

TEXTILE STRIKE

Miss Flynn Makes Eloquent Plea in Behalf of Fellow Workers in Lawrence.

I want to refresh the memory of our readers on a matter of vital importance, which appeared in *Solidarity* recently, viz., the strike of the textile workers.

In the issue of Oct. 31 an appeal was published from Local 20, I. W. W., Lawrence, Mass., which deserves the earnest attention and enthusiastic support of every local and individual member of our organization.

Since its publication, the appeal has been received by the local, in all likelihood, been given consideration at their respective business meetings. Therefore the facts set forth in the statement of conditions in the Atlantic mills should be familiar to all of us.

What The Weavers Are Fighting.

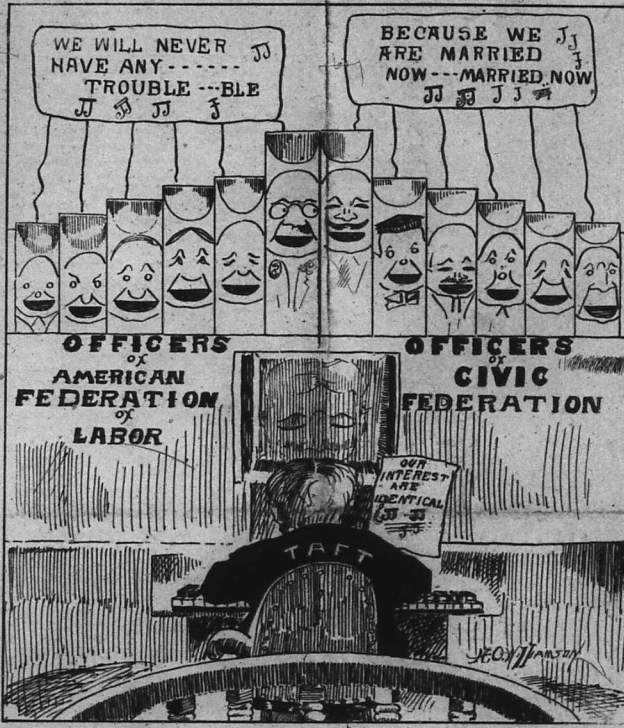
The corporation attempted to increase the individual weaver's output from 14 to 24 cuts per week, accompanied by a reduction of price from 70c to 49c per cut. Thus each weaver would be compelled to tend 12 looms instead of 7, yet receive but 70c per week for the additional work, while the company pocketed \$7.20 a week more on each man. But these men were to be hired for every five hitherto engaged.

Against this virtual decrease of wages, the withholding of hours through speeding, and forcible stimulation of the unemployed ranks, 100 members of our organization rebelled last August. They have been engaged in a bitter struggle with their employers against such heavy odds that, but for their indomitable spirit, they would have been crushed weeks ago. Now, after waging their brave battle alone and unaided for over three months, they come to us for assistance. They ask for funds, for our "spare ammunition," that their wives and little ones may be protected from the pangs of hunger and the mercenary cold of a New England winter. They ask in the spirit that "an injury to one is an injury to all," and knowing that their victory or courageous battle, supported by the entire I. W. W., though it may end in temporary defeat, will give new impetus to the spirit of industrial unionism in the textile prisons along the banks of the Merrimack river. They want to safeguard their own conditions, as well as prove by deeds more eloquent than any speaker's words, to the oppressed and disheartened slaves of the mills, that the I. W. W. stands for their interests and fights their battles.

What has been the reception accorded this appeal in your local, fellow workers? Are you so busy discussing referendums, "decentralizing," the tyranny of the G. E. B., the necessity of a 2c per capita, etc., that this appeal was simply read in a perfunctory manner and filed? Did you, like one local I know of, turn it over to the secretary and "let him see what he can do," which is a polite way of letting yourself out of doing anything? Or did you save your "conscience" for your stings with platitudes, like another member of the I. W. W. I heard say: "We need our money ourselves; anyhow a long strike is a lost strike, and you can't beat the bosses with money." This happened in two separate mixed locals, bodies that are never forced out, as a unit, on the firing line of the economic war; but who unfortunately too often degenerate into a postone similar to an inebriated drummer boy making much martial music at a safe distance from the fight.

A long strike may often be a lost strike, yet surely those who are on the ground

WILL THERE BE A DIVORCE?—NOT YET!



and doing the fighting and suffering, many of whom have been in the I. W. W. since it was launched, are in a better position to judge the chances of success than we who are many miles away. They may be wrong, but if so they are the ones who must learn through the experience. They are certainly not going to learn through our withholding assistance and liberally giving cold blooded advice. Platitudes are no substitute for nourishment.

We must not become dogmatists who measure all conditions by the yardstick of a theory, or we become as ridiculous as an English socialist I met who said: "I know all about American conditions, because I've read Marx."

When men and women are engaged in a legitimate struggle with their masters they don't want verbiage; they want economic and financial support. If we fail to do our best in this regard, we forfeit their respect and lose them from the organization. If we are not so situated that we can support them through economic action there is but one alternative—give them every possible financial assistance.

IS YOUR LOCAL—ARE YOU DOING THAT? GIVING EVERY POSSIBLE ASSISTANCE? If not, get busy. Get that appeal from the secretary's files, next meeting and dig up your quarter or dime or dollar for the list. Get the local to donate a few dollars from the treasury. If you've done it once, do it again. It won't hurt you, and it will help to lighten the load of your fellow worker in Local 20 and keep his children off the holidays.

Of course you can't fight the boss with money alone. We all know that. So do the textile workers. But while you are struggling to conquer through the economic power vested in you as workers, it's

good to know there's a consistory department and you're going to have your dinner. Still better is it for a man to know that while he is fighting, his fellow workers will take care that his family do not suffer needlessly.

New England Strikes A Hard Proposition.

A strike in a New England town is quite different from a free speech fight in a western city, and, to my mind, in the difference lies the reason why the "foater" should not be given undue credit when he fights at the drop of the hat, and the "home guard" sneered at when he hesitates. Young, single, husky fellows, with no dependents and no personal responsibility weighing heavily on them—why shouldn't they fight? But the man of the mills is usually staggering under the burden of a large family and has not the physical strength or endurance of the western fighter. Consequently when he heaves his head from the loom and resists oppression, he becomes a truly heroic figure!

