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THE INDUSTRIAL WORKER

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WHAT IS THE RECORD?

We think it will not be denied by anyone conversant with the war of organized wealth against the Western Federation of Miners that a clear understanding of the actual conspiracy by which the officers of that organization were secretly conveyed from the state in which they were residents, and incarcerated in a foreign bastille, cannot be obtained without going back of this latest incident in one of the most despicable and prolonged series of outrages ever committed against the people of a so-called free state.

What does the record show? That after the working people of the state of Colorado had, by a large majority, carried a proposition favorable to an eight-hour law, making it incumbent upon the state legislature to enact such a measure, the influence and money of the privileged and corporate bodies of the state were used with a venal legislature to defeat the will of the people, and the bribers were directly responsible for plunging Colorado into a wide-spread labor war, or war on the Western Federation of Miners, whose votes were in favor of the eight-hour law.

What is the record? A lawless mob, composed of thugs and disreputable characters, bought with the money of the equally disreputable capitalist class; committed all sorts of crimes, subsequently charged against the miners, destroyed the co-operative stores of the miners and made life unendurable for their families.

What is the record? A servile capitalist henchman as governor of the state, with the aid of the military, tore men from their homes, broke up their families, deported them at the muzzle of guns by the hundred, brutally beat them and threw them into loathesome bull-pens.

What is the record? Charles H. Moyer, without resort to law, and clearly in violation thereof, was confined for a year in one of Peabody's bull-pens, under conditions most horrible, where he languished, and his health was nearly ruined, never being brought to trial on any charge for which he had thus been brutally maltreated.

CRIMES OF CAPITALISM

The Brutal Reign of Western Corporations Under the Black Flag of Piracy, Aided by Thugs, Hired Assassins and Venal Public Authorities.

What is the record? The lawful and constitutional guarantees of "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness" were set at defiance; the right of habeas corpus was ruthlessly trampled under foot; murders and assassinations were charged to our comrades, and not in a single instance has a criminal act been proven against them.

What is the record? The ruffians and the state authorities who were thus in collusion to destroy the people's right to self-government and crush out of existence the miners' organization suppressed free speech and the right of public assembly; they left the people stripped of every safeguard against unbridled tyranny.

If such a condition of things could exist without protest, then indeed had fear taken possession of a people suffering these indignities and a debauched and ruthless plutocracy was triumphant. But the continued existence of the Western Federation of Miners was a standing protest against the outrages already committed. That organization was a menace to private interests—to the robbers and ravagers of the state. What did Swain, of the Thiel detective agency, say to the grand jury at Caldwell: "Boyce is responsible for the existence of the Western Federation, and I want to tell you that Boyce is the man we have got to get before this thing is done with." Again he said: "I must tell you frankly, gentlemen, that we have little against St. John in this affair, nor have we anything on which to hold Steve Adams. Both men are agitators, however, and they, like Boyce, must

go before we can bust up the combination."

Another human bloodhound, said to have been employed in the Coeur d'Alenes for years by the Mine Owners' Association, says: "St. John has given the mine owners of the district more trouble in the past year than any twenty men up there. If left undisturbed he would have the entire district organized in another year. As it is, there are hundreds of miners added to the union membership through his efforts."

They have little against St. John—nothing, in fact—but he is a successful organizer; he is an agitator; he is a faithful, fearless and intelligent worker for the working class; in another year he would have had the entire Coeur d'Alene district organized in the union; therefore, he is a dangerous man to the robbers who are plundering the state, and must "go" before the combination can be broken up and Colorado handed over to the secure possession of the enemies of the state and its people!

That reveals the odious intent of the freebooters who now seek the lives of the officers of the Western Federation.

Again, what is the record? Who heard of Detective McParland until the arrests of February 18th? Others of his ilk were heard of during the years of hounding that was carried on prior to these arrests. They infested the mining camps like beasts seeking their prey; they concocted plots to involve the miners. They had failed to get Moyer and Haywood to the gallows; they had failed to prove a single charge against them. Then comes McParland with his story of buried bombs, an "inner circle" and the procurement of a confession, followed by a report that he had no confession, but "these men will never leave Idaho alive."

And McParland, who is he? A sleuth who was instrumental in 1876 in hanging the "Molly Maguires," charged with murders which he himself participated in to the extent of issuing summons for a meeting at which murder was planned and subsequently enacted without his intervention. The "American Law Review," Vol. XI, 1876-77, page 233, has an article on the

"Molly Maguire" trials, written from a standpoint entirely favorable to McParland. He went into Pennsylvania under the assumed name of James McKenna and caused himself to be proposed for membership in the "Molly Maguires," saying that he had lately killed a man in Buffalo and was a fugitive from the hangman. His specialty was "shoving the queer." He became secretary of a division of the "Molly Maguires." At a meeting of the Shenandoah branch, McParland, as secretary, issued the summons sent out for a meeting to select the murderer of one of the marked men, and on the 28th of June, 1873, the party wanted (his name was Thomas) was put out of the way. Some time after this rumors began to circulate that "McKenna" was a detective. At the trial it was held by the defense that McParland was an accomplice, and his evidence required corroboration; that he had more at heart the enhancement of his reputation as a detective than the furtherance of the ends of justice; that he

had not prevented the crimes of which he had foreknowledge. He was charged directly by Mr. L'Vollie, for the defense, with having "instigated the crimes," and Mr. Ryon, also for the defense, said that four of the men killed "are to be numbered among his victims." And Mr. Ryon added: "He (McParland) had rendered himself an accomplice equally liable with his fellows."

More than thirty years have elapsed since McParland planned and helped to execute murder; he was successful then, and received the unstinted praise of those who employed him. Now, since the corporation hyenas of Colorado have repeatedly failed in their attempts to "get" the officers of the Western Federation, probably owing to the inexperience of other sleuths in plotting and carrying out their murderous designs, they appear to have recalled the "Molly Maguires" and the "effective" and "successful" manner in which they were disposed of. Who, then, was the detective in that case? Who the man who could successfully insti-

gate and promote murder, charge the crime to the Western Federation officials and bring them to the gallows and their organization to ruin? McParland. And McParland was assigned to the job.

All the trouble is traceable to the politics of Colorado as the procuring cause. In that venal legislature that, bribed by the corporate powers of the state, defeated the will of the people on the eight-hour law, were men representing the varied and clashing interests of the state, including "labor" representatives entirely incompetent because of their lack of understanding of working-class interests. So long as the working class is split into antagonistic organizations and remains disunited in the economic field, its politics will reflect its economic impotence, and the briber and bribed will continue to hold sway. Capitalists know this; hence they are fighting the spread of the principles of Industrial Unionism. An organization that capitalists oppose is one that the workers should investigate.

SOMETHING ABOUT SCABS AND SCABBING

By JOSEPH SCHLOSSBERG

The officers of the American Federation of Labor capmakers condemn to starvation proletarian families because their bread-winners are true to their class and join the ranks of the Industrial Workers; the Industrial Workers expel two men for scabbing against the American Federation of Labor capmakers. Who are the enemies of organized labor? Who are the scabs?

The howl of "scab" went up against the members and friends of the Industrial Workers of the World. Are we to be ashamed of it? I for one am not. Moreover, I shall welcome any other more "disgraceful" designation that the "labor leader" might be able to discover in his vocabulary, or that he might, perchance, be able to invent. We ought to smile just as pleasantly when the "labor leader" calls us "scabs," as we do when the capitalist press calls us "traitors." The word "scab" has lost its original meaning of assisting the capitalist employer to defeat his struggling employes; those who do that are now called "non-union men"; the "scab" now is no more he who in the interests of the capitalist class combats the interests of his fellow workmen, but he who in the interests of his fellow workmen combats the false labor leader. The former will not only be allowed to remain at work, but will be protected even more than the union man by the "labor leader" as well as by the employer, by means of the "sacred contract"; the latter will be expelled both from the "union" and the factory by the unholy agreement of "labor leader" and employer.

I read the "contract" made by the American Federation of Labor capmakers in New York with its employers, and by the American Federation of Labor garment workers in Baltimore, Md., with its employers. In each case the union man is put at the mercy of the capitalist, and the non-union man is declared perfectly immune as far as the union is concerned. In each case to the "mutual satisfaction" of both parties the employer is permitted to give preference to non-union men, especially strike-breakers, and in each case all the rights of the union men are waived. In each case, also, has that outrageous agreement been declared "a glorious, unprecedented, etc., victory." Some capmakers in New York dared to say that the victory was on the part of the employers. Now those men are tramping the streets looking for a job. They were declared outlaws by the self-convinced, lying officials of the capmakers' union, put under ban, and the employer assisted them in trying to run into the ground the spirit of class solidarity among the awakening workmen.

In Baltimore, the climax was capped by the leader of the strike, a gentleman sent from the general office in New York, receiving three silver loving cups from the three tailor locals, without the knowledge of the members. He demanded those "gifts" from the strike committee, and managed to get them.

Those who broke the strikes are "non-union men"; those who struck, fought, and were betrayed by the leaders, are "scabs." That is the situation today.

But the original meaning of "scab" has lost its force, even if applied to actual strike-breakers. Whenever a union raises its admission fee to such an extent as to make it impossible for workmen to join it, it turns every craftsman outside of the union into a potential strike-breaker. If a workman, however honest and noble, is denied the right to work in the factory with the union in it, he would naturally grasp the first opportunity to rush into the factory as soon as the door is thrown open by the union going out or locked out. It is not faithlessness to his class that makes a strike-breaker of him, it is the lash of hunger wielded by the union itself. Who can conscientiously condemn the act of that man? Is he a scab?

A bakers' local in Brooklyn, N. Y., closed its books for eight or nine months, refusing to admit members at any price. To the extent that the union controls the trade, the non-members are denied the right to support their families. Will anyone wonder if those people will rush to take the places made vacant by members of the union in case of a strike? Will anyone have the nerve to denounce them as scabs?

Scabbing or strike-breaking in most cases, far from being a disgrace upon the "culprit," is an indictment against the pure and simple union. Yet, owing to capitalist environment and the education the workmen receive in the pure and simple union, there are many who act as strike-breakers deliberately and wilfully. Some of them will leave a good job in a union factory and become a scab just because there is a tempting opportunity held out to them by the employer. Those are blacklegs of the very worst and most contemptible kind. Still, there is no one guilty of any such crime who would find the doors of the union closed against him. One may have betrayed and ruined hundreds of workmen's families, but if he takes some part of his Judas-money and hands it over to the union's treasury as "fine," he is allowed to join or rejoin the ranks of "organized labor," and enjoys full equality with those he helped to victimize. The difference between the "traitor to organized labor" and "organized labor" itself is a few greenbacks, and as soon as those greenbacks pass from the former to the latter the difference is removed.

Simultaneously with the sending out of the infamous circular denouncing the Industrial Workers of the World men as scabs and strike-breakers, the American Federation of Labor capmakers' union reported in the local press that it admitted to membership two scabs who were fined \$50 each. Those two strike-breakers were admitted to full and complete equality with all other members of the union, who did not break strikes. Possibly those two strike-breakers will tomorrow become members of the general executive board, and, in the name of working-class solidarity, issue another slanderous circular, again denouncing as scabs those victimized by their officials.

The truth of the matter is that under pure and simpledom a workman deserves very little credit for being a union man, and mighty little discredit for being a "scab."

The Industrial Workers of the World will remove the greatest part of scabbery by removing pure and simpledom, and will remove the rest of it by abolishing capitalism and wage slavery. Hasten the day!

A MESSAGE TO ELLA

A few years ago the sage Elbert Hubbard wrote "A Message to Garcia." This message was not addressed to Garcia, the Cuban rebel, but to the American working people. Its wisdom, concentrated into one single sentence, culminated in the wonderful advice that a free man who sold himself to some employer at so much per day should be a willing and faithful slave.

The great dailies all over the land said it was the cleverest thing ever written by the sage Fra Elberta. And you must know that the good Fra never writes anything which is not clever. But this enslaving message to the free citizens of the Land of Equality was so clever that the men who buy the labor of their Christian and heathen brethren, and who are always lying awake thinking about ways to carry messages of good cheer to them, bought hundreds of thousands of extra copies of the "Message to Garcia," and gave it to the willing and faithful slaves for nothing. And the good Fra Elberta looked at his work and saw that it was good—for himself. And the benevolent employers also looked at their work and saw that it was a good investment. All of which proves that cleverness pays.

I don't know just what effect the munificent liberality of the employers had on the recipients of free copies of this wonderful message. But I know that the socialist vote increased considerably in the following years, and so I am satisfied that all the clever people were not on the side of Fra Elberta and his employers. Why, I was reliably informed that Fra Elberta himself had become a socialist soon after that. I don't know what he is now. But whatever he may be, you may rest assured that he is still as clever as ever.

The Hearst press, like Fra Elberta, is cleverness personified. It is always full of messages for the working class. In fact, it makes a specialty of such messages. It proclaims in trumpet tones that it has devoted its life to the uplifting of the common people to the sublime level of superiority on which the clever writers of its staff are soaring.

Yes, soaring. For they do not need any solid ground for their feet, like common mortals. They live in the pure heights of exalted idealism. They speak to the working class as teachers who are not of its flesh and blood, but inspired by a noble and infinite compassion for the great herd that still cling to the material sod.

Although they are such perfect beings, those clever people often identify themselves with the working class, like politicians just before election, by referring to them and themselves as "we" working people. But occasionally they become so saturated with their superiority, and so vexed with the imperfectness of their chosen flock of working people that anger seizes them. And then they flash forth words of divine wrath.

Among this galaxy of clever superbeings none is cleverer than Ella Wheeler Wilcox. She has said many a good and brave thing, which might have been written by a true poet of the revolution. Just like Fra Elberta, who likes to intoxicate himself with radical rhetoric as much as Sister Ella. And when he and she are drunk with the holy ghost, they can say strong things. But Sister Ella is like Fra Elberta in this respect, that she stonies occasionally for her radical sins by the rottenest and most reactionary

By ERNEST UNTERMAN

LABOR AND LEISURE

Before we ask for leisure let us learn
The sacredness of time—that holy trust
Confided for a season to our care.
Labor and Leisure make life beautiful
When well divided, and when Labor means
Deserved reward, and Leisure sweet repose,
Or happy explorations in the fair
Ascending paths of pleasure. When we grow
In health, in wisdom, and in happiness,
Through hours of freedom, then and then alone
We prove our right to clamor for more time.

But when the ginshop and the gambling den,
The dive, the public dance hall and the street
Send sodden creatures slowly back to toil
After the ending of a holiday
It makes a louder protest than the voice
Of tyrant Greed against the shortened hour
And lengthened wage of Labor. Look to it
That Leisure lifts you 'ere you ask for more.

sophistry which could grow on the idealized hotbed of the most devout believer in the divine right to buy the labor-power of free men, women and children, for the "advancement of civilization."

Fra Elberta's "Message to Garcia" has a twin sister in Sister Ella's "Labor and Leisure." I don't know why it just appeared at the time when the printers were striking for an eight-hour day. It may have been a mere coincidence. Inspirations of this kind are always due to some coincidence. Have you read this grand poem, you slaves of capitalism? If not, I forestall the liberality of your kind employer by supplying you with a copy of it (copyright, 1906, by the American-Journal-Examiner), it is entitled "Labor and Leisure."

