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THE INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD VS. ANY OTHER OLD KIND OF A UNION

BY C. J. MACKEY

The Industrial Workers of the World is fundamentally right. The Industrial Workers is the only labor organization that has any logical claim to a scientific, sensible or reasonable basis of existence in America today. It is founded upon the right principle. Industrial Unionism has never failed. It is the real class struggle upon the economic field, just as socialism is the highest and most scientific form of the class struggle in the political arena.

No other political theory nor any other form of unionism can have any terrifying effect upon modern capitalism.

Craft unionism, in its last analysis, is the most scientific philosophy of disorganization and separation of labor known to economists. Nowhere in the industrial world does it exist except in America and in a few isolated patches of Europe.

Even England, the birthplace of craft unionism, is fast abandoning this old unwieldy and unscientific plan of organization. Germany for many years has been organized industrially, and as a result, a very large representation of workingmen sits in the German Reichstag. The working class of France is organized upon industrial lines, and the voice of many a workingman can be heard to advantage in the chamber of deputies. What is true of Germany and France is also true of Scandinavia, Belgium, Italy, Austria and Switzerland.

The greatest struggle for human liberty ever witnessed in the annals of history is now going on in Russia. Three hundred years of Romanoff misrule has been 300 years of cruelty and oppression. The long and rugged highway between St. Petersburg and the mines of Siberia is white with the bleaching bones of the Russian serf on his way to the terrible dungeons of a life imprisonment—and his only crime was the crime of asking for freedom.

But Industrial Unionism is solidifying the Russian workingman, and the tottering throne of the Czar must give way to the power of the people. The dawn of liberty is on the Russian horizon. Industrial Union-

ism is the John the Baptist of freedom that will float the pennant of justice from every steeple in darkest Russia.

When would Gompers and his clumsy federation ever stir Russia to arms? When would Mitchell ever send ninety-three workingmen to the Reichstag of Germany? When would the puny advocates of states' rights ever accomplish what Keir Hardie and others have accomplished for the wage slaves of England?

Such men as Gompers, or Mitchell, or states' rights men have never been able, with their antediluvian ideas, to accomplish anything for the working class. A quarter of a century of strikes and boycotts has given us no permanent relief. We have more paupers and tramps, more woman and child labor, more unemployed and suicides than we had before "the days of Gompers."

Gomperism is America's greatest system of keeping the unions in a state of chaos. The "state righters" are behind the times. States' rights (and God knows what it means) is a delusion and a snare. The South once tried it and fell down in a heap over it. It hasn't even got the novelty of newness about it. It is a Jonah's gourd that will flourish and die in a night.

The day of Gomperism is coming to an end, and the states' right fad will soon prove to be as proud of its ancestry and its posterity as the proverbial mule.

The union of the future will be the Industrial Workers of the World.

Before men can be free they must unite industrially. When they do, the class struggle will become a living thing. Self-interest is the motive power of every human endeavor. The working class will never get the full product of their toil until the self-interests of their class become the basis of their organization. There is no use for the miner to strike as long as the railroad man will haul a scab to take his job. The telegrapher in his recent strike simply asked for better conditions, and yet his brother "Gomperite"—the trainman—denied it to him by

hauling a scab thousands of miles to take his place.

No trainman will haul a scab in the Industrial Workers of the World.

Unionism is as old as capitalism. Both are the results of economic conditions. Modern capitalism is successful because it is organized industrially. Unionism has been a failure because it is not organized industrially.

Unionism in America is a huge federation of craft units—unscientific, illogical and uneconomic. Craft unionism has not a single representative in Congress. Industrial Unionism is represented in the parliaments of the nations. When the United States is organized industrially it will capture Congress. The great West is clamoring for Industrial Unionism.

Every honest man, every real union man, every wage-earner, every lover of liberty, should become an Industrial Worker of the World. The slogan—"Workers of the World, Unite!"—will be the battle-cry of the future. The parliament of man and the federation of the world is not a dream; but before it can be realized we must walk down the pathway of history with the Industrial Workers of the World.

Helena, Mont.

From Goldfield, Nev., comes the first order for the official badge of the Industrial Workers of the World. Not from the sturdy miners of that far-off mining camp, either; but from Newsboys' Local Union No. 45. The boys also order a full line of buttons. We trust that the occasion when they are called upon to reverse the badge will be long delayed, and that all of them may live through the eventful years ahead and in those years become powerful advocates of the social revolution.

Send in your order for a bundle for propaganda purposes, and make the workers in your locality familiar with the paper and the organization. This will have a good effect on your local union. Orders for bundles are filled at \$2.50 per hundred. We pay the transportation charges to any address. Get your order filled early, as we cannot guarantee delivery of large quantities after the 15th of the month.

EVOLUTION OF THE MINER

BY EUGENE V. DEBS

The particular part of the address delivered by President Mitchell, of the United Mine Workers, at the tri-district convention of the anthracite miners, held at Shamokin, Pa., on December 14th, that pleased the "public" and inspired lavish comment was as follows:

"I have watched during the time I have been associated with you the evolution of the miner, the development of his manhood, the gradual uplifting of the great masses of the people who for generations have been oppressed and crushed. I do not know whether you fully realize what a wonderful transformation has taken place among the anthracite miners. Everywhere are evidences of increased intelligence, of a better manhood, of a nobler womanhood, of a better and more cheerful childhood."

It is not probable that many are gifted with optimistic vision sufficient to see this "wonderful transformation." Quite natural, therefore, that Mr. Mitchell should express his doubt as to whether others besides himself are conscious of it.

It is more likely that Mr. Mitchell is the victim of an optical illusion than that all the rest of us who have been in the anthracite regions are afflicted with defective visual organs; or, as seems more probable still, the "wonderful transformation" has taken place in Mr. Mitchell himself, instead of the miners; and he no longer sees them as he did when as an Illinois coal digger, fresh from the mines, manly and wholesome, his heart was filled with the suffering and his whole being throbbled with the aspiration of his class.

Mr. Mitchell, since that time, like many other leaders of labor, has inhaled the poison fumes of plutocracy; has been patron-

ized and pampered by its saints and has feasted at its banquets, and may himself be blissfully unconscious that he no longer sees through proletarian eyes the class from which he sprang and without which his name would never have been known.

The close and cordial relation Mr. Mitchell maintains with the exploiters and oppressors of his class makes it necessary that he shall see a "wonderful transformation" in the slaves of the mines, and every predatory plutocrat of the pits will bear eager testimony to the truth of the transformation.

If but the miners can be impressed with the miracle of the "transformation" they will hug their chains in calm content and continue to pay the salaries of the transformationists and diligently dig coal for their masters.

Oh, no, there has been no transformation in the anthracite, wonderful or otherwise, and only a civic federationized vision can conjure up a consumption so devoutly to be wished.

"I would like to travel over the anthracite wastes with Mr. Mitchell and have him point it out to me, that I might rejoice with him over the "wonderful transformation."

The naked fact is that the miners in the anthracite are in an infinitely worse condition than they were thirty-five years ago. I have met in the Rocky Mountains and in the far West many of the old-time anthracite miners, sturdy specimens of the working class, filled with the spirit of manly independence, and have heard them tell of the early days in the anthracite when work was steady, wages high, and they were both respected and feared by the mine owners.

It is far different today. The poor devils of all nationalities, half starved, many of them suspicious from repeated betrayal of even one another, in fear and trembling obey the behests of their brutal masters.

For these wretched slaves there is no "transformation" in capitalism; and the "increased intelligence," "better manhood," "nobler womanhood" and "more cheerful childhood" Mr. Mitchell thinks he sees are illusions born of his own pathetic transformation.

It is true that there is "increased intelligence" in the anthracite, but it is not the kind that Mr. Mitchell sees, nor is it due to his efforts, or those of his lieutenants, but to the revolutionary agitators who are firing the spirit of the slaves and molding the mass into solidarity to overthrow the monstrous system that brutalizes them; and when they are at last triumphant there will be a transformation, but Mr. Mitchell and his conservative associates in the support of capitalism and wage-slavery will be entitled to no credit for it.

A few weeks ago the air was filled with reports of a great impending strike in the coal fields at the expiration of the present contract. This has quieted down and little is now heard except that there is not likely to be a strike. Probably not. The thing will no doubt be "amicably arranged" in due time and peace and slavery will have another lease in the anthracite.

But there is now another factor to be reckoned with. Revolutionary socialism is in the field, and it is no respecter of peaceable relations based on slavery.

The anthracite regions are the chosen field for action and in good time will be reclaimed by the proletarian revolution.

Long Hours on the Road

The last of September a small wreck occurred just below St. Paul on one of our roads, the result of the engineer's being asleep. In the wreck he was killed.

A few days before this wreck happened, and while waiting in the St. Paul yards for some switches to be thrown, the engine crew of the engine of another road went to sleep. The switch tender had to run to the engine and call the men.

These are but two cases of thousands where trainmen are completely played out because of lack of proper rest, and, possibly, from insufficient food.

It is not one long, hard, weary trip, dragging and "doubling" a modern tonnage freighter over a division which completely exhausts the crew.

It is the multiplicity of such trips, which finally result in either road disasters or the physical wreck of the workers.

During the great rushes our roads have—months long sometimes—it is common for crews to make fifty days and over, in a month of thirty working days. This means that the crews making this big mileage have worked fully, and often more, than 500 of the 720 hours in the month.

Out of the 220 hours left them they must eat, sleep, and, at least, try to wash and shave off the dirt of the line.

In other words: If this time for rest could only be divided equally, they would have but six hours in every twenty-four in which

to do all these things and to make a trip occasionally up to the "carpet."

Often even this last cannot be done, for many times the long, hard runs come in rapid succession until the only rest that the men have is taken on the siding while waiting for some other train or nodding off while slowly laboring up some grade.

Often they have no more than got into bed and had one good breath of sleep before the call boy routs them out again.

This caller may come in the early hours of the morning, when it is the hardest to keep awake, to keep the sick alive, to keep a fire burning, or an engine steaming.

The men of the crew barely have time for drinking a cup of restaurant coffee and eating a few sinkers before they are due to leave the yard.

With sleep tugging at their eyes and muddling up their brain, they drag out on the line.

After another hard, long trip, and these days ALL trips are hard, they try to get another sleep, but again have to be satisfied with two or three hours' rest.

And so the month goes; long, hard trips—the most tedious, nerve-racking trips; no sleep; cold lunches and "jackings up" for having gone to sleep again after the call boy left, or for "kicking" for a meal on the road at an eating house; and for complaining of lack of rest.

Of course, there are "hogs" in the human form who would work until they dropped

dead for the sake of the dollar. But these are an exception. With all these facts, it remains that nowadays to be successful in road service one must have a copper-lined stomach, a regular never-shut eye and a perpetual motion brain.

With all due respect to the man in the cab of the limited's engine, let it be said that it is on this successful working of the muddled brain and sleepy eyes of a weary, overworked freight crew that much of the safety of our traveling public in these days of "hog" battleships and 3,000-ton trains depends.

The wonder is that more wrecks are not caused by mistakes made by overworked, irresponsible men.—The Iron Trail.

Just before the collection was taken up one Sunday morning a negro clergyman announced that he regretted to state that a certain brother had forgotten to lock the door of his chicken house the night before, and as a result in the morning he found that most of the fowls had disappeared. "I doan' want to be pussional, bred'n," he added, "but I hab my s'picious as to who stole dem chickens. I also hab reason fo' b'lievin', dat if I am right in dose s'picious dat pusson won't put any money in de plate which will now be passed around." The result was a fine collection; not a single member of the congregation feigned sleep. After it was counted the old parson came forward. "Now, bred'n," he said, "I doan' want your sinners to be spoilt by wonderin' where dat brudder lives who doan' lock his chickens up at night. Dat brudder doan' exist, mah friends. He was a parable gotten up fo' purpose of finances."—The Tattler.

AN ECONOMIC SYMPOSIUM

ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION PARAMOUNT

We have seen that the social revolution makes the continuance of the capitalist manner of production impossible, and 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. Production, however, must continue. It cannot pause even for a few weeks without the whole of society going down. So it is that the victorious proletariat has the imperative task of ensuring the continuance of production in spite of all disturbances.

What are the means at the disposal of the new regime for the solution of this problem? Certainly not the whip of hunger, and STILL LESS THAT OF PHYSICAL COMPULSION. If there are people who think that the victory of the proletariat is to establish a prison regimentation, where each one will be assigned his labor by his superior, then they know the proletariat very poorly. The proletariat which will then makes its own laws has a much stronger instinct for freedom than any of the servile and pedantic professors who are crying about the prison-like character of the future state.

The victorious proletariat will never be satisfied with any prison or barracks-like regulations. The discipline which lives in the proletariat is not military discipline. It does not mean blind obedience to an authority imposed from above. It is a democratic principle, a free-will submission to a self-chosen leadership, and to the decisions of the majority of their own comrades. If this democratic discipline operates in the factory, it presupposes a democratic organization of labor, and that a democratic factory will take the place of the present aristocratic one. It is self-evident that a socialist regime would, from the beginning, seek to organize production democratically. But even if the victorious proletariat did not have this point in view from the beginning they would be driven to it BY THE NECESSITY OF ENFORCING THE PROGRESS OF PRODUCTION. The maintenance of social discipline in labor COULD ONLY BE SECURED BY THE INTRODUCTION OF UNION DISCIPLINE INTO THE PROCESSES OF PRODUCTION.

ECONOMIC FUNCTIONS OF FIRST IMPORTANCE

The immediate reform which can be and which ought to be realized to increase the advantages and reduce the disadvantages of the operation of public services are evidently only the key and the starting point to much more complete transformations in the present organization of the state.

Peacefully, or through revolution, by a series of insensible modifications, or by more or less sudden eliminations, the authoritative functions of the state will go on decreasing while its economic functions will take on an importance ever greater and greater.

The contrast between the governmental-state and the administrative-state is nothing else, in fact, than a reflection of the opposition which exists between the military structure and the industrial structure of societies. Now, every fact indicates 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 eliminating the causes of war between men and likewise between nations, and consequently result in reducing progressively the importance of the governmental institutions founded on compulsion.

But, at the same time there will be a corresponding increase in the importance of the administrative institutions, decentralized and autonomous, which will have for their object to organize the social commonwealth and to operate in the common interest a collective domain always growing in extent.

If we prolong these two tendencies into the future we shall reach a system founded on voluntary co-operation in which the governmental-state, following the expression of Engels, will have gone to join the spinning wheel and the bronze hatchet in the museum of antiquities, yielding its place to the administrative-state, which is nothing else than the sum of the functions and the organs

which have for their object to assure the greatest production and the most just distribution of wealth.

Such is the conception common to all the great theorists of socialism from the anarchist Proudhon up to his fraternal opponents of the Marxian school, from the disciples of St. Simon to those of Fourier.

All might on this point adopt the conclusions of Considérant, who explained the phalansterian doctrine in his book entitled *Destinée Sociale*, as follows:

"States when thus transformed, regulating, in their different institutional orders, the movements of commerce and finance, presiding over exterior industrial relations of the different centers of population, are nothing else than agencies appointed by associations more or less numerous, and entrusted with the confidence of those who have chosen them. There is no longer a power having under orders an army and a force of police; there is no more despotism nor usurpation possible—a thing which nations will always have to fear as long as they are obliged to manufacture sabres."

MODERN INDUSTRY ANALYZED

Social relations and groupings from the only reflect mechanical and industrial conditions. The great facts of present industry are the displacement of human skill by machines and the increase of capitalist power through concentration in the possession of the tools with which wealth is produced and distributed.

Because of these facts trade divisions among laborers and competition among capitalists are alike disappearing. Class divisions grow ever more fixed and class antagonisms more sharp. Trade lines have been swallowed up in a common servitude of all workers to the machines which they tend. New machines, ever replacing less productive ones, wipe out whole trades and plunge new bodies of workers into the ever-growing army of tradeless, hopeless unemployed. As human beings and human skill are displaced by mechanical progress the capitalists need use the workers only during that brief period when muscles and nerves respond most intensely. The moment the laborer no longer yields the maximum of profits, he is thrown upon the scrap pile, to starve alongside the discarded machine. A dead line has been drawn, and an age-limit established to cross which, in this world of monopolized opportunities, means condemnation to industrial death.

