class.

The Bakers and Confectioners' International Union is on the rocks and is being crushed wherever it dares put up a fight in the interests of its men.

Investigate the conditions in any city where the Bakery and Confectioner Workers' International Union controls and you will find that the label is used by a few of the bosses for the purpose of throwing "scab" in the teeth of a competitor, oftentimes a smaller one. The signing of the yearly contract is a business proposition to the baker boss, not in the sense that the contract binds him for a year to a stipulated condition, for he stands ready at all times to break the contract whenever it is to his material interests to do so; but because he can and does use the bakers' union to club a rival boss out of existence.

For an illustration, I will cite the Kansas City strike of 1902: The bosses signed up in the spring of 1901, and during the summer the wagon drivers were organized.

Two of Smith's men held out and refused to join. Smith informed the committee from the bakers that they were locked out.

The bosses in the meantime had put up a \$50 forfeit for the first boss to take the men back. In the meantime, Howard Smith, of the Smith Steam Baking Company, installed a Thompson molding machine to take the place of bench hands and then "signed up."

Who lost in the strike? The bakers! A volume could be written to show that the Bakery and Confectioner Workers' International Union, like all other labor bodies affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, has been and is now, used by the employers to further exploit us. They sign our contracts, break them the next day, but force us to abide by them.

If we declare a boycott, our hands are tied by injunctions. If we go on strike, we are assured the sympathy and moral support of the local central labor union, which means that all union men should call for bread with the label. On being curtly informed by the store-keeper that he "ain't go no union bread," they buy scab bread and continue to lavish their moral support on the striking bakers until the strike is lost and a break for jobs is made.

Bakers! the concern of one is the concern of all!

Craft organization is the cause of our helplessness. No one knows this better than the officers of our union, but they steadfastly refuse to enlighten us on this particular subject. It awaits for us to break ranks all over these United States and join the Industrial Workers of the World as a part of foodstuffs department. Your old organization has lost its quality as a bakers' union and has degenerated into a "safe and sane" adjunct of the baking industry, wherein it plays the part of the Siamese twins with the Master Bakers' Association.

Furthermore, we have nothing to look forward to but the social revolution. Our places are being filled by "iron men." The patent oven, the mixer, the divider, the molding machines have driven us out. We are no longer skilled journeymen. We have no trade; we are superfluous; we wander

over the land, trying to exist, cursing the scissorbills in small towns because they refuse to "pass a lump." Our union card is no longer good for a square meal the country over.

Why should we remain in a craft union? Its period of usefulness has passed and must be supplanted by the industrial form of organization, wherein the petty quarrels of the bakers' boss will be ignored and the emancipation of the working class be the end sought.

I know you men, because I am one of you. Many of you are class conscious. All of you can be made so inside the Industrial Workers of the World.

Forsake your impotent craft union before it goes to the wall.

Come into the new class union and find yourself on the right side of the class struggle.

Local 285, of Wichita, Kan., withdrew in a body from the Bakery and Confectioner Workers' International Union and joined forces with the young giant of militant labor, the Industrial Workers of the World.

We remember "Coeur d'Alene" and we stand ready and prepared for the preservation of our organization in the defense of Moyer, Haywood, Pettibone and St. John. Do you?

If you do, break ranks and come with us.

## Regarding Organization

By FRANK BOHN

The coming convention will, no doubt, give considerable time to a discussion of the constitution. In this connection the remarks of Delegate Hall in the convention last year are worthy of profound consideration.

"The departments of the Industrial Workers of the World," he said (I quote from memory), "should be for administrative purposes only."

In other words, in practice as in theory, the Industrial Workers of the World should be one union. In private conversation, in addressing American Federation of Labor locals, in public lectures, the wise industrialist will emphasize this feature. It is the one that counts in organization at the present time. The old unions divide the working class into many unions, we unite all

crafts, all industries, into one. The condition of the working class mind being what it is at present, this is the knockout blow to all opposition. Few understand revolutionary unionism. All appreciate the need for unity.

But what is this we hear about the "International Musicians' Union," with headquarters at New York. Shall we have, perchance, an "International Fishermen's Union," with headquarters at Cape Cod, and an "Orange Pickers' Union," with headquarters at San Bernardino. What is to prevent such "Internationals" from taking a referendum and deserting the Industrial Workers of the World with their machinery of organization?

Would it not seem strange for even our political government to establish its department of war at San Francisco, its department of commerce and labor at Pittsburg, and its treasury department at New York City?

Is the membership to foot the bills for a convention of the Musicians' International, a convention of the "Department of Public Service" beside those of the general convention? How many "Presidents" and "General Secretary-Treasurers" are we to have?

Already this hum and buzz of independent flywheels sends a cold thrill through my nerves. Stop it! Stop it now!!

Centralization of administration is the expression which stands for all the organized progress of both capitalist industry and capitalist political control. De-centralization is, in fact, impossible. Of course it can be tried. But I am writing about a successful organization.

To me these essential departments (essential because industry is, in fact, so organized) require just so many secretaries to the general president. If more subdivisions are required—why, let the President secure more assistants, each familiar with the work of his industrial-subdivision.

Fear of centralized authority, desire for "freedom," is an idea born of bourgeois small production and its counterpart, the "democratic" political state. The American capitalists of 1787 knew better.

The Industrial Workers of the World stands for two supreme conceptions, organization and democracy. The first is secured through centralized authority; the second through the initiative and referendum and the convention. The first is possible without the second—Standard Oilism. The second is impossible without the first.

I have no doubt as to the ultimate result of our deliberations. Victoria, B. C.

Well! What has become of Roosevelt's ex-coriolation of the author of "The Jungle"? The reports of his special commissioners are in his hands. What is to be done with them? Have we heard the last of that too?

## PROVED BY HIS RECORD TO BE DESPERATE CRIMINAL

The following resolutions, adopted by the citizens of Parsons, Kansas, the former home of Detective McParland, alias McKenna, shed additional light on the character of the man who is now one of the principal actors in the conspiracy of the Mine Owners' Association, aided and abetted by the governors of Colorado and Idaho:

"Whereas, It has come to our knowledge that one James McParland, who formerly lived in this city, is the chief instigator in procuring the arrest, and is now trying to convict Chas. Moyer, William D. Haywood and George A. Pettibone, citizens of Colorado, of the murder of ex-Governor Steunenberg, of Idaho; and

"Whereas, While said McParland lived among us he was of infamously bad character, being associated while here with the notorious McLaughlin of Grand Central fame. He, to the knowledge of our people, was engaged in the commission of almost all the crimes known to the criminal law. He suddenly departed from this city nearly twenty years ago and we knew naught of his whereabouts until we heard of him in connection with this case. While we have not sufficient knowledge of the facts regarding the Steunenberg murder as will warrant us in making a positive statement as to the guilt or innocence of Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone, such limited information as we possess lead us to believe in their innocence; therefore be it

"Resolved, by this meeting, That we warn the courts and law officers of Idaho to be watchful of every move made by James McParland, as we unhesitatingly declare that where there is a money consideration he will do anything, no matter how low or vile, to accomplish his purpose. We caution all persons that have any connection with the trial of these men, that there is a spot today, in the United States outside prison walls, a more conscienceless and desperate criminal than McParland."



# THE GENERAL MOVEMENT

## New Locals Instituted

Thirty more local organizations were added to the list of Industrial Unions during the month ending May 20th. We are winning all along the line, in spite of slanderers and falsifiers, who are afraid to have the workers know the facts about us. The list of new unions follows:

Industrial Mixed Local, St. Paul, Minn.; Industrial Labor Union, Great Falls, Mont.; Printers and Bookbinders' Industrial Union, Chicago, Ill.; Haywood Sheet Metal Roofers' Union, Youngstown, Ohio; Industrial Mixed Local, Greenwood, B. C.; Industrial Mixed Local, Waco, Texas; Paper Makers' Industrial Local, New Haven, Conn.; Industrial Mixed Local, Tucson, Ariz.; Industrial Workers' Local, Fairview, Nev.; Industrial Union, Anacortes, Wash.; Polish Industrial Mixed Local, Buffalo, N. Y.; Excavators' Industrial Union, Hartford, Conn.; Wood Workers' Industrial Union, Portland, Ore.; Industrial Mixed Local, Worcester, Mass.; Industrial Agents' Progressive Union, Boston, Mass.; Industrial Union, Vancouver, B. C.; Industrial Mixed Union, Canton, Ill.; Bartenders' Union, Trinidad, Col.; Industrial Workers' Union, Tonopah, Nev.; Hotel and Restaurant Employees' Union, Phoenix, B. C.; Industrial Workers' Union, Grand Rapids, Mich.; Industrial Mixed Local, London, Ont.; Industrial Workers' Union, La Junta, Col.; Blacksmiths Helpers' Local Union, Paterson, N. J.; Machinists' Local Union, Pittsburg, Pa.; Blacksmiths and Helpers' Local Union, Pittsburg, Pa.; Electrical Workers' Local Union, Schenectady, N. Y.; Steam Turbine Workers' Industrial Union, Schenectady, N. Y.; Freight Handlers' Local Union, Chicago; Oil Wagon Drivers' Local Union, Chicago.

Total new locals for the month—30.

Total number of local organizations chartered since July, 1905—419, exclusive of Western Federation of Miners' locals.

## Protest Meeting at Springfield, Ill.

On Sunday, May 20, a protest meeting consisting largely of miners who were delegates to the conference with operators, was held at Springfield, Ill. The speakers being Wm. E. Trautmann and A. S. Edwards. Great interest was shown by those present in industrial unionism. The following were the resolutions adopted:

"We, workmen and citizens of Illinois, in mass meeting assembled, at Springfield, May 20th, declare our conviction that the governor of Idaho and the governor of Colorado, entered into a conspiracy with the Mine Owners Associations in those two states for the purpose of crushing the Western Federation of Miners, as shown in the part they had in kidnaping the officers of that organization;

"We take notice of the fact that the mine owners and their plant tools boasted that Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone should never leave the state of Idaho alive, and notwithstanding that these men, through their counsel, have demanded a speedy trial, this is being denied them and the supreme court of the United States has postponed a hearing in behalf of our brothers on a writ of error until next October;

"We further take notice of the fact that the governor of Idaho has made an appeal to the bankers of that state to contribute sums of money for the purpose of meeting the expenses incident to this persecution, that is to hire manufactured testimony to convict them;

"We further take notice that in a letter written by Governor McDonald, of Colorado, to J. C. Lamb, of Dryden, Michigan, that public official makes the following astounding declaration: 'There are United States laws governing this matter, but aside from this the governors of the various states, at a convention held several years ago, adopted rules which are much more stringent than the United States laws, and which are followed by most of the governors, and this state is particular that these rules be followed in all their details.' therefore,

"Resolved, That we brand the actions of both governors as a nullification of civil liberty and all those rights for which the workers, the producers of wealth, have struggled in the past and to gain which the earth has been wet with blood; and it is further

"Resolved, That we pledge to our imprisoned and persecuted brothers our continued support in this, their day of need, and until the outrageous and unlawful conspiracy of which they are the victims shall be completely defeated."

Organizer Frank Bohu completed the amalgamation of the American Federation of Labor Federal Union (lumbrmen) with the Industrial Workers of the World local at Seattle, Wash.

## CALL FOR REFERENDUM

The following special circular was issued, May 19, 1906, by General Secretary Trautmann:

A proposition having issued from the Terre Haute Local and received the endorsement of several other organizations to postpone the convention of the Industrial Workers of the World, heretofore announced for June 27th, your general secretary deems it necessary to issue this special circular on the subject.

The constitution makes no provision for the submission of referendums, and in the absence of specific instruction I wish to state that the proposal to postpone the convention until after the trial of our brothers, officers of the Western Federation of Miners, has not only met with the approval of several organizations, but is endorsed by all members of the organization with whom I have opportunity to confer. The unanimous opinion is that should the convention be held in June the uncertainty that surrounds the trial of our persecuted brothers would very seriously affect the attendance, particularly from the Western States. It is well known to all of you that the energies and resources of our entire body of local organizations are now taxed to the utmost in providing an adequate defense fund. So heavy is the drain in this respect upon the membership at the present time, that it is a matter of serious doubt whether the delegates that may be chosen from the West could attend the convention in June. Should the convention be held at that time with a small attendance it will readily be seen that our enemies would take advantage of that fact to promote what might prove to be a most serious result, not alone for the organization, but for our brothers in the meshes of an outrageous conspiracy.

Therefore, it seems wise in the face of all the circumstances to postpone the convention until the trial is ended. If Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone are acquitted, the convention undoubtedly will be the most important ever held by the working class in this country, and since the proposal of the Terre Haute local seems to find general approval, no other course is open to your general secretary except to submit the matter to a vote of the members. You will find enclosed herewith blanks for a referendum vote, also credentials for delegates. The call for the convention fixed for June 27th is also enclosed for your information. Delegates to the convention may be chosen immediately and credentials issued to them, so that should the vote be adverse to another postponement they will be ready and instructed for the convention called for June 27th.

Should the capitalist class succeed in the infamous crime contemplated and a verdict of guilty be returned, it will then be necessary for us to call a convention to devise ways and means for a supreme effort to save the lives of our brothers. With this prospect before us, the only course we have is to submit a referendum, providing that as soon as practicable after the trial is ended a national convention of the Industrial Workers of the World shall be held in the city of Chicago, the exact date to be fixed in the call by the general executive board.

All local organizations are, therefore, urged to act immediately upon this most important matter. Delay may prove disastrous. Our duty to the general organization and to our imprisoned comrades demands prompt and intelligent action.

W. M. E. TRAUTMANN,

General Secretary-Treasurer Industrial Workers of the World.

CHAS. O. SHERMAN,  
Gen'l Pres.