On behalf of these fellow workers, I appeal to you.

Think of men trying to raise families on \$11.00 a week, and put a donation in an envelope addressed to Wm. Taylor, 2 Mechanic street, Lawrence, Mass., as a blow at such a system.

Are you opposed to more work for less pay?

Are you opposed to the speeding up that throws men on the street and makes nervous wrecks of the workers?

Are you opposed to enriching greedy mill owners, while weavers' children starve or weave their lives into cotton and woolen cloth?

Do you believe in less work, shorter hours, more pay, health and happiness for

the textile workers?

Do you want to see ONE BIG UNION of all the textile operatives throughout New England—English, French, Portuguese—united as one man?

Then answer the appeal of Local 20; answer it every week till the fight is over.

Send the brave fellow workers repeating rifles in the form of coin of the realm!

Make their fight your fight!

Help them to weave the shroud of capitalism!

Speed them to solidarity, victory and freedom!

Yours for One Big Union,
ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN.

FLYNN IN CLEVELAND

Two instructive lectures are to be given by Elizabeth Gurley Flynn in Cleveland. The first one will be held on Monday evening, Nov. 20, at Goodfellow's hall, 2077 West 25th St. The second lecture will be given on Tuesday evening, Nov. 21, at Goodrich House, East 6th and St. Clair. A good musical program is to be rendered at each. Tickets 10c.

TACOMA I. W. W.

Our new hall is located at 110 S. 14th St., in the heart of the slave market. Business meetings every Wednesday at 8:00 p. m. Address all communications to Sec'y Ind. Union 380, I. W. W., 110 S. 14th St., Tacoma, Wash.

CLEVELAND, OHIO.

Local 35, I. W. W., has changed its meeting place. We meet the 2nd and 4th Wednesdays of each month at 1939 W. 35th St., at 8 o'clock. Sec'y.

A "KIND MOTHER"

How the City of New York Treats Some of Its Employes.

For some days, the city drivers and street cleaners of New York have been on strike against night work. Just the same as any private employer, the "city" has been using every possible means to break the strike—by hiring scabs, slugging and arresting strikers and otherwise showing them the mailed fist. Meanwhile the idle rich and the business men are loudly denouncing these "menials" who are ungrateful enough to pick a fight and garbage to accumulate in the streets, rather than to permit their families to suffer as heretofore. Of course, the capitalist papers are, as usual, lined up on the "side of the government." Here is what one striker says regarding the situation. It is taken from an interview reported by the New York Call of Nov. 15:

"The way these newspapers write about us you would think that we are a lot of irresponsible boys. We are not. The majority of drivers are married and have large families to support. Take me as an example. I am against night work on the garbage cart because my wife is against it, and my wife has a perfectly good reason for being against it. We have seven children. My oldest child is a girl of 12. The youngest is a babe of 4 months.

"On my earnings as a city employe I can not live in the very best of neighborhoods. I have to live in a tenement which cannot afford to have a nurse, or a servant. You can see that for yourself. It means that my wife has to spend the night alone in a flat. The slightest disturbance frightens her. Children naturally get sick now and then. She is kept awake nights, therefore is getting terribly nervous.

"Usually, the city is not hurting the men so much by insisting on night work as it is the women, the mothers of children. There are numbers of women, wives of the city drivers, who have become physical wrecks since we were put to work nights. Every one of the men here will tell you that they have to burn gas in their homes all night, and that the women are nervous wrecks by the time the night, with its terrors, is over.

"In the day time, no matter how unacquainted a woman is in a tenement, she can still call upon her neighbor and ask for assistance if she is in trouble. At night if a woman should call for help she is sure to arouse the entire tenement.

"Gaynor's whim in insisting on night work in the street cleaning department is an outrage not so much against us, as against our wives, the mothers of future citizens."

Commissioner Edwards gave out figures in the afternoon, showing that 157 more carts and 439 more men were at work yesterday.

The total number of men, Edwards said, he had at work yesterday were 2,554. He expects to have 5,000 men at work in the streets this morning. These 5,000 are to take the place of the 2,000 strikers.

The Commissioner's figures were not taken seriously by the strikers. They pointed out that ten of Edwards' strikebreakers could not do the work of one bonafide employe. They were bitter, however, at the thought that the city has all kinds of money to throw away on strikebreakers and scabs, while it has always been backward in paying its employes.

Local 170 of New York City is holding well attended lectures every Sunday evening at 2132 East 12th St. Livey stations. Lucy Parsons speaks Nov.

SOLIDARITY

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GENERAL EXECUTIVE BOARD J. J. Egan, Chas. Scurlough, C. H. Axelson, Francis Miller, George Speed

WATCH FOR YOUR NUMBER.

Each subscriber will find a number opposite his name on the wrapper enclosing SOLIDARITY. For instance 99. That means that your sub expired last week, and you should renew.

AN "OPPORTUNIST SCOOP"

Another "sensational scoop on the capitalists" is just "warm off the press" of the Milwaukee "Social Democratic Herald," and is now being reproduced in a number of Socialist party organs.

In Mr. Hood's "scoop" the manufacturers and merchants are represented in conference as being very much concerned, in fact "wild" over the rapid growth of the socialist vote, but inquiry develops the fact that none of them knows what socialism is; consequently the bosses decide to call into their meeting Secretary Nash of the Minnesota S. P., to enlighten them before proceeding on a crusade against the monster.

One of the employers, so the tale runs, then proposes that the conference take steps to raise a \$4,000,000 fund with to hire the best available talent to combat socialism through the press, pulpit and platform.

I have a plan that will break up the Socialist Party organization, and when that can be done it will prevent any socialist victories. The thing to do is not to hire talented newspaper writers, but to hire keen-witted members of labor unions who have been organized to join the Socialist Party.

to give the important position to those who don't deserve it. Because the one not deserving it would be another of our paid distributors.

The aim will be to keep the discussions active at the meetings and at headquarters by denouncing the Milwaukee movement. The Milwaukee movement is hated by some of the socialists in the east, and our hired men can call it reform and not revolutionary.

This I. W. W. movement is a good thing to get the socialists quarreling about. We are not afraid of any general strike so long as we hold the reins of government.