The worker, wholly separated from the land and the tools, with his skill of craftsmanship rendered useless, is sunk in the uniform mass of wage slaves. He sees his power of resistance broken by craft divisions, perpetuated from outgrown industrial stages. His wages constantly grow less as his hours grow longer and monopolized prices grow higher. Shifted hither and thither by the demands of profit-takers the laborer's home no longer exists. In this helpless condition he is forced to accept whatever humiliating conditions his master may impose. He is submitted to a physical and intellectual examination more searching than was the chattel slave when sold from the auction block. Laborers are no longer classified by differences in trade skill, but the employer assigns them according to the machines to which they are attached. These divisions, far from representing difficulties in skill or interests among the laborers, are imposed by the employers that workers may be pitted against one another and spurred to greater exertion in the shop, and that all resistance to capitalist tyranny may be weakened by artificial distinctions.

TWO SIDES IN THE GAME

No successful capitalist wants competition—for himself; he only Eugene V. Debs. wants it for the working class, so that he can buy his labor power at the lowest competitive price in the labor market. The simple truth is, that competition in industrial life belongs to the past, and is practically outgrown. The time is approaching when it will be no longer possible. The improvement and enlargement of machinery, and the ever-increasing scale of production compel the concentration of capital and this makes inevitable the concentration of the co-operation of the workers. The capitalists—the successful ones, of course—co-operate on the one side; the workers—who are lucky enough to get the jobs—on the other side. One

side gets the profits, grow rich, live in palaces, ride in yachts, gamble at Monte Carlo, drink champagne, choose judges, buy editors, hire preachers, corrupt politics, build universities, endow libraries, patronize churches, get the gout, preach morals and bequeath the earth to their lineal descendants. The other side do the work, early and late, in heat and cold; they sweat and groan and bleed and die—the steel billets they make are their corpses. They build the mills and all the machinery; they man the plant and the thing of stone and steel begins to throb. They live far away in the outskirts, in cottages, just this side of the hovels, where gaunt famine walks with despair and "Les Miserables" jeer and mock at civilization. When the mills shut down they are out of work and out of food and out of home; and when old age begins to steal away their vigor and the step is no longer agile, nor the sinew strong, nor the hand cunning; when the frame begins to bend and quiver and the eye to grow dim and they are no longer fit as labor power to make profit for their masters, they are pushed aside into the human drift that empties into the gulf of despair and death. The system, once adapted to human needs, has outlived its usefulness and is now an unmitigated curse. It stands in the way of progress and checks the advance of civilization.

ITS MISSION IS TO UPROOT

Open any law book, whatever Daniel De Leon the subject be—contract, real estate, aye, even marital relations, husband and wife, father and son, guardian and ward—you will find that the picture they throw upon the mind's canvas is that of everyone's hands at everyone's throat. Capitalist law reflects the material substructure of capitalism. The theory of that substructure is war, conflict, struggle. It can be no otherwise. Given the private ownership of natural and social opportunities, society is turned into a jungle of wild beasts, in which the "fittest" wild beast terrorizes the less "fit," and these in turn in turn among themselves the "fit" qualities of the biggest brute. No nuptial veils of lace or silk can conceal this state of things on the matrimonial field; no rhetoric can hide it on any other field. The raw-boned struggle is there. It is inevitable. It is a shadow cast by the angles of fact of the capitalist system. Now then, is it the mission of the labor or socialist movement to continue or to uproot the material conditions that cast the shadow? Its mission is to uproot it. Consequently its mission cannot be to tinker at the laws that capitalism finds it necessary to enact. As well say that a housekeeper is unfit to clean a neglected house because she has no technical knowledge of the construction of the vermin that has been rioting in it, as to say that, because labor has no knowledge of the technique of the vermin of capitalist laws, it is unfit to take the broom-handle and sweep the vermin into the ash barrel of oblivion. Accordingly, the political aspect of the labor movement spells REVOLUTION. It points out exactly the duty of the socialist or class-conscious workmen elected to office—no tinkering, no compromise, unqualified overthrow of existing laws. That means the dethronement of the capitalist class.

Brauer-Zeitung, returning to its expose of the American Federation of Labor, says: "The leaders of the American Federation of Labor undermine the very foundations of said organization. It is powerless to carry out its mission. It no longer meets with the expectations of the organizations affiliated. Political chaffery and corruption, the greatest evil of all, invade the organization's ranks. The decay goes on and on, and out of the ruins a new, powerful organization will arise, constructed in accord with industrial development, redeeming the honor and good name of the organized workers."

Writing to Brother J. Billow, of Chicago, relative to the misunderstanding of what he had previously said about the Industrial Workers of the World men withdrawing from the American Federation of Labor, Eugene V. Debs says: "No man is expected to join the Industrial Workers of the World to whom it means the loss of his job. I know there are such cases as you cite, and in all such cases I know that President Sherman, of the Industrial Workers of the World, has advised men not to join, but to stay where they are and bide their time."

Industrialism in Canada

The Industrial Workers of the World has taken hold of Canada. Not only in the far western province of British Columbia are Industrial Workers of the World men at work, but in the extreme east, the coal miners of Nova Scotia have heard the call and are preparing for a class-conscious unionism. In Montreal and Toronto, Canada's chief cities, locals have already been organized, propaganda matter is being circulated and the future is bright.

This article is written by one particularly interested in Nova Scotia workers, and one who as editor of "The Provincial Workman," the only labor paper in Eastern Canada, had opportunity to become acquainted with conditions as they are in that province. He is not now editor of that journal as he failed to recognize the "identity of interests" between capital and labor and used the "official organ" to disseminate the doctrine that always arouses the wrath of capitalists and labor slaves, i. e., "Labor is entitled to all it produces."

Over ten years ago Henry M. Whitney in connection with his Bay State Gas Deal secured the richest coal fields in Canada, the Glace Bay coal basin. In that region gas coal can be produced for less than \$1.00 per ton, and as it lies close beside two excellent harbors shipment to Massachusetts entails comparatively small expense. Mr. Whitney organized the Dominion Coal Co., and during his presidency of that concern a long term lease was made by which coal was to be sold to the Everett Gas & Coke Co. for 90 cents per ton. Shortly after this Mr. Whitney took active part in organizing a steel company, and a huge plant was erected near the coal field, the iron ore being brought from Newfoundland, less than forty-eight hours' sail for steamers.

Dominion coal and Dominion iron and steel joined for a time and the game of "Frenzied Finance" was played during the periods of development and construction. Millions of dollars were lost by holders of common stock, but Mr. Whitney and his associates added to their piles.

Mr. Whitney lost control of the company and was succeeded by a Scottish-Canadian millionaire, James Ross. The steel and coal companies were separated, but in doing so an agreement was entered into whereby coal was to be supplied to the steel company for a long term of years at \$1.00 per ton. All this was done in accordance with the most approved "business" methods and the country had a period of prosperity.

In the rush of work and demand for labor wages for skilled men advanced to a high figure and a very slight increase was also secured for what is classed as "common" labor.

In the summer of 1904 came the first labor trouble. "Common" labor at the steel works was only receiving \$1.26 a day. The cost of living was high. Conditions forced a strike. The men were organized under the Provincial Workmen's Association, somewhat of an industrial organization. Every department of the works came out. The strength of the Provincial Workmen's Association, however, is chiefly amongst the miners, and these mining lodges contributed \$27,000 to the strike fund.

Foreign labor was brought in, the local militia, and later the Canadian militia, was called out and finally the workers were beaten.

During the strike the coal miners and railway men kept at work and coal was regularly supplied at the steel works. The miners as a body were willing, not only to strike, but fight if necessary, in the assistance of their striking brothers, but it was pointed out to them that the Dominion Coal Co. with its system of company's stores and the check-off system of union dues had the Provincial Workmen's Association at their mercy and no strike was called.

The next move of the big coal company was to place their men under a labor contract. The "pistol," so aptly described by DeLeon in his famous speech on the preamble to the constitution of the Industrial Workers of the World, was used and the men were told they must either sign a contract for rates to remain as they were for three years, or a reduction would be made all around. With a treasury depleted by the Sydney strike; with thousands of workers in debt at the company's stores, or "pluck men," with the dues of the organization dependent on the check-off system, that John Mitchell now wants, and with winter coming on, there seemed no way out of signing a contract. There was, however, no strong show of opposition, for local managers "worked" local union leaders at the various collieries and the Provincial Workmen's Association went on record as endorsing less than even a "living wage" for the poor unfortunates known as "common" laborers. When the contract had been duly signed a change was made in the system

of producing coal whereby less skilled labor and more common labor was needed. The men who in the few years preceding the contract had been making big money thought that they were insured high wages for at least three more years. Skillfully were they deluded, and men who saw in the contract a great act of philanthropy on the part of the Dominion Coal Co. now are strongest in its denunciation. Hundreds are awakening to the fact that in the game played on an "identity of interest" basis the employers hold all the trumps and ace.

The Dominion Coal Co. is now in a position to compete the smaller coal concerns out of existence and is already doing so. The employes of the smaller companies are also in the Provincial Workmen's Association, but they were not consulted in the signing of the contract. One clause of the contract provides that,

"The employes shall not attempt to restrict the sale of the coal of the company to any person, firm or corporation."

Such a clause precludes any sympathetic strike to aid the men in a struggle at the smaller collieries. A strike at a smaller colliery means increased market for the bigger concern.

At the Grand Council meeting of the Provincial Workmen's Association held in Halifax last September, Charles O. Sherman, president of the Industrial Workers of the World, was given a hearing. It was the first sound exposition of the problem that many of the

men had heard, and the speaker was loudly applauded. After his address he was waited upon by numbers of the men and asked a great variety of questions, all of which he answered to their complete satisfaction. A movement is on foot to try and get Mr. Sherman to speak at the various centers so that the body of workers will have an opportunity to hear him.

The "safe and sane" men in the Provincial Workmen's Association are kept busy trying to destroy the growth of the seed planted by the Industrial Workers of the World, but that is impossible. Conditions are forcing the workers of Nova Scotia to think and every worker who thinks for himself falls into line with the Industrial Workers of the World.

P. F. L.

CZARISM IN THE LABOR MOVEMENT

Take note of the every-day charge—based on facts—that the old unions are bossed by "rings" and labor czars. Charges, too, that were made years ago, before Industrialism raised its head to affright anybody.

Take the conditions prevailing in the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union, whose president is John F. Tobin. This labor czar, with his executive board, has usurped the power vested in the members and constituted himself a dictator. Against the protests of the dues-paying members Tobin sometime ago made a contract with the manufacturers for the lasters' union. Through Tobin, the lasters themselves say, the manufacturers obtained a contract over their heads. They appealed to the czar, told him it was unsatisfactory, and asked him to withhold it. But Tobin made the contract. As time passed conditions in the shops became more and more irksome. Finally, about the middle of December the lasters in one factory at Brockton, Mass., struck. Their principal demand was a "living wage." What happened then? The czar went straight to the help of the manufacturers and against the lasters. He proclaimed the "sacredness of the contract," a contract he had himself foisted on the men; a contract in the interest of the employers, against the acceptance of which the men had protested. Notice the recklessness of this czar who is supposed to be the representative of labor's interests: "It makes no difference," he said, "whether there are 140 lasters, 1,400 lasters, or 14,000 lasters out, our contract is plain. If we do not keep it inviolate the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union has no business to live. We are not going to break any promises we have made. The whole question is the necessity of the organization standing by its pledges to the manufacturers."

If that isn't using the workers in the interest of employers, what is it? If that isn't making dupes of the dues-payers to serve the capitalist class, what would you call it?

The head of an organization ignores its membership and goes "over their heads" to make a contract which he now says is "sacred" and must not be violated. It is more important that the czar's contract be lived up to than that the workers should live!

Turn to another instance of czarism in the labor organizations. The members of the International Association of Machinists have never taken a vote instructing Douglas Wilson, editor of their magazine, to keep socialism out of that publication. On the contrary, a large majority of the members did, on a referendum two years ago, vote in favor of socialist principles. Their action was ignored and spit upon by the czars in their organization. But Czar O'Connell has taken it upon himself, without any reference to or consideration for the membership, to order Editor Wilson to write on pure and simple trades unionism and blue pencil anything tainted with the doctrines of socialism. It makes no difference that the subject of the czar's displeasure is socialism. Having the hardhood to take the course he has with one subject, he is liable to do the same with any other. It is usurpation—pure and simple usurpation.

A membership that will stand for it, puts itself in a position to be stripped of every vestige of power over its officials. An officer who will resort to such methods is a menace to any organization and should be compelled to get down and out. That a large body of the intelligent machinists in the country are alive to the insidiousness of czarism in their organization, is clearly shown by the eagerness with which they are taking to Industrial Unionism. That all of them will ultimately see it we have no doubt.

UNITE EVERY UNION MAN.

Air: "O'Donnell Abu."

[Written by M. D. FITZGERALD, Local 103, I. W. W.]

PROUDLY the Workers in all lands are binding
Their forces in one grand industrial plan—
Those who oppose them are now surely finding
The Tollers opposed to each traitorous man.

CHORUS:

On! every Union Man,
Fight for the only plan,
Union of Workers on land and on sea,
Ending our battle when,
As Socialist Workmen,
We hear the glad tidings, "Labor is Free."

No longer we'll march, with the Trades Union
Judas!

Or look for the aid of the Parasite Breed;
With the knowledge and truth that our Marx has
Imbued us,

We march on to Freedom, while Justice shall
Lead.

CHORUS:

On! every Union Man, Etc.
Look on our history's page,
Down through each passing age,
See how our class has been robbed and enslaved,
Note well each passing scene,
The "Bull Pen" and Cour de Alene,
The Czar's "Bloody Sunday" where the "Red Flag
Waved."

CHORUS:

Sacred the Cause we now are defending,
Fearless, Our Comrades, all staunch and true,
Soon be the end of the scenes, so heartrending;
All caused by the greed of the Capitalist Crew.

Pledge our best honor then,
To our brave martyred men;
Their spirits abide with the Workers today.
On for our glorious cause,
Down with the Capitalist laws,
Comrades in all lands, up for the fray.

CHORUS:

On! every Union Man,
Fight for the only plan,
Union of Workers on land and on sea,
Ending our battle when,
As Socialist Workmen,
We hear the glad tidings, "Labor is Free."
Boston, January 22, 1906.

THEY REFUSE TO INVESTIGATE FACTS

In making further reply to the jumble of accusations made against the Industrial Workers of the World by the officials of the capmakers' union, division of the American Federation of Labor, supplementing the statement by Secretary Trautmann in our January issue, we are confronted by an opposition that seeks, by raising the cry of "scab" and "Pinkerton," to conceal the real object of its attack and divert attention from its own unworthy acts. We shall, however, confine ourselves to a plain statement of the facts and leave the rest to the judgment of all concerned.

On the 23d of September, 1905, an application was received at the general office of the Industrial Workers of the World for a local charter from workmen, capmakers in New York. Three of these men (Rantz, Shaftel and Berditchewsky) were, at the time members in good standing of the capmakers' union and esteemed as such by the membership in general of that organization. The men proposing a local union of the Industrial Workers of the World were practically organizing themselves. As soon as the capmakers' union officials learned that some of their own members (who up to that moment had never been designated as "scabs" or "Pinkertons") were taking this course, a "declaration of war" was issued against the Industrial Workers of the World, and immediately also the three members of their organization named were disciplined by being expelled. This action, be it understood, was taken against the Industrial Workers of the World primarily, and against the men because they had presumed to affix their names to an application for a charter which, at the time of their expulsion, had not been granted. The "declaration of war" was issued by the capmakers' union officials October 4. The Industrial Workers of the World charter application was received September 23, and the charter itself was issued October 8. In other words, the "declaration of war" was sent out and the members in good standing were expelled before the issuance of the charter. The charter, we repeat, was issued October 8 and not November 23, as the capmakers' union officials assert. The latter make the declaration that when the Industrial Workers of the World local was formed, it was made up of their own members, but because their own members had the hardihood to make such a move, they were attacked as "organizers of scabs and Pinkertons."

How was it with the organization these men were leaving? We printed last month the "agreement" between that organization and the employing cap manufacturers, and do not hesitate to brand it as an ignominious subjection of working people to the employers. It was made after the capmakers' trouble with the employers, and provides, among other things, that "All hands employed in the shops at present shall remain" and that "Employers will engage and discharge whomsoever they see fit." This is the sort of "unionism" that the capmakers' union officials support. Their signatures are attached to the document and it is still in force, with their consent.