## Gompers' Strike Breakers

The tanners and slaters of Youngstown, O., recently organized under the Industrial Workers of the World. They refused to be divided in the shops, working for the same employers, into four different national unions of the American Federation of Labor. The employers immediately counteracted this move by precipitating a conflict. All employees, including drivers, laborers, apprentices and water-boys walked out. The fight was surly won. Thereupon the employers telegraphed for the scab agents of the American Federation of Labor. Four of these agents appeared immediately at the scene of battle. Tom Flynn, general organizer; M. O. Sullivan, general secretary of the American Association of the Amalgamated Sheet and Metal Workers; P. Melvin and Student Reed, an American Federation of Labor disorganizer, appeared at the command of the

employers. In conference with these agents of the strike-breakers' organization, the employers signed an agreement whereby they were to pay higher wages as demanded by the strikers, providing the latter could be forced to join the American Federation of Labor, or if they refused, their positions were to be filled by the last-named organization. The national officers of the American Federation of Labor were to supply the scabs.

These "leaders" of labor immediately started to import workers to fill the places of the strikers. Among the strikers are fifteen colored wage-earners; but white men were brought to Youngstown by the criminals mentioned to take the places of the black men, whom the American Federation refuses to organize, yet expects of them not to take places of white men when the latter are expelled to strike. Here in this case white men were expected to scab against the colored workers.

But true to a natural instinct, to a glorious feeling of class solidarity, most of these imported workers refused to do the bidding of their enemies; honest wage earners would not become criminals against their own people; they rebelled against being made scabs at the command of the self-appointed scab-producers, so to fill the coffers of the lieutenants of the American Federation of Labor, who would sell the life-blood of the unfortunate workers and grow rich and fat at the expense of the honest sons of toil. No longer are the workers going to be fooled by these criminal "labor leaders."

The strike breakers—the American Federation of Labor national officers, are backed by the millions of the corporations, deaf to the protestations of an honest rank and file; the mask has once more been torn off.

But it is time now for the workers of this land to speak out in unmistakable language—and show by actions stronger than words that the fakir can no longer sell them at the auction block to the master, and bargain away men and women to scab against those who are nearest to their hearts—the members of their own class.

The fight of the wage workers of Youngstown against the agents of the capitalists will be won, if members and supporters of the Industrial Workers of the World give additional support to what the general office of the Industrial Workers of the World is doing.

The Haywood local of the Industrial Workers of the World at Youngstown has been selected by the masters and their plant tools, the labor lieutenants, to face the brunt of the most severe battle. The victory there means the downfall of corruption, the defeat of the American Federation of Labor scab-producers. Support must be given—not one will desert if they know that behind them stands the growing might of the awakening working class.

Contributions should be sent to Lewis L. Seent, 147 Oak Hill Avenue, Youngstown, O., and notify A. C. Ray, 549 McKinney Street, Youngstown, O.

Protests have been made against the course followed by the American Federation of Labor against the Industrial Workers of the World, the Carpenters' Union, of Youngstown, also the Painters' and Decorators' Union.

## American Express Co. Employees

From Boston "The Industrial Worker" learns a story of the shameful treatment of men employed by the American Express Company in that city at the North Union Station. These men serve their masters as porters, freight-sorters, scale men and scale-callers, at a scale of wages running from \$50 to \$65 per month, payable semi-monthly. The hours are from 6:30 a. m. to 7:30 or 7:45 p. m. Two or three nights before a holiday, with the exception of Christmas, they work until 9 or 9:30 and sometimes later. They have no fixed hour to cease work, but when everything is cleaned up for the night they can go home. During Christmas week they work from 6:30 a. m. until 12, 1, 2 p. m., or 5 o'clock the next morning. Then they go home, sleep a couple of hours, and return for the same grind. Sometimes they are provided with supper or breakfast. Last Christmas day they had to buy their own dinners and work until 7 o'clock that night. During the first two days of the Christmas rush they worked until 10 o'clock and 10:30 at night without supper.

The conditions prevailing are very conservatively stated. The men work every second Sunday about all day long. If they stay out on Saturday they are docked two days. The company claims to pay them for every day in the year. The company advertises to pay men when sick, but unless a man has a good pull with the boss he seldom gets more than one-half of his regular pay.

The company is interested in these men only to the extent of getting out of them as much work as they possibly can for the least amount of money they must pay. No improvement in their condition is possible except through organization. As matters stand they have absolutely no time they can call their own and are wholly at the mercy of their greedy employ-



## I. W. W. in the Northwest

The results of the past year's work toward Industrial Unionism are by no means apparent from the number of locals formed. This was made evident to me upon my return to Seattle, after an absence of six months. In September, when I spoke in this city on behalf of the Industrial Workers of the World, opposition was observable among some of the Socialists. Such opposition has now given way to quiet neutrality, if not to outspoken advocacy of our principles among this hitherto misguided element. Still more encouraging have been the requests which have come from those other "pure and simpler," the American Federation of Labor unions, for explanations of our system of organization.

The mixed local of the Industrial Workers of the World, No. 178, which had been organized in September with some thirty members, had increased to over a hundred. The persistent propaganda of these enthusiastic industrialists had spread a knowledge of our movement throughout the city.

The first of the old unions to come to us in a body was the American Federation of Labor Federal Union. This local had long been known as progressive in spirit. It kept a free reading room for workmen, and welcomed discussions of the labor movement in its meetings. This, of course, was enough to turn all fakirdom against it. The local was ignored and refused help by the central body of the American Federation of Labor. When the new Central Labor Hall was placed in use a janitor was chosen from another union. This was adding insult to injury and the Federal Union, composed almost wholly of laborers, turned to the Industrial Workers of the World. Brother Walsh and myself were invited to address the membership and upon a vote being taken only two supporters of the American Federation of Labor could be found. Thereupon, the American Federation of Labor organizer, a certain Mr. Young, called a special meeting of the two recalcitrants and reorganized the local. He was even kind enough to call at the Federal Union hall at midnight and take down the charter, thus saving us the trouble of throwing it out of the window. Thursday, May 10th, the Industrial Workers of the World Mixed Local adjourned early and went in a body to hall of the one-time American Federation of Labor local, where the two were consolidated. It was a happy occasion long to be remembered by those present.

No. 178 is now well prepared for further work. In its propaganda work it is in the foremost rank. Exactly eleven hundred copies of our papers are disposed of each month, beside hundreds of pamphlets.

At Anacortes the saw mill operatives were organized with 108 charter members. Members of the Shingle Weavers' Union (an American Federation of Labor organization) had arranged the meeting. "We shall adjourn our meeting and be at yours this evening," they said to me. "But I understand that Mr. Young is to be with you," I replied. "We shall bring him along," they said. "He needs education." When, at the next meeting, the American Federation of Labor organizer did appear he complained bitterly that he "had expected to be among friends, but found himself among enemies." "Where is the \$50,000 the International has paid into the American Federation of Labor?" asked one of the men. "We are taxed \$2 per week to support the strikers at Ballard, but not a cent will Samuel discover to us." It is said that Mr. Young gave his sympathy, as usual. Twenty members of the Shingle Weavers' Local joined the Industrial Workers of the World.

At the organization meeting at Vancouver there were more than 300 people present, although we had just held a rousing Haywood-Moyer demonstration meeting. Brother J. H. Walsh, an incessant worker for the Industrial Workers of the World reports equal interest at Everett and Bellingham. At the latter place 300 members are anticipated during the first month.

The Longshore workers of the Puget Sound, disgusted with their pernicious general officers, are everywhere throwing up their charters and welcoming the representatives of the Industrial Workers of the World. A leading member of the Shingle Weavers' International, A. G. Bowen, of Hoquiam, has been so persistent in his advocacy of Industrialism that he was discharged by his employer. His local stood by him, however, and the employers of Hoquiam offered him \$250 if he would leave the city. At Vancouver the president of the teamsters' union, after honestly trying to inject interest in a dead body, joined Vancouver Mixed Local of the Industrial Workers of the World and became its first president.

This account might be continued indefinitely. The workers of the Northwest everywhere educated by experience, require help in organization, and a dozen young active members are being prepared for work as voluntary organizers.

## TAKE CARE!

Take care how you irritate these people who produce everything, these people who, to be formidable, would only have to remain motionless.

—Mirabeau.

The final collapse of what is left of the old labor movement of the nineteenth century is accompanied by some most remarkable phenomena. The Building Trades Assembly of Seattle, not long since, issued a statement to its members which began as follows:

"All indications show that the situation that confronts the building trades unions is critical in the extreme." This is to be offset, it declares, by the membership paying to the assembly the extra sum of 25 cents per week for three months. And to what end?

The answer is pathetic, and yet excruciatingly funny. The workers to pay in thousands of dollars per week so that the capitalists of Seattle (or "public") might be educated to a knowledge of the beneficence of unionism. If the dear people only knew how good organized labor is for them they (wherever "they" may be) would rally to the defense. Just how the educational work was to proceed the manifesto did not state. Perhaps a chair of sociology and applied religion, with a university extension annex was to be established at the state university. The workers, however, I am told, turned the proposition down.

Against such appalling ignorance, such a caricature of the labor movement, the Industrial Workers of the World of the Northwest is pressing on; with what success has been shown.

FRANK BOHN.

Seattle, Wash.

## A Scheme That Failed

At the plant of the Automatic Electric Company, Chicago, are employed some fifty men who are members of the Industrial Workers. They are punch-press, drill-press and bench hands. Formerly members of the United Metal Workers, they have for three years past signed up with the company and have had no trouble whatever with their employers. In the early part of May one Keppler, business agent of District No. 8 of machinists, laid plans for the purpose of forcing these men to affiliate with the American Federation of Labor. He was joined in his plans by one J. D. Pierce, a general organizer of the American Federation of Labor, and one J. J. Ryan, business agent of the Sheet Metal Workers. These three, aided and supported by one Fitzpatrick, president of the Chicago Federation of Labor, attempted to carry their scheme into effect by forcing an agreement upon the company by which the Industrial Workers of the World men would have been left the alternative of joining the Sheet Metal Workers or be forced out of employment. The Industrial Workers of the World men, objecting to any arrangement of this kind, a meeting was proposed immediately after working hours on the evening of May 11th, the understanding of the Industrial Workers of the World men being that both sides of the question at issue would be discussed. Upon invitation from George Cannady, general secretary of the Metal and Machinery department, the editor of this journal attended the meeting in company with Cannady and Organizer Schweinberg of the same department.

Arriving at the place of meeting it was found that Fitzpatrick of the Chicago Federation of Labor and the other persons above named had a program framed up that excluded any Industrial Workers of the World man from the floor. Fitzpatrick was made chairman and stated that the meeting was called for the purpose of considering the advisability of affiliating with the American Federation of Labor. The first speaker was Pierce, who, without saying anything, talked for thirty minutes. He was followed by Keppler who said less than nothing in about the same time. Then followed Ryan of the Sheet Metal Workers with a proposition to the Industrial Workers of the World men to come into his organization under the provisions of special instructions he had received from his national headquarters, which were that the men should be admitted for one dollar each and \$6c per month dues. Each of

these speakers misrepresented and lied about the industrial unionists. Keppler was particularly abusive and reckless in his statements.

When it seemed that the chairman was about to railroad the Industrial Workers of the World men into the American Federation of Labor, whether they would or not, Brother Cannady arose and asked that opportunity be given for an Industrial Workers of the World speaker to be heard. He was told by the chairman that the difficulty in the Automatic plant had been fully explained and if the Industrial Workers of the World men wanted a meeting they could call one. Instantly a protest arose from the Industrial Workers of the World men present and Keppler exerted himself to create disorder. Brother Edwards then arose from his seat and put this question to the chairman: "Did the chair not state that this meeting was called for the purpose of considering the desirability of affiliating with the American Federation of Labor?" The chairman's reply was: "I stated that this meeting was called to consider the present trouble in the Automatic Electric Company's plant." Brother Edwards repeated his question, "is it not a fact that this meeting was called for the purpose of considering on the part of a certain body of men in this hall the advisability of affiliating with the American Federation of Labor?" Fitzpatrick replied "yes." Stepping forward to the platform, Brother Edwards then said: "I claim the floor on that issue, as representing a body of men here present and belonging to the Industrial Workers of the World."

Chairman Fitzpatrick: "Are you," (addressing Edwards) "an employe of the Automatic Electric Company?"

Edwards: "I will answer your question by asking one or two more. Is Keppler an employe of the Automatic Electric Company?"

Chairman Fitzpatrick: "No."

Edwards: "Is J. D. Pierce an employe of the Automatic Company?"

Chairman Fitzpatrick: "No."

Edwards: "Are you," (pointing at Fitzpatrick) "an employe of the Automatic Electric Company?"

Fitzpatrick: "No. I am a labor official."

Edwards: "Then my answer to your question is, neither am I an employe of this company, but I claim equal right with you to speak to these working men."

Keppler was on his feet in an instant, waving his arms and shouting: "See! They want to break up the meeting, boys! Don't let 'em do it! Don't let 'em!" At the same time Keppler rolled up a newspaper he held in his hands and threw it into the face of an Industrial Workers of the World man sitting near him. Men sprang up in all parts of the hall, and in the excitement that prevailed Edwards asked the chairman to be fair, stating that questions had been asked by the speakers of the Industrial Workers of the World men and the latter should, in all fairness, have an opportunity to reply. Fitzpatrick brandishing the gavel in the air said: "You will never get the floor."

Cannady and Edwards then retired from the hall followed by the industrial unionists. On the following morning Brother Schweinberg went to the plant of the Automatic Company and was asked by the superintendent to give him a report of the meeting. This Schweinberg did and when he was through the superintendent said: "Mr. Schweinberg, your story is true. I had a man at the meeting and knew all about what transpired at half-past seven last night. Now you can depend upon it that no agreement that those men representing the American Federation of Labor offer that proposes to exclude the men of your organization from this plant will ever go through. Subsequently the American Federation of Labor 'leaders' signed an agreement with the Automatic Company on the express understanding that the Industrial Workers of the World men in the plant should not be disturbed."