One disturber, in a quiet war, can do more injury to any organization than can possibly be imagined. If we can get the right kind of men, and we can hire them I know, we can break up the Socialist Party organization, not only in Minneapolis and St. Paul, but in Chicago, Milwaukee, San Francisco, Pittsburgh, Boston, Omaha, St. Louis, Kansas City, Philadelphia, New York and all other industrial centers.

Unfortunately, Silas Hood is a "bum" artist! He might have removed some suspicion as to the above's being the exact language or at least the substance of Mr. Walker's speech, by saying nothing to the contrary.

The foregoing is not intended to represent the exact language of Mr. T. B. Walker, multi-millionaire of Minneapolis, but it is as close as my informant could give me, and who is "the informant?" Deponent saith not. Who else may it be, but Geo. R. Kirkpatrick, the "Ernest Everhard" of the occasion? Nash, Kirkpatrick, Hood, the "Social Democratic Herald," all representing the "Milwaukee idea," the "opportunist" element of the Socialist Party, now rising to the top of the parliamentary-war in America.

Now, we do not wish to deny that Millionaire Walker said all those things. Solidarity cannot afford to go on record as conceiving any capitalist in possession of anything approaching the wisdom of the ages. Not even when this particular capitalist, Walker, claims to have read all the works published on socialism.

But we cannot help preferring another "theory," especially since Amannus Hood is kind enough to inform us that the above is not necessarily the exact language of Mr. Walker. Our theory is that the "scoop" was largely manufactured (or at least colored) in the ranks of the "opportunist" themselves.

It is possible that the majority of our members are the same; that they have neither HEARD nor READ any satisfactory argument in favor of the theory.

This clash of ideas in the socialist political movement is of course inevitable. But it tends to become more bitter all the time. The real "politician" tone of the opportunist propaganda arouses the ire of

the revolutionists and intensifies the internal warfare. What more natural, then, than that the vicious opportunists should seek to make out their opponents as "disturbers paid by the capitalists to help break up the Socialist Party?"

But the opportunists also pay tribute to the I. W. W. Through Hood's informant, Mr. Walker is also reported to have said: "This I. W. W. movement is a good thing to get the socialists quarreling about."

And we do not deny that the I. W. W. is a disturber in this case. But, whatever is, must be. There is no harmonizing of political opportunism in the name of labor, with revolutionary industrial organization and the ideas and tactics that go with the latter.

And Gompers says: "Those who would change it (the A. F. of L. aim at its disintegration)." Correct; and "why shouldn't they?" Must the majority of slaves in this country continue for another 30 years to allow the A. F. of L. to play the role of "dog in the manger?"

COMPERS' ANNUAL MESSAGE

President Samuel Gompers of the American Federation of Labor is either very clever or very stupid. Clever, in estimating the intelligence of his constituents; or stupid, in his inability to recognize facts or see the trend of events.

"Our movement has no seism within. All opposition to its policies, its procedures, its form of organization and its tactics come from without. All who would divert it from its established principles are enemies, working for the promotion of institutions foreign to its character.

"This is true whether the antagonist in view is the college president who believes in the right of the non-unionist to work below the union scale alongside of the unionist; or the philanthropist who believes unions should be mere benevolent societies; or the editor who believes that the unionist should be always in his party and a supporter of his interests, or the politician who demands that the unionist must always vote his ticket.

"Our great federation has uniformly refused to surrender this conviction and of rush to the support of any one of the numerous society-saving or society-destroying schemes which, decade by decade, have been sprung upon this country. It has pursued its avowed policy—with the conviction that if the lesser demands of labor could not be obtained now from society as it is, it would be more dreaming to preach and pursue that will-o'-the-wisp, a new society constructed from rainbow materials—a system of society on which even the dreamers themselves have never agreed.

"The history of the working class movement in Europe in recent years is one of recession from classless utopias and of approach toward the policy of our federation. Revolution is to come by way of reform, and not by social cataclysm. The human conscience is to be society's guide. The social struggle is to be good and right against evil and wrong."

Starting with the assumption of Gompers' cleverness, the first paragraph of the above quotation appears in the light of a challenge to all types, who are classed by the A. F. of L. president with the "knockers" on the outside—all as "enemies of the organization and its established principles." In backing up that decla-

tion, Gompers apparently counts on the unqualified support of the overwhelming conservative majority in the A. F. of L. And to be sure, thirty years of continuous triumphs over the "horers" should have strengthened his conviction and sense of security along that line. The machinist knows his machine!

But in paragraph three, Gompers arouses the suspicion that he is not so clever after all. How long will it take for the A. F. of L. to demonstrate that "the lesser demands of labor" (more wages, less hours of toil, better living and shop conditions) "can be obtained now from society as it is."

And Gompers says: "Those who would change it (the A. F. of L. aim at its disintegration)." Correct; and "why shouldn't they?" Must the majority of slaves in this country continue for another 30 years to allow the A. F. of L. to play the role of "dog in the manger?" Should we not rather kick the cur out of the way, that we may get to our feed? How many more disastrous betrayals, how many more disorganizing strikes, how many more contracts to scab, how many more Civic Federation banquets, how many more Gompers, Mitchells and other labor lieutenants will the working class need to awaken them from their A. F. of L. nightmare?

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BORING FROM WITHIN

We are quite willing to accept Fellow Worker Foster's statement that he accepted without question the theory that "in order to create a revolutionary labor movement it was necessary to build a new organization separate and apart from the existing craft unions."

It is possible that Foster never did hear a convincing argument to sustain this theory; and it is also possible that he has unthinkingly repeated the theory as an infallible dogma. Even more, it is quite possible that the majority of our members are the same; that they have neither HEARD nor READ any satisfactory argument in favor of the theory.

But what about it! Does a man need to hear or read arguments to prove that he has been hit with a brickbat? Or that boring from within is a failure, after being kicked out of boring?

The majority of our active members have been "boring from within" in the A. F. of L., in the Socialist party, in the S. L. P., and in every other organization that makes any claim of standing for the interest of the working class, and as a rule they were kicked out of these organizations on account of their attempts to "bore."

But Foster says the C. G. T. succeeded in capturing the conservative unions in France; and from this he argues that what was possible in France would also be possible in the U. S. His logic is bad. If a thing is possible in France which has been proved impossible in the United States it must be because the conditions in the two countries were different.