Is it at all surprising that there should have been some members of their "union" who were dissatisfied with such a sacrifice of working-class interests? The truth is that the three members of their organization (Rantz, Shaftel and Berditchewsky) were expelled and branded as "scabs" and "Pinkertons" for the express and premeditated purpose of discrediting the Industrial Workers of the World with the cry that it was organizing "scabs and Pinkertons." Manufacturers were informed of their expulsion and asked to discharge them, although the agreement with the capmakers' union was, and is, that the employers shall employ and discharge whomsoever they please. If these men were scabs, they were made so by their organization; if they entered the Industrial Workers of the World as scabs, they came out of the capmakers' union as scabs. The crime of these men, and the capmakers' Journal admits it, is that they were, or proposed to become, members of the Industrial Workers of the World. The scab cry was an afterthought, and has been adhered to and applied to every member of the Industrial Workers of the World local, only because it was foolishly started, and there is no other ground upon which the opposition to the Industrial Workers of the World can be sustained.

On October 14, nearly a month after the Industrial Workers of the World charter was issued, Mr. Zuckermann (secretary of the capmakers' union) protested against the organization of Industrial Workers of the World locals, in behalf of harmony; but they had a month before proceeded against Rantz and others by expelling them. This was done, we suppose, also in the interest of harmony. The capmakers' union officials ordered a strike against the Milkowsky

firm of capmakers for the purpose of getting two non-union men out of the shop, and then took their affidavits to support an attack on the Industrial Workers of the World.

October 20 Secretary Trautmann wrote Mr. Zuckermann, stating in behalf of the Industrial Workers of the World that if it could be proved the Industrial Workers of the World had organized "scabs and Pinkertons," the error would be corrected. Trautmann, in that letter, said: "If it be true, and if you can prove that these who have organized under the Industrial Workers of the World are 'scabs,' 'Pinkertons and hirelings of the employers,' as you allege, you can rest assured that every one of them will be expelled from this organization." And then he added: "But if you fail to produce the evidence, it is reasonable to predict that those raising these charges will have to stand the consequences."

As the sequel shows, the officials of the capmakers' union failed to produce the proof. At the same time that Trautmann wrote Zuckermann as above, he also wrote Secretary Hanneman, of the Industrial Workers of the World Industrial Council of New York, instructing him to proceed with an investigation in conjunction with the capmakers' officials. This was done, although it was not what Zuckermann and his associates wanted, for in a letter replying to Trautmann, they say: "We had decided to make you acquainted with the facts, expecting you to act upon the same at once." That is, they expected the Industrial Workers of the World to be as precipitate in action as they had themselves been in expelling their own members and branding them as "scabs." Arrangements for a joint conference and investigation were proceeding when, on the 9th of November, they were suddenly broken off ("on account of the absence of some of our members," says the capmakers' Journal), and this after a date had been fixed for the meeting and then changed to another, which was readily agreed to by the Industrial Workers of the World representatives. After agreeing to this conference and investigation, the capmakers' Journal says: "We knew that our conference with the Industrial Workers of the World would be useless." Instead of manfully entering a conference, the capmakers' union officials chose to flood the country with its tale of "scabbery," in a circular that is signed by no one of their number, but is put forth as the utterance of a general executive board.

In the matter of the Detroit strike, the facts are that all the cutters connected with the capmakers' union remained at work, except Lazarus Goldberg, a member of the Industrial Workers of the World, and he went out on strike. The other two members of the Industrial Workers of the World in the Detroit affair (Wulf and Kirschner) lost their position in the Detroit Cap Manufacturing Company's establishment (a closed shop) by request of the capmakers' union officials, not because they refused to pay a fine, but for the reason that they were members of the Industrial Workers of the World. They took jobs in another cap factory owned by the same company, but not controlled by the union. When the strike occurred they were requested by the Industrial Workers of the World to go out with the capmakers, and on their refusal to do so they were disciplined by being expelled from the organization. The capmakers' union officials say there were eight Industrial Workers of the World men involved at Detroit, when, as a matter of fact, we had only three members. The statement made by Shaftel that the Detroit strike was not against the company, but against members of the Industrial Workers of the World is true. And this last-mentioned fact exposes the animus of the whole proceeding from beginning to end.

STATEMENT BY PRESIDENT SHERMAN.

Relative to the meeting of Secretary Zuckermann and two other members of the executive board of the capmakers with President Sherman and a committee representing the capmakers and the central body of New York City, also Organizer Shurtleff, which took place at the Grand Union Hotel, it is not true, as stated in the Capmakers' Journal, that President Sherman was in an embarrassing position. The first meeting was held, convening about 8:30 p. m., and adjourning about 9:30 p. m. The Industrial Workers' committee heard the complaint and charges made by the capmakers' representatives. The representatives on both sides were questioned very closely and with but one exception was there an acknowledgment that there was any one, a member of the Industrial Workers of the World Capmakers' Union of New York, who had anything against his character. The two mem-

bers of the capmakers of the Industrial Workers of the World admitted that there was one man, a member of their local union, who at one time had worked in a strike. As soon as the admission was made President Sherman rebuked the members of the Industrial Workers of the World Capmakers' Union for permitting such a man to become a member of their local union, and he further informed them that his continuance as a member would not be tolerated and, if it was, their charter would be revoked. The two members of the Capmakers' Industrial Workers of the World Union promised that this member would be expelled from the union. When this promise was made by these members, Mr. Zuckermann, of the capmakers, announced that, no matter how good the reputation of the membership of the Industrial Workers of the World Capmakers' Union might be, he and his colleagues would not be satisfied until the Industrial Workers of the World revoked the charter of their capmakers' union and agreed to not organize that craft at any time in the future. It was not proven that there was one member in the local union of the Industrial Workers of the World who was charged with being a detective. It was admitted that a man believed to be a detective had attended one of the open meetings of the Industrial Workers of the World. President Sherman consented to the conference for the purpose of getting the facts in the case and to learn if it was a fact that there were any members in the Industrial Workers of the World Capmakers' Union who had ever worked in the time of strike or was not worthy in any way of being a member. All of these facts were brought out at this meeting, which it was necessary to adjourn at 8:30 p. m., as President Sherman was billed to speak at a public mass meeting on that night. The adjournment was made, with the suggestion upon the part of Mr. Sherman that they meet again the next evening, which was agreed to by the representatives of the capmakers' union.

The appointment was not kept by President Sherman, owing to a business engagement that detained him from the meeting place until a very late hour the next night. Had President Sherman felt that there was anything that could be gained by the second meeting, he would have undoubtedly neglected other business and attended this meeting, but it was evident, from the statements made by Secretary Zuckermann and his colleagues, that there was nothing that could be done which would bring peace and harmony between the two organizations, except that the Industrial Workers of the World consent to go out of business, as far as the organizing of the capmakers was concerned. President Sherman stated to the capmakers' committee that all of the American Federation of Labor organizations had practically made the same demand and that he expected to meet opposition to the Industrial Workers of the World as long as the rank and file of the pure and simple unions could be induced to contribute to their cause and remain in the old trade autonomy lines.

It should be distinctly understood that the Industrial Workers of the World has never chartered but one local union of capmakers, that one being the union in question, located in New York City, and it is the intention of the Industrial Workers of the World to not only support and maintain that local union, but will do everything within its power to build up its membership and make it a power in the industrial field. Every local union of every character that has been chartered by the Industrial Workers of the World knows that it is one of the cardinal principles of the organization that in no sense do we tolerate scabbery nor permit scabs to become members of our organization. Pinkertons, spies and detectives are classed in the same category and would be expelled if we learned that any of them had succeeded in becoming members of any of our local unions. Our constitution speaks plainly as to the jurisdiction as to who is eligible to membership and the same does not include employers, and the statement made by the capmakers, to the effect that any employer is a member of the Capmakers' Union of the Industrial Workers of the World, is absolutely false. The officers of the Industrial Workers of the World believe that the rank and file of the capmakers' union are honest and that they have been prejudiced against the Industrial Workers of the World, which is an industrial, economic organization, by the officers of the capmakers' union.

To verify this statement as to our belief, WE CHALLENGE THE OFFICERS OF THE CAPMAKERS' UNION TO MEET US IN DEBATE BEFORE THE RANK AND FILE AT A CALLED MEETING OF THE CAPMAKERS' UNION IN NEW YORK CITY.

The Industrial Workers of the World have done nothing that they may be ashamed of and feel that if the rank and file of the capmakers' union can be given an opportunity to hear the representatives of the Industrial Workers of the World, and to permit them to place their side of the question in controversy and, at the same time, the principles of the Industrial Workers of the World, their position would be sustained by the members comprising the rank and file of the capmakers' organization. The blush of shame should mantle the face of any capmakers' union representative when he makes the statement that the Industrial Workers of the World is a scab organization, when, at the same time, he must father the agreement signed by the officials of the capmakers' union which exists today in the city of New York. The agreement referred to, which the rank and file of the capmakers must comply with, is as follows:

No. 1. All hands employed in the shops at present to remain.

No. 2. Employers will engage and discharge whomsoever they see fit.

No. 3. Employers will not permit delegates or other officers of the union to visit employes in the shops.

No. 4. Employers will engage apprentices consistent with the interest of the trade for a term of one year.

No. 5. Employers will use all modern improved machinery.

No. 6. Will employ week hands or piece-workers as the interest of our business requires.

No. 7. Last year's prices to be maintained and all future prices on new caps to be based on last year's prices. Manufacturers should figure on this basis without committees, but should the price differ a committee of three of that branch of workers should be appointed by the shop and call on the firm to readjust prices not oftener than twice a month, and the settlement to be made within three days and the difference on agreed prices to be paid, and no interruption of work at any time.

No. 8. We will re-employ all former employes as needed, and we promise to give employment to all former employes as speedily as business will require.

No. 9. All employes should work during the same hours.

No. 10. Overtime, when required, at former rate.

No. 11. We agree to engage union help if such competent help is obtainable; if not, we may engage whomsoever we want, and being agreed that this should in no way impair the validity of clause No. 2.

New York, N. Y., March 20, 1905.
This agreement to be in force for the term of two years from date.

A. LEIDESDORF, President.
LOUIS GOLDSTEIN, Secretary.
M. ZUGARMAN, National Secy.

The above agreement is word for word as accepted by the officers of the capmakers' union, which specifically provides that the employer has the right to retain the services of the strike-breakers who were working in the shops when this contract was signed; also that the employer has the right to hire non-union men, if competent help is not obtainable. There is nothing to show but what the employer is to be the judge as to the competency of such help, neither are there any provisions compelling such non-union help, that might be employed, to become members of the capmakers' union at any time. I will ask all fair-minded people to scrutinize this agreement and then judge for themselves if they could pass upon this so-called agreement and call it a union agreement, wherein it gives consent and contract to recognize shops as union shops and, at the same time, permit non-union men and strike-breakers to be employed therein. This contract, signed by the officers of the capmakers' union, compels those who were but on strike fighting for better conditions to return to such shops and work side by side with the strike-breaker, who is wholly and solely responsible for the loss of the strike.

We ask union and non-union men to pass judgment on this agreement and decide in their own minds if they would call this agreement worthy of being claimed as a part of the property of the executive board of the Industrial Workers of the World would consider that they would disgrace their name if they placed their signature to a contract of this character and then ask the rank and file to accept it; they would further expect and feel that they would deserve a rebuke from the rank and file should they commit such a crime. The officers of the Industrial Workers of the World would consider it a greater honor, from conditions that existed when this agreement was signed, to acknowledge a defeat and say to the rank and file of their organization, "those

of you who can seek employment after declaring off this strike can return to work," but the full conspiracy against the honest rank and file of the capmakers' union could not be carried out and the members of trades unions everywhere could not be hoodwinked if such a policy had been pursued in this case, because, if such action was taken and no contract signed, the employer and manufacturer would not have the use of the capmakers' label; hence, they would be very apt to have their product discriminated against by honest men and women. The reader should fully take into consideration the meaning of the acceptance upon the part of the officers of this contract and they should fully realize that with this contract the officers of the capmakers agree to furnish the employer and the manufacturer the union label of the cloth, that and capmakers, to be used on the product of their establishment, and, as the agreement specifies the product to be turned out by such strike-breakers as the employer saw fit to retain along with good, honest union men, such as they saw fit to re-employ. In other words, strike-breakers who were in the service of the employer may retain their positions at the wish of the employer and with this agreement they prostitute what is due to the honest rank and file, place it on the product of the union men and strike-breakers' product alike and are permitted to be placed on the market and expect the rank and file of organized labor to patronize such a label, with the belief that they are doing justice to the cause by wearing the same.

In conclusion, I desire to say to the workers of the world that the Industrial Workers of the World propose to continue organizing all classes of working people, and the falsehoods and the misstatements of those who are opposed to the organization will not in any way stop the efforts, the zeal nor the determination of those who are in control of the management of the Industrial Workers of the World.

CHAS. O. SHERMAN, Gen'l Pres.

John Mitchell's comparison of the Industrial Workers of the World to the Parry-Post organization is quite worthy of his mentality, which at its best is of the small-bore variety and shows real capacity only in absorbing the flattery of those who use him to work the miners, Mitchell is suffering from mental flatulence—due to an accumulation of capitalist gas in the brain.

Have you noticed that all the Chicago dailies that are "union" offices from "skylight to basement," and carry the typographical label also carry the advertisements of all the "rat" shops in the country that are hunting for "scabs"? The workers, divided into sectional or craft unions, are forced to scab on each other; "union" printers are forced to print scab printers' advertisements.

Haven't Learned Their Lesson

Writing in the New York Journal on the relation of the railway brotherhoods to rate regulations and the railway corporations, Joseph Buchanan says:

"There should be still some members of the railway brotherhoods who remember the struggles of the past to secure fair wages and decent treatment for railway employes. These men know that it was through organization and hard fighting that the railway corporations were finally brought to recognize the rights of their employes, and not through changes in rate schedules or through increased earnings.

"There is another way, not so charitable, to look upon the opposition of the railway brotherhoods to rate legislation. It is now generally believed throughout the labor movement that the late Peter M. Arthur, when grand chief of the locomotive engineers, had an 'understanding' with the railway magnates of the country. The 'understanding' was that the engineers would stand by the companies in their contests with employes of other departments.

"The most consistent and persistent promulgators of this charge against Mr. Arthur and his organization were some of the men who have since built up and are now the leaders of the other railway organizations. Those other unions are now strong and able to take pretty good care of themselves.

"They are at peace with the companies. More than that, their leaders seem to have been pretty thoroughly Arthurized.

"But the situation is somewhat changed. It looks now as if the employes' organizations had joined hands with the companies to enable the latter to continue their robberies of the people."

"The Little Grafting Leaders"

Of the croak of the capmakers' union officers that the Industrial Workers of the World was organizing scabs, Eugene V. Debs had this to say in the Chicago Socialist:

"The cry has gone up in New York that the Industrial Workers are organizing scabs. The charge, needless to say, is absolutely false. It is the croak of the grafter, or nest of grafters, that have been uncovered. It is the last appeal to their dupes. The grafting little leaders who make this cry do not dare to meet the officers of the Industrial Workers before the rank and file of the working class. The simple truth is that the disgusted unionists are deserting their old craft concerns, in which they have been repeatedly betrayed, and through which their leaders, in collusion with their bosses, have a mortgage on their bodies and souls—and are joining the Industrial Workers, and the moment they do this BY THE PECULIAR PROCESS OF REASONING OF THE GRAFTER, WHO SEES HIS BOOTY VANISHING, THEY BECOME SCABS. The fact is that they are the best of unionists, and this is proven in their determination to turn their backs upon unions that betray the working class, and their faces toward a revolutionary economic organization that has been organized to fight fakirs of all descriptions and emancipate the toilers of the nation from the hell of industrial slavery.

Gompers is making a fierce attack on the Industrial Workers of the World by claiming that the Western Federation of Miners diverted the funds sent for the relief of the Colorado miners to the founding of the Industrial Workers of the World. It is a contemptible method to cripple a rising organization based on correct fundamental principles that are bound to supersede wornout and corrupt union methods. But it is worthy of Gompers, the "Man Friday" of the capitalist class.—Montana News.

The workers of the world have political liberty "in spots"; but the plunderers of the world have wealth. Wealth confers economic power. Political liberty without economic security is a fraud. The workers will have power when they decide to own themselves and become masters of their tools of employment.

The spread of the principles of Industrial Unionism can be very materially aided by distributing the three speeches by Eugene V. Debs, delivered in Chicago. They are contained in three books, neatly printed on good paper, entitled "Craft Unionism," "Class Unionism" and "Revolutionary Unionism." The price is 5 cents each; we pay the postage. A special rate will be made on orders for quantities. You must have the literature of the Industrial Workers of the World to understand it. Send for the three Debs books—15-cents.

COMRADES OF THE REVOLUTION

By KATH BROWNLEE SHERWOOD.