And this is the record, and a true one, of a little skirmish with J. J. Fitzpatrick, president of the Chicago Federation of Labor, J. Keppler, of the International Association of Machinists, J. D. Pierce, an organizer of the American Federation of Labor, and Ryan, of the Sheet Metal Workers. They are four of a kind and a disgrace to organized labor. They thought to win out by misrepresentation and preventing an Industrial Workers of the World man from speaking and lost.

### New Affiliation Proclaimed

We, formerly of the Oil Wagon Drivers' Union, No. 75, International Brotherhood of Teamsters, publicly announce that we disclaim all connection and affiliation with the International Brotherhood of Teamsters; we proclaim our affiliation with the Industrial Workers of the World and will hereafter be known as Teamsters' and Helpers' Local, No. 24, Industrial Workers of the World. By order

PETER A. ADAMS.



### General President on the Road

Under the heading "Sherman Is a Whirlwind," the Black Hills Daily Register speaks of Chas. O. Sherman's speech at Lead, S. D., May 14, as follows:

"The three hundred working men who congregated at Miners' Union hall last evening to hear Charles O. Sherman, general president of the Industrial Workers of the World, talk on "Industrial Unionism," certainly came away from the meeting with a better understanding of what is required if the working class is ever to take in the world the place the Creator intended for them. Mr. Sherman is a deep student, a fluent talker and has the happy faculty of impressing his hearers with his sincerity. He went over the history of the labor movement from the time when the toilers began to organize to the present time and during the course of his remarks showed the weakness of the trades unions, as organized under the American Federation of Labor, which says that union engineers and union firemen cannot refuse to run engines attached to train loads of scabs being hauled to take the places of striking members of the same American Federation of Labor, providing the strikers are not members of the engineers' and firemen's unions. The speaker also cited the fact that the members of the Typographical Union, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, were on strike in some of the big cities and their places were filled with non-union printers and the type they set was taken into the press rooms, where it was handled by union pressmen who were also members of the American Federation of Labor; from the press rooms it went into the union bindery, where union men and women finished up the scab work and it was put on the market, where it was often sold to union men. This condition of affairs, he said, was just what the employers desired and was, therefore, just what the employees should avoid. It was for the purpose of avoiding this condition of affairs that the Industrial Workers were organized in Chicago last June and so strongly had the system of the organization appealed to the working class that more than 100,000 workers were now enrolled under the banner of the Industrial Workers of the World. This organization says that an injury to one member of the organization must become the concern of all members and for that reason the capitalists of the country have become very bitter against the new union. It is on this account, he said, that the mine owners of Colorado and Idaho are determined to crush the Western Federation of Miners, even if they must murder its officers to accomplish their purpose.

"The speaker cited the fact that it was by keeping the working people divided that capital, although numerically weak, had always succeeded in keeping the workers where they wanted them. Men who were compelled to work in the factories, shops and mines as brothers, were encouraged to fight each other, either through race, religious or political prejudice, when the day's work was done, especially on election day. The capitalists were never divided, although they often made a pretense of being very bitter against each other on election day, but it was only a bluff, for no matter which side triumphed at the polls, the workers always lost. To show that the big employers of labor have eliminated competition in the disposition of the things they have to sell, he called attention to the fact that railway corporations have entirely ceased to compete. Rate wars were quite frequent in the past, but he wanted to know if anyone present had heard of a rate war in the last three years. No, there had been none, for the capitalists had got together and he appealed to the workers to do likewise.

"Mr. Sherman wanted the people in the audience to understand that he did not so much blame the labor-skinners as he blamed those who evidently enjoyed being skinned. At the close of his address, an effort was made to induce Mr. Sherman to remain and deliver a public address later in the week, but he is booked for an address at Terry tonight and must be in Butte, Mont., on the 18th, so he was forced to decline. The gentleman is one of the most forcible speakers who ever addressed a Black Hills audience and many of those who heard him last night will go to Terry tonight to hear him again."

From Montana President Sherman goes to Salt Lake, thence to Denver.

#### One Constitution for All

Whereas, The preamble shows the necessity of the workers organizing under a strong and better form of labor union, which is the industrial form of organization, where all the workers are united. The general constitution and by-laws of the Industrial Workers of the World defines the form of organization and the order of business of the general de-

partmental and local organization; the past has proven that a special constitution for each and every union has proven a source of weakness when it came to the test of unity. We believe it to be in the best interest of the working class that all departments be regulated by the general constitution, as we think it can be made broad enough for all departments to conduct their business; therefore, be it

Resolved, That we, the Metal and Machinery Workers of Local 17, Cincinnati, Ohio, go on record disfavoring different departmental constitutions, but are in favor of having different sets of by-laws of a very condensed form covering the needs of the different Industrial Departments of the Industrial Workers of the World. W. H. PEYTON, Secretary.

### Steel Workers Not Hysterical

At the Cincinnati convention of the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers, the following resolution was introduced and adopted:

"Whereas, One of the international officials of the Industrial Workers of the World will be in the city next Tuesday; and

"Whereas, There are resolutions in our program asking for affiliation with the same; therefore, be it

Resolved, That in order to get further enlightenment on their organization that he be given the floor for fifteen minutes at next Tuesday afternoon's session."

On the day named General Secretary Trautmann and President Kirkpatrick, of the Metal and Machinery Department, appeared and were cordially received as brothers in the labor cause.

Secretary Trautmann spoke as follows, our report being taken from the Amalgamated Journal:

The representatives of the Industrial Workers of the World did not appear to appeal to the Amalgamated Association to join their movement without showing good cause. Its propaganda aimed for a more constructive class relation and organization.

That the form of organized labor must change to meet changed industrial conditions.

Believed thoroughly that a class struggle was on and had to be met.

That the Amalgamated Association was the first labor union to pioneer the idea that the Industrial Workers were now building up towards perfection. Hence the Amalgamated Association was considered at its beginning the most revolutionary ever attempted by labor.

That it should not be ashamed of Homestead nor the Committee of Twenty-six that conducted that memorable struggle.

To the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers' history would give the credit of doing the pioneer work of industrial unionism, and it should be proud of it.

The very name Amalgamated embraces the whole idea of industrialism.

A chain is no stronger than its weakest link; therefore the unorganized are a menace to the whole working class.

Recognizing that thousands remain unorganized and that thousands have become dissatisfied with the old form of craft organization, the movement for industrialism was instituted.

There must be an expansion to meet present day conditions, or the workers would soon find themselves without any kind of union.

For this reason we want to construct unionism along progressive lines. Build up such an organization that can meet capital with its own tactics.

The only way to get anything from capital is to meet it with power. Therefore there must be such concentration of power that will command respect.

Machine power is being concentrated, and the workers must follow the same idea in organization.

Craft separation in unionism cannot longer be followed with a view of it being effective against the rapacity of greedy human nature as exemplified in the commercial world. To do so means utter annihilation. It is proven every day.

The workers must study the conditions as they really exist today, and act in accord with the logic of events. They must break away from the traditions of the past.

Capital is solidified all over the world. The workers must become so. Capital uses its brain power and is sympathetic wherever its class interests are attacked, be it in Russia, Germany, France, England or the United States, or any other country. So laborers must use their brain power. It must keep everlastingly at it, and build cell upon cell. This can only be done by thought.

All that labor has won in the past has been along these lines. Whatever has been conceded

has been the result of power, and only given to relieve the pressure that organization has made possible. When capital realizes that labor is a real power, it will make concessions, and not until then.

Homestead is a shining example, and its influence will live down through the ages.

The constructive idea of the Industrial Workers is not confined to the industrial field. Not simply making a better living. It also aims to be an economic factor; to make society better. It will be a union that will make for a higher civilization. When we know what has been accomplished we will be able to act intelligently as to what should be accomplished. We believe that there lies dormant in the worker's brain a latent power that can be made to blossom and become constructive and build conditions under which the worker will not be left to the mercy of unscrupulous employers.

Brother Kirkpatrick followed in an interesting address. He said, in part:

"The trusts' manipulations are seen in the mills. They set the screws by closing mills down, and you are suffering because you are following that little strip. When you go to another trade to seek work your card is no good; your union is no good; you must join the union of the craft you seek work in. You have no \$25 to pay, and consequently you fail to get work. Broaden out and make conditions such that there will be only one card, one label and one union. The union label as it stands today is a misnomer; it is no guarantee that the article it represents is all union made. It must be made under a condition that you can be sure it is union made from the foundation up. That is what the Industrial Workers' Union aims to do. We ask you to think of it. Study the principle from the foundation up. We believe we have the right way. Our organization is not a conglomeration. Each craft and division handles its own affairs, but when it comes to trouble we will be a unit."

#### Climax of a Scandal

Lazarus Goldberg, one of the three Industrial Workers of the World capmakers of Detroit, who were ordered by the Industrial Workers of the World Council out on strike in support of an American Federation of Labor strike in the same shop, and subsequently found himself to be the victim of a conspiracy on the part of officers of the United Capmakers' Union, afterwards re-joining the latter organization in New York, has finally been driven from the American Federation of Labor by expulsion. Goldberg, who is a man of fine character, and well along in years, has made the following statement relative to his "trial":

"Charges regularly come before the executive board, but fearing that if tried in that way, I would be able to sue some of the fakirs, they engineered it so that my case was sent to the general meeting of the membership.

"At that meeting I was declared guilty, without any investigation, whereas, by my agitation I was only striving for unity. In the course of the argument on the charges, a delegate named Levinsohn stated that 'what we want is to kill Goldberg politely, in order that he may have no influence upon the members.' Otherwise he will destroy our organization."

"I took the floor and showed that the Industrial Workers of the World had no paid spies and agents, that I was not a member or in the pay of the Industrial Workers of the World, and that I was only acting as I knew was best for the members of Local No. 2. In spite of these facts, I was declared guilty and expelled.

"On the following morning a committee went to Mark Davis & Son's, where I was employed, and demanded my discharge. The firm not caring to have a strike on its hands, complied, and on the following Saturday, May 12th, I was compelled to stop work.

"I protested against the fakirs' action, but was told I would be driven out of New York. However, I have found employment in an Industrial Workers of the World shop, where I am getting better conditions than any union man in the American Federation of Labor.

"The fakirs think they have settled me, but it is a vain hope. When I get after them again, there'll be something doing, good and hot, too."

H. Holtzkin, member of the United Capmakers' Union, who has several times been a delegate to its conventions, is out in the statement that the attack upon the Industrial Workers of the World is false in every particular, and discreditable to all who had anything to do with it. He also avers that the treatment meted out to members of that organization for alleged scabbing, is nothing short of an outrage.

Local #4 (mixed), St. Louis, Mo., meets every first and third Friday, 8 p. m., at "Smith's Hall," 21st Street and Franklin Avenue, Third floor.

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Moving Pittsburg

Pittsburg is one of the most profitable districts for our masters in the world, and after twenty-five years of craft unionism we find even pure and simple old line unions at a low ebb. Even from the point of view of the American Federation of Labor, sell-out after-sell-out have made those that were sold suspicious, and the bad taste left in their mouths is hard to remove. But there are tens of thousands to be organized and we propose to do it. Westinghouse's swarming thousands must be attended to, for their is practically no organization in the vast army of wage slaves. We must wake them up or we must go down with them. I want to tell you that we have the "good" Mr. Carnegie with Braddock Homestead, Duquesne and McKeesport; we must carry our message of the Industrial Workers of the World to all those places. Comrades, be up and doing, and make it your business on Sunday afternoons to attend our agitation meetings, held at the corner of 5th avenue and Smithfield street, on the first, second and third Sundays of each month. We will have good speakers, and a discussion every Sunday, but the fourth Sunday, at the place mentioned above, at 2 p. m., you that work for your living should be there at our meeting. On Saturday, the 21st, we made a collection which amounted to \$139, and all goes to the defense fund of the Western Federation of Miners, and let me say to Brothers Moyer, Haywood and their associates, that we will continue to parade and protest against those outrageous onslaughts of human vampires, while the dirty feet of the rotten crew continue to curse the earth. On Sunday, the 6th, we will hold an open air demonstration in the city of Pittsburg, and make a collection for the defense fund of our Western brothers, and amongst the unions that will participate I may mention bricklayers, carpenters, machinists, bookbinders, bakers, printers, painters, brewery workers, etc., with the Industrial Workers of the World locals, the Socialist Labor Party and Socialist Party, all will join and make this a howling success, and on some Saturday evening early in June, or late in May, we will hold another parade, and will without any doubt have 20,000 in line. So you, of the Industrial Workers of the World, take advantage of this, and let us build up our organization, and remember, be at those Sunday meetings. Now is the time to work for our emancipation.

E. R. MARBLEY, Pittsburg, Pa.

This is Another Story

Resolutions adopted by Granite City Lodge No. 16, Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers, and Local No. 11, of the same organization:

"Whereas, A body of unorganized workmen struck at the American Steel Foundry Company's plant in this city for more money and better conditions, and

"Whereas, The Industrial Workers of the World did, as all true union men should do, offer their assistance to the laboring men in time of trouble, and

"Whereas, Certain individuals misused the power of members of the executive board of the Tri-city Central Trades and Labor Council to break this strike by signing a resolution supposing to represent the Tri-city Central Trades and Labor Council, denouncing the Industrial Workers of the World and this strike especially, and

"Whereas, These resolutions were clearly passed at this time to aid the company to defeat the strikers; be it

"Resolved, That we, the members of Lodge No. 16, Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers, denounce the actions of the five men, Henry Marx, Ben Ford, I. Wohlgenuth, Peter Johnson and C. H. Fowler, by declaring them to be strike breakers; be it further:

"Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be spread on our minutes, a copy furnished the locals of Industrial Workers of the World and Trades Council; also furnished Granite City Press, 'The Industrial Worker,' of Chicago, and the Amalgamated Journal for publication.