That the secretary of the C. G. T. should hand out such ridiculous advice is not str-

ange. It merely human and judges all men from his own experience and just as we all do.

Suppose we did take this advice? Joubaux and Foster give us? Suppose did abandon our attempt to create a new labor movement, and turn ourselves into a mere propaganda league? What then? Would we get into the A. F. of L.? Not much. The A. F. of L. does not want us; if they did, they would not have kicked us out in the first place. And those of us who have not been kicked out of the A. F. of L. would never be able to get in.

Again, if we beg to be admitted into the A. F. of L. we must turn our backs on the unorganized and unskilled, just as the A. F. of L. is doing and has done in the past. Craft unionism has no room for the great majority of unskilled. And we would have no room for them if we join the A. F. of L.

If a man is kicked out of the A. F. of L. now, he may get in the I. W. W., and the A. F. of L. knows this and refrains from kicking too fast. But if we join the A. F. of L. there will be nothing to restrain the kicking process, because those who are kicked will be separate and unorganized, and could in no way be a danger to the A. F. of L. until they could again come together in another "dual" (?) organization.

While I am not as familiar with conditions in Germany and in the Scandinavian countries as I would wish to be, I do know that the revolutionists in those countries are better informed on this subject than either Joubaux or Foster, or I, and I hope it will be a long time before I get well-headed enough to make an judgment over their actions, or advise them concerning things I know little or nothing about.

B. E. NILSSON.

A LIVE BUNCH

The following comes to Solidarity from Fellow Worker E. T. Crane, secretary of the publicity committee, Portland, Ore. I. W. W. locals:

"I enclose money order for \$15.00 to apply as follows: 4,000 'Appeal to Wage Workers,' \$5; 5 prepaid yearly sub cards, and for the balance 6 months sub cards."

In the same letter, Sec'y B. E. Nilsson sends an additional \$10 to be credited to the Portland branch account, already paid ahead. He says: "We will guarantee the sale of 250 if you send us 500. On account of the weather our literature sales are getting somewhat smaller."

For some months Portland has been getting weekly a regular bundle of 300 Solidarity, paying for them in advance, and selling them all each week. Large orders for leaflets, stickers, pamphlets, and sub cards have also come in from time to time, showing constant activity among the I. W. W. boys in Portland. Secretary Crane adds the following information:

"The publicity committee has systematized the distribution of old papers. We take a certain district, and after distributing the papers the next thing will be to cover the same district with sub cards. We will do our best to boost the circulation of Solidarity and the Worker."

They are doing well in membership also. Closed last month with 183 new members. September ended with 99 new members, and this month has made a good start—82 the first five days. So we are all hoping we will live last month; at least we will try our best."

Laggards, please take notice! Portland is in the lead. Make an effort to catch up with her!

NEW PAMPHLET

"The I. W. W.: Its History, Structure and Methods" is now ready for delivery. This pamphlet is entirely the work of I. W. W. men. Its author is Vincent St. John, General Secretary of our organization; and one of the "makers of the history" he writes about. All typographical and press work on the pamphlet were done by I. W. W. members in the I. W. W. printery here in New Castle. The body of the work is printed on an extra quality of Eggshell Book paper, and it has a beautiful red cover. A more extended review of its contents will appear later.

Meanwhile send 40 cents for a sample copy, and judge for yourself. Price, in quantities, to Local Unions, FIVE CENTS. Sells for 10 cents. Single copies 10 cents. Send all orders with the cash to I. W. W. PUBLISHING BUREAU, Box 622, New Castle, Pa.

Order literature and sub cards.

INTEREST TO ALL WOODSMEN AND WORKERS IN THE LUMBER INDUSTRY

FOSTER AND THE A. F. OF L.

Fellow Worker Foster, in his article in No. 98 of Solidarity, opens again the question of "boring from within" to be practiced by industrial unionists inside the A. F. of L.

He says that Jouhaux, the secretary of the C. G. T. of France, advised the German Syndicalists to give up their attempt to create a new labor organization and, instead, work within the socialist unions of Germany and transform them into syndicalist organizations, and that Jouhaux advises the I. W. W. to use the same tactics in the United States.

Foster states that the C. G. T. of France has used the tactics of "boring from within" in the conservative unions in France and that they owe their success mainly to those tactics which he advises the I. W. W. to adopt.

Admitting all this to be true, there is one great flaw in the argument presented by Foster, and that is, he starts from false premises and, as a consequence, comes to false conclusions.

In order to show this, I will have to make a few comparisons between the A. F. of L. and the German labor unions with which I am most familiar, as I was a member of a German trades union for a little over nine years, and have had some experience with the A. F. of L.

Fellow Worker Foster's reasoning—if I understand him right—is this: The A. F. of L. is a labor organization; the I. W. W. tries to create a dual organization to the former, and we had better use our influence within the A. F. of L. as members of a merely revolutionary propaganda league, which he wants the I. W. W. to do, and transform the existing organization of crafts in America to revolutionary industrial unions.

In this reasoning lies the error of Foster's idea. The A. F. of L. is not a labor organization. It is not a craft or trades union organization like the conservative unions of Germany are.

The A. F. of L. does not attempt to organize even all the skilled workers into their respective trades unions, not to talk about the unskilled workers. The German unions try to organize all workers whether skilled or unskilled, and they recognize the class struggle; they have very low initiation fees and do not care whether or not the worker is efficient at his trade. "A fair day's work for a fair day's wage" is an unknown thing with the German unions. High initiation fees, such as in the A. F. of L., is not even thought of in the German unions.

The German unions are bonafide labor organizations, no matter how conservative they are; the A. F. of L. is a job trust and absolutely nothing else. Jurisdictional fights and petty jealousies between the different crafts is the very life of the A. F. of L., which is not, as it falsely and lyingly claims, a Federation of Labor, but a Separation of Labor, and a stab breeding outfit of the work kind.

You might just as well try to make the Starvation Army or the Young Men's Character Assassination revolutionary bodies by "boring from within" as to try to make the A. F. of L. a labor organization by the tactics advocated by Foster.