Here you have a sound idealistic philosophy. Look to it that the plant in the arid desert grows from a stunted and colorless thing into a strong and beautiful garden flower before it asks for plenty of water and rich soil! Look to it that the children who never know anything from their cradle but filth, and toil, and misery grow into noble and god-like human beings without any education, care, abundant food and comfortable homes. Look to it, you lowly outcasts, that you may become as great and good as Sister Ella, before she hurls another thunderbolt at you which "the voice of tyrant Greed" will cheer to the echo like this one!

Perhaps Ella meant well, even if she did get the cart before the horse. But what of that? The working people get enough of that sort of advice without listening to someone of it from one who calls herself a socialist. And the capitalist, on reading this poem, will exclaim joyfully: "Capital! Just what I want. The more time my employes spend in idleness, the more they will dissipate their substance in riotous living. I must oppose the eight-hour movement for their own benefit!" And he will settle back in his leather chair with the comfortable conviction that the great poet, writer, socialist, and philanthropist, Ella Wheeler Wilcox, in one of her inspired utterances, has given him her moral support.

But don't let that worry you, Ella. He would have done the same, even if you had not backed him up. Next time, when the boss inspires you, send a message to the employers, just for a change. It will relieve you and do them no harm.

And let me tell you that you can find

plenty of "sodden creatures" in gin shops, gambling dens, dives, dance halls, and on the streets, without looking for them among the working class. Of course, we know that we have a good many of this sort among us, and we don't apologize for them. They're a bad lot. Whenever we strike for shorter hours, the employers hire these "sodden creatures" as scabs, sluggers, special deputies, and so on, and President Elliot glorifies them as heroes. There's a subject for another inspired poem, Ella. But why should that interfere with our struggle for improvement? You can find plenty of the same breed right close to you in the Press Club. You can see them making monkeys of themselves in the Waldorf-Astoria, the grill rooms of the athletic clubs and assignation houses patronized by the four hundred and their hangers-on. You can admire them in the lobbies of Congress and even of the White House. You can find them at all fashionable resorts where the cream of select society "look to it that leisure lifts them," while you write verses that shall keep their slaves down.

Send a message to them, too. In the meantime I have a message for you. It may not reach you. Fra Elberta's message never reached Garcia, either. But it will reach some people, and there may be a few employers among them, perhaps even your boss, Ella.

And this is my message: The capitalist knows but one sacred ideal—the dollar. "The sacredness of time, that holy trust confided for a season to our care," represents for the capitalist so many dollars. Time is money. Therefore every minute spent in leisure by the laboring man is a violation of the "sacredness of time" from the point of view of the capitalist. "If the laborer consumes his disposable time for himself, he robs the capitalist." So said Karl Marx long ago, and he knew the capitalist.

And we know him, too. So we are not asking for "the shortened hour and the lengthened wage." We are not asking the employers for anything. We are not even asking them for employment. We deny the right of the capitalists to monopolize the avenues of employment. We claim the right to employ ourselves at any wages and hours that we may adopt by a majority vote.

We are not organized to fritter away our strength and the "sacredness" of our time in petty trade union beggary. We are organized to take what we can conquer and hold by our own power.

If we are strong enough to get the eight-hour day, we shall take it. If we are strong enough to get more, we shall take that. And whatever we get, we are going to use in any way that we see fit, without asking either your pardon or that of the employers.

Some day, we shall be strong enough to take the whole world. We shall take it and arrange our work and our leisure according to our sweet will.

Carry the message to Ella, boys, that we don't care a snap about the messages of the inspired scribblers of the parasites. We can do our own exhorting and uplifting. And we can lift others, too, perhaps even such superior beings as Fra Elberta and Ella.

In an hotel in Montana there is a sign that reads: "Boarders taken by the day, week or month. Those who do not pay promptly will be taken, by the neck."

THE FARMER AND HIS HIRED HAND

By **ETHEL E. CARPENTER**

Land is a social necessity; land owners a superfluity. That land is used to exploit the working class more and more is an undeniable fact. Antiquated farming still exists and along with small businesses is receiving the same crushing blow from capitalism; but as the small farms and farmers give way they are superseded by large bonanza farms and capitalist landowners.

The class struggle is said to be between the propertied class and the propertyless. The farmer derives his income and his ideas from the property he possesses, and his ideology is invariably to obtain more property. Farming is a business, for the farmer must count on the cost of production, which often includes his own labor, wear and tear of machinery and the selling price of his products; hence, his desire for cheap labor and high market prices. The cost of production depends upon the wages paid for labor and the improvement of machinery used, as wheat can be produced less than half as cheap on the bonanza farms as on small farms; hence, as in manufacturing, mining, etc., the one producing the cheapest receives the largest amount of surplus value.

At present there are two classes of farmers, the satisfied and prosperous farmers, who have large tracts of land, and the dissatisfied and restless farmers. The "one thing needful" to successful farming is more land; consequently, one sees the selling of high-priced land to capitalist syndicates and migration farther westward, where whole sections of land can be bought for the price of a quarter-section of Eastern land. To find a farmer satisfied with a quarter-section of land, which is considered sufficient by "Uncle Sam" for a homestead, is as difficult as to find a capitalist that would be satisfied with a hand coffee-mill. One also sees large crowds of "Eastern" land buyers buying up thousands of acres of land for various purposes, and soon even if a man manages to retain his "homestead" it will be as useless to him as a grist-mill in the shadow of a great flouring mill.

A large number of farms are mortgaged—the small farms—but it is a noticeable fact that where one man loses 160 acres some other member of society gets it. Land speculators go into a community and buy huge tracts of mortgaged land, or buy it as soon as the mortgage is foreclosed. The individual who loses his land often saves enough out of it to buy a truck patch, which he can work himself with limited and primitive tools, or starts a chicken ranch. Because of this fact, it has given rise to the erroneous idea that the farms of the future are to be small farms. These small truck farms are the last effort of the crowded-out farmer and other lesser bourgeoisie to keep from falling into the ranks of the wage-working proletariat. Farming of necessity must be very large or very small. That the large farmers' or landowners' interest is capitalistic is not very hard to discover, and that he will always, as a class, work to the interest of his class—the capitalist class—while the small farmers' interest will not become clear (to himself) until he has been deprived of his property and become a proletarian, for at present as long as they can hold on to a piece of land it is through their property interests that they expect to be resuscitated.

It is true one sees on the farms as heart-rending conditions as is to be seen in the cities among the crowded proletariat. They

The farmer of today exploits his wife and children, especially the latter, as one can see at any time on the farms, children kept out of school to pick cotton, plow with a riding plow, mow hay, and various other kinds of work beyond their years and strength to perform, deforming their bodies, crippling them for life, aye, even killing them by compelling them to use machinery they are not competent to handle.

have fresh air outside the houses—as farm houses are generally miserable affairs and unsanitary—but their bodies are poorly nourished, as it is a fact that many of the farmers convert every saleable produce into money, keeping for their own consumption that which cannot be sold. It is true that often the farmers' so-called wages do not exceed 50 cents a day of sixteen hours, eight hours before dinner and eight after; that they could study astronomy both night and morning if they had the time, as they "do up" the chores; that it would be hard to find an engineer that would get up early enough to whistle them out.

It is true that the small farmer is being ground down to an existence below that of the wage workers; also that he cannot set the price on his wheat, corn, oats, eggs, etc.; that the mortgage holder squeezes him, the "trusts" dig him and the landlord sometimes ejects him, if the land happens to be rented; that the local merchant skins him, causing him to send off to some mail-order house or some co-operative concern for his goods, which is all true, but arises from his property relationship to society, and along with all middle-class men, capitalism is giving him the worst of it. Improvement of machinery is forcing the economic evolution of farming, as well as along other lines, though it is the last source of wealth to give away to capitalism. Capitalist production has been carried on on the farms for some time, but it has not been recognized as such by farmers or our economists. The farmers' largest saleable product depends upon the wage-working class to save it. Every year large numbers of men are in demand during harvest; thousands of men are called loudly for by the farmers. The question is, Where do all these men come from? Do men at the mere call of the farmers drop their jobs and run to their assistance? It is from the ranks of the unemployed proletariat the farmers get their "hands" at the various busy seasons of the year, thus the "unemployed problem" deviates to the farmer's advantage.

If those who teach that the farmers' interest and the wage workers' are the same would go into the agricultural districts during harvest, or into the sugar-beet country, to "hire out" from \$1 to \$2.25 a day, to work from daylight until dark, and be looked over in the same manner as when the farmer goes to buy a mule, it would commence to dawn upon the intellect: Are their interests the same? and doesn't a little surplus value go into the farmer's overall's pocket? though he is a hard-worked being for the benefit of the "trusts." As long as the wage worker has to produce profits for someone, what does it matter to him whether it's the individual, a corporation or even "Uncle Sam" that gets the surplus?

The thinning, weeding and the marketing of beets, gathering of cantaloupes, harvesting and threshing wheat, pulling broom-corn, plowing and gathering corn, picking hops and spud-picking, sheep shearing, etc., all depends upon wage labor to perform, and this work is done by the traveling proletariat, otherwise known as the "hobo." These "hoboes" ride the rods into these farming communities to help the farmer "save his crops." He then becomes known as a "harvest hand," until he passes on into the beet country, to be known as "beet pickers," or to become "spud pickers" or "cantaloupe pickers," etc. Free train rides that the "hoboes" help themselves to enable them to save thousands of dollars in car fare alone, obeying the biblical injunction of the capitalist class to save their money.

The farmer is glad enough to hire the "hobo" when his crops need tending, but in the meantime greatly dislikes to give him a "hand-out" from his back door, and admonishes him to go to work, or puts him on the woodpile sawing wood half a day for a slice of bacon, an egg, bread and some warmed-over coffee.

As in other industries, as the machinery develops and becomes more complicated and expensive, it takes larger and larger capital to handle it; consequently the failure of the small farmer to keep up with the economic progress. And as he is deprived of his property, through lack of means to run it on the gigantic scale that capitalism demands, he will be forced into the ranks of the propertyless, riding the rods, seeking the jobs he best knows how to do.

The farmer of today exploits his wife and children, especially the latter, as one can see at any time on the farms, children kept out of school to pick cotton, plow with a riding-plow, mow hay and various other kinds of work beyond their years and strength to perform, deforming their bodies, crippling them for life, aye, even killing them, by compelling them to use machinery they are not competent to handle.

Farm life leaves much to be desired, even under the most favorable circumstances, and the chances are that when capitalism fully develops, the farmer or landowner using the land strictly for exploitation purposes will not find it necessary to have his home and means of exploitation at the same place, but live in the center of activity. Large portions of desirable land will be and are reserved as summer resorts and hunting preserves for the idle members of the capitalist class.

The tendency of capitalism is to develop on a large scale, and the evolution of farming is developing in harmony with all other industries. It is a signal fact that organizations among the farmers have been failures, or at least far from total successes. It was never possible to organize to any advantage (to themselves) the small business men scattered thickly over the country, but as soon as they emerge into large mail-order houses and co-operative concerns, doing the largest part of the business of the country, it is the most easy and natural thing in the world for them to combine. When the farms merge into fewer hands "co-operation" among them will be found easy. The farmer in his scattered and isolated position cannot organize as the working class can, because he lacks the incentives and feelings of fellowship the working class has, forced to work together

in industrial centers. The farmer as he exists today is the most impotent factor in society.

During harvest it is easy to see the class lines drawn, and if anyone doubts that the farmer makes as good a slave driver as exists under capitalism, get a job next summer in the harvest field. The farmer is not inherently bad; he is no better nor worse than any other class in society that is compelled to hire wage labor and get as much out of it as possible for his money. The farmer recognizes no "rights to be lazy," consequently is a hard task master; working hard himself, expects that much more from the one he exploits.

Until the advent of the Industrial Workers of the World the position of the farmer had not been made plain; they are horrified when they are told they cannot join the new "union" because they are employers of labor. They had always considered themselves "workers" pure and simple, and as strictly belonging to the working class. Capitalism has stolen upon them unawares, while they were still living the ideology of their primitive ancestors, who worked with primitive tools; they were still the real workers—the salt of the earth—and to be thus rudely awakened to the fact that they were not what they had considered themselves is rather startling. Being property holders, employers of labor, puts them out of the ranks of the propertyless wage worker. The farmer's misery is a misery of property.

This vast traveling army of proletariats that the farmers yearly employ should be organized into the Industrial Workers of the World, even though the farmers say they can never afford to pay higher wages or shorten the sixteen-hour day. If they cannot afford to pay the wage workers decent wages to do their back-breaking work, let them get out of business and let those run the farms that can pay the workingmen decent wages, and join the wage workers and profit thereby.

Oklahoma City, O. T.

Who Owns the Railroads

A recent number of Railroad Men has an article under the above caption. It starts off with the statement that the railroads of America are truly of, and by, and for, the people. It then proceeds to show the number of stock and bondholders who OWN these properties.

Before going further into this question of ownership, let us first see what the words "own" and "ownership" mean.

Webster says the meaning of "own" is to hold as property; to have a legal or rightful title to; to be the proprietor or possessor of." Of "ownership" the same authority says, "the state of being an owner; the right to own; exclusive; right of possession; legal or just claim or title; proprietorship." With these definitions before us let us proceed.

We will first quote the beginning of the second paragraph in the article.

"If the ownership of industries was determined by the distribution of their gross earnings, the holders of railway securities would be in partnership with 1,312,537 railway employes, who not only are the most numerous class interested in the prosperity of the railroads, but divide by far the largest portion of their earnings among them."

The following are some of the other statements found in the article:

That an inquiry made a year ago showed that the total number of persons owning railroad stocks and bonds was about 800,000.

DO YOUR BEST

BY EUGENE V. DEBS.

Now is the time, as never before in our lives, to stand and pull together, and do our very best. As organized industrial workers we have pledged ourselves to the revolution, and we could not, if we would, turn back.

To build up the Industrial Workers, to make it strong in numbers and in mental and moral fiber, is the duty of each member, and not one worthy the name will shirk it.

The enemy and all his allies are against us; and while some are openly fighting us, others are secretly plotting our downfall. But we will outwit and outstrip them all, and sooner or later put them all to flight and take possession of the field.

Close up the ranks, comrades, and stand solid as a granite wall!

The revolution is our battle-cry, and its spirit flashes from the eye and pulses in the blood of each proletarian patriot.

The monstrous attack from ambush upon Moyer, Haywood and their comrades was and is an assault upon the Industrial Workers.

We must unite from coast to coast to repel it. Up with the blood-red colors of the revolutionary proletariat!

Beat the forward marches all along the line, the marches to Camp Victory!

No sluggish blood must clog the Industrial Workers; every drop of it must pulse with action.

Comrades, the hour is striking! Do your best! Again, do your best!

Let no one dare charge that you are a mere camp-follower.

There is work to do, and there will be fighting to do, and there is no telling what else there may be to do and you have the royal privilege of sharing in it all.

Strike with all your strength every blow your brain and body can muster to—

Build up your Local Union!

Build up your Industrial Department!

Build up the General Organization!

Secure new members!

Secure new subscribers for "The Industrial Worker"!

Educate the rank and file!

Promote class-consciousness and class-solidarity!

Allow no day, no hour, to pass without doing your duty.

The battle is on, and the victory will be with the Industrial Workers of the World.

That the interstate commerce commission, in response to a Senate resolution on the subject of railroad stock and bond holders, showed that for the year ending June 30, 1904, there were 327,851 such stockholders.

That no less than 79 per cent of the stock of one of the large railway companies—a trust company—appeared on the books in the name of one man.