"A. S. STANBRIDGE, 'JAS. O'ROURKE,' Committee.

"Local No. 16, Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers. "JAS. E. GROVE, President. "NIC LUFFING, Recording Secretary."

More Scabbery

Cleveland, Ohio, has a strong local of building laborers affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. There are about eighty members enrolled. At a meeting held on Sunday, May 13, the union ordered a strike for an eight-hour day and \$2.00 in place of \$1.25, the rate prevailing up to that time. As soon as the bricklayers in Bricklayers' Local Union No. 122, Industrial Workers

of the World learned of this, an order was adopted calling out all Industrial Workers of the World bricklayers employed on jobs where members of the American Federation of Laborers' Union were also employed, and every man quit. The business agent of the Laborers' Union requested the bricklayers of Local Union No. 5, American Federation of Labor, to do the same. This they promised to do, but are still working with scab laborers. The bosses offered the Industrial Workers of the World bricklayers an increase of 10 cents an hour and a contract for two years, if they would agree not to interfere in their dealings with the laborers. To their credit, however, the Industrial Workers of the World absolutely refused the offer and demanded a settlement with the laborers first.

Kirkpatrick in Ohio

President Chas. G. Kirkpatrick, of the Metal and Machinery Department, on May 1st installed the officers of No. 62 of the Ornamental Iron and Wire Workers, at Cincinnati. On the evening of the same day he attended a joint social gathering of the Industrial Workers of the World and socialists, which proved in every way a great success. During his visit to the city he met and conferred with a large number of Amalgamated Association Iron, Steel and Tin Workers, resulting in an invitation being given him and Secretary Trautmann to speak before the convention of that organization. Later he visited Hamilton, Ohio, and held a conference with members of the various locals. The prospects for a general advance in Hamilton are good. The same is true of Cincinnati in the iron trade. He attended the coppermiths' meeting in Cincinnati, which was largely attended and much interest shown in the principles of industrial unionism.

In Cleveland he had a large meeting of Industrial Workers of the World machinists, a number of visitors being present and several applications for membership received. On Sunday, May 20th, he spoke at a mass meeting of metal workers, resulting in a unanimous endorsement of the Industrial Workers of the World.

Came in a Body

Great progress has marked the work of the Industrial Workers of the World all along the line during the month of May. In Schenectady, N. Y., one of the big American Federation of Labor locals, known as Electrical Workers No. 232, voted unanimously to send their old charter back to its source, and join the Industrial Unionists. The union has 110 members. This is reported to be one of the results of Sherman's meetings, which have been record-breakers. None of the machinations of American Federation of Labor leaders has been able to stem the tide. The new local brought over its treasury.

A new local of steam turbine workers will become one of the largest in the city.

Machinists' Union, No. 34, of the Industrial Workers of the World has grown so rapidly that it may soon become necessary, to expedite business, to divide into two locals.

Western Miners in Convention

The annual convention of the Western Federation of Miners (Mining Department of the Industrial Workers of the World) met at Denver, May 28. Acting President Williams was in the chair and 150 delegates were present. The unanimous sentiment of the convention favored the re-election of Chas. H. Moyer and Wm. D. Haywood. A telegram expressing full confidence in the innocence of the latter, together with Pettibone, was sent to Boise, Idaho. Chas. O. Sherman, president of the Industrial Workers of the World, is attending the convention.

Expulsion Notice

Louis Kaniff, Alex. Kopicki and F. S. Kopp, all of Chicago, have been expelled by Local No. 23, Department of Metal and Machinery, Industrial Workers of the World upon evidence showing that they were traitors to this organization and the working class; that they worked for wages below the scale and acted as spies. Brothers everywhere are warned against them.

By order of Local No. 23.

W. E. TULLAR, Organizer.

Members of the Industrial Workers of the World remaining in San Francisco, are desirous of having the names and present addresses of all members who have left the city and located elsewhere. If the brothers will send the information to this office it will be printed in this journal.

Every Industrial Unionist must read "The Jungle" Order from W. E. Trautmann, 148 W. Madison street, Chicago. Price, \$1.25, postpaid.

The Lynching of Gorky

Prof. Franklin H. Giddings of Columbia university has an article in the last number of the "Independent" entitled "The Social Lynching of Gorky and Andreieva." After comparing the hysterical conduct of the newspapers to the spirit of the mobs which lynch negroes without waiting to ascertain the facts, Prof. Giddings says, in part:

They (Maxim Gorky and Madame Andreieva) insist that it is not right to set up a technical-legal relationship, an economic convenience, or a circumstance of social conventionality as morally superior to the spontaneous preference of a man and woman who know, and whose friends know, that they love each other. In this belief Gorky and Madame Andreieva are not singular. The whole or in part it has been held and taught by some of the best men and women that have yet lived. Dante foretold it in his "Vita Nuova." Petrarch proclaimed it in his fidelity to Laura. John Milton, the saint; as he was the mightiest prophet of Puritanism, reiterated and reiterated it in his famous tract on divorce, which no ecclesiastic with a self-respecting regard for his own intellectual reputation has ever dared try to answer. Shelley and Goethe preached it in both word and deed. Richard Wagner stood for it unflinchingly throughout life, and gave it expression in the imperishable music of "Tristan and Isolde." John Stuart Mill, the calm-minded philosopher, held fast to it throughout his relations with Mrs. Taylor, when his cherished friends cut him dead because of it; George Eliot proclaimed her own loyalty to it by a life of very quiet but very effective defiance of Mrs. Grundy and all her British matrons; and Herbert Spencer carefully formulated it in his "Auto biography." Perhaps all these eminent persons, being gifted beyond most of their fellows, were a little bit cracked in the head, and altogether unsafe. That, we know, is the charitable view which is taken by conventional folk that haven't been able to understand or to agree with them. Be that as it may, they all in their day and generation stood for the sort of thing that Gorky and Madame Andreieva stand for today.

Hearty Endorsement

Editor "Industrial Worker": I am rather late now in sending in my hearty congratulations to my written champion, "The Industrial Worker," but better late than never. I must admit that since I am in the labor movement, I never saw such a great literary production, on the part of plain, common workers, than in this paper. Nearly two-thirds of the Journal are written by the rank and file. This is due to the fact that the Industrial Workers of the World is a working class organization in word and deed. Not only does it merely talk "industrial democracy," but it practices the same right now, under capitalism, as far as it goes, there are no secrets, no intrigues, no snap jobs, no "diplomacies," no invidious amissioses on the part of competing fakirs, as in the American Federation of Labor, hence no cause for a censorship, a coup d'etat.

The Industrial Worker knows it is right; hence it fears no adversary; and searching for the truth, it is grateful if the truth is told it. Apologists as well as opponents, is welcome in "The Industrial Worker."

As long as there are workers in this country who can write such brilliant articles on the class struggle labor problem and expound such correct forms of organization, there is no cause for despair.

The American working class is behind the European working class in revolutionary science and sentiment, but its Industrial Workers of the World is really the pride of the international revolutionary working class movement.

There is not a more perfect economic organization in the world than the Industrial Workers of the World. It is not mean to say that it is the zenith of perfection. There are things in it with which I myself do not agree, but Father Time will cure it all.

But relatively speaking, I, as compared with the existing economic organizations on all parts of the globe, and the historical organizations of America it, ("The Industrial Workers") is the most perfect. It is a product of the accumulated knowledge and experiences of ages. The social organizations have taught us lessons, so did the economic concentration of capital, that inevitable consequence of capitalism, but done its share. In one word, the Industrial Workers of the World is the product of the evolution of proletarian experiences and the ideas, convictions and aspirations, resulting therefrom.

HENRY PURDIEH, Cincinnati, Ohio.

Morgan Not an Anarchist

Editor "The Industrial Worker": In your May number you have an uncalled for and rather petty insult on a number of people, many of whom are working for your Industrial Workers of the World movement, nearly all of whom sympathize with it, and who all belong to your class, and are your comrades in oppression; that once I address you as comrade, I am willing to believe the insult was you as comrade. I am willing to believe the insult was thoughtless and not malicious. Why do you call Morgan an anarchist? An anarchist believes in no law except the law of love and justice. Morgan represents the class who depend on law, who buy law makers and the executive. It is a product of the army and police force but the strong right arm of the capitalist class. Without law he and his class would be powerless. You know Morgan is not an anarchist. What would you think of me if I maintained Morgan was a Socialist? The Socialists are collectivists. Morgan believes in collecting all he can, and is a collectivist, therefore he is a Socialist. I could string witnesses like this by the yard, but I should be ashamed of them. They could be no better than Jim. A pun for amusement is one thing; a pun as a carrier of an insult is another thing. You may not agree with the anarchist, and you may not understand them, but be fair. The matter I refer to was the firm line of a "Workers' Catechism." Yours truly, A. H. SIMPSON, 28 Huntington Ave., Boston.



LABOR IS ENTITLED TO ALL IT PRODUCES

# INDUSTRIAL WORKER

Advocate of Industrial Unionism for the Working Class

OFFICIAL PUBLICATION OF THE INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD, ORGANIZED AT CHICAGO, ILL., JUNE, 1905

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JOLIET, JUNE, 1906.

LOOK OUT FOR TRAPS!

It should not be necessary to remind members of the Industrial Workers everywhere that this organization has been using all its energies since the 19th day of February last in support of the Western Federation of Miners (the mining department of the Industrial Workers of the World), and in preparation for the legal defense in the courts of Idaho of Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone. Whether we like it or not, the legal procedure must be followed. The trial cannot be evaded, nor should any attempt be made by any member of this organization to evade it, or to complicate the situation and imperil our imprisoned comrades and this organization by individual acts not supported by the Industrial Workers of the World as a whole. The Industrial Workers of the World disavows responsibility for individual acts not in accord with a legal investigation. Any other course this organization may adopt will be one that has been acted upon in convention or by referendum. In the meantime individual members assume all responsibility for acts not passed upon by the organization. **WE WARN THE ENTIRE MEMBERSHIP AGAINST BEING MISLED BY HIRELINGS AND SPIES OF THE ENEMY, COMING AMONG US AS FRIENDS, INTO THE COMMISSION OF ANY ACT OF LAWLESSNESS. REMEMBER GAPON!**

Let us be patient and vigilant. Let us prepare and wait. When we act, let us act all together. Give no excuse to the enemy to attack us when we are unprepared. Put the organization itself in a position to attack organized robbers. Let the time and method be of our own choosing. Do not injure your cause by any hasty action. Put no weapon in your enemy's hands. Demand a fair trial for our brothers who have been pat-crowed into Idaho and let the trial proceed. All will be well!

THE SEAT OF LAWLESSNESS

If the United States is rushing headlong to a condition where it may be said to be a nation of lawlessness, if, as everybody knows, there is treason in the senate and all other branches of the government are under the malign influence of a class that has got rich quick by resorting to all conceivable methods of robbing the producers of wealth, then the nation confronts a condition that could only have been brought about through the connivance of such men as Aldrich, Gor-

man and Spooner in the senate and the house of representatives, and their prototypes in the white house.

All through its long and hypocritical career, the republican party has been the shield of all the crookedness and corruption which we now hear charged against the corporate interests of the country.

At the present time the country has a president whose mouth is filled with virtuous and patriotic phrases, but whose heart is the abode of hatred for the true and honest element of the working class. Having little or no popularity among this element in the western country, Roosevelt has secretly exulted in the fiendish and inhuman course pursued by Sherman Bell, his intimate friend, and others against the officers of the Western Federation of Miners.

To the president of the United States, sworn to maintain the constitution, it is of no consequence that this ruffian, Sherman Bell, should have consigned the constitution to hell. Hating the revolutionary working class of the west in every fibre of his being, he accepts the unlawful kidnaping of Moyer and Haywood and the verdict of their guilt uttered by the irresponsible and malicious Gooding of Idaho, as proof of their implication in the murder of Steffenberg.

To this "popular" president it was nothing that Moyer and Haywood were kidnaped into the Idaho penitentiary and there denied every privilege accorded to convicted murderers. In a public address he has declared, in the absence of a particle of testimony, and solely upon the statements of McParland, a known criminal, that our brothers were implicated in the murder of a particle of testimony, and solely upon the statements of McParland, a known criminal, that our brothers were implicated in the murder of a man against whom they had no grievance whatever. Grasping at an inopportune time to express a feigned repugnance for the "muck-raker," declaring on every occasion a virtuous indignation against those who do not exalt law and country above self-interest, he has no word anywhere or at any time against personal friends and members of his own party who are trampling the law under their feet, consigning the constitution to the flames of hell and strangling liberty in the west in behalf of the dastardly gang of organized robbers against whose depredations in other parts of the country he professes a righteous abhorrence.

We repeat that if there is a growing disregard for law and the institutions of the country, this is due not to the "muck-raker," not to the revolutionary working class, but to the politicians and the party whose rise and career has been contemporaneous with the development and exploitations of the industrial and commercial interests that have the country by the throat and hold the people at their mercy.

CRAFT UNION STRIKE BREAKERS

On the 15th day of November, 1905, a strike was declared by members of the United Leather Workers' organization, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, and employed in the large factory of the Perkins-Campbell Co., of Cincinnati. The strike was called off and brought to an end on Saturday, April 28, 1906. During the period of six months the company engaged and put to work a large force of inexperienced men and attempted in a way to carry on its business. The strikers fought for a slight improvement in their material conditions; the company fought for the open shop and the right to employ whomsoever they pleased on whatever conditions they were able to dic-

tate. The company won and the open shop policy prevails.