Furthermore, if you are a member of one of the German unions your membership is good in all the rest of them, and all you have to do is simply to transfer and the time paid up on is counted with the other. In short, they have a universal transfer system and all you change is your membership book. "Once a union man always a union man" is the slogan of even the conservative unions in Germany. If you are a member of one of the unions of the A. F. of L. and want to go into another one you have to pay a new initiation fee, and your membership book in one union has no more value with another than an advertising card for some business would have.

If you have to work at different trades or occupations say, for instance, as painter in summer and waiter in winter you have to have two distinct membership books which you do not need in Germany.

W. H. Taft, president of the United States, is a member of a labor (?) organization. So are Teddy Roosevelt and his daughter, Mrs. Alice Longworth, and many other parasites in this country. If you would suggest to take in Emperor Billy of Germany into the bricklayers' union, because he is a bricklayer, as all male members of the Hohenollern family have to learn a trade, they would declare you insane, or if you would suggest to take a parasite into a labor organization for sim-

I. W. W. PREAMBLE

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

Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and abolish the wage system.

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

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

Instead of the conservative motto, "A fair day's wages for a fair day's work," we must inscribe on our banner the revolutionary watchword, "Abolition of the wage system."

It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. The army of production must be organized, not only for the every-day struggle with capitalists, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown. By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old.

Knowing, therefore, that such an organization is absolutely necessary for our emancipation we unite under the following constitution.

INDUSTRIAL WORKER

Published Weekly by the Local Unions of the Industrial Workers of the World in Spokane, Washington.

A Red Hot, Fearless Working Class Paper Represents the Spirit of the West

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"Why? How? When?" (Eight Hour Workday).

Four page leaflet; 15 cents a hundred; \$1.25 per thousand.

"Political Parties and the I. W. W." By Vincent St. John.

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"Why the A. F. of L. Cannot Become an Industrial Union." By St. John.

Four-page Leaflet, 90 cents a hundred; \$1.50 per thousand.

ADDRESS

I. W. W. PUBLISHING BUREAU,

Box 622 NEW CASTLE, PA.

The Industrialist

Official organ of the Industrial League, the British Section of the Industrial Workers of the World American Subscription Rates: Year, 50 cents; Six Months, 25c. Published Monthly

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THE AG TATOR

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JAY FOX, Editor Lake Bay, Washington

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Foreign Subscription Rates: One Year, \$2.50; Six Months, \$1.25; Three Months, 75c.

Address all correspondence to Pierre Monatte, Editor, 98 Quai Fenestras, Paris, France.

Send in the rubs

Deep in the woods where the lumber worker drifts from camp to camp, following his hard and arduous toil; isolated from the large communities for weeks and months, he feels as keenly as the workers in industrial centers the oppressive hand of the employing class. He has less chances to resist the condition he suffers from, because he is separated from the other workers in factories and workshops.

Concentration of the control of capital into fewer and fewer hands has resulted in an increase in the misery of the workers in the woods. All land covered with timber today is owned and controlled by gigantic corporations. Although operating under different names in various parts of the North American continent, the grasping hand of that octopus has established a monopoly, not only in the United States but in Canada and Mexico as well. The organized employers own all the means of production; they have used the weakness of the toilers to rule with iron hand in the domain they survey, and working conditions have been rendered almost unbearable.

THE WORKERS SEPARATED

Competition among employers in the working of lumber possessions is eliminated. Competition among workers for jobs has become more keen; the speeding up of work; the introduction of modern machinery for cutting and preparing wood for the market have destroyed former human skill. Well paid jobs have been abolished. Better paid workers are crowded out and displaced by lower paid labor. The latter have not learned yet, that the hand of friendship offered by the agents of the employers conceals the dagger by which dissatisfied workers are cut out of their jobs, if they refuse to be contented with conditions that the employers impose, conditions which the workers are tempted to accept because of the lack of understanding and co-operation with all other workers in the same industry. While the capitalists have organized and concentrated their power to reap all the benefits of advanced methods of production, the workers are separated from the means of their most part disorganized.

Those in Eastern Canada and Maine, working for the same employers, have no connections with the thousands in Louisiana, Texas and the Southern States. The latter again are separated from their fellow workers in the big lumber districts of Montana, Oregon, Washington, British Columbia and other Western sections of the North American continent.

But under the heavy load of capitalist oppression, the workers in the industry are daily being driven to a common level of peonage. By long-hours of toil in these days of fabulous profits, created by the workers for the corporations, the workers help to create a reserve army of unemployed on the labor market. This reserve army, competing for jobs, help the employer to keep wages down so that those who work can hardly earn enough to provide for the necessities of life for themselves and their families.

THE EMPLOYERS UNITED

The employers no longer care whether a worker is white, yellow or black; whether a "free-born American," French-Canadian or Hindu immigrant, so long as they are satisfied to work under the most appalling conditions. The employer treats them all alike if they try to resist the outrages that the workers are compelled to suffer.

In the treatment of the workers, the employers know no nationality or color. It is the muscle, the strength of the body that they need so that production for profit may continue.

Long-hours of toil and low wages are not the only wrongs the lumber workers endure. Other houses help to make life a burden of misery and despair. They are compelled to pay for all risks and insurances which the corporations establish in order to shift the expense of caring for the victims of reckless exploitation on the shoulders of the workers themselves.

The employers have had undisputed control over the life affairs of the workers because they have the power of possession, and all their institutions are well organized to function in their interests. They have reduced the expense of production. With the increase of the immense profits that their possessions yield, they have lowered the standard of living of the hundreds of thousands who create all their wealth. Millions of dollars now into their pockets every year, pressed from the maimed and crippled bodies of the wage workers. Lumber workers in efforts to escape the grinding pressure of unlimited exploitation, have drifted into new fields, only to find that the corporation rule is supreme, no matter where they set their feet. There is no hope and no solace; except the oppressed resolve to assert their rights and use the means at their command to enforce their claims.

LUMBER WORKERS STRUGGLES AGAINST OPPRESSION

Lumber workers have combined and in their efforts of resistance they have stood and fought together. But when united here and there the agents of the employers, charged as labor leaders, forced one portion of them to stay at work producing goods for the same corporation, while in other parts they were wearing themselves out in hopeless struggles to force a stop to the appalling conditions under which they toiled.

The experience of the past must not go unheeded. Whenever lumber workers organized for a struggle with the oppressors they always succeeded in bettering conditions for thousands in the industry. All the achievements of previous conflicts were snatched away every time they allowed the employers to divide them and force them into organizations which the employers could use to protect themselves against injuries to their game of profit making.