That these stock and bond holders (700,000 to 800,000) divided \$444,067,795 among them, while the 1,312,537 employes received \$775,321,415 as their share of the earnings of the roads.

That the question of the regulation of railway rates comes home with especial force to two millions railway employes and investors in railway securities, whose incomes would be reduced by any legislation which injured the railway business.

And that this army of two million represents, with the persons dependent upon

them for support, at least one eighth of the population of the United States.

It is more particularly to the above quoted paragraph and to the earnings paid to the employes that we call attention.

The idea that the vast army of railroad employes are stock or bond holders in any of these companies is out of the question. There may be some, but they are few. Neither do the companies look on their employes as "partners" at all. They are as so many cogs in the great machine; when one breaks, it is thrown away, and another is put in its place. Neither do their "earnings" come in the shape of rents paid in, interest or dividends. Their "earnings" are the earnings of bone and muscle, of sweat and hunger. If the employes are partners and do own stock in the companies, why do so many of them hate the work after being at it for some time, and wish to get as far away from the road as possible? Why are so many others ousted with hardly a moment's warning, or subjected to various severe and humiliating forms or discipline?

When \$775,321,415 are divided equally among 1,312,537 employes, the "share" for the year's labor would be about \$590.70. Now, as there are many employes who get twelve and fifteen hundred dollars a year and more, what must be the wage of the lowest paid class of labor? For its partnership in the company, what are the "dividends"? Out of this \$590.70 each man has to pay for rent, board, clothes, doctor's bills, and interest. If anything is left after a luxury or two have been enjoyed, he then has something that he can call "net earnings."

On the other hand, the 800,000 stockholders have divided among them \$444,067,795. Here each man would get about a \$555.08 check. This check represents "net earnings"; nothing else. It is "clear velvet." The stockholder need not turn his hand over at all during the year if he so chooses. If each of his employes can live on \$590.70 for the year, why can he not live on \$55.08? In many cases all the real work the real stockholder does in return for the dividend received is to sign his name. On the other hand, the employe has had to devote his whole life and energy for a year for a "net profit" of \$0.00.

If the reports of the interstate commerce commission are to be relied on there were but 327,851 stockholders among whom was divided the \$444,067,795. In this case each stockholder got \$1,354.48 and the one man who held 79 per cent would receive over \$133,000 for his share. Compare the "dividends" paid each of the 327,851 stockholders recorded by the commission, and that of the one big stockholder, with the dividend paid in wages to each employe for the same year.

Against Death Benefits

Local Union, No. 17, Cincinnati, forwards the following protest against the adoption of the proposed death benefit by the Metal and Machinery Department:

As the Industrial Workers of the World is supposed to be a revolutionary body for the purpose of organizing the workers to prepare them to take and hold the machinery of production and distribution, it seems to us unwise, to say the least, to take up such matters as the resolution proposes; for such things, all experience shows, have an ever-increasing tendency to draw the attention of the workers from a revolutionary purpose, a danger ever to be guarded against. For those who desire to go into such benefits there are enough organizations in existence, such as mutual aids and benevolent societies. Our idea is to ever keep in mind and center our work on the main purpose of the preamble.

THE GENERAL MOVEMENT

The Chicago Protest Meeting.

As soon as the report of the brutal outrage in Colorado and Idaho was received, February 19th, the Industrial Workers' headquarters in Chicago became a scene of great activity in preparations for arousing the working class in this city and the country at large to the necessity of organizing for the defense. On the 20th of February the now famous proclamation, "Shall Our Brothers Be Murdered?" was sent out to the number of 30,000 and within a week it appeared in nearly all the true working-class publications of the country, creating a tremendous impression and bringing immediate response and offers of assistance to this office. This was followed a few days later by the formal appeal for funds, accompanied with lists, and instantaneously the contributions began to come in.

In the local field a committee of three representing the Industrial Workers of the World was chosen to invite the co-operation of all working-class organizations in a joint, united protest against the capitalist conspiracy. The one organization to refuse co-operation was the Socialist Party, which had a small, independent meeting on the same day. The refusal came from the executive committee of the party. The reasons, such as they are, for this failure of the Socialist Party to co-operate, are given in a statement appearing elsewhere in this paper. The great protest meeting of Chicago's working class was held Sunday afternoon, March 4th, at Apollo Hall, the large auditorium being packed to the doors and all available space occupied. Some of the contemptible capitalist papers had for days in advance tried to make it appear that the meeting was a revival of anarchism, and during the entire meeting twenty policemen were in the hall "to preserve order" and prevent another "Haymarket affair." This show of force was entirely uncalled for and a source of amusement to those present.

The organizations under whose auspices the meeting was held were the Industrial Workers, the Jewish Bund, the Arbeiter Zeitung, the Socialist Labor Party and the La Salle Singing Society. In the meeting itself there was represented various local organizations affiliated with the Chicago Federation of Labor, as well as delegations from the Socialist Party branches.

The speakers were Lillian M. Forberg, Morris Siskind, M. Drescher, Oscar Neebe, Wm. E. Trautmann and A. M. Simons. A. S. Edwards, chosen by the joint committee, was chairman. It was probably the announcement of Oscar Neebe as one of the speakers that centered upon the meeting the attention of the police. But Neebe had as much right to be heard on the contemplated murders in Idaho as any man in Chicago. He has never been proven guilty of a crime and the fact that there is some public sentiment against him, manufactured by the lying reports of capitalist newspapers and the interests they represent, should not seal his lips when right and truth and justice are nailed upon the cross of capitalism by organized criminal anarchists of the Colorado type who seek to crush a working-class organization that may be bullied, but cannot be bribed.

All the speeches were direct and emphatic in denunciation of the authorities of Colorado and Idaho and their hired detectives, as well as the power of incorporated wealth which is behind them both.

The resolution adopted was brief and to the point; it reads as follows:

"As working men and working women of Chicago, in mass meeting assembled, we denounce the murderous conspiracy of the Mine Owners' Associations backed by the sordid Standard Oil corporation, against our brothers of the Western Federation of Miners. We see in this plot but one step in an attempt to crush all revolutionary organization of the working class. We call upon the laborers throughout the country to rise up in protest with all the forces at their command to prevent the murder of our brothers. To their support and in support of the cause of the revolutionary movement we pledge our moral and financial aid at once and every other assistance within our power that may be required to prevent the carrying out of this murderous plot."

When Chairman Edwards made an appeal for the defense fund there was enacted one of the most remarkable scenes ever witnessed in a working-class meeting. Amid the greatest enthusiasm, demonstrating the intensest interest in the main purpose of the meeting, the contributions began to pour in; twice the collectors passed through the audience with boxes, into which everybody in the large audience seemed to drop a contribution; twice the chairman called for donations of one dollar up and each time the response was generous. When the money was counted and

the result, \$203.05, announced the audience cheered again and again. A subsequent recount showed the amount to be \$315.75. Since the meeting the same organizations having charge of it have been instrumental in raising some \$800 additional.

The meeting having accomplished its purpose, undeterred by the clamor of capitalist newspapers or the show of police intimidation, rose as one man and gave three soul-stirring cheers for the social revolution.

THE REFERENDUM VOTE

Result of Vote on Proposition of Postponement of Convention of Industrial Workers of the World to June 27th, 1906.

The light vote herewith reported on the referendum is doubtless explained by the fact that the activity of the locals in holding protest meetings and raising money for the defense fund which has absorbed most of the attention of the membership, interfered with regular meetings, and thus reduced the total far below what it would otherwise have been. Acting-Secretary Kirwan, of the Western Federation of Miners, assigns this as the reason in the Mining Department:

	For	Against
Western Federation of Miners.....	2076	163
Metal Department—		
Buffalo Local No. 43.....	11	
Schenectady Local No. 40.....	59	
Schenectady Local No. 32.....	130	
Schenectady Local No. 26.....	210	1
Schenectady Local No. 31.....	32	
Schenectady Local No. 42.....	19	
Schenectady Local No. 34.....	61	2
Chicago Local No. 1.....	25	7
Chicago Local No. 2.....	34	
Chicago Local No. 6.....	17	
Chicago Local No. 23.....	1	1
Chicago Local No. 7.....	29	
Maywood Local No. 11.....	13	
Pullman Local No. 8.....	8	
Cincinnati Local No. 17.....	15	
St. Louis Local No. 16.....	16	
St. Louis Local No. 9.....	31	
New York Local No. 25.....	30	
New York Local No. 35.....	26	
Brooklyn Local No. 38.....	50	5
Newark, N. J., Local No. 24.....	21	3
Cleveland Local No. 33.....	12	
Denver Local No. 3.....	34	
Newport News Local No. 30.....	20	
Braddock Local No. 41.....	14	
Denver Local No. 15.....	Unanimous	
Musical Department.....	134	
Transportation Department—		
Total vote.....	123	
Locals—		
No. 245.....	19	
No. 243.....	29	
No. 39.....	14	
No. 104.....	10	
No. 64.....	12	
No. 215.....	20	
No. 198.....	21	
No. 6.....	17	
No. 92.....	9	
No. 98.....	21	1
No. 13.....	24	
No. 44.....	26	
No. 244.....	14	1
No. 240.....	14	
No. 181.....	10	
No. 160.....	25	
No. 185.....	11	
No. 178.....	39	
No. 251.....	15	
No. 89.....	58	3
No. 239.....	22	
No. 160.....	66	
No. 228.....	16	
No. 9.....	15	
No. 85.....	11	
No. 237.....	12	1
No. 213.....	16	
No. 93.....	30	
No. 8.....	13	
No. 55.....	10	
No. 214.....	23	
No. 226.....	12	
No. 66.....	17	
No. 27.....	17	1
No. 290.....	34	2
No. 198.....	30	1
No. 185.....	11	
No. 204.....	8	
No. 130.....	21	1
No. 195.....	11	
No. 2.....	57	3
No. 83.....	56	
No. 206.....	10	
No. 139.....	10	
No. 109.....	12	
No. 211.....	10	1
No. 158.....	6	2
No. 110.....	12	
No. 250.....	40	
No. 231.....	15	
No. 229.....	17	
No. 182.....	11	
No. 171.....	20	
No. 488.....	26	1
No. 128.....	25	
No. 234.....	20	
No. 67.....	8	
No. 205.....	21	
No. 194.....	10	
No. 219.....	15	
No. 38.....	15	
No. 243.....	8	
No. 31.....	8	
No. 96.....	12	
No. 233.....	11	
No. 162.....	9	
No. 229.....	9	
No. 50.....	21	
No. 86.....	8	
No. 166.....	12	
No. 37.....	22	
No. 218.....	11	
No. 18.....	6	
No. 104.....	7	
No. 228.....	12	

No.	For	Against	No.	For	Against
No. 193.....	54		No. 124.....	26	
No. 155.....	20		No. 141.....	10	
No. 130.....	19		No. 176.....	44	10
No. 224.....	9		No. 20.....	6	
No. 159.....	23		No. 236.....	13	5
No. 85.....	19		No. 152.....	11	
No. 76.....	90		No. 213.....	19	
No. 7.....	28		No. 140.....	12	11
No. 168.....	8		No. 211.....	27	
No. 99.....	25	1	No. 221.....	13	
No. 115.....	17		No. 208.....	11	
No. 97.....	11		No. 173.....	63	11
No. 248.....	33	1	No. 175.....	6	
No. 216.....	12		No. 172.....	9	
No. 88.....	15		No. 59.....	10	
No. 174.....	18		No. 56.....	22	
Members at large..					10
For.....					536
Against.....					248
Total vote.....					5610

NEW CHARTERS ISSUED

The organizing record for the month ending March 20th, shows the same uninterrupted addition to the roster of the Industrial Workers of the World, that we were able to report in previous issues of "The Industrial Worker." The new local unions chartered from February 20 to March 20, with the location of each, are given below:

Building Employes' Industrial Union, Salt Lake City, Utah; Hotel and Restaurant Employes' Industrial Union, Chicago, Ill.; Garment Workers' Industrial Union, Buffalo, N. Y.; Denison Industrial Mixed Union, Denison, Texas; Industrial Workers' Mixed Local, Bridgeport, Conn.; Muskogee Industrial Mixed Union, Muskogee, I. T.; Women's Labor Auxiliary Union, Muskogee, I. T.; Shoe Workers' Industrial Union, Cincinnati, Ohio; Houston Industrial Mixed Union, Houston, Texas; Excavators' Industrial Union, New Britain, Conn.; Phoenix Industrial Union, Phoenix, Ariz.; Bakersfield Industrial Union, Bakersfield, Cal.; Kendall Industrial Mixed Union, Kendall, Mont.; Cloak Makers' Industrial Union, Toronto, Ontario; Wood-Workers' Industrial Union, Hoquiane, Wash.; Boot and Shoe Workers' Industrial Union, Newark, N. J.; Santa Lumbermens' Industrial Union, Santa, Idaho; Cloak Makers' Industrial Union, Montreal, Canada; Globe Laundry Employes' Industrial Union, Globe, Ariz.; Store and Office Workers' Industrial Union, Chicago, Ill.; Vallejo Industrial Union, Vallejo, Cal.; Painters' and Paper-hangers' Industrial Union, Brooklyn, N. Y.; Everett Industrial Union, Everett, Wash.; Fresno Industrial Workers' Union, Fresno, Cal.; Fostoria Industrial Workers' Union, Fostoria, Ohio; Irving Park Machinists' Local, Irving Park, Chicago, Ill.; Metal Workers' Local, Toronto, Canada; Metal Workers' Local, Milwaukee, Wis.; Packers and Shippers' Local, Schenectady, N. Y.; Greater Boston Scandinavian Machinists' Local, Boston, Mass.

Total new organizations for the month—30.
Total number of local organizations chartered since July, 1905—363.

The Italian Propaganda

We are pleased to announce that the Italian Socialist Federation of Greater New York has decided to issue on the 1st of May a special publication in the form of an eight-page paper. It will contain articles of real propaganda value on socialism in general and Industrial Unionism in particular. From what we have learned of the purposes of the federation, we are quite sure that the publication will be of more than ordinary merit and well calculated to greatly assist in an understanding of socialism and Industrial Unionism among Italian workmen. We therefore urge agitation committees and organizers to see that it has a wide circulation. Anyone wishing for further information may address, Raimondo Fazio, Secretary, 79 McDougal street, New York City.

Local No. 218, of Philadelphia, passed resolutions condemning the kidnaping of Moyer and Haywood, and issued a call for a joint conference to arrange for protest meetings.

A joint protest meeting at Huntington, Ark., including the Industrial Workers of the World, Socialist Party and United Mine Workers of America, was held March 7th, when \$42.50 was raised for the defense fund. D. A. Reed, of the Industrial Workers of the World; Dan Hogan, state secretary Socialist Party, and Wm. Dennis, John J. Beggs and Edgar Brandon, of the United Mine Workers, were the speakers.

Information for Knockers

Were I in a position to wish and be served I can not conceive of desiring more genuine pleasure than it gives me to be able to inform the faithful that our slumbering old city of Schenectady recently awakened to behold a mental revolution of the working class predominating and to the astonishment of the many the vale is yet in the valley and the Mohawk still rolls on as serenely as ever without even intimating its intention to balk.

This revolution is the happy result of the unceasing propagation of the principles of the only scientific economic organization of the working class in America to-day, the Industrial Workers of the World, by our consistent class-conscious brothers who have attained a higher plane of manhood than permits being swayed by personal enmity, prejudice or pecuniary motives.