COMRADES of the Revolution,
In the pangs of persecutions
Comrades bound by ties fraternal,

By the rights of man supernal;

Rights of life and high ambition

Right to rise from low condition;

Comrades, justice is eternal.

Comrades, brotherhood is risen,

From the travail of the prison;

Russ and Saxon, Jew, or other,

Red the blood that binds them brother;

Red the ensign calling ever,

To the mounts of great endeavor,

Trod by lord and master never.

Comrades, freedom sends you greeting,

Lips and eyes and heart repeating;

Comrades, where the knouts are flying,

Comrades, where the babes are dying;

Freedom from the czars and zealots,

From the potentates and prelates

From the tyrant-armored helots.

Comrades, we the vows have taken,

All the world shall yet awaken;

Fawning fools and cringing vassals,

Holding up the crumbling castles,

Brotherhood at last shall glory

Over greed and tyrants hoary,

Make for MAN a place in story.

THE GENERAL MOVEMENT

The Record We Have Made

To the oft-repeated statements and insinuations that the Industrial Workers of the World is having "a hard time to make ends meet," we give below the record of organization for January, up to and including the 30th of the month, supplemented by the figures for total number of charters issued from the adjournment of the convention to the date mentioned.

Charters were issued during the first twenty days of January as follows:

Ladies' Tailors' Industrial Union, Washington, D. C.; Pantsmakers' Industrial Union, Brooklyn, N. Y.; Pioneer Industrial Union, Sacramento, Cal.; Colorado Springs Industrial Union, Colorado Springs, Colo.; Shawnee Industrial Workers' Mixed Union, Shawnee, O. T.; Oklahoma City Industrial Union, Oklahoma City, O. T.; Progressive Local of Industrial Workers, Joplin, Mo.; Long Island Industrial Mixed Union, Jamaica, N. Y.; Musicians' Local Union, Oakland, Cal.; Pacific Coast Musicians' Union, San Francisco, Cal.; Musicians' Protective Union, Paterson, N. Y.; Metal Workers' and Machinists' Industrial Union, Schenectady, N. Y.; Machinists' Industrial Local Union, Braddock, Pa.; Railway Workers' Industrial Union, Joliet, Ill.

Total Local Organizations, January 20, 1906.

The total number of organizations to which charters have been issued since the convention is 231.

The Industrial Workers of the World has had several strikes on its hands and has won them all.

Reports From Our Organizers

Organizer Frank Bohn, operating in Montana, reports wonderful success in the growth of the Industrial Workers of the World. His report states that the whole state of Montana is now safe for the Industrial Workers of the World. The advocating of trade autonomy has sunk into oblivion and is now considered a joke. He has lined up twenty unions in the past five weeks. Organizer Bohn is deserving of great credit for the work and success he has achieved during his service in the Industrial Workers of the World.

Organizer E. R. Markley, of Pittsburg, reports great increase in the local unions in that locality. He averages one new local union every week; reports stogeworkers are all satisfied, working on the increased scale received through their victory. Brother Markley is one of our most active organizers and one who enjoys the entire confidence of the executive board of the Industrial Workers of the World.

Organizer W. Shurtleff, of New York City, reports having five strikes to look after and further reports a continual increase in all of our local unions in that locality. He sends warning to the office to be prepared to issue at least thirty new charters within the next six weeks. Organizer Shurtleff's record as an organizer since being in the service of the Industrial Workers of the World is a record-breaker, having organized over fifty unions in five months.

Organizer Wm. R. Fox, of Cincinnati, is proving himself to be up to every expectation. He makes on an average one application for charter every week for new unions, and writes us that he has good prospects of getting six local unions within a few days. Brother Fox is one of our hardest workers. Any of our members who may be in Cincinnati should not fail to meet him, and when they do, they will have the opportunity of grasping the hand of an ever-tireless worker for humanity. The bundles of subscriptions for "The Industrial Worker" which Brother Fox has forwarded to our editor, are worthy of the highest consideration.

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Organizer R. T. Sims, of Milwaukee, is making great headway in that city, regardless of the opposition of the pure and simple. The workers are flocking to the principles of Industrial Unionism and Brother Sims is now feeling the good effect of the agitation that he has persistently put forth in the past three months. He expects to apply for three more charters for new unions within the next ten days.

Organizer W. E. Tullar, of Chicago, is making steady progress in the building up of the machinists' union. The sentiment for Industrial Unionism with the machinists of Chicago is growing every day, and Brother Tullar predicts that there will not be a live union of the International Association of Machinists in six months, in Chicago.

Industrial Unionists and the Printers

When the strike of the printers for an eight-hour day was inaugurated, the members of Stationary Engineers' Local No. 120, of the Industrial Workers of the World in New York, went to the printers and gave them a list of the printing establishments where Industrial Workers of the World men were employed, at the same time informing them that in case any of the concerns refused to accede to the printers' demands, and our representatives were informed all Industrial Workers of the World engineers would come out at once.

Contrast this with the fact that the American Federation of Labor engineers in New York are all diligently holding their jobs in the "scab" printing plants. The same condition exists elsewhere. In this connection mention may be made of the report that was set going that Industrial Workers of the World men were scabbing on the printers, a report that is absolutely false and was started, like the capmakers' incident, solely for the purpose of discrediting the Industrial Workers of the World.

In the month of January a new local of textile workers was organized at Brooklyn.

Bronx Borough, New York, is a hot-bed of Industrial Workers of the World agitation.

A number of new Industrial Councils are being formed in cities having a number of Industrial Workers of the World locals.

E. R. Markley reports a marked improvement in the membership at Pittsburg of the tobacco workers' local since the strike.

The Industrialists of Pittsburg held a successful mass meeting January 14, with Phillip Veal and August Gillhaus as the speakers.

August Lott lectured on "Industrial Unionism," January 14, under the auspices of the Freiheit Singing Society, at New York.

Preparations are being made in Boston for a grand demonstration next spring in the interests of the Industrial Workers of the World.

The great speech by Debs in New York on "Industrial Unionism" has been published by "The People, 2-6 New Reade Street, New York City.

Cincinnati workers are thoroughly alive to the educational work of the Industrial Workers of the World, and in January held a series of very successful meetings. Among the speakers were Duncan McEachran, A. S. Edwards and Mrs. Forberg. President Sherman and Secretary Trautmann follow in February.

A lecture on the foremost labor topic, "Industrial Unionism," was delivered January 15 at the headquarters of the Karl Marx Social Club, New York, by Louis Ballhaus.

Industrial Workers of the World men employed in shops in the Pittsburg district have succeeded in abolishing overtime, thus forcing the employment of men formerly without work.

The members of Local Bisbee (Ariz.) of the Socialist Party have fallen in line with the Industrial Workers of the World, in response to resolutions and invitation from Section Bisbee of the Socialist Labor Party.

Just as the last copy is being prepared for this issue, we learn that a large local union of the Industrial Workers of the World is about to be organized at York, Pa. York is an important industrial town and a fine field for unionism of the right kind.

Correspondence from Australia and Great Britain shows that a lively interest exists in the Industrial Workers of the World in both countries, and in some quarters there is decided expression favorable to amalgamation with the Industrial Workers of the World.

Schenectady, N. Y., has taken the lead over all other cities in pushing "The Industrial Worker." The number of subscribers received from that city would make a good "list" for a country newspaper, and the movement is proportionately active.

The capitalist newspapers in Pittsburg and vicinity attempted to discredit the stogemakers' victory over Boss Jenkinson, claiming that there was a political scheme at the bottom of it. But it is a part of their mission now to belittle true unionism in behalf of the false.

Just out of a strike themselves, the members of Tobacco Workers' Local Union No. 300, of Pittsburg, have forwarded to headquarters a check for \$41.00 to assist the striking silk workers. All the indications are that the latter will win out, as the tobacco workers who now come to their help did.

General Secretary Trautmann addressed big meetings on "Industrial Unionism" at Philadelphia, January 14 and 15, and at Baltimore, January 16. He spoke in both German and English, and the interest manifested showed unmistakably the rise of the workers against absolutism in the labor movement.

A letter received at headquarters from a local union of machinists at Washington, D. C., protesting against the foolishness of spending the money of the working class to support an American Federation of Labor lobby at the door of a capitalistic Congress, shows the drift. There's a deluge coming that will overwhelm the lobbyists.

A strike of Industrial Unionists against the Star Ribbon Company, New York, on account of the installation of a time clock, is proceeding satisfactorily, with the employees confident of victory. In all these difficulties the membership in the textile industry is doing splendidly in support of their striking brothers. They have generously assessed themselves 25 cents per week and the headquarters is supplementing this with additional aid.

The workers employed in a silk factory at West New Brighton recently organized an industrial union, affiliated with the Industrial Workers of the World. As soon as the company heard of it the president and secretary of the union were discharged. A committee demanded their reinstatement, the company refusing to comply, when all the employes walked. The strike has been on six weeks, and present indications are all favorable to the strikers.

On Monday evening, January 22, the Industrial Workers held a meeting in Aurora Hall, corner Milwaukee Avenue and Huron Street, Chicago. The speakers were A. M. Simons, C. O. Sherman and W. E. Trautmann, and the text of all three was the Red Sunday of the Russian revolution. A. M. Simons showed how the massacre of that Sunday had been the means of drawing more closely together millions of workers all over the world. The toilers in Russia had shown a new weapon. They had drawn together on the economic field and stopped the wheels of production. Amongst the millions of Russia those organized seemed few, but they proved the usefulness of the new weapon, the general strike. In the fight against oppression every arm, every weapon was needed, political and economic. The Industrial Workers of the World was an organization that did not believe in the splitting up of forces. C. O. Sherman pictured conditions in Russia on that Red Sunday, and then quoted from Chicago papers, showing where women and girls in this city were being forced to exist on as low as 90 cents to \$1.00 per week. These poor women and girls were making shirts for a few cents, which in our millionaires' stores were selling for a dollar and a half. President Sherman referred to the enigmas being bestowed on a departed merchant prince. He said: "What will that mind find hereafter, a hell? I know not. The poor, suffering girls have their hell here. In Russia death was a relief. In Chicago there are thousands suffering a living death."

W. E. Trautmann spoke in both English and German, and showed the lessons to be drawn from the Russian revolution and the great necessity for industrial organization.

"You are sure that man cheated?"
"Yes, sir," answered Three Fingered Sam.
"He held four aces."
"But that is not conclusive evidence."
"It was in this case. I knew where the three regular aces were, myself."—Washington Star.

LABOR IS ENTITLED TO ALL IT PRODUCES

INDUSTRIAL WORKER

Advocate of Industrial Unionism for the Working Class

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JOLIET, FEBRUARY, 1904.

We'll Get This Thing Right

The commendations we have received of the contents of the initial number are many, more than we have space for. We have been surprised, however, that our readers have been so considerate of the manner in which the paper was printed and the very poor, off-color stock that was used. We want to assure each and all of them that it was not what we had planned for and expected. A mistake was made at the paper mill that could not be rectified in time, and certain difficulties arose in operating the press, due to inexperience on the part of our printers with the sixteen-page form. The latter will be remedied, we are assured, with this issue. But a stock of paper more than sufficient for two editions having been made under order from the printer, we are obliged to go to press this month with the same paper. This defect will be corrected with the March issue, when "The Industrial Worker" will appear printed on a clear, white paper, and be as bright in appearance as so many of our readers have been good enough to say it is in its contents.

With this explanation of a bad beginning, which, we assure you, has worried us probably more than yourselves, and assuring you that we'll get this thing right, we urge all our readers to push the canvass everywhere for subscriptions. Send in your orders for bundle orders at 2½ cents each, and get your neighbors and shopmates to subscribe.

A "Bourgeois Advance"

A revolutionary struggle in Russia, in which the proletariat have fought and died, have erected barricades and captured battle-ships, have been shot down by the thousand by cossack butchers, in which the socialists of Russia have borne an active and aggressive part, and to the support of which the proletariat of the world have contributed, is pronounced by the S. D. Herald not to be a proletarian revolt at all, but a "bourgeois advance." What a mistake we have all been making, to be sure! Kautsky says it is the "beginning of an era of proletarian revolutions." It is, he says, "a revolution that is shattering the foundation of an entire nation, and that even now has completely disorganized the governmental insti-

tutions, bureaucracy and army. A revolution in which the proletariat, not of one single city, but of every great city of the nation, have fought, not for weeks, but for months, and sometimes almost for an entire year. A revolution that from the beginning has found the strongest motive force in the industrial proletariat."

Has No Political Tests

The Industrial Unionist, who is desirous of making himself useful in building up the organization and does not wish to use it to serve some other organization of which he is also a member, will at all times see the necessity of sticking to the Industrial Workers of the World program, as an economic organization. The best interests of the Industrial Workers of the World are not served by those who persist in laying down tests or requirements for membership, which the organization itself has not formulated and does not contemplate. Such a course can only delay or defeat the purposes that the founders of the organization had in view. The industrial Workers of the World is not a political, but an economic organization. IT HAS NO POLITICAL PARTY TEST FOR MEMBERSHIP. No member has a right to attempt to impose any. All such attempts can only prove obstructions to the unity of the working class on the economic field. A member of the working class, who approves the industrial form of organization, and consents to abide by the constitution of the Industrial Workers of the World, is eligible to membership, regardless of what his political ideas are today.

Workers Organizing Themselves

In his annual report to the United Mine Workers' convention President Mitchell deemed it necessary to "take time by the forelock" and inform the delegates present that the Industrial Workers of the World was meeting with some success in establishing local unions within the organized anthracite districts. To Mr. Mitchell this is a heinous offense; and so he proceeds, with a proper show of indignation, to apply the lash to our innocent backs. We want Mr. Mitchell at the outset to understand that one of the quite remarkable things about the Industrial Union movement is that the working class, this time, is organizing itself. If there are workmen within his (and Baer's) bailiwick who have the good sense to organize themselves in such form and upon such clear recognition of their class interests, that they cannot be controlled by coal barons, nor by a labor leader whose affiliations with the civic federation humbug are not above suspicion, then we heartily congratulate them and will certainly not put a straw in their way to carry so praiseworthy an undertaking to the limit. If, as Mitchell admits, the miners are coming to see things, among others that the one-sided agreements and contracts formulated by a Robbins and a Mitchell, the acceptance of which is practically forced upon them, are capitalistic impositions, then we are ready to believe that he is not grasping the forelock of time any too soon, and we welcome the prospect that is opened to us by this state of affairs.

The Industrial Workers of the World is not going to exert itself to prevent the workers doing that kind of work. We could not

if we were disposed to; but we are disposed to let the workers do everything possible to work out their own emancipation, and here and now pledge them all the assistance we find it in our power to give. We fear that Mitchell is getting a hold on that forelock none too soon. He is unable to see anything save a reversal to "conditions of life and labor that prevailed in former years," if in the stress of the evolution his organization is effected. As if the conditions of life and labor that prevail now had reached, under the "sacred" agreement and contract, the millenium stage! Mitchell has evidently contracted a nightmare that will spoil his appetite for civic federation banquets in the near future. He sees the handwriting on the bleak and barren wastes of "his districts" and fears that great issues of principle are coming up to take the place of solemn agreements and sanctified contracts.

Long life and success to every group of workers anywhere that is struggling to put an end to the system wherein, with the assistance of labor leaders, they are shackled body and soul to a capitalist master.

Scared Union Officials

Much astonishment is expressed by officials of the International Association of Machinists that their organization should be the center of attack from Industrial Unionists. A careful survey of the situation, giving to all the facts due consideration, ought to satisfy these officials that if the Industrial Workers of the World has been able to make any headway with the machinists it has been due to certain causes for which the International Association of Machinists, and not the Industrial Workers of the World, is responsible.

The machinists are joining the Industrial Workers of the World, among other reasons, because they are perhaps more class-conscious than the workmen of other trades as a whole. The growth of mechanics and the perfection of the machine has hit them hard. They have in recent years witnessed the specialization of work and the classification of labor going on to such an extent that they have been reduced thereby to a level little above that of common laborers. The industrial development, and more especially the experience they have had out of it, has made them class-conscious. They are learning something of the unscientific abortion of old-trades unionism when pitted against the development of mechanics and the industrial organization of capitalism.

The machinists properly belong in the industrial form of organization; their place is in the Industrial Workers of the World, where they must ultimately come into control of the metal and machinery industry. They are great in numbers, militant in spirit and have always had to do the fighting for the whole metal industry. Their growing consciousness of the division of society into a clearly defined class struggle necessarily compels them to look for a form of organization that will more effectively protect their interests. This they are finding in Industrial Unionism, and we very much misjudge them if they can be diverted from a logical and scientific course by illogical and unscientific leaders.