Thousands of lumber workers in Montana had reduced their hours of work. More men were given employment. Better wages were paid because the unemployed ceased to be an enemy of the man with a job. All this was accomplished when the lumber workers organized into one industrial union—when they used the fighting tactics of the INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD.

The employers alarmed, fearing the consolidation of all workers in the industry throughout the land, sought to escape by dividing the workers' Organizers of the American Federation of Labor accomplished for them what the employers themselves could not accomplish. The organizers signed iron-clad agreements with the employers, by which all previous gains of the workers were lost. When the lumber workers rebelled against such outrageous infringement of their established conditions; when they struck together to retain the right to be united in one union, the "labor leaders" furnished membership in the American Federation of Labor by order of the employers were discharged and blacklisted and union strike breakers helped to enforce the will of the employers and their allies of the A. F. of L. Clubs and guns of hired hessians were used by the traitors to compel obedience to their mandates. The workers were thus deprived of the results of previous struggles for better things.

When organized in some of the sections of the country, lumber workers had to tie themselves by contracts with employers not to support their fellow workers in other parts who were engaged in a struggle for better working conditions. The skilled worker would be separated from the less skilled; the single worker organized in a union of his own would have nothing in common with the others who were engaged in their struggles against bad conditions. Even in the same camp or mill, members of one union would not support those of other crafts when they were on strike or locked out all in better than to be organized for common defeat. Where all now suffer under the same oppressive conditions, efforts to gain advantages of a few at the expense of the many, would tend only to divide the workers still more. Misery and abuses would not be abolished by such methods or by organizations formed to promote such ends.

"ONE BIG UNION," IS THE CRY

UNITY—SOLIDARITY—ONE BIG UNION—is the command of the rising working class. Lumber workers all over the country have sounded the keynote for a new call to action. They are coming together, in the West, the South, the East and the North to organize all workers in the woods and in the saw mills into one big union.

The organizations are founded on the program of the Industrial Workers of the World, an organization that is at work with the employing class for the good things of life and aims to make the wealth producers of the world masters of their own destiny. They are banding themselves together to get a larger share of the product of their toil; they are preparing to free themselves from the yoke of the wage system.

They have formulated a program of demands which will bring the workers in the woods and mills together in an organization so thorough that the aim may be accomplished. The lumber workers demand:

A general reduction of the hours of work to eight hours a day. More work will then be distributed among workers now out of jobs. Competition for employment will be decreased, wages must rise and better living conditions be secured. Equal pay for the same kind of work will be enforced through the combined efforts of the workers organized in all lumber districts.

With more time for recreation, the workers will elevate the condition of life outside of the place of employment—they will learn to be conscious of their rights. The meeting of the organizations will be the place where the workers will enlighten themselves, will drop the spirit of selfishness and foster the spirit of solidarity and brotherhood with all fellow workers.

(Continued on Page Four)

(Continued On Page Four)

INTERNATIONAL MOVEMENT

(From the "Bulletin International.")

France. The "Criminal" Laws.

This is a collection of special laws enacted between Dec. 16th, and 18th., 1893, and July 28th., 1894, by a frightened legislature, after the Vaillant bomb in Parliament, (Dec., 1893). These laws against the suspects, so-called associations of criminals aroused the indignation of all thinking France. All the bourgeois who took part in the Dreyfus affair swore to fight for the abolition of those laws. At present a great number of militant comrades are at the mercy of the tribunals who may condemn them to hard labor, deportation, etc. For having taken part in the campaign against dead-fool, for anti-militarist propaganda, etc., the government threatens with prison, hard labor, deportation and death. In these circumstances, under these revolting provocations of the rich and exploiting classes, the Trades Council of the Seine has issued a manifesto appealing to the workers to protest against the resurrection and application of the "criminal" laws in syndicalist matters.

Another Big Strike Threatened.

The Railway Industry Commission of England having heard 43 witnesses from the side of the railwaymen and 23 from the companies has formulated its conclusions. It recommends the maintenance of the Sectional Conciliation Boards, composed of an equal number of representatives of the railway companies and of the

men, with a chairman appointed by the Board of Trade to have a casting vote in case of non-agreement; the Central Conciliation Board will be abolished, as it only prolonged the conflicts. Concerning the recognition of the unions, the Commission does not concede this point to the men, but it recommends that the railwaymen have the right to represent themselves by a secretary (not in the employ of the company) on the Conciliation Board. The findings of the Commission are received with a growing discontent of the men? From all corners of England groups address indignant protests to the Executive of the Amalgamated Society and other railway unions urging them to defend their rights. The report of the Commission evidently does not satisfy the trade unionists who before all claim the recognition of their union, nor the non-unionists, who find in it no promise of better pay. In the meantime the railway men's leaders deny absolutely, that they had promised in the name of the men to accept the findings of the Commission.

From all sides the committees of the unions are requested to prepare a general strike of the railways. "With 24 hours' notice" Liverpool adds. Negotiations are begun with the Miners Federation for a general strike of railways and mines towards Christmas. If this should happen, the fight is sure to be serious. The unions state that they have 40,000 new members since the last strike and that they can count on 200,000 more for the next strike.

MANIFESTO TO LUMBER WORKERS

(Continued From Page Three)

and forest workers will be a part, they will establish freedom for the workers and the abolition of a system under which a small class of idlers takes the results of the labor of millions of toilers.

CALL FOR CONVENTION OF LUMBER WORKERS

With these demands as an outline for the future work and activity, we call upon all workers employed in the woods, that is, all employed in shingle mills, saw mills, lumber camps, etc., to organize and come together, so that they will be able to send delegates to the first National Convention of Forest and Lumber Workers for the formation of the National Industrial Union of Forest and Lumber Workers.

The said convention will be held in the city of Seattle, Wash., Sunday, Feb. 12, 1912, at 211 Occidental Avenue. The first day's session will open at 9 o'clock A. M. Representation will be as follows:

Each local union will have one delegate for each 200 members or less and one additional delegate for each additional 200 members or major fraction thereof. Each delegate shall have one vote for the first fifty members and one additional vote for each additional fifty members or major fraction thereof. Local unions that are not affiliated with the Industrial Workers of the World will be allowed a vote provided they are unaffiliated by the body which they represent to insure the organization as a part of the National Industrial Union of Forest and Lumber Workers.