The Industrial Workers of the World is the dominant economic organization of the working class in our city today. We have thirteen aggressive local unions, with a total of fifteen hundred and fifty members all working as a unit. We have a thoroughly equipped Industrial Council that maintains an elegant headquarters, with two halls and a reading-room fronting the most prominent business street of our city, at an expense of a thousand dollars a year.

Of the thirteen local unions that we have at the present time, eight of them held charters from international unions chartered by the American Federation of Labor previous to their affiliation with our organizations, two of them held charters from the Metal Polishers, Buffers and Platers, three from the International Association of Machinists, two from the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, and one from the International Brotherhood of Painters and Decorators. These eight unions have a total membership of eight hundred and sixty-four; the other five are newly organized and have a total membership of six hundred and eighty-nine; two of these are machinists' locals, one in the electrical industry and one in the locomotive industry. Those two locals have a total membership of four hundred and twenty; the majority of these also dropped the International Association of Machinists for the Industrial Workers of the World.

The transition still continues, and the only symptoms of perturbation now discerned is in the capitalist camp and a few small camps of our antediluvian minded brothers of the working class who yet believe that our interests and the interests of those in the capitalist camp are identical; that is, they believe that the more they prosper in the capitalist camp the more we prosper; or, in other words, when wages in order to add more to their own bulky bank accounts it also adds more to our bank accounts, or, to be still more distinct, they yet believe in American Federation of Labor economics.

During the earlier part of our campaign we had numerous humorous encounters with the elite of the American Federation of Labor, who swooped down upon our city from Washington and other places by the score, with the deliberate intention of smothering the baby to death in its cradle. We made them earn their money in this burg if they never earned it before, and they were mighty glad to skidoo to more congenial quarters. The last we heard of them was their reports in their respective journals, which of course were amusing to us Schenectadians who know the truth. Jocky Keegan, fifth vice-president of International Association of Machinists, and General Organizer Stuart Reid, of the American Federation of Labor, had the most sensational conglomeration of falsities. I cannot better describe them than did my wife when she read Stuart Reid's report in the March "American Federationist." She threw the book across the table to me and said, "My, what a mass of deliberate lies!"

The outrage against Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone has aroused a mighty bitter feeling in our city; men grind their teeth and curse that never were awakened before.

CHARLES W. MOONAN.
Schenectady, N. Y.

Vicissitudes of a "Fly Mug"

Some there are who are patiently waiting for the complete story as it's been told by Orchard, and edited by the noted and renowned destroyer of the "Molly Maguires." Especially since the workings of the "inner circle" of the Western Federation of Miners have kept the "Fly Mugs" and "Gum Shoe" artists in the dark these many years, and then only could the sleuths understand the violent nature of Moyer, Haywood, et al, when a confession was made to Orchard. The members of that "inner circle" are "terrible men," and McParland, along with the peace-loving, labor-becoming members of the Citizens' Alliance deserve great praise for dangling a rope under the noses of the leaders of the Western

Federation of Miners who are languishing in the confines of an Idaho bastille. It's not a question of how they got to Idaho. The question is, Can these men successfully refute the Christian story, told because he again loves his Jesus, by Orchard? Don't think they can convince any fair-minded men that Orchard, prompted by McParland, could lie, especially since he learned his Christian duties at his mother's knee when two years old.

But before Orchard's confession is made public property I deem it my duty to head him off and explain a number of things that the Mining Department of the Industrial Workers of the World officers are responsible for.

For some years potato raising has had a boom in Colorado. It was discovered that bigger and more luscious potatoes could be grown in and around Greeley, Colorado, than in Ireland. Now, the farmers need extra help when the "spuds" are harvested, and hundreds of hobos rush toward the spud country to pick up some "easy money," for all a man has to do is pick up the potatoes and place them in a basket, then dump them in a sack or sorting machine. Though your back gets sore, and the constant stooping condition of your body is dangerous to a person's health, nevertheless the out-of-work hobo, needing the money, gravitates toward Greeley to get a possible job. All would-be "spud glommers" coming from the South, or even "beet toppers," or those who are looking for work in the sugar-beet factories at Greeley, Windsor or Eaton, generally come over the Union Pacific Railroad. There is a junction about fifty miles north of Denver called La Salle. There are about fourteen houses near this junction and one little store. The steady touring of hobos prompted the villagers to elect a marshal. Among the other duties of this marshal was to keep the hobos moving. The bravest and leading citizen of La Salle was elected marshal. It chanced that this distinction fell on a man by the name of Gregory. This man is a brother to the "fly mug" who "worked up" a case against the Western Federation of Miners and later was found dead in an alley. Among the other things that Orchard has promised to clear up is the death of this man. It is possible that Gregory, having made a botch of his opportunity, was after a quarrel killed by another "fly mug." Now, when Mr. Gregory became marshal of La Salle he made it a point to get next to the different "crooks" who were wanted. He would study the pictures of the fugitives from justice, and in Sherlock Holmes style stare at the traveling hobos.

Of all the innocent beings under the sun the most harmless is a hobo. Why, it takes all the courage he can muster up to hit a back door and bum a hand-out. The "tourists" get quite hungry, and it's impossible to bum anything in a town like La Salle, so nothing was left but for these poor men to rustle cans and cook up some spuds. Quite often Marshal Gregory would come onto the irrigation ditch, and while the hobos were cooking their spuds he would use violent language and kick over the can in which the spuds were being cooked.

Early in October last three shives, or negroes, were going through La Salle. They were very hungry, and it's much harder for a negro to get a job or a hand-out than a white man. These "shives" rustled them some cans and spuds and were patiently waiting for them to cook. There were four white hobos lying near the coal chute waiting for a train. The spud season had not opened as yet, when along comes Marshal Gregory. Going first to where the white men were, he asked them where they were going and then ordered them to hike, which they gracefully and rapidly did, as they did not want to get arrested. Then Mr. Gregory goes over to the shiner and in a loud and threatening voice says: "You skunks want to clean out of here." One of the negroes says: "Yas, sah; we'll go as soon as we eat these yare spuds."

"You'll go now," and with that Mr. Gregory makes a kick at the can in which the spuds were cooking. Barely had Mr. Gregory's foot reached the can when he was grabbed by one of these hungry negroes and thrown, then the three negroes, taking him for a water tank or shed, started to carve their monograms on the body of this "bull." They cut him up fearfully, and then vamoosed. The alarm was sounded by some of the men who work in the coal chute, and Mr. Gregory, in an unconscious state, was taken to a doctor and then to a hospital. The reporters from Denver, upon hearing that a Gregory was nearly killed, wrote up columns of good copy on the Western Federation of Miners, claiming that Gregory was a marked man, marked by the "inner-circle," and the negroes were hired by the "inner circle" to do him up.

Later, when the negroes were caught and taken to Greeley, they pleaded guilty, and now perhaps it will be proved to us that the Moyer and Haywood outfit hired these negroes.

As to another thing, perhaps the notorious Jeff Carr, of Cheyenne, Wyoming, the famous fly mug, whose special delight is to connect his club with the head of a hobo, can step forth and prove that the "inner circle" of the Western Federation of Miners

is responsible for the trying ordeal he went through. One day, looking for a hobo to club, he was going through the yards, so the story goes, and it just chanced that some hobos saw him coming. Knowing that it was no use to run, they just tried to keep as quiet as possible. Now it was not enough to go through the yards. Mr. Carr had to poke his head into the empties, and when he came to the car in which our friends were, he just poked his head in, when lo, one of the men quickly pushed the side door to, catching Jeff Carr's head in the car. He started to squeal like a stuck pig, and then the hobos took certain liberties with Mr. Carr's face, and after punching it good, they left him with his head in the car, they escaping through an end door. Perhaps the "inner circle" of the Western Federation of Miners can explain this; if not, why not?

Lots of things will be straightened out as a result of the present situation. It's no use getting loud. Just let us prepare to act, and act intelligently. Let our enemies get frantic if they want to, but let us keep cool and spread the program of Industrial Unionism. It's not Moyer nor Haywood that are being attacked, but the industrial unionists. Put the wage slave next and he will be with us.

A Human Bloodhound

Some thirty years ago McParland made his first appearance in Pennsylvania under the assumed name of McKenna. A New York paper states the object of his mission thus: "He joined the Pinkerton force in 1872. When arrangements were made with that agency by F. B. Gowan, on behalf of the Pennsylvania & Reading Coal Co., to undermine the 'Molly Maguires,' McParland was selected as the operator." In this way he was launched upon his career of inciter. In the course of time McParland worked his way into the miners' union. A man of his moral makeup would have no hesitation in luring thoughtless young men into the commission of acts of violence. If the truth was known, it would be revealed that he, by his incitements, was morally, if not legally, guilty of the crimes for the detection of which he received blood money.

He participated in the leading of a mob against the West Shenandoah Colliery, where the secretary of the "Mollies" (McParland) was in danger of being shot down by inciter. In (Pinkerton's), some of whom he knew and the commander of whom knew him. Here we have Pinkerton's agent acting in the open. It is reasonable to suppose that long before he undertook to lead that mob he was engaged in egging on his dupes in order that he might have a chance to betray them. Six of his victims were hanged in Pottsville, four at Mauch Chunk and one in the Luzerne County prison yard.

THE KNIGHTS AND THE KING

The knights rode up with gifts for the King
and one was a jeweled sword,
And one was a suit of golden mail,
And one was a golden Word.
He buckled the shining armor on,
And he girt the sword at his side;
But he flung at his feet the golden Word,
And he trampled it in his pride.
The armor is pierced with many spears,
And the sword is breaking in twain;
But the Word hath risen in storm and fire,
To vanquish and to reign.

—William Watson.

A Reign of Freedom

O Freedom, we thank thee from the fullness of grateful hearts. Thou art pure and incorruptible. Thou lookest down with pity and compassion on the children of toil, bent with their burdens and weary with oppression. Thou biddest them to join hands and hearts, shake off their cruel fetters and rise to thy realms of peace and joy. We thank thee, above all, for thy supreme sense of justice in withholding thy favors from their masters and rulers, and rejecting with righteous scorn all special pleas for thy great boon, rebuking thus the soulless few who would, to free themselves, see all their brethren perish in slavery. We hear thy cheering voice and understand thy revolutionary mission. Thou art to us the noblest of ideals; and when trials and vexations multiply and clouds hang low, we find in thee unceasing solace and unflinching strength and inspiration. We know that when the hour strikes for thy reception; when class robs class no more; when humanity, slaviced and mastered, rises to its true dignity, then with thou come to earth to abide with the children of men in the Reign of Freedom forevermore.—EUGENE V. DEBS, in "The Culturist."

LABOR IS ENTITLED TO ALL IT PRODUCES

INDUSTRIAL WORKER

Advocate of Industrial Unionism for the Working Class

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

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JOLIET, APRIL, 1906.

Awaiting the Trial

It is hardly necessary for "The Industrial Worker" to follow the conspiracy against the Western Federation of Miners in all its details, since there is little to report before the actual trial begins, and this has now been set for May 15th, and such minor developments as are taking place find their way into the daily and weekly press. However, we are able to say that this journal will be represented at the trial by Bro. Frank Bohn, to whom credentials have been issued. The Industrial Workers of the World will be governed in its publication of reports from Brother Bohn by the exigencies of the case as the trial proceeds.

In the habeas corpus proceedings, Judge Beatty, of the Federal district court, denied the applications and refused to inquire into methods pursued in taking the prisoners into Idaho from Colorado, even refusing to admit that their presence in Idaho was brought about through unlawful methods. Exceptions were taken to the court's rulings, and ten days' time was given to prepare a bill of exceptions to the Supreme Court of the United States.

Vincent St. John had a preliminary hearing at Telluride March 21st, and two able attorneys from Denver were assigned to look after his interests.

St. John was held for trial without bail. The charge against him is conspiracy to murder. Application was subsequently made in the district court for bail and denied. During the preliminary hearing it was shown that St. John had personally intervened to protect non-union miners from abusive treatment at the Smuggler mine.

After the habeas corpus proceedings above referred to, the prisoners were ordered confined in separate cells, that is, to solitary confinement. Moyer's health had somewhat improved after his removal to Caldwell, so the authorities sent him back to the cold cell, where he had a severe attack of asthma. He is now confined in a cell

where the sun never shines. Dr. C. D. Spivak, of Denver, says: "To place Moyer in solitary confinement, in a cell where he gets no sunshine, is practically to sentence him to death." In the meantime, the authorities of Idaho are making loud protestations that the prisoners are being fairly treated and made as "comfortable as possible." There is no doubt, however, that there is a determination, if it can be done, to break down the health of the conspirators' victims, and in the case of Moyer they appear to be succeeding. It is our fervent hope that all of our comrades may be buoyed up and sustained by the moral support and strength of their increasing legion of friends, who hold them in highest regard as the innocent victims of a horde of venal and murderous scoundrels.

Gooding Discredited

The Chicago "Record-Herald" agrees with Governor Gooding, of Idaho, that the men under arrest, and now confined in various prisons of that state, are guilty of murder. Gooding first said it; he said it as governor of the state; that is, it was given out as an official condemnation of these men before they were brought to trial. He, as governor of the state, pre-judged the case and pronounced the men guilty of murder in spite of the fact that the law assumes a man to be innocent until he has been proven guilty. And because this governor, who is evidently totally unfit for the position he occupies, publicly discussed the case in advance of the trial and publicly declared them guilty, the Chicago "Record-Herald," just like a thousand other capitalist dailies in the country, parroted the scandalous conclusion, and, like a thousand other newspapers of its kind, does everything in its power to make a fair trial impossible and send our innocent comrades to the gallows.

Soon after this governor delivered his verdict he invited a committee of labor men from Butte to come and see him, and give him an opportunity to convince them that he was right, and that, therefore, the legal procedure was superfluous and a trial unnecessary.

One of the results of the trial should be to put this man Gooding where he properly belongs. He should be relegated to an odious private life and never more be heard from as a public official. He is thoroughly discredited, and so is every capitalist newspaper that has enlisted in the conspiracy to take the lives of Comrade Moyer and his associates in the toils of a gang of capitalist anarchists.

Editor Clark's Substitute

A copy of President Sherman's reply to the capmakers' union's circular, attacking the Industrial Workers of the World, was sent to "The Railway Conductor," Cedar Rapids, Iowa, of which E. E. Clark is editor, because the sensational document had been given in full in that publication. We have been favored with a reply, signed by C. D. Kellogg, associate editor. And such a reply as it is! Read it:

"Cedar Rapids, Ia., March 17, 1906.

"Your letter to Mr. E. E. Clark, editor 'The Railway Conductor,' has been relayed to me for answer by him, as I prepared the matter in question for publication.

"Owing to the fact that I had never seen, nor even known, of the existence of 'The Industrial Worker,' I fail to see how I could give our readers an opportunity to read your side of the controversy.

Thank you, Mr. Kellogg. Your obtuse-

ness in framing up an excuse to let the capmakers' falsehoods go unanswered is equal to your conception of the functions of an honorable editor. By the way, Mr. Kellogg, we wonder if you are aware of the existence of a gum-shoe campaign by E. E. Clark, your grand chief and Civic Federationist, to get himself appointed a member of the Interstate Commerce Commission at seven thousand plunks a year and expenses? You probably think, as the grand chief does, that he is eminently qualified as a corporation pleader for the position. Such arduous service as he has rendered attending corporation banquets to make "labor" speeches is entitled to reward. His appointment by Roosevelt will be a splendid recognition of the working class, won't it, Mr. Kellogg?