The most interesting feature of this struggle relates to the part that organized labor affiliated with the American Federation of Labor has been compelled to play. Orders for goods, saddlery and harness had accumulated on the company's hands to such an extent that they were unable to fill them as required by their customers. Located in the city of Rockford, Ill., is another large horse goods and harness factory. The Cincinnati firm, with accumulated orders on its hands, as well as a large quantity of unfinished work, made an arrangement with the Rockford concern to help them out. Unfinished goods and material were shipped to the Rockford factory from Cincinnati and in due time given out to the men employed by the Rockford concern. By them the work was finished and then sent back to Cincinnati. These men also belonged to the United Leather Workers' organization. They were used by their capitalist employers to break the strike in Cincinnati of their own brothers belonging to and paying dues into the same organization. And this is craft unionism and "protection" for the working class!

HEARST EDITORS CONFER

Not until two months after the arrest of Moyer and Haywood, through the kidnaping process and the conspiracy participated in by two governors of American states, did any one of the Hearst newspapers contain a single line of protest against the infamous outrage? So tremendous was the cry of the working class throughout the country against this proceeding, however, that the managers and editors of all the Hearst papers were then called together for a conference at Chicago. The question before this conference was, whether the Hearst newspapers could afford to take a stand in behalf of the Western Federation officials and against the Mine Owners' Association, the governors of the two states, McParland the blood-hound and all the influences which that combination represented. After it was thoroughly thrashed over, the decision was arrived at that so general and intense was the interest of the working class in this case, that the Hearst newspapers would not suffer in circulation or commercial patronage by taking a position in favor of the western organization and its persecuted officers.

During the two months prior to this conference extraordinary efforts had been made by working-class organizations and working-class publications all over the country to arouse the workers in a mighty protest against the officials of the rough-rider type who had run rough-shod over laws, constitution and usages "sanctified" by capitalist society. The Industrial Workers of the World alone had during these two months, when the great "working-class" Hearst newspapers were silent as the tomb, distributed throughout the country among labor organizations fifty thousand calls to the rescue, thousands of copies of this journal, organized and started a system for collecting a defense fund, sent out thousands of letters to all parts of the country and held hundreds of protest meetings, arousing the workers of the country as they had never been before. During all this time William Hearst and all his editors were wrapped in impenetrable silence. Had there been no chance for profit, or a possibility of loss of profit, the Hearst newspapers would never have sent Driscoll or anybody else to the west.



**WASTES OF CRAFT UNIONISM**

Regarded from the standpoint of economy, industrial unionism is incomparably superior to the old trades unionism or craft organization. The Industrial Workers of the World provides for thirteen industrial departments. There is, therefore, only thirteen sets of officers, one for each department, and thirteen executive boards or committees, one for each department. Under the old and used-up form of organization, there are one hundred and twenty national and international bodies, with one hundred and twenty executive boards and one hundred and twenty sets of general officers, organizers and business agents. The cost to the working class of these multiplied boards and this army of officers is enormous.

Assuming that each organization has four salaried officers regularly employed at its national headquarters, the total amounts to 480. The average salary paid these officers does not fall below \$1,500, and the aggregate runs up to at least \$720,000.

That this item is low can be shown by the fact that the "grand chiefs" of the Brotherhood of Engineers, the Brotherhood of Firemen, the Brotherhood of Trainmen, the Brotherhood of Telegraphers and the Order of Railway Conductors, receive an average salary of \$5,000; the expenses of these "grand chiefs" is \$2,500 a year, and their total cost is \$225,000 a year. Each of these "grand chiefs" carries annual passes on the railroads, but this "concession" from the corporations saves nothing for the workers.

The office expenses of all these craft unions, including rent, help, stationery and supplies, will amount at a low estimate to \$2,100, or a total for all the organizations of \$252,000.

An army of business agents and organizers are kept on the pay roll regularly all over the country. The United Brewery Workmen's organization—one of the most economically administered of them all—with a membership of 30,000, has sixty of these business agents and organizers constantly employed; their average wage is \$25.00 per week.

Assuming that the average number of business agents and organizers regularly employed by each of the one hundred and twenty national trade unions is one-half that of the brewers, we have a total of 3,600. This division of the craft union system draws, at an average of \$25.00 per week, the enormous total of \$4,680,000 a year.

Almost without exception the one hundred and twenty national trade unions have an official publication, and each of these has an editor. The cost to the workers under this head is not less than \$180,000.

To the items above enumerated add for office rent and expenses of the 3,600 business agents and organizers \$360,000 yearly.

Then for fully one-half the 480 national officers and 3,600 business agents and organizers there must be allowed, to cover traveling expenses, not less than \$3.00 per day for at least one-half of the year, or 150 days, and here we have an outlay amounting to \$918,000 annually.

So far only the national trade unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor have been taken into account. But the American Federation of Labor itself presents another item of cost. The "American Federationist" for April reports an expense account for the month of February, 1906, of \$11,878.83. The May issue of that publication reports expenses for March, 1906, at \$15,388.86. There is little variation from month to month in the expenses, the average being about \$13,000, or \$156,000 a year.

**FROM THE IDAHO BASTILE**

Boise, Idaho, May 9, 1906.

A. S. Edwards, Chicago, Ill.:

My Dear Comrade—Your very kind letter duly received. I have considered your request for something to publish in "The Industrial Worker." Have a number of others of similar nature, but have written nothing for publication.

So tremendous has been the protest from all quarters, I have but listened in wondering amazement to the mighty voice of awakened Labor. Every meeting is a battle cry for industrial freedom. I seem to hear the thunderous march of victorious hosts.

It is my intention to write a letter to the Industrial Workers of the World convention—a few lines of appreciation of the splendid support rendered to us in the hour of need.

"The Industrial Worker" is among the papers we anxiously look for. We are well and in the best of spirits. All join in kindest regards to yourself and all the office force.

Fraternally yours,  
WM. D. HAYWOOD.

Summarizing these items of cost we arrive at a most astonishing result:

Cost of general officers.....	\$ 720,000.00
Cost of rent, help, stationery and supplies.....	252,000.00
Cost of business agents and organizers.....	4,680,000.00
Cost of publications and editors.....	180,000.00
Cost of office rent and expenses.....	360,000.00
Cost of traveling expenses.....	918,000.00
Cost of A. F. of L.....	156,000.00
	<b>\$7,266,000.00</b>

Contrast the foregoing with the cost of industrial unionism as formulated by the Industrial Workers of the World. In the latter there are thirteen departments, involving thirteen items of cost instead of 120. Upon the same basis of expense as the foregoing an estimate for the cost of industrial unionism is as follows:

Cost of department officers.....	\$ 78,000.00
Cost of rent, help, stationery and supplies.....	31,200.00
Cost of ten general organizers for each department.....	39,000.00
Cost of ten departmental publications and editors.....	39,000.00
Cost of office rent and expenses.....	23,400.00
Cost of traveling expenses.....	78,000.00
Cost of general officers and national headquarters.....	15,000.00
	<b>\$303,600.00</b>

Now what is it that the business agents and organizers under craft unionism, and costing the workers nearly five millions of dollars a year, are doing? They are organizing only in the craft they represent. A representative of industrial unionism organizes in all. One organizer for industrial unionism does the work that now requires twenty-seven craft union organizers.

Take the building industry and what do we find? Brick masons, brick makers, stone masons, quarrymen, carpenters, lumbermen, painters, plumbers, plasterers, lathers, tinners and roofers, hod carriers, steam and gas-fitters, mill men, teamsters, laborers, all these and more have each a separate organization, separate officers, separate organizers, etc., and yet all the men who work are engaged on the same job, laboring to the same end, the construction of buildings. But under the wasteful and expensive and unnecessary system of craft unionism each petty section has its own set of general officers

and everything else that burdens the producers of wealth, and even then does not provide for them an effective organization.

Keeping in mind the building industry, under industrial unionism there would be one organizer instead of twenty. They would not be crossing each others' paths all over the country like rival milk-peddlers in the city streets; their work would be more effectually done and including every worker from common laborer to skilled artisan. There would be established that solidarity and class-conscious interest which is absolutely essential to working-class mastery over the means of production.

We believe that we have underestimated the fearful cost of craft unionism. We are satisfied that we have not underestimated the cost of industrial unionism. Workingmen everywhere will do well and conserve their own interests by making local application of these comparisons.

**THE WORKING CLASS GOAL**

Progress is based upon mechanics. It is dependent upon the perfection of the tool of production. From the crude and ineffective hand-tool to the marvelously effective and productive machines of our own day we trace the real progress of man.

All of this complex thing that we call civilization rests upon mechanics. Indeed, civilization itself may be said to be a machine, requiring the creation, assembling and direction of many parts and all primarily used for providing the three essentials of life, food, raiment and shelter.

Directly affecting men, in all their daily activities, are two machines, each having harmful or beneficial influence upon them. The first of these machines we call government.

The entire world of humanity has come to know something of this machine of government, how it is constituted, how it is administered and controlled, how it is used to serve class interests, regardless of its form, laws or constitutions.

It is everywhere and always an instrument in the hands of a few to rob, debase and outrage men who work.

It is everywhere and always committed to and in collusion with the economically powerful.

It rests upon brute force; it is, without exception in all the world, an organized butchery.

It organizes and compels by its organization the producers of wealth to support, in a vicious and bestial idleness, armies of men whose business is murder.

In its parliaments and congresses it is a sham and a fraud; it perpetuates itself only by trickery and double dealing; it enacts laws always in the interest of property, almost never in the interest of humanity.

It is the embodiment in organization of all that is brutal, hypocritical and vile in all the world.

Being controlled by the class that wields the economic power of a nation, it is unclean and corrupt.

The particular government that was once regarded as the cleanest of all governments, that of the United States, is today universally known to be one of the most corrupt.

The government of the United States, in its national aspects, is a mere committee maintained to foster and perpetuate capitalist-class interests. The late Thomas B. Reed, of Maine, called it an "irresponsible despotism."

Organized to secure justice and promote the general welfare, this government ma-



chine is used to work injustice and promote the welfare of a class.

In its state and municipal aspects it is a political and industrial feudalism; every state has its feudal or industrial lord and every municipality its "hinky-dink."

For shameless and utterly corrupt politics, America outstrips the world.

Everybody, from president to pound-keeper, is aware of the truth of these statements, and everybody from pound keeper to president is engaged in the holy and patriotic mission of grasping at self-glory or "feathering his own nest" at the expense of that portion of our people who labor with hand and brain to support the hideous skeleton.

And the second machine is the machine of production. This includes all those means of employment and instruments of labor perfected during the centuries by the mixture of the thought and toil of the workers of the world.

This machine of production is the creation of labor. It feeds, it clothes, it houses the race. It is the one indispensable thing.

Without it civilization ends; without it civilization is unthinkable; it is the support and the only support of all the organized robber governments on the face of the earth.

As regards the welfare of the working class, that is made impossible of promotion by the private ownership of the machine of production and its use for the extraction and accumulation of profit.

There is nothing in the world that so affects working-class interests as does their separation from this machine of production. To take possession of it, and hold it, and administer it in such manner as will put an end to the very existence of an idle, parasitic, robber class; this is the real mission of the working class the world over.

Far more important is this task than any other that confronts the working class.

It will never be accomplished by the jealousies, ambitions and machinations of politicians.

It can be accomplished only through the growth of the spirit of solidarity and the organization, economically and politically, of the workers themselves, freed from their trickeries and presumptions of embryonic political rulers, whose conceit that they are providentially ordained to rule takes precedence over their aspirations for the social revolution.

The goal to be kept constantly in view, then, is the taking possession by the producers of wealth of both these machines, the machine of production and the machine of government.

Having accomplished this, what will the workers do with the machine last named? Will they preserve it as a means of affording political jobs for those who may even then cling to the idea of political rulership? Never—if they are wise.

The workers will at that time be sufficiently well disciplined and educated to understand that political government means the maintenance of a horde of official parasites, a useless, expensive band of conspirators, fed, clothed and housed by those engaged in socially-useful service.

The working class will, therefore, proceed to demolish this age-long instrument of oppression and deceit, and in its place substitute a democratic administration of the industries upon which all must depend for subsistence.

This program will best reach its final fruition, and be conserved, by the organization of the workers primarily in the economic field.

The organization will see, as Kautsky does, that the political domination of the proletariat is necessarily bound up with the economic uprising against the capitalist manner of production by which its progress is hindered. With Kautsky it will declare the necessity of insuring the progress of production and the maintenance of social discipline in labor by the introduction of industrial union discipline into the processes of production.

Again, with Vandervelde, the organization will see that in the last analysis and in spite of inevitable reactions, temporary and partial, the political conquests of the proletariat, the development of its international organization, the absorption, more or less complete, more or less rapid, of capitalist property by collective property, must result in reducing the importance of the governmental institutions founded on compulsion.

The organization must be the school in which the workers will impose upon themselves that education and self-discipline which all are compelled to acknowledge is necessary to their ultimate triumph—the conquest of the machine of government and the machine of production.

The watchword is: Prepare, prepare, and again prepare!

The organ of a socialism that would "not disturb the business interests and prosperity" of Milwaukee—the Social Democratic Herald—thinks that this journal needs "fumigating," because we have been rather insistent that the Herald is a liar and calumniator and its editors literary scavengers. The Herald reminds one of the burglar who cries, "Stop thief!" to divert attention from his own plans to escape detection. To show the outright duplicity of the Herald's editor, we may state that a mutual friend wrote him a few weeks ago protesting against the publication, back in February, of that capmakers' slander; the answer our friend got was that the publication in question was made as part of the report of a federated trades' council meeting, "because we have the Federated Trades' Council" had no alternative but to print a communication sent to it by that organization. Suspecting that this was another lie, the coinage of a brain that is prolific in that sort of output, we turned to our file of the Herald and, sure enough, found that not only was the capmakers' slanderous circular a separate article, unconnected with any other, having no reference to the Federated Trades' Council, but that the issue of the Herald containing it had no report whatever of a Federated Trades' Council meeting. And so it appears that the Herald editor bungles as well as lies. Being a proved bungler and liar, his readers will now see that the thing that sadly needs fumigation is the Herald itself. If any further proof were necessary to show the need of some effectual cleansing process, read Berger's contemptuous screed wherein he says, "The Meyer-Haywood episode is merely a border feud" which ought not to be "magnified" into the semblance of a struggle between capitalists and workingmen!