Tricky and Evasive

Our attention is drawn to a tricky and malicious attack upon the Industrial Workers of the World, in the Machinists' Journal. We should let it pass unnoticed but for the fact that the writer assumes an attitude of

injured innocence, and by-trick and evasion, expects his editorial pronouncement to go unchallenged and that the members of the International Association of Machinists will swallow it whole as predigested truth. It seems, according to the Machinists' Journal, that a member of the Industrial Workers of the World, at a public meeting "made a statement to the effect that the brewery workers donated the sum of \$25,000 to the International Association of Machinists during the nine-hour strike," meaning, of course, that the money was donated to the striking machinists. The editor declares this statement is false and being in a hysterical mood and cock-sure that he is right, he meanders through a maze of expletives and frets himself into a fury in a futile attempt to prove to his readers that he is right. He has failed to satisfy any honest man, as we shall show.

It is immaterial whether the sum donated by the brewery workers to the International Association of Machinists was exactly \$25,000, a little less or a little more.

The editor of the Machinists' Journal probably knows, but he does not tell us. There are those who claim that it was more. However that may be, after the Machinists' Journal editor exhausts himself in a feigned disgust with Industrial Workers of the World men who seek "to strengthen their cause with a base fabric of a lie," he says: "The brewery workers did assist us during the nine-hour strike. They donated the sum of less than \$250. Other sums were contributed locally by the brewery workers, but the sum just spoken of was all that was handled by the international officials."

Now go back a moment and see what the Industrial Workers of the World man really said. It is that the brewery workers (meaning the workmen in the brewery industry throughout the country) donated \$25,000 to the organized machinists in their nine-hour strike. He did not say that this sum was sent to the machinists' international office, but that the total amount of money named was donated to the support of the machinists. And the statement is undoubtedly true. The Journal man himself says, somewhat reluctantly, that "other sums were contributed locally by the brewery workers." That was an unfortunate admission; it virtually concedes the truth of the statement, which is so roundly denounced.

When the Journal editor wrote that the brewery workers "donated the sum of less than \$250," and that "other sums" (which he would lead his readers to believe were too paltry to specify) "were contributed locally," he knew that thousands of dollars, probably reaching \$25,000, went to the support of the strike from the same generous givers. We happen to know that the members of one local union of brewery workers in Cincinnati alone, with a membership of 1,200, contributed \$5.00 per man, or a total approximating \$6,000. Did the editor know this when he wrote his ill-considered and scurrilous tirade in behalf of "the international officials"? If he did, then the censorship which has been established in his office may have its uses, provided it is exercised to save him from a resort to trickery and evasion of the truth to deceive the members of an organization that is slipping away from its "international officials."

Many a pious patriot has been getting his insurance at cut rates and permitting the use of his name for buncoing purposes. It's all in "the game."

If you can get a line on what the so-called "great" have done that was really noble or useful, you will begin to see how little "greatness" is.

The Proletarian Revolution

The struggle which the proletariat of Russia is so heroically carrying on is one of the most terrific in the history of the world. It arrests the intense interest of workers and exploiters alike; of the former because of a profound, universal sympathy with the revolutionists, and of the latter because of the fear that this awakening on the part of our Russian brethren portends a universal uprising and determination to gain freedom from the brutalities and horrors of capitalist industry. Well may the rulers—political and economic—tremble at the prospect of such an awakening. It is fraught with consequences of tremendous importance to them. And that it will come is as certain as anything in the future. The struggle of the working class necessarily involves the complete overthrow and destruction of all instrumentalities, of whatever character, by which the privileged have profited and the producers have been robbed of the wealth they have created. The revolutionary workers everywhere welcome the conflict; the prospect cheers them. The privileged classes, where they do not deny its existence, would prevent it by ameliorative concessions that do not ameliorate. Even the most radical of labor leaders—outside the revolutionary ranks—who have any considerable influence in America, in 1906 seek to palliate conditions on the same lines that proved abortive in England as far back as 1848. Parliamentary socialists in European law-making chambers fritter away their opportunities in the advocacy of measures to shorten the day's work, and in all that they do propose go not as far as capitalistic law-makers did half a century ago.

When it is said that the revolutionary workers welcome the impending conflict, we are not to be understood as being cheered by the prospect of slaughter and the necessary suffering that would attend actual battle with our historic enemy. The horrors of war we too well understand and too keenly deplore to include in our program; if they can be avoided, we would, by every means in our power, avoid them. No man will resort to war until every known means of pacification and agreement have failed. But no true man will seek to avoid a resort to deeds to rid the world of a pestilence and strike the shackles from our limbs when a fight that entails misery and suffering is all that stands in the way. In all conscience is there not suffering and misery in the world today? Is not our civilization reared upon the torn and mangled bodies of the poor and outraged wretches in Moscow and London, in St. Petersburg and New York, in Tokyo and Chicago, who spend their lives in creating wealth and opportunities that others enjoy? Do we not know that the workers everywhere the world over are, by laws and privileges that dead men made and men who would better be dead uphold, stripped of their social patrimony and the results of their toil by thieves and gamblers in legislative chamber and Wall Street pit?

So it is seen that the struggle in Russia is the struggle of the working class everywhere. It is a struggle that no power on earth can turn from its purpose. It is a movement growing in conscious power and the Industrial Workers of the World is in the forefront for freedom through enlightenment.

There is one way to bring about the revolution without violence and slaughter, and that is to organize so completely the working class in a class-conscious and revolutionary organization on the economic field, that the capitalists will be ready to capitulate to save their heads.

As to Organizing Politically

We hear it said that the energy exerted in organizing the Industrial Workers of the World would better be devoted to organizing the working class politically. At first glance this will strike many who have had little experience in the working class movement as being sound. Some of those who make the averment do so as if it were a fact beyond question or dispute. Let us see if it is, always remembering that we, of the Industrial Workers of the World, are not to be placed in the category of those who oppose absolutely all political action. Our attitude on this point was, we think, clearly enough stated in the initial number of "The Industrial Worker."

Our contention is that a political movement organized for the purpose of getting men into office, under a capitalistic regime, to advance the cause and represent the true interests of the workers, is quite excellent as a theory, but incapable of being transformed into fact, until the workers themselves clearly understand their interest in the production and distribution of wealth—their economic interest. A political organization can become potent for good to the workers only so far as the workers themselves control it, and EVERY MOVE THAT IS MADE SQUARES TO THE ULTIMATE PURPOSE OF THEIR ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION. That ultimate purpose is the overthrow of the system of exploitation under which we live; that is to say, our goal is the industrial revolution, the revolution in the shop, mill, factory and mine that will force the glutinous parasites out and sweep away the political barriers that impede progress and perpetuate parasitism.

But there is a more immediately practical side to the matter. We raise the question: "Can the working class be organized politically for the purpose stated? And if this could be done in the prevailing condition, with sectional or craft unions dividing the workers into a thousand squads of the army of labor, whose chief distinction is mutual opposition, what would be the result?" Let us draw the curtain.

If, as we are asked to believe, our salvation lies wholly, in a political organization of unclass-conscious voters, knowing little or nothing of their real interests—that these interests are in the tool of production and not in a party ticket; in the shop and not in a ballot box—then what encouragement is there for us in that direction? How goes it with the political movements we have? Says the secretary of one of the numerically strongest political organizations in the country (the Cook County branch of the Socialist Party),

"Only by dint of the most persistent advertising is it now possible to get into a hall anything like a good number of men to hear the ordinary speaker. The extraordinary would soon become as common were he more frequently before the public. The actual active membership in the branches from one end of the country to the other is exceedingly small and, if anything, is growing smaller."

This quite discouraging admission (and it is true) is not quoted here to disparage or reproach the organization, or any of its officials. It is certainly not calculated to assure us of the wisdom of attempting to organize the working class politically, when the working class is so completely disorganized economically. Many of us understand why such a condition prevails, but the secretary quoted evidently does not as yet fully appreciate the underlying cause. He says further:

"All of these facts are due to one other great fact, the mistaken notion that the first thing to

do was to get a man fully educated and thoroughly class-conscious and then organize him. Just the reverse is the practical and logical process."

Now we see into what a tangle one can involve himself by trying to side-step the biggest "fact" of all, which is that the workers cannot be effectively organized politically until they are class-conscious. The political club is not the place where they become class-conscious. The economic organization, uniting them into one invincible army on the industrial field, moved by one purpose and marching to one goal, makes the class-conscious worker. And the class-conscious worker is essential to resist the pressure that will be brought to give the revolution a turn unfavorable to labor.

Again the political secretary says:

"It is a pitiable and lamentable fact that in those communities where the far largest circulation of some of our most influential papers has its greatest number of adherents, there is to be found in vast numbers the poorest possible organization material."

It appears, then, that the working class cannot, under existing conditions, be organized politically. Carefully note what the admissions are:

1. The most persistent efforts fail to attract the workers to political meetings.
2. The ordinary speakers, with little or no reputation, have nothing to say that secures for them a hearing.
3. The "extraordinary" speakers, by reiterating what they have to say as often as the ordinary, would find themselves talking to a handful of "regulars."
4. The political organization per se does not grow, its membership is getting smaller; and this condition prevails "from one end of the country to the other."
5. Wherever the literature of the political organization is most abundantly distributed, there is found the "poorest possible" organization.

All this unerringly points to a weakness in the political organization. And while an exceptional state of affairs may be discovered here and there, in a few localities (always, however, in such instances, accompanied by the subtle influences of compromise), all that the political secretary says is true and beyond dispute. There is very much more that is true, but for the present there is only one other matter to which brief reference may be made.

The political organization does not unite the workers. It affects to do so, but fails in the accomplishment. It fails because the conditions precedent to a united political organization do not exist. These conditions have to be created by the logic of events and through an economic organization. The energy expended in organizing the Industrial Workers of the World is in the right direction. It is the only expenditure now being made that will ultimately bring the returns the workers are entitled to and make a working class political organization what it should be.

Measuring the practicability of the political organization by its ability to carry a working-class program into effect, without a powerful and united economic organization, the parliamentarian is compelled to re-examine his attitude and his authorities.

Serving Capitalists' Interests

The Department of Labor of the United States government was originally established for the purpose of collecting and distributing information relating to industry and working-class interests. During the many years of its existence it has succeeded occasionally in producing a report of vital

importance to the workers, but, in the main, the office and its employes have been used in such a way as to serve the interests of capitalists. The eighteenth annual report of this department, it has been discovered, is not calculated to allay the discontent prevailing among the working class, showing as it clearly does, the subjection of that class to organized robbers, and information has been sent out from Washington that no more copies can be furnished. Thousands of workmen who had written for copies are now informed that the report cannot be had—the government having concluded suddenly to practice economy by refusing to print another edition. At the same time there is no lessening of activities at the government printery in turning out the kind of reports that prove helpful to the capitalist class, in keeping the workers shackled and in economic ignorance.

In this connection we draw attention to another report recently published, in a 300-page book, by the Massachusetts bureau of statistics of labor—another labor department that is diverted to capitalistic ends. This report is entitled "Industrial Opportunities Not Yet Utilized in Massachusetts." It is one of a series on "Industrial Information"—for capitalists, and the introduction states that "many newspapers have highly commended this series, and the desire of the bureau has been to undertake some other investigation which might be of STILL GREATER VALUE TO THE MANUFACTURERS AND MERCHANTS OF THE STATE." It is needless for us to say that the bureau has succeeded in its undertaking. The officers of the "labor" bureau have conducted a thorough investigation, in more than 230 Massachusetts communities, to ascertain the unused opportunities still existing in that state for the erection and operation of capitalist jails, where men, women and children might have "opportunities" to be exploited. The report is a curiosity in many ways. It should be filed away and carefully preserved in the proletariat archives, along with other evidence of the way working-class interests were not served by a government the working class supported. It tells the story of "Dead Towns"—dead because they have not yet been seized by capitalists for exploitation. In nearly every one of more than 230 communities, the report shows there are not only physical advantages awaiting the robbers, but from fifty to one thousand persons with labor power to sell. "Labor is plentiful," is the burden of the report. Thousands of people all over the state, with nothing to do, await the advent of a capitalistic employer. At a low estimate, 10,000 "hands" want work. But since the law of capitalist industry is concentration in populous centers, and not diffusion among country towns, the "hands" will have to move or rot in the "dead towns."

As the organization of capitalism is bigger than the organization of government (witness Rogers of the Standard octopus in the courts), it is clear that the biggest thing the awakening working class has to deal with is not the government, but the capitalist. To gain freedom the toilers must confront the exploiters. And the exploiters are the capitalists. The workers must confront the exploiters in the shop. When the working class is powerful enough, through organization and discipline, to "take and hold" the wealth it produces and lock the exploiting class out of the shop the thing called "government" will find its withers unstrung, it will be helpless. Government is not the biggest problem for the proletariat; it is not above, but below, the robber class.

The proletarian ascent means the descent of capitalists, and not dickerings or compromises in a legislative committee room; it means primarily

the triumph of democracy in factory and the mine and the uprooting of every vestige of aristocratic privilege; it means the working class coming into possession of all the instruments and means of employment. When the workers understand their real mission and are organized to put the working-class program into effect, the chief consideration with them will be how to ensure the greatest production and the most just distribution of wealth.

Whatever McSweeney writes is worth reading. Whether one agrees with his conclusions or not, he will find something suggestive and funny at the same time. He has just turned out a new pamphlet on "The Dangers of Municipal Ownership to the Working Class." He believes that municipal ownership, now advocated by all sorts of politicians, would be "a curse to the working class," and does not hesitate to tell why. The pamphlet can be obtained at \$3.50 a hundred by addressing W. J. McSweeney, care of Kerwin Bros., 302 Dearborn Street, Chicago.

"He laughs best who laughs last." A lot of the misleaders of labor who took the Industrial Workers of the World movement as a joke, as well as some others who tried to write it down as an "abortion," are now trying to guess how far this thing is going. Laughter has been turned to chagrin. It is no longer a joke, but a mighty fact, as they now begin to see. It is striking its roots deep and is going far enough to put capitalist craft unionism out of business.

The Brauer-Zeitung does not agree with Gompers' editorial endorsement of the Pittsburg convention. Quoting the American Federationist, wherein the claim is set up, with Gompers' customary hypocrisy, that the convention "showed a renewed, splendid spirit of unity, fraternity and solidarity, which everybody of course knows is mere bluster, Brauer-Zeitung very truthfully says: "If the splendid spirit of unity, fraternity and solidarity is exemplified in the action against the brewery workers, and that the better understanding and agreement among affiliated organizations' exists in tearing them down, we agree! In all other things the convention was a complete failure."

Keep the thought ever in mind, and speak it at every opportunity, that the capitalist class is not wanted and we can get along without it; but that the indispensable class is the workers. The triumph of the working class means the abolition of the capitalist class, and that is what we aim at.

All the paid-for newspaper jabber in the world will never satisfy the wage slave who is intelligent and thinks, that he has an equal opportunity in this country with the capitalist who owns the tools of employment. You might as well tell him that he can get honey by scraping the staves of a vinegar barrel.

A man was "run in" for taking something to eat from a merchant's Saturday night display. He was charged with stealing. And yet the paper that announced the "crime" also carried an ad. that read: "Full pound loaf, only 4 cents. Oh God! that bread should be so cheap, and men not able to get it!"

Under the wage system slaves can come and slaves can go; they can come when their coming is profitable to the owner of the jobs; they can go when the shop can no longer be run at a profit to the owner of the tools.

If the wife of the "boss" wants a new seal-skin coat this winter, the "boss" knows of no reason why she won't get it. But you know a good reason why your wife won't get it, don't you?

The emancipation of the laboring class will never be brought about by an increasing demoralization, but by an increase of economic power.

The spread of the principles of Industrial Unionism can be very materially aided by distributing the three speeches by Eugene V. Debs, delivered in Chicago. They are contained in three books, neatly printed on good paper, entitled "Craft Unionism," "Class Unionism" and "Revolutionary Unionism." The price is 5 cents each; we pay the postage. A special rate will be made on orders for quantities. You must have the literature of the Industrial Workers of the World to understand it. Send for the three Debs books—15 cents.