Well, we will put your letter in a frame, Mr. Kellogg, so that honest men-can laugh at it.

The "Social-Democratic Herald"

Readers of "The Industrial Worker" will recall the publication in our February issue of a statement by President Chas. O. Sherman relative to the "Capmakers' incident," and the attack of certain officials of the capmakers' union upon the Industrial Workers of the World. That statement was conclusive proof to all fair-minded men of the untrue and venomous character of the charges made against this organization. It demonstrated the absolute falsity of these charges, and has brought out no other response from Edlin, Zuckermann & Co. except that, replying to President Sherman's challenge to meet them in debate before the rank and file, they say that they are prepared for a debate "in Yiddish."

The attack upon us by the capmakers' officials was seized upon eagerly by the "Social-Democratic Herald" of Milwaukee, and printed in full in that paper. It was a "knock" for the Industrial Workers of the World, and for that reason commended itself at once to the editors, who have descended to the low level of publishing a paper "purposely for the propaganda" of slander. Any lie concerning the Industrial Workers of the World or the men connected with it has been sure of prompt reproduction in its columns. When the slanderous circular of the capmakers' union reached them, the editors, without the slightest attempt to verify the false and ridiculous charges, spread the edifying jargon before their readers.

In the hope that for "honor in the movement" the "Herald" would give its readers an opportunity to see our reply, it was mailed, with a letter, to Editor Heath. So far, at least seven weeks intervening, our statement has not appeared, no reference has been made to it, and Heath has not ventured to put himself on record, even to the extent of acknowledging our letter. We must, therefore, conclude that Heath and Berger, conscious of having contributed to a low, contemptible attack upon the Industrial Workers of the World, feared to print our refutation because of the possible effect it might have with the rank and file in Milwaukee in placing them where they belonged as traducers of a working-class movement opposed to the Belmontized American Federation of Labor. The exclusion of President Sherman's statement, dishonorable as it is, is not the only evidence of the "Herald's" frantic desire to keep the workers in Milwaukee ignorant of the Industrial Workers of the World. It has persistently and grossly misrepresented the organization. No falsehood invented to dis-

credit us has been too mean and dirty for admission to its columns.

To convince our readers that this is not said without regard to truth, that we are not trying to make out a case against the "Herald" regardless of facts, attention is directed to the following paragraph which appeared in the issue of that paper for March 17th:

An attempt of the Industrial Workers of the World fanatics to make an anarchist affair out of a proposed Moyer-Haywood indignation meeting in Chicago, with Lucy Parsons and other Industrial Workers of the World luminaries prominent, was frustrated by the Social-Democrats (sic), who took the work of arranging the meeting into their own hands. The meeting was entirely creditable and a big success. The socialists who spoke were Stedman, Simons, Breckon and others.

That brief paragraph contains just five unqualified falsehoods. It is not true that the Industrial Workers of the World sought to make an anarchist affair out of their meeting; it is not true that Mrs. Lucy Parsons participated in the meeting; it is not true that the really "big" and "creditable" meeting was frustrated by the "Social Democrats" (!); it is not true, as the "Herald" leads its readers to believe, that the Industrial Workers of the World and other working-class organizations associated failed to hold a meeting because the "Social Democrats" (!) "took the work of arranging into their own hands"; it is not true that Simons was one of the socialists who spoke at the meeting the "Herald" reports.

The report is an impudent and ludicrous farce, a paragraph packed with lies and reeking with spleen. Five lies in ten lines outdoes the Chicago "Chronicle" in its bald misstatements of the Industrial Workers of the World. And the "Herald" is edited by students of socialist ethics! The "Chronicle" ignorantly calls us "Reds." The "Herald" maliciously parrots the accusation. And the "Herald" is a "socialist" paper!

The same issue of the "Herald" that conveyed the scurvy untruths referred to had the report of a recent referendum vote in the Socialist Party on a proposed convention this year. The proposition was defeated. Commenting on the result the "Herald" says it is "certainly very gratifying," and for what reason, no man who does not see this unscrupulous "socialist" paper could imagine. The reason given is that "The Industrial Workers of the World-Social Labor Party Deleo-Debist conspirators get a turn-down!" We will cut out our criticisms of intellectual prostitution in the service of capitalist papers after that! It is enough to suffuse the cheek of every honest socialist in Milwaukee with shame. The man who wrote it is not a socialist. He is a literary scullion. The editor of this journal speaks from personal knowledge when he says that neither the Industrial Workers of the World nor the Socialist Labor Party had the slightest connection with the proposition for a convention of the Socialist Party this year. That move was originated last fall in the local headquarters of the Socialist Party in Chicago and by Socialist Party men. The Industrial Workers of the World has never even had any interest in the matter, one way or another; whether the convention was held or not never concerned the Industrial Workers of the World. Yet the "Herald" says "the Deleo-Debist conspirators got a turn-down!" "Conspirators!" That sounds well, doesn't it, coming from a "socialist" paper that supports a "socialist" candidate for mayor, who, in his public speeches, tells the people that "we socialists do not propose to disturb business interests, or do anything that will damage the rights of property holders!"

Again the stab at Debs is more contemptible than any attacks ever made upon him by a capitalist paper or any non-capitalist paper anywhere. Although they might differ with Debs in his advocacy of a new economic organization, common decency would have suggested to these ingrates of the "Herald" to refrain from maligning him. Debs has done more than any other man to make the "Herald"; he has contributed as much as any one man to build up the movement in Milwaukee—to the point where the "Social-Democratic" candidate for mayor has the nerve to say in a public meeting, "Why should I want to destroy the business interests and prosperity of the city, when I am a property holder myself?"—a climax in compromise for votes for which no one will attempt to hold Debs responsible. Debs was never known to make an abject plea for votes. That sort of thing in the socialist movement originated in Milwaukee. That the rank and file of that city endorse it we refuse to believe.

Furthermore, the "Herald," bent on demonstrating that there is no depth of journalistic infamy to which it will not descend, prints news items of Debs' socialist meetings and cuts his name out of the reports. It prints articles from his pen, without attaching his name, and credits them to "exchange." Thus the "Social-Democratic Herald" runs the gamut of journalistic infamy, and does it in the name of socialism, the higher ethics and the "coming civilization!"

We shall use all the means at our disposal to acquaint the rank and file in Milwaukee with the truth, which Berger and Heath have suppressed, and with the falsehoods which they have printed to deceive the "Herald" readers, and we predict that Milwaukee will be heard from for Industrial Unionism before the summer is ended.

When Johann Most died at Cincinnati, March 17, there passed away one of the most restless and courageous of men in the social and revolutionary turmoil of his generation; a man of strong convictions, with never a thought of compromise, but always displaying a firm adherence to his views against all sorts of odds, and in spite of frequent imprisonment. He suffered much injustice as a young man and this naturally embittered him and was reflected in all his career afterwards. But Most had admirable traits and was by no means the man he was popularly supposed to be, owing to the misrepresentations that were constantly made of him. He was undaunted by opposition of a kind that few could withstand, and those who vigorously combated his theories were frequently his warmest admirers.

Berger writes in the "Social-Democratic Herald" on the momentous question, "Who is Afraid of the Social-Democratic Victory in Milwaukee?" and he answers it himself by saying that neither workingmen nor small business men are afraid, and that big business men "have no reason to be"—because long after the downfall of capitalism there will be remnants of it remaining; therefore, nobody ought to be afraid.

This issue contains a large number of resolutions adopted by organizations on the Colorado-Idaho conspiracy, but only a portion of those received. We have found it impossible to print all, but without exception they are unanimous in denouncing the crime and pledging moral and financial support to the defense.

We ask all who receive sample copies of this journal to make each copy do the best service possible in disseminating a knowledge of the paper's existence and the principles it stands for among their friends. When the paper has been read by you hand it out to someone else, and don't forget to send in your subscription.

It has been found impracticable to tabulate the donations of individuals and organizations to the defense fund so that it could be printed in this number of "The Industrial Worker." The May number will contain the complete list.

MESSAGES FROM THE VICTIMS

The "Appeal to Reason" prints the following personal note to the editor from George H. Shoaf. It is quoted here because we believe our readers should know exactly how a man and a friend who is on the ground feels regarding the situation:

"These men are not going to get even a show for their lives. Attorney Richardson nearly as much as admitted that to me today. He is worried over the actions of the prosecution. Gooding, Smith and the attorneys act as though they didn't care what the people thought. Of course, Richardson will appeal to the Appellate Court in case of conviction, but what good will it do? The people are all right, but, damn it, the people are not the government. It looks to me like we might as well get ready to celebrate the martyrdom of Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone. If, during the trial, people get too clamorous, militia will be called in. Gooding said as much last night. I had a final talk with the doomed men just before they were separated; and the quotations below are the substance of what they said."

The quotations referred to are given below:

FROM WM. D. HAYWOOD.

"If it requires my life's blood to give impetus to the cause of socialism, I am ready and willing that it be shed. They may murder me by law, but there are a thousand Haywoods and Moyers in the Western Federation of Miners to take our places and push the work. The boys know I am innocent, my wife knows I am innocent, God knows I am innocent of the terrible charge, and that is enough. Please tell my wife to be brave; I will be with her soon."

FROM CHARLES H. MOYER.

"They can't make me suffer any more than I have already suffered. They can hound me all they want to, they can persecute me by day and by night, they can torture me till I die, but they can never say that Charlie Moyer renounced his principles or went back on the Western Federation of Miners."

FROM GEORGE A. PETTIBONE.

"Since they have dragged me into this trumped-up conspiracy charge I am willing to stay in jail a year, if necessary, until the truth is known. It is needless to declare my innocence. My family and my friends know that I am innocent of the infamous charge of conspiring to murder ex-Governor Steunenberg. I had nothing against him; why should I seek to take his life? Neither do I believe that Moyer nor Haywood had anything to do with the assassination. If they hang me they will hang an innocent man."

How They Missed Their Fun

Two American Federation of Labor business agents, while walking on the street the other day, suddenly spied an Industrial Worker of the World man.

"Here comes one of them Industrial Workers," said one to the other; "he has been fired from the works for agitating. Let's have some fun with him." So they approached the Industrial Worker of the World man, who happened to be an Irishman.

"Hello, looking for work?" inquired one of the business agents.

"Yes," replied the Industrialist, at the same time noticing that both of them wore large diamonds in their white shirt fronts, and thinking they were wealthy employers.

"But you're an Industrial Unionist, ain't you?" asked the other business agent.

"Shure, Oi am that."

"Well, now, you people are pretty good at figures; how many people are there here?"

At first this question puzzled the Industrial Worker of the World man, but quick as a flash he guessed the identity of the two men.

"Begorra, there's 100," he replied.

"How do you make that out?"

"Shure, I'm the 1 and ye are the two 00."

The first act of the Shoe Workers' local of Newark, N. J., after joining the Industrial Workers of the World was to start a subscription list for the Moyer-Haywood defense fund.

A very short editorial in our February issue, under the caption, "Has No Political Tests," in which we took the ground that the Industrial Workers of the World imposes no political test for membership, and which position we still maintain, has called out an unnecessarily long communication, which our readers will find in the correspondence column, from Brother Stromquist. It is not our intention to make any extended reply. The essential difference between the editor and Brother Stromquist is that he is contending for the Socialist Labor Party as the political reflex of the Industrial Workers of the World, while the editor contends that the Industrial Workers of the World is the economic basis for a true political working-class movement; that out of the economic will ultimately arise the political organization. The economic organization being sound in its fundamentals will bring into existence the political working-class organization that will be equally sound and effective in its methods. Not when the Industrial Workers of the World is only nine months young can it be said to have found its political reflex in any party extant; that is something that is in the generative stage. The economic organization being perfect in all its parts, there will spring from it, in due time, the united political movement. The work that lies nearest our hands is the building up of the healthy economic organization. With that assured, the rest is easy.

Gompers is huffed. Gompers is humiliated. Whereas he had expected to meet with the deferential consideration due the president of the Belmontized Federation of Labor and vice-president of the Civic Vendors of Labor Narcotics, his esteemed friend, the President, has ruthlessly turned down every proposition of the American Federation of Labor, and bluntly told the executive council at the head of which Gompers shines resplendent, that so far as he is concerned the producers of the country will get exactly the same treatment as the robbers. Whereat Gompers and his galaxy of brilliant "labor leaders" slunk away, sorely disappointed and aggrieved. A day or two afterwards, having partially recovered from the shock, Gompers and his "cabinet" gave it out that unless they get what they want "they will go into politics!" Dreadful thought! As if any of them had ever been out of politics. The probable result will be a new lot of labor "leaders" sacrificing themselves on the altar of patriotism by accepting democratic nominations for all sorts of political jobs. Incidentally, it may be remarked, Roosevelt once more showed that he is not as big a man as Lincoln.

"Labor," a paper published in St. Louis, and a strong supporter of capitalist trades unionism, is growing hysterical over the growth of the Industrial Workers of the World. One of its editors is making the utterly ridiculous statement that the Industrial Workers of the World has less than 10,000 members, and says he can prove it. With the "Social-Democratic Herald" declaring we have nothing and "Labor" giving us 10,000, we are wondering what the malicious fabricators won't do next.

With the announcement that the miners and mine owners had failed to come to an agreement, and the strike thus made inevitable, the railroads began to seize coal in transit. Confiscation was immediately resorted to and the organized robbers, who cry out against any sort of interference with their property rights, ignored the property rights of others, as is their custom, by appropriating the coal found in transit on their own lines.

The "Clarion-Advocate" of Denver, says the "present menace to unionism is the Industrial Workers of the World." It wants to preserve a unionism that separates one set of workers from another; in other words, it wants the workers organized against themselves. To such unionism the Industrial Workers of the World is, of course, a present menace. Standing for unity of the workers in the economic field, it is a growing menace, and the "Clarion-Advocate" seems to be aware of it.

The executive council of the American Federation of Labor having made the "discovery" that the party in power "is antagonistic to the interests of labor," will now proceed to dicker with another party that they think is not in power—the party led by Gorman of Maryland and Aldrich of Rhode Island.

Bro. S. Bassett writes from Georgia that he has been expelled from Local 553, International Association of Machinists, for being a member of the Industrial Workers of the World. He has notified his former associates that he considers it an honor to belong to a real working-class organization and will continue his work for Industrial Unionism.

PRESS COMMENT ON CONSPIRACY

"United Mine Workers' Journal."

Another of those outrages upon the forms of law and the rights supposed to be guaranteed to every American citizen was perpetrated upon the officials of the Western Federation of Miners by the authorities of Colorado and Idaho. If those authorities had sufficient grounds to justify the arrest of Messrs. Haywood, Moyer and Pettibone, there is an orderly and legal process for their arrest and indictment. This was not done. They were virtually kidnaped from Colorado, and deprived of their legal rights and subjected to outrageous treatment.

The Journal does not hesitate to say that, innocent or guilty, these men will be convicted. It believes them innocent, but belief will not suffice against suborned and perjured testimony.

The Cleveland "Citizen."

We may be accused of using extravagant language, of being extremely partisan, in considering the Western crisis in the class struggle. But any fair-minded citizen has but to refer to the volumes of historical facts that have been published in recent years regarding the colossal land steals, the transcontinental railway robberies, the silver and copper wars, and scores of other stock jobberies and graft games that have resulted in enriching a few hundred individuals and beggaring great masses of working people. And in this generation or two of exploitation every crime in the calendar has been committed by those who have profited most.