"Twenty cents."

"Twenty? Why I've always paid fifteen. Are you giving me more ice?"

"No, ma'am; the price has gone up five cents."

And the extra five cents' steel was paid, because ice was a necessity; and the robbers-of the Knickerbocker ice trust had the power to extract an increase. The brief conversation took place between many a housewife and the iceman in Chicago in the middle of May. The housekeeper finds that it is steadily growing more expensive to keep body and soul together. Living costs nearly a third more in 1906 than it did in 1897. From 1897 to 1905 the average prices of all commodities increased 29.2 per cent; from 1894 to 1905 the prices of fuel and lighting increased 39.4 per cent; from 1897 to 1905 the prices of building materials increased 41.4 per cent. Since these figures were given out by the bureau of labor, prices have continued steadily higher.

The little coterie of falsifiers, the calumniators of the Industrial Workers of the World, that is thinly spread out from Milwaukee to New York, has a new recruit. His name is Schlesinger, formerly and discredibly associated with the Lady Garment Workers' organization. This fel-

low (whether the originator of the falsehood or not we cannot say), is circulating a report that the Industrial Workers of the World in Chicago used the name of Maxim Gorky in connection with its meetings of May 6th without any understanding that Gorky would be here; that our advertising of the noted Russian was a pure fake and that we intentionally deceived the public in that matter. Of course this is a lie. We congratulate the league on its latest acquisition. He will be found deserving of the fullest confidence.

The czar of Russia having refused nearly all that the people through the dooms have demanded, that American mouthpiece of reaction and capitalism, the Chicago Tribune, with its customary assumption of wisdom, rises to support the czar. It says that "the responsibility for civil war, if it comes, will rest not with the czar, but with the parliament." The conservative idiot should be transferred to the czar's press gang. Everybody takes it for granted nowadays that the Tribune may always be counted with the forces opposed to progress.

The result of John Mitchell's strenuous labors on behalf of the miners is that the check-off system is to be retained and practically every demand abandoned that would benefit the miners. Since the check-off is a system whereby the mine owners gather in the dues for the United Mine Workers, compelling the miners to submit, the only result is the perpetuation of the machine over which John Mitchell presides.

When the May issue of the Industrial Worker was sent to press it was expected that Maxim Gorky would speak in Chicago, May 6th. Complete arrangements had been made for him, but when it was too late to revise our advertising matter word was received that it was impossible for him to come. In his place another revolutionist, Ivan Narodny, was sent from New York. He spoke at two large meetings, making a good impression.

In another part of this paper we publish the plan of organization of the Industrial Workers of the World in its thirteen industrial departments. It differs materially from the design originally submitted with the manifesto calling the convention of 1905, and should be carefully studied by all industrial unionists—and others. For the purpose of still further improving the plan suggestions are invited.

The spasm of holy indignation over Maxim Gorky has spent itself. The morally superior guardians of capitalist purity, employed on capitalist newspapers, imagine themselves vindicated because Gorky did not come to Chicago. We give our readers elsewhere extracts from two opinions by Eugene V. Debs and Professor Giddings.

#### "The Jungle" Author Vindicated

It is Upton Sinclair's triumph. The muck-raker is the hero. "The Jungle" is vindicated. Roosevelt's investigator, Neil, has been through the Chicago stock yards and has found "revolting and disease conditions in the packing houses." Neil says:

The floors were so filthy that the blood and grease oozed through and fell upon good meat which was to be canned.

Employees walked around in the dirt in which they expectorated and gathered up on their boots any bacilli of tuberculosis which might be lying about, and afterwards walked upon the carcasses to be used in interstate commerce.

He told of the case of a hog which had slipped from the trolley and fallen into a vile place. It was taken out, and without being cleaned was sent along and cut up for food.

He found decayed meat placed in the same room with good meat intended for canning, and he asserted that only one of the five parts of a can was made up of the former.

Potted hams appear to consist of pigskin and other pieces of a hog not used for legitimate purposes. This was colored and placed upon the market.

A brand of sausage was anything but sausage. The only meat that was good was beef sold for roasts, steaks, etc.

The class of employees was not high; and it was difficult to expect them to know much about sanitation.

The conditions under which women employees in the canning department work were deplorable. They were compelled to stand in water much of the time and the temperature of the room was low.



**INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM**

The Plan of Organization of the Industrial Workers of the World in Thirteen Industrial Departments—These Departments are Sub-Divided in Industrial Unions of Kindred Industries.

Owing to the fact that there is a good deal of misconception as to what industrial unionism really is, we give below an outline of the thirteen industrial departments of the Industrial Workers of the World and the various classes of workers belonging to each department. The plan is, of course, subject to such changes as may be required by changing circumstances and industrial evolution. In general, however, it presents the scheme of industrial unionism in a manner to be easily understood.

**MINING DEPARTMENT**

**Salt Mining.**—Engineers, firemen, truckmen, brine puddlers, pumpmen, teamsters, clerks, bookkeepers, stenographers, shopmen, laborers.

**Coal Mining.**—Topmen, roommen, weighmen, blacksmiths, timbermen, trackmen, roadmen, entry drivers, machine men, shot firers, gasmen, mule drivers, teamsters, trappers, cage-tenders, engineers, firemen, pumpmen, pipemen, slate-pickers, carpenters, laborers, clerks, bookkeepers, stenographers.

**Metal Mining.**—Hammer men, shaftmen, machine men, timber men, ropemen, trackmen, teamsters, engineers, firemen, carpenters, machinists, blacksmiths, boiler-makers, steam-fitters, electricians, pipemen, mill and smelter men, laborers, clerks, bookkeepers, stenographers.

**Oil Wells.**—Shaftmen, pipemen, engineers, firemen, refinery men, teamsters, laborers, clerks, bookkeepers, stenographers.

**TRANSPORTATION DEPARTMENT**

**Steam Railways.**—Engineers, firemen, brakemen, conductors, switchmen, section men, telegraphers, freight-handlers, machinists, blacksmiths, molders, coppersmiths, tinsmiths, boiler-makers, steam-fitters, carmen, car-builders, painters, bridgemen, trackmen, surveyors, express men, teamsters, clerks, bookkeepers, stenographers.

**Electric Railways.**—Motormen, conductors, electrical workers, station men, boiler-makers, blacksmiths, shopmen, carpenters, linemen, trackmen, engineers, firemen, machinists, teamsters, clerks, bookkeepers, stenographers.

**Marine Shipping.**—Longshoremen, engineers, stokers, oilers, deckmen, sailors, stewards, cooks, pilots, ship-builders, teamsters, dredgers, clerks, bookkeepers, stenographers.

**Teaming.**—General freighting, drivers, of cabs, carriages, busses, stages, auto-cars, barnmen, clerks, bookkeepers, stenographers.

**METAL AND MACHINERY DEPARTMENT**

**Steel Workers.** iron workers, fin workers, brass molders, iron molders, steel molders, aluminum molders, pattern makers, core makers, structural iron and steel workers, blacksmiths, copper-smiths, polishers, buffers, platers, machinists, wire workers, metal model workers, metal novelty workers, metal instrument workers, watchmakers, engravers, jewelry workers, diamond cutters, engineers, firemen, teamsters, clerks, bookkeepers and stenographers.

**BUILDING DEPARTMENT**

**Outside Men.**—Brickmakers, quarrymen, bricklayers, stonemasons, stone-cutters, structural iron workers, bridgemen, drillmen, riveters, heaters, derrick men, caisson men, concrete men, hod carriers, painters, roofers, tinner, teamsters, clerks, bookkeepers, stenographers.

**Inside Men.**—Carpenters, decorators, paper hangers, plumbers, plasterers, lathers, electricians, glaziers, steam-fitters, gas fitters, laborers, engineers, firemen, draughtsmen, clerks, bookkeepers, stenographers.

**FLORICULTURAL STOCK AND GENERAL FARMING DEPARTMENT**

**Floriculture.**—Gardeners, landscape-gardeners, engineers, firemen, teamsters, laborers, clerks.

**Stock.**—Cow-boys, herders, shearers, fence-builders, veterinarians, blacksmiths, well-diggers, cooks, waiters, teamsters, clerks.

**Farming.**—Plowmen, harvesters, teamsters, engineers, firemen, carpenters, blacksmiths, cooks, waiters.

**FOOD STUFFS DEPARTMENT**

**Flour Mills.**—Millers, millwrights, cereal workers, packers, labelers, teamsters, engineers, firemen, laborers, clerks, bookkeepers, stenographers.

**Bakeries.**—Bread makers, cake bakers, pie bakers, cracker bakers, candy makers, machine men, pastry cooks, packers, labelers, teamsters, engineers, firemen, laborers, clerks, bookkeepers, stenographers.

**Dairies.**—Milkers, bottlers, machine operators, butter makers, cheese makers, clerks, bookkeepers, stenographers, engineers, firemen, teamsters, laborers.

**Sugar Refineries.**—Filter cleaners, machinists, millwrights, engineers, firemen, teamsters, laborers, clerks, bookkeepers, stenographers.

**Meat Establishments.**—Stock handlers, butchers, meat-cutters, packers, clerks, engineers, firemen, millwrights, machinists, blacksmiths, coopers, carpenters, teamsters, fertilizing plant workers, ice plant workers, fish and hatchery workers, laborers, bookkeepers, stenographers.

**Teamsters.**—Grocery wagon drivers, wholesale and retail, milk wagon drivers, ice-wagon drivers.

**TEXTILE DEPARTMENT**

**Weavers, spinners, carders, loom-fixers, slasher tenders, doffers, lappers, strippers, grinders, speeder tenders, picker room employes, oilers, sweepers, roving tenders, slubber tenders, jack frame tenders, warping mill workers, etc., engineers, firemen, teamsters, clerks, print workers, dye-workers, bleacher workers, garment workers, tailors, hatters, cap makers, bookkeepers, stenographers.**

**GLASS AND POTTERY DEPARTMENT**

**Flint-Glass Workers.** plate glass workers, molders, blowers, annealers, grinders, casters, decorators, glaziers, packers, engineers, firemen, machinists, teamsters, laborers, clerks, bookkeepers, stenographers.

**WOODING WORKING DEPARTMENT**

**Lumbermen, loggers, millmen, machine workers, cabinet and bench workers, furniture workers, box-makers, piano and organ makers, wood carvers, carriage and wagon workers, coopers, teamsters, clerks, bookkeepers, stenographers.**

**PUBLIC SERVICE DEPARTMENT**

**Parks and Highways.**—Animal keepers, gardeners, pavers, electrical workers, laborers, teamsters, clerks.

**Postal Service.**—Letter carriers, telegraph and telephone operators, railway mail clerks, office clerks, engineers, firemen, teamsters, laborers, bookkeepers, stenographers.

**Schools.**—Teachers, librarians, janitors, engineers, firemen, clerks; teamsters.

**Amusements.**—Actors, musicians, stage employes, clerks, firemen, engineers, teamsters.

**Sanitation.**—Nurses, attendants, cooks, engineers, plumbers, clerks, teamsters.

**Hotels.**—Restaurant employes, cooks, waiters, clerks, chamber maids, engineers, firemen, janitors, stenographers.

**Laundry.**—Ironers, manglers, markers, sorters, clerks, engineers, firemen, laborers, teamsters.

**LEATHER DEPARTMENT**

**Tanners, stakers, shavers, finishers, boot and shoe workers, lasters, cutters, stitchers, good-year operators, glove workers, trunk, bag, horse goods, novelty goods workers, teamsters, clerks, bookkeepers, stenographers.**

**MISCELLANEOUS MANUFACTURING DEPARTMENT**

**Chemical Works.**—Chemists, paint workers, engineers, fosemen, laborers, teamsters, clerks, bookkeepers, stenographers.

**Rubber Works.**—Vulcanizers, molders, finishers, machine tenders, engineers, firemen, teamsters, clerks.

**Paper Mills.**—Paper and pulp makers, machine tenders, laborers, clerks, engineers, firemen, millwrights, teamsters, bookkeepers, stenographers.

**Printing and Allied Trades.**—Compositors, linotype operators, stereotypers, presses, press-feeders, bookbinders, folders, type foundries, engineers, firemen, clerks, bookkeepers, stenographers, teamsters.

**BREWERY, WINE, DISTILLERY AND TOBACCO DEPARTMENT**

**Distillery Workers.**—Wash-house workers, cellar workers, rectifying plant workers, warehousemen, wine vault and wine plant workers, bottlers, vinegar and soda water workers, teamsters, clerks, bookkeepers, stenographers.

**Brewers.**—Malt house workers, coopers, bottling and ice plant workers, teamsters, fillers, sealers, machine operators, labelers, engineers, firemen, oilers, water tenders, laborers, clerks, bookkeepers, stenographers.

**Tobacco.**—Tobacco workers, cigar, cigarette and stogie workers, sorters, packers, warehousemen, teamsters, clerks, bookkeepers, stenographers.

**In Memoriam**

Whereas, In the death of Brother Emil Richter, Local Union No. 3, Department of Metal and Machinery, Industrial Workers of the World, of Detroit, Mich., will miss a comrade and a loyal member of many years standing, who at all times recognized the necessity of organizing the working class on the economic field to entrench itself against the encroachment of the capitalist class; and

Whereas, He remained true to our organization in spite of an illness of many years and the fact that he might have withdrawn his support without and perceptible inconvenience to himself (a crime so many members of trades unions are guilty of), he recognizing that his support was necessary to carry on the work of educating the masses; be it therefore

Resolved, That Local No. 4, Department of Metal and Machinery, deeply deplores the loss of Comrade Emil Richter; and be it further

Resolved, That we hereby extend our sincere sympathy to his father, sister and brother, and trust that labor will reap the fruit and benefits that his unflinching co-operation was intended for, and that these resolutions be forwarded to "The Industrial Worker" for publication.