Providing they are not so instructed, such delegates will be allowed a vote, but no vote.

HOW TO ORGANIZE

Every worker in a lumber camp, in saw and shingle mills in a given locality, can become a member of a branch of a "Lumberworkers Industrial Union" with headquarters in a most centrally located town in a given district. Each camp or mill elects delegates to the "Lumber Workers Industrial Union." All the delegates who come together in meetings at regular intervals form the administrative body of the industrial union, and they interchange the news and reports from the various camps and mills and take action on all matters that affect the interests of all workers in that district.

The officers of the Local Industrial Union are nominated by the delegates and are elected by the votes of the members in all branches comprising that industrial union of lumberworkers.

The initiation fee for every member shall be not less than \$1.00 and never more than \$5.00. Monthly dues shall be 50 cents of which 15 cents will be paid into the treasury of the National Industrial Union of Forest and Lumber Workers for purposes to be outlined in the general constitution of that organization.

All local industrial unions and their branches are parts of a National Industrial Union of Forest and Lumber Workers, which organization will formulate its constitution at the coming general convention, to which all local industrial unions of lumber workers will send delegates.

Workers in the lumber industry: Get together! Organize for victory! Where there is no organization, organize with few fellows for the start. The others will follow when they see a few courageous workers unfold the banner of the Industrial Union of Lumber Workers.

Issued by the General Executive Board of the Industrial Workers of the World. Attested:

W. E. TRAUTMANN, General Organizer,
VINCENT ST. JOHN, General Secretary.

FROM THE DOUGHNUT CITY

Portland, Oregon, Nov. 10.
Solidarity:
Things are happening in the city of roses and doughnuts. "Gypsy" Smith has just closed his revival meetings in Seattle and they are reported as a great success financially. He opens here in Portland next Friday, and will spread his teaching of submission. As a side line he will accept all coin of the realm offered.

As with their freak here is curing all diseases with their hands, legs and hands to the attaching new "organs," have a new member. I am going to get a new member on my left hand.

The workmen of the Pacific coast are having a holiday. Most everything is being shut down except rook piles and public road work. And so it will continue as long as men allow their labor to be stolen from them. That will

be as long as they stand out alone and unorganized. Workingmen, show your manhood. Join the I. W. W., that refuses to scab, and is on the job to abolish this slave system.

The big red eight hour sticker is worrying "big business" here very much. Plain clothes men are after them; but the festive sticker just grows on every convenient place. Keep agitating for the eight hour day, fellow workers, and we will soon give the fellows out of work a chance to draw some pay.

Get your shoulder to the wheel, boys, and boost. We are doing badly. People are dead ripe for the one big union. Go out and get them. C. R. DIXON.

LOCAL 179.

Call for Local 179 should be sent to all I. W. W. direct to Log E. 19th St., New York headquarters to individual members. City, inst. MESSNIKOFF, Cor. Sec. MO.

CALL FOR CONVENTION

To Form National Industrial Union of Lumber and Forest Workers.

Pursuant to the action of the General Executive Board of the Industrial Workers of the World, all local unions of forest and lumber workers that are affiliated with the Industrial Workers of the World will elect delegates to attend a convention to be held in the city of Seattle, Wash., Feb. 12, 1912.

Each local union shall be entitled to one vote for the first 50 members in good standing or less, and one additional vote for each additional 50 members or major fraction thereof.

Each local union shall be entitled to one vote for the first 50 members in good standing or less, and one additional vote for each additional 50 members or major fraction thereof.

The General Secretary-Treasurer shall furnish a fully attested copy of the standing of all locals on the books of the General Organization which shall be used in determining the standing of all locals having delegates at the convention. Said statement shall show the amount paid into the General Organization for dues during the months of November and December, 1911, and January, 1912.

Organizations of lumber workers, saw mill workers and all others connected with the forest and lumber industry not affiliated with the Industrial Workers of the World can send delegates if they so desire. Such delegates, if they are instructed by the organization which they represent to install their locals as a part of the National Industrial Union of Forest and Lumber Workers will be given a vote in the convention. If not so instructed they will be allowed a voice without vote in the convention.

The convention will convene at 9 o'clock A. M. at 111 Occidental Ave.

VINCENT ST. JOHN,
General Secretary-Treasurer.
W. E. TRAUTMANN,
General Organizer.

Jos. J. Ector, Theo. Halero, F. H. Little, Francis Miller, Geo. Speed: General Executive Board.

AS TO GERMAN LITERATURE

Chicago, Ill., Nov. 13.

Editor Solidarity:
I see in this week's Solidarity the advertisement by Schlemmer, asking that money be sent to him for subscriptions and books.

First above all, Schlemmer has no right to advertise the booklets and the proposed German paper until the Central committee of German branches of the I. W. W. will meet to approve all the plans so far suggested. The by-laws of the Central Committee and the proposed plans have to be first ratified by the General Executive Board of the Industrial Workers of the World, and they are being mailed out to the members of the G. E. B. for approval.

Then all the sales for literature or any funds for the literature or paper fund will be managed through the General Office of the I. W. W. and by the Central committee of the German Branches.

Therefore all orders for German booklets must temporarily go to Vincent St. John, and he will pay from the receipts the amount Schlemmer will get for setting up and printing the booklet. It is for this reason that no requests for funds have been mailed out, as the Central committee has not met to approve of the plans, and when that committee is organized, which will not be before Nov. 19, then it will be time to announce who will handle the money for German literature and subscriptions for the proposed paper.

I hope you will publish this letter in full, announcing that until the General Executive Board approves of the by-laws and plans of the Foreign Language central committees all monies should be sent to the General Secretary-Treasurer of the I. W. W., Vincent St. John.

WM. E. TRAUTMANN,
General Org. I. W. W.

CAMDEN, N. J.

Camden Local No. 67 has established very comfortable headquarters at 488 Mickle street.

Business meeting every Wednesday at 8 p. m.

Rebel literature for our reading room, and visiting rebel will find us at this station every night and all day Sunday.

Slaves, drop in.

SEC. NO. 67, Camden, N. J.