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THE OUTLOOK

By the General President

Since my last report my time has been fully occupied at headquarters, disposing of accumulated mail and carrying out the duties of my office. We are now emerging from the holiday season and activity of the workers everywhere is being manifested. Applications for charters are arriving daily and good live interests are being received from all sections of the country from our paid and voluntary organizers, and business is striking its old gait that we enjoyed three months previous and up to Christmas. Pittsburg is more than booming; Cincinnati is doing far beyond our expectations; New York is keeping up its old record, while West is continually sending in good reports from all of the large industrial centers. The demand for organizers is far beyond our ability to comply with, and I sincerely trust that those who have made application for the services of organizers will appreciate the fact that we are but a young organization and cannot be expected to have the means at our disposal to dispatch organizers in every direction. We are using our organizers in such localities where we feel the most rapid results will be realized. Many industrial centers have started the movement by organizing themselves and, as a whole, I can only say that the work is progressing fully as rapidly as could be expected.

It is my intention to leave headquarters on the 10th of February, making an Eastern trip and returning by way of Canada. My dates for February are as follows:

- Cincinnati—11th and 12th.
- Pittsburg—15th, 16th and 17th.
- Washington, D. C.—19th.
- Baltimore—20th and 21st.
- Philadelphia—22d.
- New York—23d.
- Boston—25th.

March dates for return trip will be announced in next issue.

We desire to say to our friends who are continually writing to headquarters for speakers to attend local unions of the old pure and simple school that it is our intention to slight no one, but the demand for speakers is so great that it is impossible to keep up with the demand. We will respond as rapidly as possible, but some of our friends must be satisfied by accepting dates for speakers perhaps at a later date than they would wish to have given them. Within the next thirty days the Western Federation of Miners will have an Industrial Workers of the World credential organizer in every local union. This accomplished, the work will go forward with more rapidity throughout the West. Reports from our Montana organizer are to the effect that the state autonomy movement started last fall has been forgotten and abandoned by all the workers of that state. I am justified in saying that the state of Montana is safe in being known as an Industrial Workers of the World state.

The next two months will be the most interesting in the work of our movement, because it is now realized by our enemies, who gave it out at the launching of the Industrial Workers of the World that it was only a joke, that it no longer remains a joke. They realize that we have passed the membership mark of over 100,000, and the workers everywhere are becoming awakened to their class interests and they are now becoming active in the way of trying to stop the organizing of the workers into the Industrial Workers of the World. Several untruthful reports have been circulated by individuals against the Industrial Workers of the World, but thus far I can say truthfully that every knock is a boast and, as far as I am concerned individually, I sincerely hope that they will continue to knock. It saves our organization much expense in the way of advertising. It is a well-known fact that Industrial Unionism is no joke. How well the jokers realize it when they begin to squeal! A coyote never yelps until you hit him. Several of them are yelping now, which is evidence of the fact that they are being hurt. We have neither space nor time to assail individuals, with the expectation of educating the working class. There is a principle involved and it is the mission of the Industrial Workers of the World to teach that principle to the working class, and I sincerely believe that the working class is willing to receive an education that will unite them in their economic power, so that they may work unitedly in the future for their own interest, as they have always been compelled to work for the interest of the exploiter.

Every intelligent working man, who has had any experience in the trades-union movement, agrees with the principles of Industrial Unionism. He also agrees that, while the trades union has done its work, the time has now arrived when it has outgrown its usefulness, because it is an undisputed fact that the employing class and the money powers are united into one political, financial institution. The grivance of one is the concern of all. They have at their disposal the court, the police force, the militia and the national troops; there is but one intelligent choice for the working class to make in the way of organizing, and that is that they unite their economic power into one class-conscious working organization and place themselves in a position so that when the time does come all workers in any department, if necessary, can cease employment at a given moment. Then, and not until then, will the workers of this country be in a position to dictate as to what shall be their share or proportion of the product they produce. When organized on industrial lines selfishness will disappear and there will be but one label and that label will represent the product of all labor; and then will pass into history the remarks that are often heard by the pure and simple trades unions, "patronize our label in preference to all others." The so-called "our label" in trades unionism only covers a small amount of product that is consumed by the human family and such members who may belong to an organization that has adopted a label pay but little attention to any other label, only that which covers and decorates the product representing their particular trade. The universal label destroys prejudice and selfishness, for when a worker says "demand a universal label" he then asks labor to patronize all classes of product that are fair and entitled to the universal label. The Industrial Workers of the World cannot fail. The battle marks and scars of the past are being worn by thousands of honest workers, who have suffered under blacklist and through strikes and lockouts and, invariably, have been compelled to go back and accept the masters' terms. This is not the fault of those who participated and suffered those industrial struggles; they used every effort and all the power at their command to win such contests, because there is no evidence to show but that hundreds of struggles that have been recorded as defeats were not the fault of those who participated, but the fault of those who did not participate. In many instances those who should not be charged with the loss of such industrial contests were trades-unionists employed by the same master and, in many places, under the same roof where another trade had ceased employment and was struggling for existence.

The machinists' strike, for instance, on the Santa Fe Railroad, where every machinist responded to the call and sacrificed his position and has not yet returned; they were defeated. Why? Because the blacksmiths, the woodworkers, the boiler-makers, the carpenters, the painters, the car builders, the trackmen, the engineers, the firemen, the trainmen, the switchmen, and all other classes of employes, remained loyal to the company, knowing, at the same time, that the machinist must go down in defeat. There would have been no strike of the machinists on the Santa Fe had all of the employes been organized into one economic organization; and just so long as the master can keep the workers divided, so that but a portion of them will make a contest at any one time, just so long will he always be able to achieve the same results that have been obtained in the Santa Fe difficulty. The same results came in a like contest with the railroad telegraphers in the month of August, 1905, when they went on strike on the Northern Pacific and Great Northern. The brotherhood men believed it was a high sense of duty, in honest service to the company, to assist in every way possible in transporting telegraphers to act as strike-breakers over the road and who, in six weeks, succeeded in breaking the strike and defeating the telegraphers.

These are only two of the recent battles called to your attention. There would not be room in the whole journal to enumerate the industrial struggles that have taken place in the last two years, where one organization has been pitted against another; so I say again, organize on the industrial field, there is nothing to lose and everything to gain and, if our organization continues to grow with the same rapidity in the next three months as it has in the past three, there will be reported at the next convention a membership of 175,000 at least.

Again, I would like to call the attention of our members to the necessity of getting as large a circulation of subscribers to "The Industrial Worker" as can possibly be secured. There is no paper being printed for 50 cents a year that will give the same amount of news and education as can be secured through our official organ. Re-

member, brothers, that as soon as the circulation will warrant the same, it is the intention of the executive board of the Industrial Workers of the World to place "The Industrial Worker" in the hands of every reader every two weeks. The height of our ambition is to make it a weekly. This will depend upon the number of subscribers.

Again thanking our voluntary organizers and friends for the valuable service they are rendering to humanity, by the interest displayed in our movement, I am,

Fraternally yours,
CHAS. O. SHERMAN,
General President.

METAL AND MACHINERY DEPARTMENT

The first meeting of the new executive board of this department was held January 11, at the general office, 148 W. Madison Street, Chicago. After the department books had been audited and found correct up to January 1, 1904, Bro. C. O. Sherman, general president of the Industrial Workers of the World, was called in and inaugurated the new board, and in a short address on their duties and responsibilities, spoke on the trades union movement in general and the growing necessity for the industrial form of organization. The new board is made up exclusively of metal workers, but it is believed that in the very near future the machinists will be represented on the board, also the blacksmiths, as thousands are now identified with the department. The department is steadily increasing in membership and the interest extends all over the country.

Local Union No. 1, of Chicago, gave the first masked ball, Saturday night, January 13, at Brand's Hall, under the auspices of the Industrial Workers of the World. The occasion proved an unqualified success, both socially and financially. Four hundred couples participated in the grand march, and over 1,500 persons were present. It was the best attended social occasion ever held by any local union in Chicago and one of the most enjoyable. Much credit is due the committee of the local in charge of the affair. The officers of this department participated.

A local union of machinists and metal workers was organized at Milwaukee, January 24, by Chas. G. Kirkpatrick, with a good list of charter members. It has bright prospects and will become a power for Industrial Unionism in the Cream City.

Any and all labor leaders who are trying to earn their salaries as assistants to the capitalists in preserving the present system of industry, can only be regarded by the class-conscious workers as enemies of their class.

The use of the weapons of war is the privilege of a capitalist government. The use of the instruments of production will be the privilege of a working-class government.

The virus of capitalism has soaked into many a good man's brain until he is ready to believe that Christ was the friend of "re-publicans" and "slackers."

To be "distinguished" in America you must have some sort of a graft-like the presidency of an insurance company, for instance.

SPECIAL OFFER TO THE WORKERS

5	DATE
10	THE INDUSTRIAL WORKER!
20	I am interested in extending the circulation of the paper and wish you would send me the number of subscription cards indicated on this coupon. For these cards I agree to pay 40c each, and will remit for them at that rate when sold.
50	Name _____
75	Street Address _____
100	Post Office _____ State _____

Mark with an X the number of cards wanted and send to THE INDUSTRIAL WORKER.

TRANSPORTATION DEPARTMENT

The modern capitalistic concentration has been the result of years of economic development, and has rapidly become so powerful that organized labor in these industries, divided into possibly 100 different organizations, under the craft plan, finds itself powerless to protect its members from the injustice of the employer.

The fact that all great strikes during the past ten years have been lost to the working people (with the exception of one or two that were compromised), notably the machinists', blacksmiths' and boiler-makers' strike on the Union Pacific and Santa Fe, the telegraphers' on the Santa Fe, M., K. & T., Great Northern and Northern Pacific railways, the textile workers' strike at Lowell, Fall River and Philadelphia, the butcher workmen in all of the principal packing centers of the country; and the increasing burdens put upon all classes of railway men, the introduction of the age limit, physical examinations, voluntary relief departments and many other impositions of the past ten years demonstrate clearly that the old craft organizations do not protect their membership.

When an organization ceases to serve the highest needs of its members it becomes no less an evil than though organized for harmful purposes. The highest aim of such an organization and its only excuse for existence is to preserve itself, irrespective of whether the best interest of the workers are served or not. Therefore, the officers of these organizations are forced to compound with general managers of railways and other corporations in matters that serve the needs of the organization instead of the needs of its members.

This is clearly proven by the character of agreements entered into between the representatives of labor and the general managers of railways. These agreements do not, as many suppose, reflect the perfidy of the representatives of labor; but simply the weakness of the organization which they represent and their zeal to preserve it.

It is to remedy these evils that industrial unionism finds its higher mission.

Industrial unionism simply recognizes that machinery and improved methods have, so far as the labor movement is concerned, destroyed all craft or trade lines. If the machinist is called upon to go on strike in protest against some unbearable condition imposed upon him, the handy man is found to understand enough about the manipulation of the machine to be used as a strike-breaker. If the engineer, or, in fact, any one of the trades that was considered skilled, during the hand-tool period, goes on strike, there are at all times plenty of idle men and women, the jobless victims of pincocracy, skilled in the world's work, that are forced from the necessity of idleness and privation to take the jobs of the strikers and thus work into the hands of the employer.

Craft unionism seeks only to organize the jobs. If a person does not represent a job, he is supposed to be of little service to the craft union. First, because he is unable to pay his tribute to the union; and, second, because he is not considered of economic value to the union. This is amply demonstrated by the prohibitive initiation fees that many craft organizations charge for entrance into the union (in certain known cases as high as \$500), for the purpose of keeping the membership down to the number of jobs.

Industrial unionism seeks to organize the working class in such way that the workers may demand their inalienable rights as human beings, which society must grant to them as a valuable part of the social plans and as beings endowed with the faculty to think, feel and suffer. If there is a natural right belonging to the working class they should not place themselves in the attitude of a suppliant. They have a right to demand justice.

The Transportation Department comprises all workers in the railway industry; each branch has complete autonomy to make their own laws to govern each branch of the railway service.

The by-laws of the steam railway subdivision (which relates only to the employees of steam railways) provides for fifteen different branches, as follows: Engineers, firemen, conductors, brakemen, telegraphers, clerks, freight handlers, machinists, blacksmiths, boiler-makers, carmen, bridgemen and trackmen.

Each branch on a railway system forms its own general committee. The members of such committee are chosen by the members of the branch that the "committee" represents, one member from each local on the railway system. That is, assuming that there are ten locals of the steam railway subdivision on a system of the railway, the engineers' branch in each local would select its member on the engineers' "general committee" of the system. All branches select their "general committee" in this way. Each "general committee" selects its own chairman, and the chairman of each "general committee" forms what is known as a "system board of directors." It is to this "system board" that all matters relating to the system of railway is referred.

Each branch makes up its own schedules and agreements, but they must be approved by the "system board" before being presented to a railway management. The "system board" negotiates all schedules; and after a "general committee" has exhausted its resources in the matter of adjusting a grievance in their branch it is then submitted to the "system board." The "system board" conducts all strikes on the railway system it represents, and it is through them that all strike benefits are paid. They are the court of last resort in all matters coming up between the different branches; and are subject only to the membership on the system which they represent. Except that they must comply with the provisions of the constitution of the Industrial Workers of the World, the Transportation Department and the by-laws of the steam railway subdivision.

Strikes on railway systems may be declared only by a two-thirds vote of the membership affected; and can be declared "off" only by a majority of the membership actually engaged therein.

The object of all of the above provisions is to place the membership in control of their own affairs without interference on the part of any of the general officers of the Department of Transportation.

This plan of organization, while recognizing the right of different branches, or crafts, to legislate and handle their own affairs, in all matters relating strictly to the branch, and which does not interfere to the disadvantage of other branches, yet it brings the workers in all branches together as a class in fighting all general propositions that concern them as a class.

A further study of the principles of the organization can be made by reading the constitution of the Transportation Department and the by-laws of the steam railway subdivision, which will be forwarded to any address on application to the general secretary-treasurer of the department.

Initiation fees for admission into the Transportation Department is, before charter closes, \$2.00; after charter closes, \$5.00. Fifty cents of each initiation fee goes into the incorporated Benefit Department, to pay death and disability claims; and can be used for no other purposes.

Monthly dues are 50 cents, 25 cents of which remains in the local treasury, and 25 cents goes to the general treasury. Of the 25 cents which goes to the general treasury, 5 cents is placed in a general defense fund of the Industrial Workers of the World, from which strike benefits are paid to members of the Transportation Department when on strike.

The incorporated Benefit Department is separated from the main organization and is voluntary in character. Information regarding the Benefit Department will be furnished on application.

What is a "Pure and Simple" Union?

The Weekly People prints a letter, written by Charles H. Corrigan, on the Industrial Workers of the World, in which the writer takes the position that the latter is a "pure and simple" union. We regret that the article is too long to be reprinted entire in this paper. The writer holds that there has been a change of front within the political party of which he is a member and regards this change as harmful. Referring to the Industrial Workers of the World, directly, he says:

"How is it with the Industrial Workers of the World? It is an organization declaredly 'without affiliation with any political party.' No delegate of a party sits in its councils; its representatives occupy no place in the conventions of party. Therefore, we must adopt a new definition for a well-understood phrase. As well adopt a new definition of dog in order to take the lady's lapdog out of the same category with the homeless yellow cur. Changing definitions will not take the Industrial Workers of the World out of the classification. The change can be brought about only within the organization itself."

In the same issue of The People (Jan. 20),

the editor, Daniel De Leon, had this to say in reply:

"The discussion of what is pure and simple unionism is timely. The contention of the comrade that the Industrial Workers of the World is a pure and simple union is pivoted upon the principle that the recognition of the 'necessity of combined political and economic action' is the all-sufficient point to consider in order to take a union 'out of the category of 'pure and simple' unions.'—The principle is false.