Fraternally,

Local No. 4, Department of Metal and Machinery.  
O. KLOENHAMER,

Recording Secretary.

The grave was beautifully decorated with a large floral piece, in the center of which was the emblem of the Industrial Workers of the World.

"Not guilty, your honor."

The reply of Skinny Mike, the bank safe blower, was as clear as a bell.

"But you were caught red-handed in the act," declared the court.

"I was there, your honor, but only in my official capacity as a member of the board of directors of the corporation known as the Amalgamated Association of Bank Trimmers."

"That being the case," said the court, "you are discharged. The prosecuting attorney will take steps at once to bring this criminal association before me in its corporate, not its individual capacity, and when he does, what I do to it will be a plenty."

After this court adjourned, having satisfied precedent.

From the socialist party of Arkansas we have received a resolution, adopted in convention and indorsing the Industrial Workers of the World. Again reminding our readers and friends that the Industrial Workers of the World has never asked for the indorsement of the Socialist Party or the Socialist Labor Party, we must decline to print the resolution sent us. While it is gratifying to find that the industrial union movement is receiving more and more the attention of the working class, it is our purpose now, as at the beginning, to hew to the line of economic organization.



## THE SUPREME COURT SAYS

In the case of Hyatt vs. New York, 188 U. S. 691, the facts showed that Hyatt was not in the state of Tennessee at the time charged in the indictment found in Tennessee, nor at any time when the facts complained of were committed. In the Moyer-Haywood cases it is conceded that the defendants were not in Idaho when Governor Steunenberg was assassinated; that Moyer had not been in the state for months prior to December, and that Haywood and Pettibone had not been in Idaho for years. In the Hyatt case the Supreme Court of the United States unanimously held that Hyatt was not a fugitive from justice and could not be extradited, and in the Moyer-Haywood cases the Supreme Court of Idaho held, in effect, that the applicants for writs of habeas corpus were fugitives from justice, and also that the words "who flee from justice" meant persons who flee from punishment, but not from a place. The Supreme Court of the United States, in the Hyatt case, which is the latest decision of that court on the subject of extradition, uses the following language:

"The language of Secs. 5278, Rev. Stat., provides, as we think, that the act shall have been committed by an individual who was at the time of its commission personally present within the state which demands his surrender. It speaks of a demand by the executive authority of a state for the surrender of a person who is a fugitive from justice, on the executive authority of a state to which such person has fled. \* \* \* Thus the person who is sought must be one who has fled from the demanding state, and he must have fled (not necessarily directly) to the state where he is found. It is difficult to see how a person can be said to have fled from the state in which he is charged to have committed some act amounting to a crime against that state, when in fact he was not within the state at the time the act is said to have been committed. How can a person flee from a place that he was not in? He could avoid a place that he had not been in; he could omit to go to it; but how can it be said with accuracy that he has fled from a place in which he had not been present? This is neither a narrow, nor, as we think, an incorrect interpretation of the statute. It has been in existence since 1793, and we have found no case decided by this court wherein it has been held that the statute covered a case where the party was not in the state at the time when the act is alleged to have been committed. We think the plain meaning of the act requires such presence, and that it was not intended to include, as a fugitive from the justice of a state, one who had not been in a state at the time when, if ever, the offense was committed, and who had not, therefore, in fact, fled therefrom."

It will be observed that the Supreme Court of the United States held that the party must flee from the "place" in order to become a fugitive from justice and subject to extradition, and that that court had never held that a party could be a fugitive from justice who was not in the state at the time the crime was committed.

## Laborer's Protest Still Rising

Resolutions adopted by a meeting of workmen at Hoquiam, Wash.

Whereas, President Charles H. Moyer, Secretary William D. Hayward and George A. Pettibone of the Western Federation of Miners were arrested "without due process of law," in violation of the constitution of the United States, on a trumped-up charge of being implicated in the assassination of ex-Governor Steunenberg, of Idaho, and,

Whereas, There is no reason to believe that they could possibly have any motive in conspiring to assassinate a man who was living a quiet life—having retired from active participation in public affairs; but that on the other hand there is reason to believe that the Citizens' Alliance and Mine Owners' Association saw in the commission of this abominable deed an opportunity to charge it up to organized labor, which they regard as being detrimental to their selfish interests, and thus disrupt the union organizations of Idaho and Colorado, and,

Whereas, It is reasonable to believe that Governor Gooding and Governor McDonald are simply acting as tools in the hands of the Citizens' Alliance and Mine Owners' Association for the furtherance of their object, as they not only conspired together to arrest and extradite these men, but are also guilty of perjury, therefore—be it

Resolved, That we, workmen of Hoquiam, Wash., in mass meeting assembled, hereby express our condemnation of such unconstitutional proceedings and flagrant violation of the rights of American citizenship, and demand a fair and impartial trial for our brothers; and be it

Resolved, That we pledge our moral and financial support to this end, and that we propose to presume them innocent until they are proven guilty; and be it further

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be sent Theodore Roosevelt, president of the United States; one to Governor Gooding, one to Governor McDonald, one to the official organ of the Western Federation of Miners, and one to the local press.

The following resolution, introduced by Dr. J. H. Greer at the last meeting of the Commonwealth Club, Chicago, was carried without a dissenting voice:

"Resolved, That it is the sense of the Commonwealth Club, of Chicago, that the kidnaping of Moyer and Haywood from Colorado to Idaho was an outrage perpetrated in the interests of the anarchists of finance, known as the Mine Owners' Association, and is hereby condemned.

"Be it further resolved, That this club extend to Moyer and Hayward their sympathy and financial support."

Granite City, Illinois, Lodge, No. 11, Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers, adopted the following:

"WHEREAS, The actions and conduct of the legal official representatives of the people in the controversy between the mine owners and their employes, compel all working men and women to realize the class struggle that is being waged between capital and labor.

"WHEREAS, The unlawful and despotic methods used in the arrest of the officials of the Miners' Union, Moyers, Haywood and Pettibone, is a disgrace to any liberty-loving and law-abiding citizen, with the knowledge of public officials elected by the people, soliciting funds from banks and other privileged corporations, for the purpose of prosecuting a few men who have dared to be American citizens and assert their God-given rights; be it

"Resolved, That we, as a body of law-abiding citizens, asking for and demanding the rights we freely and voluntarily grant to others, denounce the

arrest of the above-named officials of the Western Federation of Miners as un-American, and stand aghast at the despotic and arrogant manner the sworn officers of the law have prostituted their office of trust, and are of one mind in supporting an effort that will tend to prevent the recurrence of so contemptible a violation of the rights of citizenship.

JOHN AYNON,  
President.  
FRANK CORDER,  
Recording Secretary.

Resolutions adopted at protest meeting of wage earners, at Milford, Mass.:

"WHEREAS, Upon the 17th day of February, 1906, three citizens of Colorado, members of the Western Federation of Miners, were hauled to jail at midnight of a Saturday. These three citizens were Charles H. Moyer, William D. Hayward and George A. Pettibone. They were arrested secretly and were not allowed to communicate with either their families or friends, and were denied their constitutional rights to obtain legal advice. This unjust act was carried through by mine-owning officers and lawyers, who did it, a mine-owning governor, who permitted it, and the Union Pacific officials, who made up a special train, which quickly and secretly whirled these three men out of the state before their legal rights could be asserted; and

"WHEREAS, These three men, when they arrived in Idaho, were, as officials of the Western Federation of Miners, publicly charged by Governor Gooding, of Idaho, with being guilty of the murder of ex-Governor Frank Steunenberg. They were held for trial by a grand jury whose membership did not show one wage-earner, and whose foreman was a banker, who had openly declared that these men were guilty; and

"WHEREAS, Chief Justice Gabbert, of the Supreme Court of Colorado, denied these three men the right of habeas corpus, said denial being a direct violation of Clause 2, Section IX, Article 1, of the United States Constitution; therefore, be it

"Resolved, That we, as wage-earners of Milford, Mass., in public meeting assembled, do most earnestly protest against the illegal and unjust haste displayed by the officials of Colorado, in turning these men over to the officials of Idaho, without giving them a hearing in their own behalf.

"Resolved, That we protest against the officials of Idaho trying to influence public opinion against these men, by publicly declaring them guilty of murder before they have been proven guilty, by a fair and impartial trial.

"Resolved, That we protest against these three men being denied the right of habeas corpus, a right which is guaranteed to every resident by the United States Constitution; a right for which the earth has been soaked with blood; a right which means human liberty, enlightenment, progress, civilization and freedom.

"Resolved, That we protest against any official of Colorado or Idaho violating their oath of office and the laws, by discriminating against these men unjustly, for the law says, 'A man must be considered innocent until proven guilty.'

"Resolved, That we, as wage-earners, pledge our moral and financial support to our imprisoned fellow-workers in this, their hour of need, and assure them that we firmly believe that they are innocent of the terrible crime with which (we think unjustly) they are charged."

The second and third volumes of the International Library of Social Science, published by Chas. H. Kerr & Co., are ready for delivery; price, \$1 each, postpaid. They are "Better World Philosophy" and "The Universal Kinship," by J. Howard Moore. Dealing with evolution in an illuminating way and with human relations in the light of modern science, these books should be read and read again by every man who seeks to broaden his mental horizon and keep abreast of modern thought. Chas. H. Kerr & Co.'s new address is 264 Kinzie Street, Chicago.

Upon the working class has always rested the task of making tools and creating wealth; and upon the working class rests the additional task of perfecting an industrial form of organization to take possession of the tools and insure to themselves the enjoyment of the wealth they create. Trust ownership of the tools makes the industrial form of organization necessary.

The muck-rakers have not yet been proven hars, anyway. There is Upton Sinclair, of "The Jungle" fame, clear and unscathed up to date. The president is too busy defending his own reputation to exorcise this shifting mark of the literature of exposure.

An arsenal of facts and arguments on Industrial Unionism, is the report of the 1905 convention. Price, postpaid, \$1.50. W. E. Trautmann, 149 W. Madison street, Chicago.

## A GRIP

In the Moyer-Haywood cases it is conceded that the defendants were not in Idaho when Governor Steunenberg was assassinated; that Moyer had not been in the state for months prior to December, and that Haywood and Pettibone had not been in Idaho for years. In the Hyatt case the Supreme Court of the United States unanimously held that Hyatt was not a fugitive from justice and could not be extradited, and in the Moyer-Haywood cases the Supreme Court of Idaho held, in effect, that the applicants for writs of habeas corpus were fugitives from justice, and also that the words "who flee from justice" meant persons who flee from punishment, but not from a place. The Supreme Court of the United States, in the Hyatt case, which is the latest decision of that court on the subject of extradition, uses the following language:

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Neither are on industrial lines was the Western trial union before industrial union of the World.

Frank Bohmy, who called the Industrial Worker that Haywood issued the manifesto, because, said, Miners did not fight to fight, but the active part of the Miners took in the proof that it did.

When one says means the Industrial aim of the Industrial emancipate the w in view, it proceeds in such form that the capitalist class have an organized means of product class or the whole one people then), ment, in which pe to where they hav ished and one coo represented accou industry. The In is the future form Brother Vail & Industrial Worker to be honest. As is hope.

Now let us see Duffy says what Workers of the W "wind."

Let us see, World members a union men. So do Labor. The Indu a universal trans industrial Workers e he is transferred. How about the men?

What does the man in the Amer any other union work? Is he not man by his own American Federal wind. Brother D above named wh Brotherhood of C Says he: "W wages, shortens o



A GRILLING FOR DUFFY

In the May "Industrial Worker" there appeared a copy of correspondence between Frank Duffy, General Secretary of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, and B. H. Vail, a member of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America; also a proposition of Local Union No. 427, of Omaha, to have a referendum vote taken to withdraw from the American Federation of Labor and affiliate with the Industrial Workers of the World.

Brother Duffy opposes the view of the Omaha members that central councils are signs of industrial unionism. He holds that these councils are actual strengtheners of craft autonomy. In this I agree with him. Vail thinks that such organizations as the Structural Trades Alliance and the National Building Trades Council are industrial unionism.

To some extent Vail (of Local 427) might as well say that a man traveling east does, to some extent, travel west, as to say that alliance of trade unions are industrial unionism "to some extent."

A trade union is based upon the supposition that the present industrial system is for all time, and to better the condition of the worker within the system is the highest aim of any trade unionist.

No matter how honest a trade unionist may be in his desires to better the conditions of ALL the workers, when he is confronted with the unemployed problem he loses his head. He gives up the idea of bettering the conditions of ALL and concerns himself with only a part. And as the fight between the employed and the unemployed gets hotter he ever more is driven to strengthen the walls around those that he has saved against those whom trade unionism did not, nor cannot save. These alliances, as Brother Duffy says, are strengtheners of trade autonomy. They are the most perfect condition of trade unionism.

Neither are the brewery workers organized on industrial lines, as Brother Vail thinks; neither was the Western Federation of Miners an industrial union before it became a part of the first industrial union in the land, the Industrial Workers of the World.

Frank Bohn, one of the signers of the manifesto, calling the convention which launched the Industrial Workers of the World, stated to me that Haywood stated at the conference which issued the manifesto that he wanted a better organization than the Western Federation of Miners, because, said he, the Western Federation of Miners did not have only the mine-owning capitalist to fight, but the whole capitalist class, and the active part that the Western Federation of Miners took in the Chicago convention is further proof that it did not consider itself perfect.

When one says industrial union nowadays it means the Industrial Workers of the World. The aim of the Industrial Workers of the World is to emancipate the wage-workers. With this object in view, it proceeds to organize the working class in such form that when the time comes to give the capitalist class a kick the working class will have an organization ready to take over the means of production in the name of the working class or the whole people, (as there will be only one people then). The present form of government, in which people are represented according to where they live on the map, will also be abolished and one substituted in which we will be represented according to what part we take in industry. The Industrial Workers of the World is the future form of government.