Order Now
"THE I. W. W. HISTORY, STRUCTURE AND METHODS"
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P. O. Box 622, New Castle, Pa.

FOSTER AND THE A. F. OF L.

(Continued From Page Three)

ply laying a cornerstone or digging a shovel of dirt out of the ground of an exposition site, or similar fads, they would either doubt your sincerity as a union man or believe you half-witted. And the A. F. of Lites are proud of having such parasites in their so-called labor organization.

Any man who calls this miscegenage—the American Separation of Labor—a labor organization is either a big fool or a faker, and I am sure that Foster will think it over and admit that it was only over-enthusiasm to see a powerful I. W. W. which made him advocate the thing he did in his article.

The I. W. W. is not trying to create a dual organization to the A. F. of L., but simply trying to organize the workers of America in a REAL labor organization, having recognized the fact that the A. F. of L. is nothing but a fake and fraud.

The tactics of the I. W. W. so far is the ONLY thing, and we had better grow slowly with right tactics than create a fake industrial union by using wrong methods. Yours for the only labor organization in America.

KARL RATHJE,

Member L. U. No. 85, I. W. W., Chicago, Ill.

GETTING CONSERVATIVE

From time to time in discussions on the subject, Solidarity has insisted that "a political party, once it begins to participate in the government"—that is, get its men into office, tends to become essentially conservative; that it is neither destructive of capitalism nor constructive of the new society, even though it may call itself "revolutionary." To those who have disagreed with this theory, we offer the following bits of comment on the recent elections, the first an editorial in the capitalist N. W. York Sun and the second from an article by a socialist physician in the New York Call:

"The Sole Conservative Party."

"The socialist who was elected mayor of Schenectady Tuesday promises to do nothing to injure the business enterprises of that industrial city; promises to help them as much as he can, and to invite new capital and concerns to establish themselves there. He would enlarge business and its properties."

"If this is the spirit of the socialist candidates, so many of whom were successful at the polls this year, the numerous and varied solemn explanations of socialist success that are dripping from so many press need revision. Our own modest surmise is that people are going over to the socialists as the only conservative and business cherishing party now on view."—New York Sun, Nov. 10, 1911.

"Another interesting feature of the socialist campaign is the striking methods that can be employed to kill the 'free love' and 'anti-religion' bugaboo by nominating a minister to seat as standard bearer. Thus, Wilson of Berkeley, Duncan of Botte and Lunn of Schenectady are examples of a policy that gives the lie direct to any such opposition. Comrades, let us be thankful. The dawn of a new era is close upon us."—Simon Frucht, N. D., in New York Call, Nov. 14, 1911.

Of course, a political party won't "play the game!"

E. G. FLYNN IN DETROIT

Detroit, Mich., Nov. 1st.
Elizabeth Gurley Flynn will speak at Martin Hall, 400 Russell St., on Sunday, Nov. 19th., 2 p. m. Make no other dates but bring your girl to the meeting. Members who want tickets should write to A. Lesier, 1195 Beaubien St.
On Saturday night, Nov. 18th., at 8

SYNDIKALISTEN
The Official Organ of
SVERIGES ARBETARE CENTRAL ORGANIZATION
The revolutionary union of Sweden.
Address:
G. SJOSTROM
Vastergatan 2, Lund, Sweden.

Pamphlets in German

Der Sociale General Strike, by Arnold Roller, 5 cents.
Die Directe Aktion, by Arnold Roller, 5 cents.
Syndicalismus, by Max Baginski, 5 cents.
Die Gottespein, by John Most, 5 cents.
100 copies \$3.00 postpaid.
Politische Redde und ihre Bedeutung fur die Arbeiterklasse, 3c.; \$1.50 per 100.
Anti-Syllabus, by Dr. F. Krasser, 5 cents; \$1.25 per 100.
In English.
The Social General Strike, by A. Roller, \$2.50 per 100.
GEORGE BAUER,
P. O. Box 1719,
New York City

p. m. Miss Flynn will speak for the Italian Branch of the I. W. W. at Schulte's Hall, 318 Hastings St. Subject: "War and the Workers."

CHICAGO I. W. W.

Local 85, branch 2 (English) meets every Friday night at 183 West Madison St., (near Fifth Ave., 4th floor).
Lecture every Sunday night.
Wilbur M. Wolfe, Pres.; Karl Rathje, Rec. Cor. Sec'y, 881 La Salle Ave.; Tillie Meyer, Fin. Sec'y, 612 N. State St.

LOS ANGELES I. W. W.

The I. W. W. is now located in a new and up to date headquarters with a seating capacity of about 300, at 327 East 9th Street, Los Angeles, Calif. Everybody welcome who comes this way.

NEW HEADQUARTERS IN MINNEAPOLIS.

Until further notice the address of the Minneapolis locals will be at Room 5, Webb Block, 10 Third St. S. All communications should be directed to the Secretary Locals 64 and 147. Swedish branch meets every Sunday afternoon, 2.30, at above address. All members should attend." Sec'y Joint Locals.

SUPERIOR, WIS.

Until further notice, all communications to Local 247 should be addressed to Jan. J. Stark, Fin. Sec'y., 1616 N. 5th St., Superior, Wis.

CHANGE IN STOCKTON.

Local 73 of Stockton, Calif., has recently moved to new and larger headquarters at 236 S. California Street.

SEATTLE, WASH.

Portland, OREGON I. W. W.
Portland I. W. W. Headquarters and Free Reading Room, 509 Davis St. Business meeting, Sunday at 2 p. m. Stereoscopic views and lecture every Sunday night at 8 o'clock.

ST. LOUIS I. W. W.

Local 84, I. W. W., St. Louis, Mo., open headquarters at 214 Franklin Ave., Business meeting every Friday, 8 P. M. Soap boxes coming through please drop in. All slaves welcome.

NEW YORK CITY.

Local 179, I. W. W., has headquarters at 212 East 12th St. Business meeting every Wednesday evening. (Lecture Sunday evenings.) Sec'y.

LOGGERS AND LUMBER WORKERS' LOCAL UNION 432.

Business meeting Sunday at 1 o'clock. Secretary, J. H. Reynolds, office hours from 10 in the morning until 10 at night. Headquarters 211 Occidental Ave. (rear), Seattle, Wash.