There is only one power in the West that menaces the march of conquest of the embridged plutocracy, and that power is organized labor. Hence, the trades unions must be crushed, no matter what the means or cost. Having been defeated in lockouts and strikes, the plutocrats and their unions are now resorting to more surreptitious and devilish methods. On the witness stand admissions have been wrung from the hirelings of the mine-owners upon more than one occasion that they themselves had committed crimes for the purpose of foisting them upon union men. Plots and traps have been exposed upon numerous occasions, and "confessions" that have been proclaimed to the world by the literary prostitutes in the employ of the plutocrats as being in existence have always melted like the traditional snowball in hell when subjected to the penetrating rays of truth.

"Union Sentinel," Reading, Pa.

In the case of the most ordinary criminals the governor is in duty bound to spend some time in investigation. But Moyer and Haywood are not ordinary criminals. They have committed the unpardonable crime of organizing and leading a labor union which the capitalists can't humbug, whose leaders they can't buy, and which up to the present time they have not been able to lick.

The capitalists evidently imagine that Moyer and Haywood are the Western Federation, and that if they can get them out of the road they have the union disrupted; but in this they are mistaken. Good men and true they are, but the Western Federation is bigger than they, and though they do hang them, the Western Federation will yet live and stay at the forefront of the union labor forces of the world.

Oakland (Cal.) Branch, S. P.

Comrades and Fellow Workers: Once more the capitalist class has shown its contempt and anarchistic disregard for its own constitutional law and vaunted principles of "fair play" and a "square deal" in the class war taking place in this country, by committing an act of brigandage unequalled in the history of any country outside of Russia.

The abduction of the president and secretary of the Western Federation of Miners by the hirelings and henchmen of capitalism was an act unnecessary and unwarranted; were these men simply wanted as conspirators and accessories to an act of murder? Such being the case, there can be no right and just interpretation of such actions, other than that the organization which these men represent is a menace to the further and complete exploitation of labor by the capitalist class and as such must be exterminated at any cost and by any means.

Therefore, be it resolved, By Branch Oakland of the Socialist Party, that we condemn such

proceedings by the mine owners and their official representatives as a blow at the rights and privileges of the working class and call upon all workers to do all in their power to denounce these actions and to aid and assist the working class of Colorado in their struggle to preserve their organization and uphold their rights.

"The Liberator," Chicago.

The conspiracy entered into by the Mine Owners' Association of the states of Colorado and Idaho, acting through their tools, the governors of the above-named states in kidnaping Charles H. Moyer, William D. Haywood and Pettibone, and spiriting them out of the state of Colorado when the shadows of night had fallen, when no one might witness the conspiracy save the armed conspirators, savors so much of deeds of "dark ages," long, long gone by, that one in reading in this twentieth century is forced to tap one's self, so to speak, to make sure that they are not dreaming! What, pray, in the face of such an infamy becomes of the boasted rights of American citizens under its constitution? If such an outrage had been perpetrated in a foreign country the American navy would have been set in motion, and diplomatic relations would have been "strained"; "Teddy" would be talking loudly about the "rights" of American citizens. But how different all this is when the rights of the American citizen are ruthlessly set aside by the czars of his own country, if he happens to belong to the working class!

"Appeal to Reason."

With all the legal machinery in their hands, backed by judges, courts, governors, legislators and county and city officials, the mine owners were unable to convict a single member of the Western Federation of any crime, nor make good in the slightest degree any of the charges which they trumped up against these men of Colorado, who are fighting your battles, and my battles, and the battles of every man who works with hands or brain for wages in this land!

And now comes the climax to the long train of legalized crime. Men as innocent as you of this crime are torn from their families in the dead hour of night and spirited away, without the preliminary hearing which the law guarantees every man, to another state—a state whose officers are even more abjectly under the control of the corporations than Colorado. Perjured witnesses are ready to swear away the lives of these men, whose only crime is that they are at the head of a great industrial movement which aims to give the working class liberty and freedom!

"Braer-Zeitung," Cincinnati.

The whole affair, the charges, the gathering of evidence, the character of the so-called witnesses reminds one strongly of the Chicago judicial crime of 1886-87. No doubt the capitalist class is looking for another wholesale murder.

"The Labor World," Duluth.

No more damnable conspiracy of concentrated wealth was ever hatched than the last three years of desperate determination on the part of millionaire capitalists exploiters of Colorado to break up the Western Federation of Miners and for what motive? The answer is "profit." William Haywood, the secretary-treasurer of the Western Federation, has met them step by step, and with all odds in their favor, he has checkmated their every move. They revile, they despise, they hate him and yet they fear him. There is no step, no resort, too devilish or criminal they would not take to get rid of him forever, and this, their latest move, is merely part of a preconceived plan to that end.

"Common Sense," Los Angeles.

Those who have followed the history of the labor war in Colorado and know of the dastardly plots the capitalists have carried out by the use of hireling thugs and then laid at the door of the outraged miners, feel certain enough that even with free use of Pinkerton detectives and other hired perjurers the mine-owners and Citizens' Alliance will have a hard case to prove against men of such proved worth and honor as Moyer, Haywood and their associates.

If the capitalists convict them of this murder without giving them a fair trial, they will pull down an avalanche about their heads that will bid fair to throw this country into an armed-revolution. They had best first pause and consider.

"The Montana News."

The industrial union is a class-conscious organization of the workers to obtain full possession of the industries and emancipate themselves from capitalism.

This, then, is the secret of the plot to destroy the Industrial Workers by destroying the Federation of Miners, which is the backbone of that organization.

The conduct of those who have the prisoners in charge is evidence of the lawless nature of the legal assassins. The prisoners are kept in solitary confinement, and, according to a press dispatch of February 28th, the accused are allowed to write only one letter a day, which is censored by the warden, and when Moyer asked permission to write one business letter and one to his wife it was denied him. He was compelled to choose between them.

Fred Muller, attorney for Orchard, was not allowed to consult his client. No reason was given for the refusal, but it was believed that Orchard might be induced to retract his confession.

California State Committee, S. P.

Will Moyer, and Haywood be convicted and hanged? The capitalists are capable of doing so, if they dare. And they will dare to if the workmen of this country do not register such emphatic protest as will deter the brutal hirelings of the law from doing the bidding of their masters. Such things have been done before. In Chicago, twenty years ago, innocent men were convicted and hanged. Others were sentenced to the penitentiary. Years afterward, the governor of Illinois pardoned those still in prison, and in reviewing the case pointed out the most flagrant abuse of power by the judge and jury. The perversion of justice was open and positive. It was clearly shown that the men were "legally" murdered and imprisoned. At least two of the jurymen have since died in insane asylums, hounded to lunacy and death by their pursuing consciences for voting innocent men to death.

What happened then will happen now if it is not prevented by organized protest. We therefore call upon all workmen, through whatever organization they belong to, at once to serve notice upon the capitalist class that this thing shall not be done.

"Labor News," Colorado Springs, Col.

It is not a question of the personality of Moyer and Haywood. It is one that affects the life and liberty of every citizen of Colorado who refuses to become the serf of the corporations. Let us say to them as a body that if they continue to defy all the laws of the land we will be compelled to resort to the law of self-preservation. And in the event of their failing to heed the warning, on their heads be the consequences. Their tyranny has about reached the limit of human endurance. The manhood of this state is on trial before the country. Let no one who lives his kind shirk his duty. There is work for all, and unless all work to defeat these murderous conspirators, Russia will be a paradise compared to Colorado.

The following resolutions were adopted at a mass meeting of workmen and citizens, held in the hall of Industrial Union No. 182, of Colorado City, the members of the Colorado Springs local of the Industrial Workers of the World also participating. The hall was crowded with those desirous of giving expression to their indignation, but several members of the Citizens' Alliance managed to edge their way in, including three spotters of the Mine Owners' Association, one of them being adorned with a huge gun. The names of many were taken by these "gentlemen" (?) for the benefit of their masters, but no heads be the consequences by that. Addresses were delivered by Comrades Woodside, Schlessinger and Darrall. A collection was taken up, and subscription papers are being circulated, the result of which will be to add a substantial sum to the defense fund of the comrades marked for martyrdom.

Whereas, We recognize that an irrepressible conflict rages between the capitalist class and the working class, its path at all times strewn with tragedies such as Russia has witnessed of late; such as the Paris Commune witnessed in 1871; such as Chicago witnessed in 1887; such as Criville Creek experienced only a year ago, and,

Whereas, We recognize that this struggle has been contested most heroically for the past sixteen years by the miners, organized against mine owners, in the Rocky Mountain states, where the employers have persecuted without any sense of restraint their war of extermination against organized labor, but where, even with all the horrors they have committed, up to the end of their Colorado outrages, they have been baffled by failure

to crush the rising revolutionary spirit of the miners; and,

Whereas, Frank Steunenberg, ex-governor of Idaho, has been assassinated by the explosion of a bomb on December 30, 1905; and,

Whereas, News now comes portending judicial murder; the mine owners' and other capitalistic organizations, in their complete control of the state governments throughout the Rocky Mountain region, without attempt at justice, without compliance with law, but hoping now and by this means to crush the Western Federation of Miners and the Industrial Workers of the World, threaten to hold the miners' union responsible for the assassination of Steunenberg, and threaten to hang Charles H. Moyer, William D. Haywood, G. E. Pettibone, and as many more as are necessary to intimidate the working class and to destroy their organizations; and,

Whereas, It is known to all men that these parties were not fugitives from justice, yet, nevertheless, they were arrested and officially kidnapped from this state by night, during the absence of the governor, and while courts were closed, and while the exercise of the right of hearing was impossible, and unbeknown to their families and closest friends; and,

Whereas, By the swift, stealthy and unlawful methods, the state officers co-operating, and with the murderous determination we know to be behind the Mine Owners' Association, the Citizens' Alliance and other capitalistic organizations, we are warned, the capitalist press of the entire country having already begun to prepare the public mind for the judicial crime; therefore, be it

Resolved, That we, the laboring men of Colorado City and Colorado Springs, in mass meeting assembled, pledge all our power to prevent the culmination of this crime. We call upon workmen to contribute financially to the fullest extent of their ability to a fund for the defense of these persecuted men, and to use every opportunity to awake their fellow-workers to this heinous outrage against the laboring class and humanity, contemplated by the capitalists of the West.

German Engineers' Union 110, Industrial Workers of the World, New York City, adopted the following resolutions unanimously:

Whereas, The organized Western mine owners, including the Standard Oil Co., caused the illegal arrest through their tools, the governors of the states of Idaho and Colorado, of the officers of the Western Federation of Miners—Charles Moyer, William D. Haywood and G. A. Pettibone—and are intent upon taking these men to the gallows; and

Whereas, There is against Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone only the fabricated testimony of police creatures, and the only real cause of their persecution is the sturdiness of their labor leadership; and

Whereas, All the measures taken against Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone have for their purpose only the destruction of the Western Federation of Miners; therefore, be it

Resolved, That we, the members of the German Engineers of the city of New York, Local 110, of the Industrial Workers of the World, do hereby raise our determined protest against the lawless action of the aforementioned Idaho and Colorado officials, and do hereby pledge ourselves to sustain with all our power and means our brothers now pining in an Idaho prison, and we do so upon the principle that a wrong done to any one of our brothers is a wrong done to the whole working class. We therefore call upon the whole working class to join in a mammoth protest demonstration, and, as the second step recommended to the workmen the organizing of a general strike, in order thereby to prevent our brothers in the West from becoming the victims of judicial murder; and, be it further

Resolved, That the secretary be instructed to send a copy of the above resolutions to all German newspapers in the city of New York for publication, and also to the families of the prisoners as an expression of our sympathy.

The following resolutions were adopted by the United Labor League, Sharon, Pa., March 16th:

Whereas, Chas. H. Moyer, Wm. D. Haywood and G. A. Pettibone, of the Western Federation of Miners, have been seized in the "dead of the night" and secretly conveyed to another state upon a specious charge, and

Whereas, The illegal methods employed to remove these victims of the Mine Owners' Association from the state of Colorado to the state of Idaho, the blood-thirsty degenerates concerned in this diabolical plot, and the circumstances surrounding the case, unmistakably evince a foul conspiracy to murder these heroic labor leaders who have scorned the bribes, blandishments and threats of the rapacious labor plunderers, preferring a clear conscience to membership in the Civic Federation and vile associations, and

Whereas, We recognize in the attempt to murder Chas. H. Moyer, Wm. D. Haywood and their associ-

ates the purpose of the organized wealth to deal in like manner with every honest representative of organized labor that cannot be bought, cajoled or bulldozed, and

Whereas, We fully appreciate the dire consequence of a failure to frustrate every act of this character. Therefore be it

Resolved, That we denounce this atrocious attempt to hang innocent men, whose only crime is a refusal to emulate the example of the so-called safe and conservative labor leaders who are lauded by a venal press; and that we pledge our moral and material support to the victims of this dastardly onslaught on organized labor, and be it further

Resolved, That we lend these martyrs to the cause of labor every assistance and stand ready to do anything and everything in our power to prevent the execution of this capitalistic conspiracy.

J. A. STURGIS, President,
CHAS. KING, Secretary.

Resolutions passed by Local Union No. 2, Newark, N. J.:

Whereas, Charles Moyer, William D. Haywood, G. A. Pettibone, Vincent St. John and others of the Western Federation of Miners have by their past conduct demonstrated that they are faithful officers of their organization, and have thereby incurred the hatred of the capitalist press and the capital class; and,

Whereas, It is self-evident that a conspiracy exists between the capitalist mine owners and officials of the states of Colorado and Idaho to imprison and, if possible, murder these class-conscious representatives of the working class; and,

Whereas, The action of the said officials and mine owners of the states of Colorado and Idaho is plainly illegal and unconstitutional, and plainly in accord with their military representative, General Sherman Bell, who during the recent Colorado troubles said, "To hell with the Constitution;" therefore be it

Resolved, By Brewers' Union No. 2, of Newark, N. J., in general meeting assembled, that we unqualifiedly condemn all the officers of the states of Colorado and Idaho, who at the beck and call of the capitalist mine owners and corporations of those states, have assisted in the illegal imprisonment of our comrades; and be it further

Resolved, That we pledge our moral and financial support to the Western Federation of Miners in their attempt to liberate their officers, and that we participate as a body in any and all demonstrations against this outrage, and call upon all other local unions to do likewise.

A. J. KUGLER, Secretary.

Resolutions passed by mass-meeting of wage workers in Huntington, Ark., Wednesday night, March 7, 1906:

Whereas, President Moyer, Secretary Haywood and C. A. Pettibone, a former member of the executive board of the Western Federation of Miners, the Mining Department of the Industrial Workers of the World, have been kidnapped by the capitalist officials of the states of Colorado and Idaho, whom we denounce as the hirelings of the Mine Owners' Association and the Citizens' Alliance, and taken from their homes in the state of Colorado, and are now incarcerated in the state penitentiary of Idaho upon a trumped-up charge of murdering ex-Governor Steunenberg, and

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

Therefore, be it resolved by the wage-workers of Huntington, Arkansas, in mass-meeting assembled, that we denounce this crime of the capitalist class and warn its foul perpetrators that the working class can be provoked beyond endurance; and

Be it Resolved, That we extend to our incarcerated brothers our fraternal sympathy, assuring them that an injury to them is an injury to us, and

Be it Further Resolved, That the members of the various unions of the town of Huntington attending this meeting pledge themselves to secure an appropriation from their treasuries to assist in the creation of a fund for the defense of our imprisoned comrades, and that a committee be selected to circulate a subscription for the same purpose.