"Neither the recognition of the 'necessity of political action, nor of economic action, nor yet of 'combined political and economic action' is a determining factor as to the quality of a union. The determining factor is the PURPOSE to which such action—economic, political or combined—is put, together with the reasoning by which that purpose is determined upon. It is this purpose, the overthrow of the capitalist system, coupled with the reasoning that harmony between capital and labor is impossible, that 'took the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance out of the category of 'pure and simple' unions.' The identical test does the same for the Industrial Workers of the World. The declaration in the preamble of the Industrial Workers of the World that 'the working class and the employing class have NOTHING IN COMMON'; the conviction expressed that 'there can be NO PEACE' so long as the iniquities born of capitalism continue; the conclusion that 'between these two classes a struggle must go on until THE TOILERS COME TOGETHER ON THE POLITICAL FIELD, AS WELL AS ON THE INDUSTRIAL FIELD, AND TAKE AND HOLD THAT WHICH THEY PRODUCE BY THEIR LABOR'—this process of reasoning, leading to the clearly expressed purpose of the overthrow of capitalism, stamp the Industrial Workers of the World a class-conscious revolutionary union, and takes it bodily 'out of the category of 'pure and simple' unions.' These are facts. They are facts that cannot be overthrown. These facts are so solid that they give no foundation for the conclusion that the closing clause of the sentence—a struggle must go on until all the toilers came together on the political as well as on the industrial field, and take and hold that which they produce by their labor through an economic organization of the working class WITHOUT AFFILIATION WITH ANY POLITICAL PARTY—is 'a non-political affiliation clause,' in the sense that the Industrial Workers of the World denies the 'necessity of combined political and economic action,' or even ignores such necessity; such a construction of the closing clause, that we have underscored above, is false construction—doubly so. It is false construction-in that it does violence to the clause immediately preceding it, and which demands the unity of the toilers 'on the political as well as the economic field' as a condition precedent for ending the class struggle; and it is false construction in that it wrenches the clause out of its own context, thereby depriving it of its deep sociological sense—the fact that the political organization can not 'take and hold' the plants of production, that the 'taking and holding' and immediate administration of the nation's industrial powers must be the work of economic organization, ready to step in, or the 'taking and holding' will not be done at all. . . . In point of essence, accordingly, the Industrial Workers of the World is not a 'pure and simple' union; in the important point of tactics, the manner how to realize its ideal, the Industrial Workers of the World is, to say the least, on the high road to perfection. Whether whatever further steps may yet be needed will or will not be taken, depends upon whether the most advanced elements today in the labor movement will or will not fortify the new body with their experience, their earnestness, their integrity."

What They Say About It

F. H. Alexander, Omaha, Nebraska: "To say that we are delighted with 'The Industrial Worker' is putting it mildly. It's a hummer from start to finish. Everyone of the contributors has championed the cause of the world's toilers at every point. The editorial policy of 'The Industrial Worker' is grand. Keep up the campaign of education on economic lines, as the only solution of the labor problem." Brother Alexander's letter was accompanied with \$4.00 for ten subscription cards.

Edw. E. Nye, Columbus, Ohio: "The Industrial Worker" at hand, and I think it is a grand production. The paper is too good to keep to myself and I shall try and get others to take it." Arthur Du Pros, Canton, Ohio: "It's simply fine; just suits me."

Eugene V. Debs: "Am very greatly pleased with 'The Industrial Worker.' It is admirable. Heartily congratulations and commendation. The initial number gives promise of a great future."

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James M. Reid: "I am in receipt of my 'Industrial Worker,' and my humble opinion is that it is a crackjack for the first issue. Being one of the 'narrow' intolerant Socialist Labor Party trained men, I may claim to know a paper with the revolutionary ring. So here's success to us all."

The People, January 13: "The Industrial Worker," monthly organ of the Industrial Workers of the World, has made its appearance. It is in the nature of a magazine. It contains a series of articles from different writers, led by one from the pen of Eugene V. Debs, entitled "Industrial Revolutionists"; editorial matter; correspondence; a general report from the president; much other matter of interest, besides a rousing poem dedicated to the new publication by Wm. R. Fox and a story by Gertrude Breslau Hunt, while the interstices are filled with sparkling and aggressive paragraphs, with here and there a blow from the shoulder in the right direction. The People welcomes on the arena the young and promising fellow-combatant for the emancipation of the working class.

The Miners' Magazine says: "The Industrial Worker," the official organ of the Industrial Workers of the World, has made its bow to the working class of America. We have read its sixteen pages and pronounce it one of the ablest publications in the field of labor journalism in this country.

The logical and convincing articles from the pens of such able economic students as Debs, De Leon, Untermyer, Simons, Schlossberg and the snappy and brilliant editorials of Edwards will haunt the conservatism of trade and craft autonomists, will, as a nightmare of fear and foreboding. The fearless, aggressive, intelligent and uncompromising element of the labor movement of this country will hail "The Industrial Worker" as an organ that will be one of the potent factors that will clear the vision of the laboring class and cause the timid and the faltering to spring from their knees and become giants and heroes in the struggle for the economic freedom of man.

With the Daily People in New York, with "The Industrial Worker" in Chicago, with the Miners' Magazine in Denver, and the Crisis in Salt Lake, Comperism and the doctrines of a Civic Federation will be swept into an oblivion that will know no resurrection.

THE MINER

Ho, for a song of the men underground; The groines of the cave—hark to the sound! The sound of the pick and the rattling cart; Of the death-dealing gases; the roar and the jart! Out of the hovels and huts where they dwell, Rush wives and children, feeding the kneal. Up to the shaft's mouth, with anxious cries, Into the darkness, straining their eyes. Hark! Hear the fire-damp burst with a roar! See how the prisoners flee from the door! Out to the open air, carrying men; Out with their comrades, and then—back again! Dead is the air now that lies in the hole. Dead are the martyrs that picked at the coal. Some in a passageway; some in a room; Choked by the fire-damp's death-dealing fume. Carry him gently, his lamp by his side; There in the empty to take his last ride. Now to the open; the light leat ahead. Roll the car slowly, this car of the dead. What is the cracking; the loud, pecking sound? Back, all to work again! Back underground! Back, all except him who lies in his grave! Back again; back to the cave—to the cave. Hear the wheels rumble and snap sharp and clear; See the brave fellows show no signs of fear. Glisten the coal again; bright the lamps shine; Oh, what a dole is this "Song of the Mine."

—ALLEN AYRAULT GREEN.

"I fear I shall not be able to attract much attention," said the new congressman. "Don't worry," answered Senator Sorghum, "in this era of accusations and investigations it is sometimes a luxury not to be noticed."—Washington Star.

Lawyer—"Were you present when the trouble began between the prisoner and his wife?" Witness—"Yes, sir. It was two years ago." Lawyer—"What happened then?" Witness—"I attended their wedding."—Cleveland Leader.

"Good morning," said the office seeker. "I suppose you—er—remember me. I saw you before election and you—er—"

"Well" interrupted the political boss, curtly. "Well, you—er—promised to keep me in mind."

"Well, I'm keeping you there, sir. I'm keeping you there."—Philadelphia Press.

When the floods came and swept away the food of a million people, a man stood by and chuckled and rubbed his hands gleefully.

Was he, then, a ghoul in human form? By no means. He was a Christian gentleman, on the bull side of the market.—Puck.

CORRESPONDENCE

The Giant Still Slumbers

Editor Industrial Worker: As I read the papers and observed from reports how two ministers were "respectfully" admitted to the New York Central Federated Union, I could not restrain myself from writing a few lines on that subject. Yes, the Rev. M. S. Littlefield and the Rev. John R. Dewar, two eminent representatives from the New York socialists, who were up in arms against the admission of the "gentlemen" and who, notwithstanding their majority, were defeated like so many great majorities in history have been the powers that be and rule from behind the curtain (the minority). And these eminent representatives were seated on the delegates in the Federated Union of workmen of New York.

The close observer does not wonder at the rapid strides unions are making in progress. Since capital always was the dominating factor in labor unions, how is it possible for it to be overcome, therefore, labor organization, and the church? admit the one, while it has admitted the other. Hand in hand bent back of labor, watching the exhausted giant slumber, by those twin sisters. Whatever capital cannot accomplish with sword in hand, or club in hand, or all modern war-shed not houses, it leaves to be done by the church, with ready to administer to the befogged mind of the slumbering giant, in order not to wake him from his sleep. Zealously does it watch over this glass-covered eye, and anon on its old, out-grown superstitions, as a bell in the heave. For would not do to let labor wake from its slumber and see the world as it is, and realize the strength and usefulness of the whole organized falsehoods and dethrone idleness, that sits on the bent back of labor encircled. Labor is awakening the world over, and realizing its strength and usefulness, is beginning to protest against the exploitation at the hands of organized lies and legalized robberies.

—JULIE MECHANIC.

A Line From the Smithy

Heroes Industrial Workers—If you look on the map you will find a Louisiana in California, southern part of the state, in the horned toad country, and the writer is anxious that you should know what's doing in the line of industrialism. To begin with, the Industrial Workers of the World has got its wedge entered, and the slivers that's being to fly (not saying anything about the language that's being used), which would had it in print. However, the western sky begins to look brighter in the horizon for the coming of a brighter future for those who toil. It looks bad for those "Sassys" in their town. At the present writing we have a mixed local of Industrial Workers of the World, between seventy and eighty members. We also have a blacksmith and helpers' local of Industrial Workers of the World, No. 24, with forty-seven charter members, and at our last meeting, January 10, three applications were acted here to go over, and to suggest that an organizer is needed badly would be putting it very mildly. The writer has been remarking, coming from other mechanical industries, that E. V. Debs would be about "it." The time is now ripe for all who toil to get together and ascertain where we are at. Brothers, we have got three things to do, using our terms: "Read, Think and Act," and right here let me suggest to all members of the Industrial Workers of the World, sign up for "The Industrial Worker," and become better educated on unionism, whereby you will be able to explain to your friends and fellow workman the difference between craft unionism and industrial unionism. Let each and everyone of us become an organizer, no matter how timid you may feel about it; remember one thing, you are bettering your own condition as well as that of your fellow worker, when you advocate the principles of the Industrial Workers of the World. The ridicule you may expect comes from those only who are personally interested—no friends of yours, or labor either.—A. Trator.

As to the Ritual

The following resolution, adopted by Local No. 160, of Hartford, Conn., has been received for publication: "At a regular meeting of Local 160, Industrial Workers of the World, Comrades Brewer and Gejer severely criticized the new Ritual, and it was voted to protest against it; namely, against raising the hand and swearing, or taking an oath, while being obligated, also against holding meetings behind closed doors. The opinion prevailed that it was too much of the pure and simple order, and against socialist perceptions, and that such a performance should not take place in a body of revolutionary workmen. As to the closed door, it must be said that we cannot spread our propaganda and gain new members to the best advantage while barring newcomers from attending our meetings, and that we could go into secret sessions only when circumstances require.

"Resolved, that we abstain from further use of the Ritual and have protest published in the official organ of the Socialist Labor Party and 'The Industrial Worker.'"

The Ideal Supply Co., 5387 Centre Avenue, Chicago, is producing an excellent article, called "Kleano," for the use of machinists, miners, printers, and others who need something good for cleaning the hands. Send for same; 10 cents, postage 4 cents, to above address.—Adv.

"An Inquest Was Held"

How familiar are these words and the paragraphs of which they form the commencement! Some of them set forth the circumstances attending deaths caused by accidents and bring home to one the uncertainty of life in the whirl and bustle of the present age. But by far the greatest number deal with cases of self-destruction, and afford glimpses into the grim tragedy of life, or what the poet Keats has termed "The giant agony of the world." Moralists are greatly concerned

in the ever-increasing number of such cases, and affect to see in their frequent recurrence an evidence of the godless spirit of the present age. But whatever be their view as to the cause, no one will deny that they constitute an unhealthy symptom of present-day life. The first instinct of animals and men is that of self-preservation, and accordingly the natural answer of humanity to the question "To be or not to be?" is a decided affirmative. There must, therefore, be some weighty reason why so many answer in the negative, and suit the action to the word.

I am aware that juries of sleek, self-complacent and prosperous men attribute all such cases to mental derangement. But derangement of mind is not always attended by a disposition to suicide. The fact, moreover, is often made clear at these so-called investigations that there has appeared up to the fatal moment no trace of insanity in the life-sick person. It may, therefore, be safely assumed (the verdicts of sage jurors notwithstanding) that numbers of human beings free from any taint of insanity are every day flying from "the ills they have to those they know not of." And what are those ills from which they fly?—Read that paragraph which begins, "An inquest was held," and you shall very soon see.

A mother, a brother, a wife, or a sister depose that the deceased had been out of work for a lengthened period. Out of work! And did that lazy fellow actually prefer death before work? Oh, no; his worst enemy would not say so, for he worked ten or fifteen or twenty years for one master, and merited a good character. Trade, however, declined, and his master, poor man, could not afford to retain his services. And was he so greatly attached to the old master that he would not work for any other? No such thing. He would have been glad to do work of any kind for anyone, but he could not find any other master who would employ him. They were all too poor to pay him wages. I can imagine a stranger on this planet asking the question, "Must all perish who do no work?" "Oh, no; there are numbers in this world who do no work, who never did any work, but who, so far from starving, have always more than they can eat; who have inexhaustible stores of this world's goods, and whose bodily ailments are nearly always induced by over-eating."

Our temporarily insane and his fellows had labored while they had the opportunity, not only that they themselves might eat, but also that those who work not might eat, and in addition garner up vast stores of the choicest eatables.

But now there is no work for him, and he is starving! So miserable is he that he prefers death to continuing the struggle.

Let us follow the miserable wretch. Let us picture him as he stood for the last few moments of his wretched life on the bank of that cold, bleak river; as hungry for human lives as he for food, as unmerciful, as un pitying as the cruel world of men. There he stands, haggard, hunger-pinched, with bleared, sunken eyes, with the wildness of despair in them. At the first glance of that mighty destroyer his resolve is shaken. His lean limbs tremble beneath him. The dark pall of night has fallen o'er the scene. Lights glimmer and flicker on the river and along its banks. He stands irresolute. Before his frenzied mind looms the tremendous alternative—the bitterness of life or the uncertainties of death. In that awful moment the world passes in panoramic fashion before him. Its bitter contrasts of idle luxury and striving; toiling wretchedness, the ruthless march of the strong over the weak, the sickening scramble for filthy lucre, the triumph of vice over virtue, of cunning and craft over honesty and truth; and then he beholds hundreds of professed Christians who, with faces upturned to heaven, condone, nay approve, that spirit which has turned the fair face of creation into a veritable inferno of warring passions. He sees thousands of stately churches with spires pointing heavenwards, presided over by ministers whose chief mission is to reconcile rapacity with religion; who act as apologists, nay, often as abettors of the avaricious, the envious, the covetous, the incarnations of human perfidy and wrong. He sees the pews occupied by men and women clad in costly raiment, fished from the inexhaustible commissariat of labor. And scorn and hate regain dominion over his soul.

The dark rolling river has lost its terrors. He plunges in. A dripping corpse is washed up to land. And the inquest is duly held.—D. S. in Labor Leader.

The College Boy—"Dad, I think I'll tackle the Wall Street game as soon as I get my sleepskin."

The Old Man (dryly)—"Well, I believe that's the proper apparel for young men, in that district."—Puck.

"RED AND SHORTY"

By "KINKY"

(As Hoho lingo is assumed, sometimes the correct word is used to describe a thing, and sometimes a slang one.—Kinky.)

"Hello, Shorty!" rang out in melodious baritone voice; the answer, "Lo, Red!" came back in a screechy, muffled sound, as if the noise was made by an individual trying to speak without using the lips. "Red" was standing amid the stubble of a field, and though the glorious sun was going through the morning mists over which poets and artists rave, nevertheless the every-day individual would not have said that this "Red" added the beauty of nature at that moment, as his labor consisted of brushing straw from his clothes, face and hair.

After the "Lo Red!" an individual going through some wild gymnastics on the inside of a straw stack succeeded in finding an opening, a pair of hands, a head and finally a whole body came out of the stack. After "Shorty" came to the surface and while he was brushing the straw from his person, "Red" wanted to know "if his ambition was to cart away the stack, so that other stiffs could have no flopping place if they got ditched along that pike." "Shorty" replied, "It ain't the other stiffs that you cares about, 'Red.' Youse wants to git to the burg to shoot snipes. Red, it would be a good 't'ing for you to git you a gim like a 'shack' and frisk the main stem for snipes, the same as the 'shack' frisks empties."

At last these two partners rubbed enough straw from their clothes to enable them to go toward the next town, which was about a mile from the straw stack. Like two Chinamen, one walking behind the other, they, as "Shorty" suggests, press up out of railroad ties. "Red" takes the lead. He is a good sized young man of 30, standing about 5 foot 10, weighing about 160 pounds. He was the possessor of a twinkling yet powerful pair of very blue eyes; his nose was of the Grecian order, long, straight and sharp; his chin seemed to denote weakness, as it was not very angular, but his thick lips and their downward ending made it apparent that he would and could be aroused to fits of anger; a very large crop of long, thick, straight, dirty red hair, mixed with some straw, was visible from the bottom of a black soft old hat, which, being too small, rested in a peculiar manner on his hair. His forehead was high, yet marks of deep, earnest thought had made but few wrinkles. His hands were large, but at this time were soft; nevertheless it was apparent that he had done very hard work. His shoulders were slightly stooped. A pair of blue overalls, black with dirt from the knee to the top, coupled with a dark smooth coat, a dark shirt, without a tie, a pair of old, torn shoes much too large for the feet completed "Red." "Shorty" looked and was small, about 3 foot 5, and about the same age as "Red." As his clothes were rougher and woolly, he could not, no matter how hard he rubbed, rid them entirely of the straw. He was built in a chunk, with very broad shoulders, and heavily set, weighing 150 pounds. His hair was brown and thin, his forehead low; he had a somewhat receding nose that seemed to want to go inside of his head. His mouth was large and lips thin. His chin was of the square variety and a good pair of shoes covered his large feet. "Shorty's" hands were large and calloused, showing he had always done hard work. Both of our friends had about a two weeks' growth of hair on their faces.