Brother Vail does not seem to understand the Industrial Workers of the World, but he seems to be honest. As long as a man is honest there is hope.

Now let us see about Brother Duffy. Brother Duffy says what we will gain from the Industrial Workers of the World can be stated in one word "wind."

Let us see. The Industrial Workers of the World members say they recognize each other as union men. So does the American Federation of Labor. The Industrial Workers of the World has a universal transfer system, so that when an Industrial Worker of the World man changes work he is transferred accordingly, FREE. How about the American Federation of Labor men?

What does the fact that he is all ready a union man in the American Federation of Labor (for any other union amount to when he changes work? Is he not treated the same as a non-union man by his own so-called brother? What is this American Federation of Labor union talk but wind. Brother Duffy also points out to the local above named what a good thing the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners is.

Says he: "While we are living it raises our wages, shortens our hours and takes care of us

while we are sick; after we are dead it buries us and takes care of our widows and orphans."

Now let us see how much wind there is in THIS. The United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners gives no sick benefits out of the general treasury and Section 179, general constitution, forbids locals, under penalty of suspension, to use any of the locals' funds for donation or loans to members.

How anxious the general organization is to take care of widows and orphans appears from Section 112: "Any officer or member making use of improper means to obtain benefits or who shall make false statements as to age or health, or knowingly present or sign any claim of fraudulent character for benefit shall be expelled."

To show how finely claims for benefits are sifted in search of fraud I will cite just one case: About three years ago a brother by name of R. K. Roe, now living at 910 North Eighteenth Street, this city, while going to work had both legs cut off by a locomotive. According to his standing he was entitled to disability benefit, I think, to the amount of three hundred dollars (\$300). One night while his claim was pending a communication was read from headquarters requesting Roe to make affidavit to the effect that he could not have got to his work without crossing a railroad track. I learned since that he did not get a cent.

Brother Duffy may say that such a heartless question to a man flat on his back, with both legs off, is necessary to protect the funds. That may be true, but then he has no right to paint the benefit feature of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners as rosy as he does. In practice it is no better than a cold-blooded insurance company. I advise all workmen to not take any stock in such one-horse coffin societies.

Now, once more and I am through for the present. Duffy says the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners raise wages without strikes. To be sure! Let me show you how we did it here in East St. Louis last April. Our employers agreed to give us more wages and less hours and we agreed that unskilled labor should be eliminated, not because they were not recognized, so far as American Federation of Labor recognition goes, but because of their lack of skill. A terrible crime to be unskilled! especially since every skilled union has an apprentice fence around it.

The experience of the unskilled in the Building Trades Council bears out Brother Duffy's contention that these councils are the opposite of industrialism. It is the highest expression of job trustism. Those of us who are in those trusts and see the necessity of a working class union must seek to build it up from the bottom.

We must organize the unskilled so thoroughly as to be able to force the job monopolizers to come down and line up and keep in line. Duffy reminds us that we are under obligation to the United Brotherhood for what it has done for us. Victor Hugo said, "to be obliged is to be a slave." We have ceased to be obliged to trade unionism, because we see that we can do more for ourselves by organizing with the WHOLE WORKING CLASS than the job trust can give us. As Debs would say, we have had a glimpse of the sunrise of the socialist republic.

G. A. JENNING,  
East St. Louis, Ill.

They Will Now Join the Industrial Workers of the World

"Do yo belong to th' union, Regan?"  
"Ah, gwan, wid yer jokes. Sure I was always clane, wid me dutes paid ahid 'an me kard in me pocket."

"Where's yer own kard, Killy?"

"Sure here tiz, clane as uh new biled shirt, Regan, wid me assimsints an all paid ahid."

"Phat union is ut, Killy?"

"Tis a pure and simple union called th' International Laborers' Protective Union, wid hid-quarters at Dayton, Ohio; an divil of better lot av thin to rade, Regan, an have-'t mind their mather an th' hid av th' union which is wan an the same."

"Sure I thought yuh belonged 't th' International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths and Helpers, Killy."

"An so I did, Regan. But I voted fur Jean Debs at th' lasht Presidential election (an if every man did his juty, Regan, he'd a bin our Prsidint today). Well, me foreman becin a ward heeler fur th' dimmocrat party, towid me that his min wud be expected to support th' dimmocrat cannadate, an phwin I towid 'em that I would not anny longer support anny wan of th' twin parties, Regan, fur I had found out to me own satisfaction that thur was no more difference betwime th' dimmocrat an

th' republican party, than there was betwime th' republican an th' dimmocrat party."

"Killy," says he, "yer gittin pretty owld now an yuh would have a hard toime 't found a job as good as th' wan yuh have here. But if yuh can't see that we must protect our masters an likewise ourselves, yuh will have-'t go."

"Me timper gitten th' better av me, Regan, I asked fur me toime, and altho am th' purtest man yuh ever saw behound an anvil, barrin none, Regan, I've not since been able 't get a job at me callin; for, loike yourself, Regan, me hair is getting pretty foite an its young min they want, and min that'll vote to their loiken; but, gettin back to th' subject, Killy, sure I thought that Mither Critchlow was at th' convintion lasht July an was going to insthall th' union that yuh now belongs to into th' Industrial Workers av th' Worrid."

"Industrial Workers av th' Worrid is ut?"  
"May th' fairys fly wid yuh, Regan. Sure th' Industrial Workers av th' Worrid is made av min—min that'll do things, Regan. Sure they have the fakirs on th' run already. Sure if yuh are caught spakin to wan av 'em, yu'll be expelled from yur union, Regan. Yes th' foxy king at th' head av me union was at th' convintion takin up lots av the valuable toime, (fur givin th' divil his jew, Regan, he's an expert at deliverin worram air an indade thur was more av 'em at th' convintion besoides Critchlow.) Well, Regan, me bold bucko was fur a whoile on the consticution committee an drafted a skiletion av a consticution to his own liken—an prsinted ut to th' consticution committee and phwan th' committee thrum it out as well as Fairgraves sthate jurisdiction,—and Critchlow cud see no place fur a distinh department wid me bold bucko its head, he, wid Fairgraves av Montana, have thrum down th' gauntlet an have declared war on th' Industrial Workers av th' Worrid. Sure this shily av union has been th' wan drame av me loife, Regan, an I've been thryin th' boorin from widin ond handin th' byes lafelets an showin' them th' difference betwime th' wan pure an simple craft union, an th' union Regan, which sez, 'wan union, wan label and wan imny,' an a union, Regan, thur sez 'an injury to wan is an injury to all'; a union, Regan, thur have fur its motto, 'labor is intitled to all it prinjices.' This is th' union fur me, Regan, on since me bold bucko Critchlow comes out an, sez he, 'any wan havin anything to do wid this organization will be expelled from his union,' tiz enough, Regan, an om going-'t jine th' Industrial Workers at wansht an quit me borin from widin. Come along wid me, Regan, an we will jine together. Sure yuh don't have-'t pay any intiation as long as yuh have a paid-up kard av any union, whether pure an simple or otherwise, an wansht a member no mather at what occupation weh work, yuh don't have-'t pay an intiation fee ivery toime yeh found a knew mather, and across yer kard will be the words, 'labor is intitled to all it prinjices.'"

JOHN RIORDAN.

Debs' Mother Dead

Mrs. Marguerite Debs, mother of our comrade and brother, Eugene V. Debs, is dead. After a long and weary watching, extending through the month of April and into the early days of May, when almost any moment her passing away was expected, Comrade Debs, in response to insistent calls, ventured to fill a few lecture appointments. It was while he was away from her bedside that the end came. Returning to Terre Haute, in silence and in tears, he, with other members of the family, paid the last tribute of love to the mother, of whom on a former occasion he had said:

"Years of duty and trial, anxiety and care have bowed her form, whitened her hair, dimmed her eyes and robbed her cheeks of their maiden bloom; but O, our mother is still to us our beautiful mother. Her heart is as young and loving as when in infancy, in youth and in riper years it throbbd responsive to our plights; her hands are as beautiful in our eyes as when in our childhood they were laid caressingly upon our heads, and her dimpled fingers smoothed our hair or wooed back to order our truant tresses, and her voice, though less resonant than in the years when she called us from play to duty, has the same cadence as when bending over us she sang the cradle song which lulled to sleep our dreams. O, our mother! beloved more than any wealth of words could express, your children shower upon you in the name of filial devotion, all the holiest treasures of garnered affection."

Comrade Debs visited Industrial Workers of the World headquarters on his return to Terre Haute from a lecture at Elgin.

Admiral Dewey wants more battleships and the American Federation of Labor wants the guns and ammunition to beat the union label.

Every Industrial Unionist must read "The Jungle." Order from W. E. Trautmann, 144 W. Madison street, Chicago. Price, \$1.25, postpaid.



WESTERN FEDERATION OF DEFENSE FUND

The list of donations to the Defense Fund received at Headquarters of the Industrial Workers of the World, Chicago, is herewith continued from April 10. Further reports will appear in this Journal until all donations have been acknowledged. The total amount received at this office, up to and including May 26, is

\$8,705.49

Table listing donors and amounts, including: Steve Molders' Union, Marietta, Ohio, \$1.00; A. F. C. N. W., No. 39, on List 1883, \$8.35; Painters' Paperhangers' Union, Jacksonville, Ill., List 3737, \$7.10; David Dallas, Chicago, Ill., \$1.00; Fred Paulson, Chicago, Ill., \$1.00; J. Holmgren, Chicago, Ill., \$1.00; Collection at mass meeting, per Wm. E. Trautmann, \$4.60; Cigaretmakers' Union, Manchester, per E. M. Kirk, \$64.50; Rochester Turn Verein, on List 1460, \$10.00; Painters and Decorators' Union, No. 492, \$3.00; Machinists' Union, No. 301, Milwaukee, Wis., \$6.00; Arlester Kranken and Sterbe Kasse, Branch 160, \$8.20; Omaha South Side Turn Verein, \$5.00; Brewery Workers' Union, No. 35, \$5.00; Turn Verein Vorwärts, Olneyville, R. I., List 1377, \$5.00; Collection on List 1377, by Carl Judsch, \$17.50; Coal Handlers of L. and T. Workers' Union, per H. Jones, \$10.00; Employes Columbia, Union, No. 61, 2089, per F. Koettgen, \$6.50; Collection at Canton, Ohio, meeting, per S. F. Baker, \$2.21; Bakery and Confectioners' Union, No. 74, \$7.95; Arlester Kranken and Sterbe Kasse, Cincinnati, O., \$2.00; Industrial Workers of the World, Francisco Caputo and Friend, Cincinnati, O., \$2.00; Turn Verein, Bloomington, N. Y., List 1235, \$13.45; Rock Island Turngemeinde, List 1408, \$5.00; National Lookers' Union of America, No. 41, \$10.00; Painters and Decorators' Union, No. 104, Chicago, Ill., List 2680, \$25.00; G. Hanson, collection on List 2686, \$2.50; Children's Cloak and Robe Makers' Union, No. 7, New York, \$15.00; Arlester Kranken and Sterbe Kasse, Branch 153, List 1734, \$3.00; Rhyolite Federal Union, No. 269, R. Murphy, List 1640, collection in shoe shop, \$6.50; R. Murphy, List 1640, collection in shoe shop, \$4.00; Arlester Kranken and Sterbe Kasse, Branch 117, List 1668, \$5.00; Arlester Kranken and Sterbe Kasse, Branch 98, List 129 and 1679, \$17.00; N. J. Hoag, P. Baker, collection on List 1207, \$9.00; Eugene Fisher, collection at meeting, \$1.50; Meriden Turn Verein, Meriden, Conn., Carpenters' Union, No. 1266, per H. Taylor, \$2.00; F. H. Kuehbecker, Chicago, Ill., \$2.00; Arlester Kranken and Sterbe Kasse, Branch 165, List 1707, \$14.80; Iron Molders' Union, No. 61, Salem, Ohio, \$2.00; Socialist Labor Party of Northfield, Vt., \$10.00; A. F. C. N. W. Union, No. 25, per S. Hill, \$7.00; A. F. C. N. W. Union, No. 47, List 1891, per J. Coleman, \$3.45; A. F. C. N. W. Union, No. 74, List 1815, Ch. Dagenhardt, \$60.00; Painters and Paperhangers' Union, No. 10, Portland, Ore., List 3727, \$5.00; Shoe Workers' Union, No. 50, List 666, per A. Muehler, \$8.58; A. F. C. N. W., No. 24, Montreal, Que., \$8.85; United Mine Workers, No. 269, District 14, \$18.00; Everett Industrial Workers of the World, No. 283, Washington, D. C., \$10.85; Hunt's Colony, Tacoma, Wash., \$13.50; Portland Bakers' Union, No. 114, \$11.00; Painters and Paperhangers' Union, No. 419, Milwaukee, Wis., \$3.00; L. F. Alletto, Schenectady, N. Y., \$4.00; American Federation of Garment Workers, No. 23, Bensenville, Ill., \$7.50; C. Lund, Younger, \$1.00; Bakery and Confectionery Workers' Union, No. 23, Bridgeport, Conn., \$5.00;

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METHOD OF ORGANIZATION. The general constitution of the Industrial Workers of the World provides for thirteen International Industrial Departments, "subdivided in 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 by application to the headquarters and remitting \$10.00, 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 at large 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 3,000 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.

MEETING NOTICES Industrial Council of Chicago meets every first and third Thursday of the month at 155 East Randolph Street, at 8 o'clock. All Industrial Unions not affiliated with Council are requested to send delegates. For further information apply to Hugo A. Huelse, 667 W. Adams Street; Recording Secretary. Boston Industrial Workers of the World meets on the second and fourth Tuesdays of the month at Socialist Labor Party's headquarters, 1165 Tremont Street, Room 1, F. J. Boyle, Secretary.

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