At this meeting, held under the auspices of the Industrial Workers of the World, the Socialist Party and the United Mine Workers of America, the sum of \$94.30 was raised for the defense fund.

Resolutions adopted by Silverton (Col.) Miners' Union:

Since Moyer, Haywood and St. John, and other members of the Western Federation of Miners, have again been attacked by one of the most powerful and dangerous combinations of conspirators that has ever been organized in the history of the world.

Powerful, because they are backed by capital, willing to spend hundreds of thousands of dollars if by so doing they can weaken our industrial organization.

Dangerous, because they have among their tools some of the worst criminals of the age. Many of our membership have suffered from their cowardly assaults. Some have seen their homes invaded and broken up. Many have been robbed, beaten and deported in the most cowardly manner, for among their tools are such degenerates as Walt Kinley and Warford, now in penitentiaries; and Meldrum and Buckley Wells, who still remain unjailed and unchanged to further exercise their instinct for cruelty.

We know that through all these cowardly persecutions, that many of our brothers have been saved from that dark despair that gives birth to a spirit of revenge by the constant advice and teachings of those peerless students of social economy—Moyer, Haywood and St. John—whom many of us personally know, and whose examples have taught us to suffer indignities and let our tormentors go unpunished.

Men who have helped in teaching us that the abolition of the wage system and the democratic management of our own affairs, could only be accomplished by thorough organization of all the workers in the industrial field, for the administration of industry.

Organization was to always be our first consideration. Brains, not dynamite, the means. So we have learned hope, not despair.

It is compatible with the cunning and ingenuity of these conspirators that they now arrest these men and others of our fellow workers for conspiracy to commit crimes which they have endeavored to make impossible.

So, believing that as long as this band of conspirators, parading as law and order advocates, are left to continue their nefarious work no member of the Western Federation of Miners is safe from attack.

Be it Resolved, That Silvertown Local Union No. 26, Western Federation of Miners, pledge fifty thousand dollars (\$50,000) in money and their will, and whatever more money that can be raised by individual subscription in defense of those that are now being persecuted by these conspirators.

And Be it Further Resolved, That we leave no stone unturned to expose this gang of traitors and anarchists, so that their power for evil cease and justice will prevail.

And Be it Further Resolved, That we not only give all the financial support in our power, but our moral support as well, renewing our pledge to continue mindful, throughout all these cowardly attacks, of the goal we are striving for—the common ownership of the machinery of production by the workers so industrially organized as to democratically manage the same.

And Be it Further Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be given to the press, and a copy be sent to our brothers in Idaho, who are now held victims of these conspirators.

Washington, D. C., March 18, 1906.—A very successful meeting in commemoration of the Paris Commune, and in particular to protest against the high-handed and outrageous attempt to railroad President Moyer, Secretary Haywood and fellow-officers of the Western Federation of Miners to the penitentiary or to the gallows, was held here this afternoon. The meeting was under the joint auspices of Local Washington, D. C., Socialist Party, Ladies Tailors' Union No. 234, Industrial Workers of the World, Mixed Local No. 208, Industrial Workers of the World, Workmen's Sick and Death Benefit Branch No. 183, Section Washington Socialist Labor Party, Washington Branch Italian Socialist Federation, and Workmen's Circle Branch No. 92. About 350 were present. Somewhat over \$20 was collected to be sent to the defense fund, the expenses of the meeting being borne by the joint organization committee. The following resolutions were adopted:

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

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

Resolved, That this mass-meeting of the working class of Washington, D. C., extends sympathy to the men under arrest, and pledges to them moral and financial support; and that a copy of these resolutions be sent to Messrs. Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone, and to the governors of Colorado and Idaho.

H. L. RENNERT, Secretary.

CORRESPONDENCE

A MISTAKEN CRITIC

To "The Industrial Worker":

Under the heading "Has No Political Tests," appears in the February number of "The Industrial Worker" the following editorial:

"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 and 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 party, but an economic organization. It has no political tests for membership. No member has a right to attempt to impose any. All such attempts can only prove obstructions to the uniting of the working class who approves the industrial form of organization and consents thereto by the constitution of the Industrial Workers of the World is eligible to membership, regardless of what his political ideas are today. On looking over the facts in the case I am forced to the conclusion that by the 'industrial unionist,' who is also a member of 'some other organization,' is meant none other than the industrial unionist who is logical enough to round out his endeavor for class-conscious working-class action on the economic field via the Industrial Workers of the World, by an endeavor for class-conscious working-class action on the political field also, via the Socialist Labor Party, which is, at the present moment, the only true political reflex of the industrial Workers of the World. I think I must be right in my surmise that it is the Socialist Labor Party man in the Industrial Workers of the World who must be meant, because the Socialist Party, to which I am rightly informed, our editor, Brother Edwards, himself belongs, can hardly be the organization indicated; it being a well-known fact that the organization, as a party, has all along attempted to—rather, affected to—maintain an attitude of 'neutrality' as between the Industrial Workers of the World and the pure-and-simple unions; that is to say, where it has not openly opposed us; while the majority of its (?) organs have been, and still are, busy slandering, ridiculing and lying about us and acting as gofers for the A. F. of W. As a shining example of this I refer only to that great (?) Socialist Party light, Victor Berger, of the Milwaukee (Wis.) Social Democratic Herald, who, in a recent article containing a flagrant libel against the Moyer-Haywood demonstration in Chicago, calls us 'Deleedebist Industrial Workers of the World fanatics.' Then there are the New York 'Volkszeitung' and 'Workers' with others that may be easily called to mind. This, together with Brother Edwards' own affidavit therewith, ought to be fairly reliable evidence that his dictum against the politically active members of the Industrial Workers of the World is not directed against the Socialist Party, and, as I have not heard of any capitalist party organs having either hindered us or our locals as yet, there remains but the Socialist Labor Party.

This point being settled (and all this inductive reasoning could have been avoided had Brother Edwards been straightforward enough to say what he meant, let us inquire into the justice of the allegation itself. As to that, I firmly maintain that it is entirely unfounded. If not, I challenge Brother Edwards to prove not only how, but where, the Socialist Labor Party members, who may predominate in some few Industrial Workers of the World locals, have ever made a bid in the principles of the Socialist Labor Party any test for admission in a local of the Industrial Workers of the World. I seriously doubt that such proof can be furnished, and cannot think that Brother Edwards means to so far exceed his authority as to try to prevent those of us who are also members of the Socialist Labor Party from advocating the principles of that organization among our fellow members of the Industrial Workers of the World. I know of no rule or authority recognized by the Industrial Workers of the World which could sustain him in such a course, and if he persists in it, it will look very much as if he did so in order to favor the political organization of which he is, himself, a member. In his own words, I can but remark that: "the best interests of the Industrial Workers of the World are not served by such tactics, and they can only prove obstructions to the unity of the working class." Surely the brother does not dream of converting the Industrial Workers of the World into a pure-and-simple counterpart of the Gompers unions; surely he will not counsel us to form any other political weapon, the value of which, though secondary to and dependent upon the economic organization that yields the working-class economic movement which neglects to support its counterpart on the political field (i. e., in countries like this—where universal suffrage prevails), thereby severely handicaps, if it does not entirely incapacitate, itself. This much being admitted, it must assuredly be the privilege—nay, duty—of the members of the Industrial Workers of the World, to support the political party which fulfills the requirements in the case and, in my humble opinion, the Socialist Labor Party is the only such party at present in existence, and no dictum of Brother Edwards will restrain me or any of my comrades, from pointing out the fact to our fellow members in the Industrial Workers of the World as it is our right, no less than our duty, to do.

The Socialist Labor Party has proved itself to be such an organization, having contended for years past for an economic organization on Industrial Workers of the World lines, and when the Industrial Workers of the World was finally launched, the men of the Socialist Labor Party almost without exception, threw themselves into the fray body and soul, and I may claim, without bragging, that to them is largely due the success and rapid growth of the Industrial Workers of the World since that time, and of this fact, I venture to think, Brother Edwards is not altogether ignorant. The Socialist Party, on the contrary, (though with a number of local exceptions, where its adherents) has resisted the Industrial Workers of the World ever since its inception, and can in no way claim to be any political reflex. Under the circumstances I think Brother Edwards' strictures on the men of the Socialist Labor Party are both inconsiderate and unjust; and if he has the cause of working-class unity at heart, and is not one of the class of "Deleedebists" who, unfortunately, are so numerous in his party, I believe he will reconsider his position and recognize that his editorial above referred to is libelous, unjust and a horrible example of "how not to do it."

Though this communication has "spun out" longer than I intended it should, I trust it will be found important

enough to merit insertion in "The Industrial Worker," and thanking you in anticipation, beg to subscribe myself,

Yours for working-class unity,

J. A. STROMQUIST,

Member Mining Department, I. W. W. and S. L. P.,
Albuquerque, N. M., March 23, 1906.

Proletarian Statistics

Editor "The Industrial Worker":

It is well known that capitalist statistics, especially in regard to the labor cost of commodities, are misleading and incomplete. Yet with all their faults they have been of great value to the revolutionary propaganda. This alone would be sufficient to impress on the minds of industrial workers that accurate statistics are desirable, but as we are striving to establish a society in which the reward of labor and the distribution of labor will be determined by the amount of labor required in the production of commodities, it seems to me that reliable statistics will be absolutely necessary. It is evident that the capitalist class will not willingly help us in this matter; therefore it is up to us to accumulate and classify our own statistics and to verify and correct such capitalist statistics as may be of service to us.

For these reasons I would recommend that the statistics be taken up at our next convention and a system devised whereby the process of production may be followed from the raw material to the finished product in order to ascertain the labor required in each stage of production as well as the total labor-time crystallized in the marketable commodity. This the Industrial Workers of the World will have every right to do. What we need for this purpose is systematic reports from members who are employed in shops, factories, mills and mines, stating the quantity of raw material, a given amount of social labor and the total output for a given length of time. We should probably also need a committee to classify these reports.

The objection has been made that this proposition is premature and that it should be postponed to some indefinite future time.

The power of the workers is increasing; the power of the capitalist is decreasing. Some time in the future the powers of these two classes will be about even. We may take it for granted that as this time grows nearer the struggle will spring up in ever-increasing numbers and will demand immediate decision; we will therefore have less time and have more time to discuss this matter now than we will have later on.

Two questions remain: Can we rely on capitalist statistics? The socialist will reply in the negative. Can we manage the industries of the country without accurate statistics? The answer is, of course, no. The success of the individual producer depends on his knowledge on these subjects.

These will be the principal factors of future industry, but they don't enter as direct factors of capitalist production. The factors of capitalist production are, the price of raw material, the price of labor and the price of the finished product. The success of the individual producer depends on his knowledge on these subjects.

I don't think so. B. E. NILSSON.

The Union Label

The members of every union as a majority are honest laborers with honest aims; otherwise they would not pay their dues there and would take no active part and since they do it is proof that they are fair in their hope to maintain an organization with which they may be able to improve their condition, and no doubt they would succeed where they fail. Their capitalist labor leaders who exploit the unions for their own private advantage. The workers are bought and sold, destitute of any say regarding themselves.

For example, take the boot and shoe workers' union, Gompers' private property, with Tobin's shoe workers' union has a label which differs a trifle from the trading stamp that is dealt out by many store keepers. When Tobin comes to a manufacturer he puts this sort of a plan before him: "I will make a contract with you, that for three years your workmen will have to work under the same scale of wages as at present, but about the work at its own expense." Thus did Tobin do in 1903, when his union went on strike in Lynn, Mass. For the same reason he offers the label and gives the manufacturer to understand that as the American Federation of Labor is an enormous body and it will be announced in all the unions to buy no other but union-made shoes, thereby the union manufacturer will have occasion to sell much more goods because of the label, while at the same time the producing of shoes will be cheap during the three years of agreement, and all Tobin requests for this is that the manufacturer should pledge himself to employ only such as pay 28 cents a week in his union.

The trading-stamp is also but a scheme whereby a certain company sells the stamps to store keepers, promising to advertise these same stores therefor. But the gist of the matter is that the customer who gathers trading-stamps gains as much for his pains as the laborer for paying dues in a pure-and-simple trades union, and here is where a line of distinction cannot be drawn. The trading-stamp company tries to drag the wool over the eyes and lead astray its customers, and the union label company does that to the workers.

If anyone desires to contradict the above statement he is welcome to make the attempt. H. M. MILLER.

British Columbia Protest

Editor "The Industrial Worker":

At our last regular business meeting of Local 807, of the Wood, Wire and Metal Lathers' Union, of Vancouver, B. C., Canada, the following resolution was ordered sent to "The Industrial Worker" for publication:

Whereas, Charles H. Moyer, president, and Wm. D. Haywood, secretary, of the Western Federation of Miners, and Pettibone were arrested on a trumped-up charge and railroaded out of the state of Colorado into the state of Idaho without opportunity to fight the extradition, thereby being deprived of their constitutional rights as citizens of the United States; and

Whereas, We see in this contemptible act a new plot to disrupt the Western Federation of Miners and trade unionism in general; and

Whereas, In order to crush the aspirations of our class, the mining industry has used every method available to shape public opinion against organized labor and the working class in general; therefore be it,

Resolved, That Local 807 of the Wood, Wire and Metal Lathers condemns the actions of the authorities of the two named states in arresting the officers of the Western Federation of Miners, extends its sympathies to the victims of capitalist oppression, gives them its moral and financial support and calls upon the whole working class to protest, as a mass action, such outrages, in order to impress upon our oppressors that we will not stand any longer for these dastardly proceedings and to impress upon our fellow-workers the necessity of uniting stronger on the economic field and prepare to fight for our rights.

W. M. JAMIESON, Secy.

Strike Against Common Labor

AND WHAT CAME OF IT

..... By
BEN ATTERBURY

Heinrich Mueller sat alone in his office at the Red Ribbon brewery, which was located in one of the largest industrial centers of the Middle States. He was what the world commonly calls a successful man. He had prospered, was wealthy, but not much given to display. A plain, common-sense sort of a man, Mueller the brewer was well liked by the people employed in the brewery. Only once or twice before the incident about to be narrated had he any real trouble with them. His habit of mind was to conciliate and compromise. He never claimed to be always right, or that the working people were always wrong. If there was a chance for arbitration he would find it. Because of this he had in every department of his establishment workmen who sincerely regarded him as a friend, and Mueller himself encouraged this unusual state of affairs.

For some time there had been signs of approaching trouble with the coopers, for the Red Ribbon brewery was equipped with its own plant for making beer kegs and barrels. The coopers were few compared with all the workers employed in other departments and regarded themselves as an exclusive set. It had been instilled into their minds that they were superior in some way to the unskilled or common labor in the brewery. In spite of the fact that the introduction of machines in their department was rapidly reducing them to common laborers, they still clung tenaciously to this heresy in the ranks of the workers that the skilled laborer is superior to the unskilled, although the latter is performing a social function equally as necessary as that exercised by the other. This conceit, however, is doomed. Like many another that has kept the workers divided and fighting each other, it is disappearing before the irresistible power of invention and the growing solidarity of the brotherhood of labor.

Heinrich Mueller was troubled over the prospect. He would have thought little of it but for the fact that in a recent conference with his superintendent he had decided to make a voluntary increase in wages in all departments, and this was to be announced soon. He was about to reach for the telephone and call in Superintendent Conrad, when that person, flushed and excited, rushed into the office:

"The coopers have quit," he exclaimed; "every man has left the shop; they demand an increase of 30 per cent!"