When the town is reached they separate. "Red" he goes to town, visits a butcher shop and buys 10 cents' worth of steak, and, as requested, the butcher makes a donation of a little suet. He then goes to the baker and gets two stale loaves of bread for a nickel. Then he goes to the grocery store, buys 3

cents' worth of coffee and a dozen eggs for a dime. With this "combination" "Red" then goes to the "jungles" which are situated on the east side of the stock yards. At the "jungles" Shorty is very busy. Besides having bulled a fire, he has rustled the necessary wood, as well as two small tin cans to serve as cups. A larger can, which formerly contained fruit, is to serve as a coffee pot, and he is now fixing up an old shovel that he found, which, when he gets through with it, will make a dandy frying pan. "Shorty" has also in some mysterious manner become the possessor of enough potatoes for one meal. While "Shorty" is getting the grub ready "Red" digs out to rustle some salt and pepper, he having forgotten the same. And while rustling the pepper and salt "Red" makes plain what "Shorty" meant by charging him with "shooting snipes." "Red" walks along slowly, opening his blue eyes widely, looking downward in all directions at once, and every once in a while he jumps out, makes a dive at something that is on the walk or in the street, and every time he straightens up a smile of satisfaction crosses his face. "Red" is accumulating for his personal use the thrown-away ends of cigars to be used as smoking tobacco, as "Red" possesses a very odd looking instrument he sticks in his mouth and calls a pipe.

"Red" at this time had a complaint that took the form of a sarcastic rumble, remarking to "Shorty" when he returned to the jungles, "that the home guards must be a mean lot, as they smoke their two-fors until they become chews."

While "Red" was away "Shorty" manufactured two nice looking shovel-shaped wooden spoons. At last the jara is boiled, the steak is fried, the spuds just boiled then cut up and fried in the grease, the "hen fruit" is made into a huge omelet and the punk, having been cut for some time, "Red" and "Shorty" partake of their morning meal. They eat slowly and chew their food carefully, and very few words are spoken. It seems a lot of grub for two, but after a deal of sighing and groaning nothing remains but empty cans and an empty pan.

After breakfast "Red" produces his pipe, and crushing snipes in his hands, puts them in their powder shape into the cup of his pipe, strikes a match and volitionally sucks the stem and blows the smoke out in rings. "Shorty" borrows from "Red" a large snipe, and after some mysterious motions with it, says, "It will now do," and sticks it into his mouth and starts to chew. "Say, Red," says "Shorty," "finish up that yarn youse started about dat meeting youse was at when I was out with that Yokel shouting alleluia."

"You see," says "Red," "it was the richest 't'ing I have seen for some time. Dat plug was one of the best-posted gazabos I ever heerd blow off hot air. He was a good-sized man, one of them long fellows dat looks as if he done nothing but work, and with his work he must have done a lot of readin' and studying. He got a large box and with the help of a weazled, dried-up-looking individual, put it on the corner and then handing his hat to the guy dot helpe! him with the box, started to speak. He had a rich, loud, wonderful voice, and when he worked himself up, he seemed to be inspired. He showed how hard the lot of the wage earners are, and after showing that, showed how important the so-called labor unions, that divided the workers into small craft organizations were. He talked quite awhile on the difference between so-called skilled and unskilled labor, and asserted either all labor is skilled, or

it's all unskilled. The cause of one is the concern of all, seemed to be the principal ring of his talk.

"But when he got sarcastic, showing up the treachery of the labor leaders in the American Federation of Labor, he was at his best. His ridicule of Gompers, Mitchell, O'Connell and their 'physic' federation connection with Belmont and other capitalists made the 'muckers' and 'skinners' who were in town that night, almost dance with glee. Then raising his voice to an entrancing pitch, he said, 'the principal service of the leaders in the American Federation of Labor seems to be to keep the working class unorganized and how well they have succeeded is borne out by the facts in the case, though these leaders have been howling: Organize! Organize! Organize! for twenty-five years. Yet they, with the aid of capitalists, have managed things so well that out of twenty-five million wage-earners less than two million are organized. 'The mission and object of the Industrial Workers of the World,' he said, 'is to organize the workers into a class-conscious body, so that they will finally get not only part of what they produce, but the entire value of their product. Not like the American Federation of Labor. We don't want a few cents more for a year, but we want it all for all.'"

"At this point a bull, the city mixer, who is a pure and simple printer, besides being the marshal, broke through the crowd and interrupted the speech by, 'Say, have you got a permit to speak?' The speaker replied: 'Nature and hard study have shown me my duty, and it seems I can speak without a permit. Can't I fellows?' 'You bet you can!' thundered the 'skinners' and 'muckers.' 'You'll come out of that and get away from here or I'll lock you up,' retorts the bull.

"I suppose you will have to lock me up then," replies the speaker calmly. The 'muckers' and 'skinners' then started to josh the bull, and he became enraged and got out his 'smoke wagon,' as he did so a 'crip' that hung about the camp so that he could get his scuffins, lifted his cane and gently tapped Mr. Bull on the right wing. The blow caused his fin to let go of the 44, and some 'skinner' picked it up. Mr. Bull was now in for a warm time. He called for help, and was laughed at; while the mob was giving the bull hisen. 'Stow, comrades!' rang out in clear, bold voice, and as if by magic the crowd let go of Mr. Bull and turned toward the speaker. 'Mr. Officer,' said our speaker, 'Am I under arrest?' The 'officer,' as the speaker called that bull, limped out in a broken voice, 'No, sir!' Then why did you see fit to disturb this peaceable assemblage of wage workers?' 'You were roasting the labor unions and the country,' replied Mr. Officer! Just about that time a freight pulled in and as I wanted to meet you, I left the meeting."

"That Industrial Workers of the World must be the cheese, and the first chance I get I'll join it," said "Shorty," and so will I," said "Red."

"Here's that damn local pulling in, shall we hit this chain gang?" "We might as well."

As the train pulls in, they, glancing at the working brakemen, find a refrigerator, climb like two squirrels to the top, get into the ice box, fasten down the doors from the inside, and patiently wait for the highball.

The most pathetic hope in the world is that of a workingman hoping for relief while capitalism has the power to starve him.

You can say with the utmost confidence to any man who asks you about the Industrial Workers of the World, that as against all the powers of capitalists to combine and control, the industrial organization of the working class will become the most resistless economic force in the history of the class struggle.

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The working class have the numbers. They ought to have the power. They would have the power if only they were conscious of their interests as a class.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

These three books, stenographically reported and constituting a splendid exposition of the principles and form of organization of the Industrial Workers, should be given a wide circulation.

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The "Sacred" Contract

From "An Address to Wage-Workers by the Industrial Workers of the World"—In dealing with their employers for the last twenty or thirty years, the capitalists have learned many wily ways: For instance, they have frequently refused to recognize the union or have any dealings with it, on the ground that labor unions are irresponsible, and the men will break the contracts entered into by the officers, etc. This trick has worked like magic. The union officers have become very proud of the "integrity" of their organizations, they have become very jealous of the "fidelity of the union to its contract with the employer." But let us depart a moment, and direct your attention to another matter; in the meantime bear in mind that in the craft union the contract with the employer has become a "sacred" thing.

According to the plan of construction of pure and simple craft unionism, as exemplified by the American Federation of Labor and the old railroad brotherhoods, each craft is organized by itself. Take a railroad, for example: The engineers are organized in a union by themselves; so with the firemen, conductors, trainmen, switchmen, telegraphers, clerks, etc. The first natural result is jurisdiction quarrels; another evil springing from this manner of organization is that it necessitates an army of union officials, opening a broad field for grafters and corruption in the union; but, passing over these matters, and coming to a result of first importance, we shall see what happens when these unions begin dealing with the employer. Each makes its separate contract, and here the cunning of the employer comes into play. The contract with the engineers is made for three years, with the firemen for two years, etc., making the contract with each union end at a different time from all the rest.

Then the wheels begin to turn, and the employer takes advantage of the workers in all branches of the industry, and developments follow each other as they did in the recent occurrences on the lines of the Interborough Rapid Transit Company of New York. In the instance of this Interborough struggle the contract of the Amalgamated Association, comprising the trainmen, expired on March 1, 1905. This union insisted upon a new contract more advantageous to themselves, while the employer was inclined in the opposite direction. The Amalgamated Association declared a strike. Straightway that sacred thing, the employers' three-year contract with the motormen, organized in the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, was raised to view and the national officers backed by the officers of the American Federation of Labor insisted upon the motormen "living up to the terms of their sacred contract" with the Interborough Company. Those craft unions' officers ordered the union motormen to continue to help the company operate its lines, notwithstanding the fact that the union men in the Amalgamated Association, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, remained out on strike, and their places were being filled by the company with Farley scabs. The members of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers refused to scab, and upon their refusal to go back to work, the national organization denied them any support, and demanded that they forfeit their charter in the union and return it to the national office. The result was that the Amalgamated Association and the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers were both deserted on the battlefield by each of their respective national bodies and by the American Federation of Labor, left to be broken and completely destroyed in their fight with the Interborough Company. Thus those craft unions which stand true to their fellow workers are crushed by the con-

trived power of their employer and their own union officials, while, on the other hand, those craft unions which obey the orders of their leaders cease to be labor unions and become the agencies of the capitalist class, and are used as instruments to crush their fellow union men on strike; and thus unavoidably will a craft union end, either in a bulwark of capitalism or in ruins, unless it renounces the principles of craft unionism, and, renouncing also its affiliation with the American Federation of Labor, reorganizes upon the lines of Industrial Unionism against the oppression of the employers. So you can, by this time, easily understand that, to be effective, the workers must organize in an Industrial Union. We can learn a lesson from the employers: During the telegraphers' strike just ended on the Great Northern and Northern Pacific railways, you saw the workers divided, a small portion were on strike, the rest were working for and supporting the companies. But you didn't see the companies each divided in itself, partly opposing and partly assisting the striking telegraphers. You saw those companies uniting all their energies, and throwing their entire strength against the telegraphers, so far as it could be brought to bear upon them; and when the telegraphers are crushed, and the firemen, the switchmen, or other craft organizations go out on strike, the entire strength of the companies will be summoned to crush them, each in their turn. And so the workers should not leave each craft by itself to fight its own battles alone and be crushed, but when a fight is opened at any point, all the strength of all the workers in the industry must be centered and brought to bear upon that one point. And, just as the railway companies are backed in their fight by the other capitalists of the land, so the workers in every industry must be reinforced in their struggles by all the workers in all industries, organized solidly in the Industrial Workers of the World.

No contract shall ever be made by any division or part of the Industrial Workers of the World with any employer, which will bind any workingman to work against the interests of any other wage earner under any circumstances whatsoever.

Bourgeois Hysteria

An address by President Schurman, of Cornell university, before a teachers' organization of New York state, contained the following sample of bourgeois hysteria:

"If a visitor from Mars alighted on our continent he would hear the pulpits proclaim 'Glorify God,' but he would find it the general practice to 'Glorify Gold.'"

"Are we then in this twentieth century to revert to the barbarous worship of mammon? Are Americans to renounce their Christian heritage? Are they to repudiate the Hebrew law of righteousness?"

"It is a generation which has no fear of God before its eyes; it fears no hell; it fears nothing but the criminal court, the penitentiary, and the scaffold. To escape these ugly avengers of civil society is its only categorical imperative, the only law with which its Sinai thunders."

"To get there and not get caught is its only golden rule. To 'get rich quick' financiers of this age will rob the widow and orphan, and grind the faces of the poor, speculate in trust funds and purchase immunity by using other people's money to bribe legislators, judges and magistrates."

"And then we hear the praises of poor boys who have become millionaires! O God! Send us men of honor and integrity!"

A lot of workingmen think industry is run, not by skill and the power of steam, but by a lot of lot capitalist bazookas with money.

ARE YOU FIGURING

to get a new suit of clothes? If you are, why not ask your local dealer for the samples of The Co-Operative Tailoring Co., and if he can't supply you with our line communicate with us; state what color goods you want and we will send you, free, a nice selection of samples, measuring blanks, with instruction how to take measure, and tape measure, and we guarantee you that you will get a perfect fit. All-wool garments or your money will be refunded to you if the garment is not satisfactory.

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References: Any officer of the Industrial Workers of the World.

A Scientist's Conclusion

In the recently published memoirs of the great English scientist, Alfred Russell Wallace, appears the following:

For about ten years after I first publicly advocated land nationalization, I was inclined to think that no further fundamental reforms were possible or necessary. Although I had, since my earliest youth, looked to some form of socialistic organization of society, especially in the form advocated by Robert Owen, as the ideal of the future, I was yet so much influenced by the individualistic teachings of Mill and Spencer, and the loudly proclaimed dogma, that without the constant spur of individual competition men would inevitably become idle and fall back into universal poverty, that I did not bestow much attention upon the subject, having, in fact, as much literary work on hand as I could manage. But at length in 1899 my views were changed once for all, and I have ever since been absolutely convinced, not only that socialism is thoroughly practicable, but that it is the only form of society worthy of civilized beings, and that it alone can secure for mankind continuous mental and moral advancement, together with that true happiness which arises from the full exercise of all their faculties for the purpose of satisfying all their rational needs, desires and aspirations.

Progress in the labor movement, to amount to anything, to count in the march of the workers to final emancipation, requires the smashing of many an idol and the abandonment of many false ideas. The Civic Federation, new-found idol of certain labor leaders, must be smashed; and the false idea that craft unions and petty divisions are good for the working class must be abandoned.

One of the stock ideas that used to be made to do overtime has had a rude setback. It was that the criminal classes were made up of "foreigners." It is now generally recognized—outside the capitalist courts—that the real criminal class are descendants of American fathers and mothers, heirs of all that is "best" in "American traditions."

When somebody asks you what the Industrial Workers stand for, tell him that we stand for securing every worker in the full results of his labor, or else to its exchange for that which has cost an equal expenditure of labor. We hold that "Labor is entitled to all it produces."

Have you any doubt that the entire working class of the country could, under right conditions, live comfortably, or that want and poverty could be banished from the land? If you have, take a walk along the fashionable avenues, peek into the luxurious homes, and see how the rich live.

"If it were not for us, there would be no work," says the capitalist. Then he sits still in his office and levies a tax on everybody who moves and does something useful.

In the recent New York election we again saw how the ballot can be beaten into the earth by hoodie and the help of working class voters who do not yet know they are in industrial bondage.

A federation of labor leaders, closely allied with a federation of capitalists and exploiters of labor, is incapable of doing any good for the working class. That ought to be as plain as day to a wage slave.

DOES THE SHOE PINCH YOU?

If you would like to know why and how to abate the nuisance READ

THE WEEKLY PEOPLE

The Weekly People furnishes a liberal education to wage workers on matters that vitally interest them and which they should know. It has a page of editorials and a page of correspondence. Among the regular features are "Letter Box Answers," and "Uncle Sam and Brother Johnson's" dialogues. All the principles and objections to Socialism and Unionism are therein treated.

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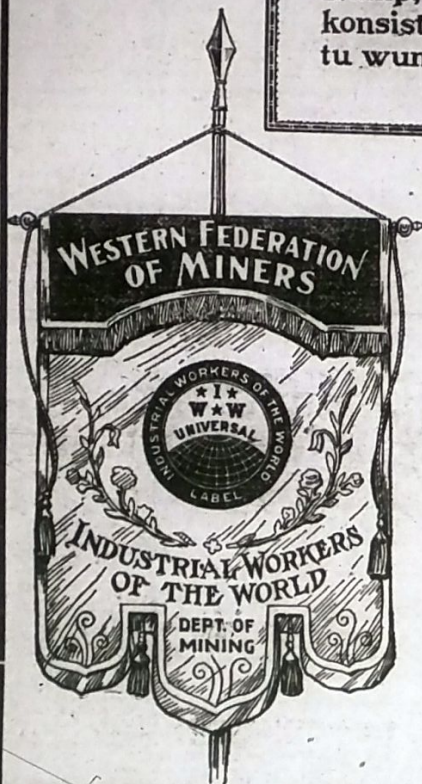
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—Billings/



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FOLLOW

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