"And not one of them comes to see me?"

"No," replied Conrad; "but some of them went into the washroom to see the bottle-washers. They talked and tried to get them to quit, too."

"Well," said Mueller, after a few moments' hesitation, "call up Fischer and Borne of the brewers' union and Schwab of the coopers. I must get this matter settled."

Mueller during this brief conversation had formulated in his own mind a definite plan of action. He intended to bring together the officials of the brewers' organization and the business agent of the coopers. The former stood consistently and always for the interests of the common laborers, as well as the brewers. None understood better than Mueller himself the changes that were going on in the cooper trade. These changes had already reduced large numbers of men calling themselves coopers to the level of common laborers, and he saw

no difference between a laborer in one department and a laborer in another. He only knew that they were all necessary to the operation of his business. He saw that many in the brewery did not see, that most of the coopers were really not coopers at all, but only parts of coopers, that they had, by the evolution of industry, become common laborers. He had, almost unconsciously, come to regard all the labor in the brewery as a unit and so far as the conditions of competition under which he conducted his business permitted, he proposed to treat them as such.

Within an hour Fischer and Borne arrived and were greeted cordially by Mr. Mueller, who took the opportunity to tell them of his decision to raise the wages all round. The former was known for his rigid adherence to the principle that the working class had one interest in common; he opposed the craft distinctions that prevailed in labor organizations and Borne was in accord with his views. Fischer urged the workers to organize into one union, without reference to the particular work that each performed on a job. The job required the co-operative labor of all; the labor of none could be dispensed with if the job was to be done. Whether the job consisted in producing beer or books, coal or clothing, food or factories, shoes or steamboats—labor was essentially one, the working class was everything in common, and should be united, economically and politically.

With all of this program of Fischer the rich brewer was in agreement, except the political phase of it. From this he entirely dissented, taking a stand with those deluded trades-unionists and working-class politicians who seek to keep the workers divided.

In a few minutes after Fischer and Borne arrived, Schwab came in, swaggering and defiant. When all were seated, Mueller broke the silence: "Mr. Schwab," he said, addressing the coopers' representative, "your men have all left the shop and are making demands that I cannot grant. There has been some talk about a strike for a week or two; but now, without seeing me direct, which I have always told them to do, they quit in a body and are demanding a 30 per cent increase. Do you think this is right?"

"Yes, I do!" was Schwab's reply. "The men ought to be getting more pay."

"And I have not yet refused to give them more. I want you to understand that this action, which I see has your approval, is contemptible. I have treated my employees as men, all ways. You know this. While the present relations between us exist, I have a right to be treated also as a man. If the coopers were dissatisfied I had a right, as the party against whom their grievance might be charged, to know it."

"Well, Mr. Mueller," responded Schwab churlishly, "the coopers are out for an increase and if we don't get it, you know what the result will be."

"Yes, I do; I know that if you people insist in your present demand the result will be more machines and fewer men," was Mueller's hot retort. "All right; you can do as you please about it, I suppose."

"I shall do what I am compelled to; but there is just one proposition I have to make to you in the presence of these men from the brewers' union."

"They have no business here, anyway. This trouble don't concern the

brewers or the common laborers." "I think you will find it does, Schwab, before you are through with it," put in Fischer.

"If it is true," inquired Mueller, "that it don't concern the common laborers, why did your men try to get the common laborers to quit with them?"

"They didn't; what have our skilled men to do with common labor, anyhow?"

"What are you talking about?" exclaimed Mueller, rising from his chair and pacing the floor; "why, a lot of your men that you call skilled coopers are nothing but common laborers! That's a fact and you know it. But I won't wrangle with you; here is my proposition; you can take it or leave it: A week ago I decided to raise the wages of all hands in this brewery 20 per cent."

"Yes, I know," broke in Schwab. "You know! How should you know?"

"Well, I heard about it." "And because of that you started this move of the coopers for a larger increase. Is that it? Your strike is not for a raise in wages, but against the common laborer."

Schwab made no reply. He seemed to vaguely realize that he had said too much.

"Now listen: I shall at once order a notice posted of an increase in wages of 20 per cent in all departments, to take effect next Monday. This is in accordance with my decision a week ago. Your skilled coopers will be at liberty to take it with the rest. That is all I have to say."

Schwab retained his defiant attitude and blurted out: "We'll never take it. We'll never submit to go on a level with common labor!"

Fischer here sprang to his feet and facing Schwab cried out in vibrant tones: "Schwab, you are a scoundrel—a traitor to the working class—enemy of labor—you are superior to common labor, eh? You deny better conditions to those who most need it. To hell with such labor leaders as you!"

Schwab slunk away and disappeared through the office door. Turning to Fischer and Borne the brewer shook hands with them both. "Fischer," he said, as the two men approached the door, "you are right in this matter. Come in and see me at any time. Good day."

On the following Monday morning every department in the Red Ribbon brewery, except the cooper shop, was in full operation on the new schedule. None of the coopers showed up. So Mr. Mueller began at once to install new machinery, putting in some that he had not used before. The superintendent found plenty of labor that was skillful enough to break in and gradually learn to do the work. Every man employed was given the prevailing wages under the new schedule. The installation of more machines sadly reduced the number of men needed, and Mueller's declaration to Schwab that the result would be "more machines and fewer men" was already confirmed.

Soon the "skilled" coopers who had refused a raise of 20 per cent, if "common labor" was also to receive it, came around and pleaded for an opportunity to go to work.

"But we have all the men we can use now," was Mueller's reply; "besides the machines are doing most of the work, anyway."

In another month the same men had accepted jobs at a rate of wages 18 per cent lower than they were receiving when they objected to being put on a level with "common labor." They were backing against industrial evolution and were beaten. They spurned "common labor"; but now they see that in the struggle for existence it is a factor of highest importance.

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LET THE TRUTH BE KNOWN

So persistent have been the misrepresentations, in certain quarters, of the Industrial Workers of the World in connection with its magnificent protest meeting March 4th, and the failure of the Socialist Party in Chicago to participate, that we feel compelled to find room for the following circular which was sent to all the local Socialist Party branches in Cook County, March 22d.

"Workmen of the World, unite; you have nothing to lose but your chains; you have a world to gain.

Comrades and Brothers; These familiar words of Karl Marx are quoted here because they are singularly appropriate at this time and, in the light of some recent occurrences in the working-class organizations of Chicago, require new emphasis. The Industrial Workers of the World, which is responsible for this circular being issued, believes absolutely in the unity of the working-class to accomplish its mission. Unity is the foundation principle upon which the organization rests. It has put the seal of its disapproval upon the criminal policy of division and proclaims union of the workers as the necessary condition to throw off the shackles of capitalism.

The arrest of Moyer and Haywood (both members of the Industrial Workers of the World) appealed strongly to us and put upon us the necessity of taking immediate action to stay the hands of a murderous capitalist conspiracy. Our first step was the issuance of a protest or proclamation, dated February 20th. This was given the widest publicity throughout the country. Next an appeal for contributions to the defense fund was sent out, not alone to Industrial Workers of the World affiliated locals, but to all other economic organizations of working people that we could reach. Incidentally, we are happy to state, the responses to our appeal have been numerous and generous, a large number of organizations outside of the Industrial Workers of the World being among those giving most liberally.

Locally we set about a working-class demonstration to protest against the outrages. A committee of three Industrial Workers of the World members was chosen to represent this organization in arranging for a public demonstration to voice the united protest of the working class in this city. Invitations were sent out to all working-class bodies, including the affiliated locals of the Chicago Federation of Labor, the Socialist Party, the Socialist Labor Party, the Bund and the Arbeiter Zeitung. One was also sent to the Chicago Federation of Labor. Many of the Chicago Federation of Labor locals, Turner societies and the Ferdinand LaSalle Singing Society responded and were represented in the demonstration, which was held Sunday, March 4th. The meeting was one of the most pronounced successes of recent years in Chicago. One organization among those named was not represented in the demonstration, viz: the Socialist Party. The following are the facts explaining the failure of that organization to unite:

1. A committee of three representing the Socialist Party (Breckon, Taft and Mance) did meet with the Industrial Workers of the World committee at our headquarters, Saturday, February 24th, for the purpose of jointly considering the preliminary arrangements for the demonstration; at that joint meeting Taft was made chairman and Breckon secretary. Members of the Industrial Workers of the World committee represented that what they desired and hoped for was a united protest and demonstration and to this proposal the Socialist Party representatives made no objection, but declared that nothing else should, under the circumstances, be thought of. Before this meeting of the

24th adjourned the Socialist Party men said they would report to the executive committee of the party (which met the following Monday) and at the same time individually expressed themselves in favor of the united demonstration. Also prior to the meeting of the 24th Breckon declared unreservedly for a united meeting.

2. At the meeting referred to the Industrial Workers of the World men stated their intention to invite the cooperation of all working-class organizations and named some of those that had already expressed their willingness to unite.

3. Tuesday morning, February 26th, we learned that the executive committee of the Socialist Party had, under the influence of one or two men, deliberately thrown down the proposal for unity and decided to hold an independent party meeting. Furthermore, they decided to hold their independent meeting on the same day and hour as the one held under the joint auspices of the Industrial Workers of the World and other organizations standing for unity of the working class.

4. During the days that intervened between our protest meeting and the action of the Socialist Party executive committee, there was much paltry resort to subterfuge and outright falsehood to make black white and misrepresent the Industrial Workers of the World. Wishing, however, to avoid personalities as far as possible, we omit any further reference to that phase of the matter. They had made a mistake that was well-nigh criminal in the face of the unmistakable call for unity in a trying hour, and no other recourse seemed open to them but misrepresentation and falsehood. This has been indulged to a degree that disgraces the name of socialism.

5. Subsequently the executive committee of the Socialist Party ordered sent to all branches of the party in Cook County a letter from which the following is extracted:

"Some weeks ago the Industrial Workers of the World by letter asked the Socialist Party to co-operate with them in a meeting of protest against the action of the authorities in the arrest of Moyer, et al. When the matter was taken up by the executive committee it was found that the proposed arrangement was to be a joint arrangement of the Industrial Workers of the World at the head, with the Arbeiter Zeitung, Jewish Bund and Socialist Labor Party and Socialist Party being invited to participate to the absolute exclusion of all other trades unions, or organizations. In view of the party's position in the matter of trades unionism, it was deemed wise not to comply with the request, and action was so taken."

Your branch has no doubt received the letter. In reply we wish to say to you, as comrades and brothers in the working-class struggle, that the statements contained in the quoted passage are absolutely and unqualifiedly untrue. If it had been found that the "proposed arrangement" was one that the Industrial Workers of the World intended to dominate, then the three members of the committee of the Socialist Party referred to knew it on the 24th of February, when, instead of expressing any "fear" that such was the case, they said they could not see any reason why the Socialist Party should not or could not participate. We deny positively that they "found" any such "arrangement." We declare that no such understanding existed. The executive committee has handed you out a cold and unmitigated lie when it says that the Industrial Workers of the World proposed the "exclusion" (probably "exclusion" is meant) "of all other trades unions or organizations." Our invitation was as broad as Karl Marx's advice to the working class. It excluded none. The Industrial Workers of the World employed extra clerks to get out the invitations to all—including the locals affiliated with the Chicago Federation of Labor.

6. When the executive committee seeks to shield itself behind "the party's position in the matter of trades unionism," it is in direct conflict with the expressed attitude of the rank and file of the Socialist Party at large in the present crisis.

7. All sorts of trifling excuses and pettifoggery tactics are now being resorted to for the purpose of creating a false impression that they are right. It is claimed that at the meeting of February 24th, Secretary Trautmann declared that the "revolutionists must control the demonstration." This again is not true; Trautmann's statement was that "all revolutionary working-class organizations should be invited." It might be pertinent to suggest whether the opponents of unity desired to put the Socialist Party out of the category of revolutionary working-class organizations? Trautmann never suggested that any one organization should control; his suggestions were that all should be invited to co-operate in a united working-class demonstration against the foul conspiracy being enacted in the West.

8. To the foregoing we desire to add that of the three members of the Industrial Workers of the World committee two were members of the Socialist Party and of the six speakers at the Apollo Hall meeting four, besides the chairman, were also members of the Socialist Party.

Fraternally yours,
CHAS. G. KIRKPATRICK,
W. E. TULLAR,
LILLIAN F. FORBERG,
Committee I. W. W.
A. S. EDWARDS, Chairman Unity Meeting.
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"Incendiary Language"

The Denver "Times" is sorry. It is sorry for the sake of Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone. The reason of the "Times" sorrow is the circular issued by the General Executive Board of the Industrial Workers of the World on the arrest of these men, and the manner of their deportation. The "Times" sorrowfully declares that the circular contains "incendiary language," and such language, it is sorrowfully of the opinion, "will do the accused leaders of the Western Federation of Miners more harm than good."

What is the language used by the circular? It opens with an allusion to "the reign of lawless violence" which the capitalist class of the Western States inaugurated at the Coeur d'Alene, beginning with 1897. — The statement is a statement of fact. Pinkertons ran the courts, revolver in hand.

It says that the capitalist conspirators sought to smash the labor organizations of the miners "by seeking to foist upon these the crimes committed by the capitalist conspirators themselves." The statement is a statement of fact, of recorded fact. 'Tis blowing up of the Concentrator was traced to the Mine Owners' Association itself.

It says that "everyone of these attempts has failed"; every case against the accused miners "ended in complete acquittal" in spite of "sub-

orned witnesses."—The statement is a statement of fact, recorded in the courts; the men were acquitted, the testimony against them was smothered in its own perjury.

It says, summing up this first episode, that it was a series of "diabolical schemes."—The statement is a statement of fact, solidly backed upon the previous ones.

Taking up the second episode, the one we are now traversing, the circular says that the arrest of Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone was a "secret arrest," that their taking to Idaho was an "illegal deportation," and that the proceedings bear a general "criminal character."—The statements are a series of statements of fact. The testimony upon which their extradition was demanded is on its face perjured testimony; they were denied counsel; they were literally kidnaped and railroaded out of the state.

The circular says further that the agencies who schemed this plot are "pirates of the West," whose motto, the motto of their Colonel McClellan, is: "To hell with the Constitution!"—These statements also are statements of fact.

Running through the circular from top to bottom, and back from bottom to top, every allegation, of the numerous ones that it contains, is a fact sealed, signed and delivered.

The conclusion is obvious.—Not the LANGUAGE of the circular, but the FACTS that it

produces are incendiary. Incendiary is the fact that a high military officer declares: "To hell with the Constitution!" Incendiary is the fact that the governor of a state enters into a conspiracy with the governor of another state and deprives three citizens of their civic rights. Incendiary is the fact that a capitalist concern—the Mine Owners' Association—stands convicted of the subordination of witnesses whom it pays \$2.00 to swear away the lives of workmen. Incendiary is the fact that the capitalist class contemplates murder to protect its continued reign of rapine. These be incendiary facts; pitchy, sulphurous facts; facts atflame, fit to set the country on fire.

The incendiarism lies in the perpetration of these facts; the incendiaries are the perpetrators of these facts. So far from its being incendiary to mention, to expose, to make these incendiary facts publicly known, the mention of them, the exposing of them, the making them publicly known is the turning of a broad-diametered hose, with its powerful stream of water, upon the conflagration which the incendiary capitalist class and its political puppets are kindling.

All credit to the General Executive Board of the Industrial Workers of the World for setting the pace, as intrepid firemen, to put out the fire that incendiary capitalism has started!

—The Daily People.

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