

LABOR IS ENTITLED

EDUCATION

ORGANIZATION

TO ALL IT PRODUCES

THE INDUSTRIAL WORKER

Advocate of Industrial Unionism for the Working Class

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INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTIONISTS

EUGENE V. DEBS

Such are the Industrial Workers—industrial revolutionists. They stand against the present system of enslaved wage-labor and for the coming system of free co-operative labor.

The Industrial Workers is, therefore, a revolutionary economic organization. It has a stupendous mission. It has come at the right time, and is catching on amazingly.

The very unanimity and concord of bitter opposition of the capitalist class and its press; its politicians and professors and preachers; and, of course, its "labor leaders" has been duly marked by the thinking element among organized workers and has inspired their confidence from the beginning; and their daily accretions to the revolutionary movement are creating consternation and dismay in the ranks of the conservative reactionaries.

The Pittsburg convention of the American Federation of Labor incidentally heard of the Industrial Workers, and the principal representatives, although refusing to "dignify" it by mentioning its name, paid homage to it in the only compliments they have to bestow.

Wait another year and then watch the performance when that same name is mentioned!

The capitalist press of the land, with substantial unanimity, approves and supports the American Federation of Labor—and condemns and opposes the Industrial Workers.

This indisputable fact is of immense significance.

The capitalist press is the property, and, therefore, the representative and defender of the capitalist class—and the capitalist class lives by exploitation of the working class.

With this fact clearly blazoned, how stands the case with the American Federation of Labor, greeted with the "God bless you"—and with the Industrial Workers, spurned with the "God damn you"—of the capitalist press?

Which of these two labor organizations antagonizes the capitalist class and serves the working class?

And vice versa?

Every thinking unionist will answer these

questions for himself by joining the Industrial Workers.

That is what he is doing today.

And that is why the Industrial Workers, the lusty little giant six months of age, already numbers almost, if not quite, one hundred thousand dues-paying members.

And why the most seasoned trade unionists are everywhere at the head of the advancing columns.

And why applications for charters, for organizers and speakers are pouring in at national headquarters in a continuous stream from every corner of the continent.

There is no parallel to this in all the annals of the working class.

It simply means that the workers are arousing from their lethargy; that they have had enough of "leaders," who keep them divided and at war with each other, to display their "leadership," and, incidentally, keep their names on the salary list and expense account.

Trade autonomy, in the name of which the reactionary unionist makes his plea, and upon which he rests his case, is insignificantly contemptible compared to the industrial unity, the organized oneness of the working class.

The former divides the workers into crafts and groups, more or less weak and isolated, and these foster jealousies, one of the other, each vainly seeking its own petty supremacy, while the capitalist, shrewdly playing them against each other, diligently fleeces them all.

And this accounts, in a nutshell, for the partiality and exceeding deference of the fleecing class and its parasites for the pure and simple trade unionism, or trade union simpletonism, which keeps the army of workers divided into a thousand jealous and impotent squads, an easy prey to their designing and brutal exploiters.

The workers of the world must unite!

A trite saying, it is true, but one that cannot too often be repeated.

And though it be worn threadbare, it must be repeated again and again, ten million times ten million times, until at last the cry comes echoing back around the world:

The workers are united.

And this is the mission of the Industrial

Workers—to unite the workers of the world for their own emancipation.

And to accomplish this great work of organization the principal means is education—revolutionary education.

The workers must be taught, or, rather, teach themselves, that their industrial interests are one and the same; that unorganized and ignorant, they are a mass of helpless and despised menials; that united and class-conscious, they are the mightiest power on this planet, and can, with a single breath, extinguish their oppressors and despoilers.

The first thing workers have to do is to teach themselves to think; to think clearly, and then teach others to do the same.

Clear thinking is as fatal to ignorance, to superstition and slavery, as the sunlight is to darkness.

The working class must think!

And then the working class will act!

When the working class begin to think they will unite with the Industrial Workers; they will be bound together as with sinews of steel; they will strike together, when required to strike, all of them, not by regiments or detachments, but as a grand army; and on election day they will vote together in the same united fashion and the very earth will then resound with the triumphant tramp of the Hosts of Industrial Emancipation.

The workers are in an overwhelming majority and have but to act together to conquer the earth and free themselves from every species of servitude.

For a million years the workers have been on the march. Painfully slow, but certain as gravity, they have been pushing toward the heights; toward freedom and the light.

The last great battle is drawing near and the Industrial Workers is marshaling the hosts of labor for that historic conflict of the ages which cannot fail.

All greetings to "The Industrial Worker"—legion of the Industrial Workers of the World—whose clarion appeal rings out today—a new voice which, trumpet-toned, will arouse sleeping labor, bid it lift its bowed form from the dust and take possession of the earth and the fulness thereof in the name of Emancipated Humanity.

THE EVOLUTION OF UNIONISM

BY DANIEL DE LEON

Col. Thomas Wentworth Higginson once said that conservatism should be looked for last among the aged. The young, commanding a limited experience, may easily fall into the error of believing that as things are, so were they always, and would always be; the aged, on the contrary, commanding an extensive experience and having witnessed changes innumerable, should be all the readier to absorb new ideas. Upon this identical reasoning precisely the reverse of the principle should be applicable to nations. The older a nation the longer are the different social stages that it has evolved through during the distant past, and equally longer is the duration of the social stages in which it may find itself today; on the other hand, the younger a nation, all the more rapid must its evolution have been from stage to stage, and all the fresher its recollections of these several changes. It should follow that, with nations, conservatism should be found stronger rooted in the old, and weaker rooted in the young. The youngest of all the nations entrusted with the civilization of the world is America. Whether or not Colonel Higginson's theory holds good with regard to individuals, that the logical reverses of the theory does hold good with regard to nations, is exemplified by America, if in nothing else, in the double circumstance of the launching of the Industrial Workers of the World, together with the acclaim that has greeted its appearance from the ranks of the working class. I may also add, and also in the angry frowns that immediately furrowed the brows of America's capitalist class, and the groans and howls that have since gone up from that camp, together with its dependencies of various shades—together significant and significantly supplementary circumstances.

The economic organization of the working class, like everything else that we have, was transmitted to us from Europe; and like everything else, came rough-hewn into our hands. It was for us to shape it in keeping with the most advanced capitalist conditions found in America. We have done so. In doing so the hardest part of the work lay in overthrowing the baneful principle that "a union need not be a socialist union," which was tantamount to saying that "a labor organization need not be an organization of labor." Like all ripened error, this error has its roots in early history; like all ripened error, accompanying circumstances presently rendered the error plausible; like all ripened error, the point was presently reached when this particular error served as the best shield to the very interests, the capitalist class, in this instance, against which, in fact, unionism, however unconsciously, was unrestrictedly directed. It did not take the American capitalist class long to drop the conservatism of its European kin and perceive the profit to itself that would accrue from the error. The American capitalist class promptly and deftly appropriated the error, compounded it into a baneful pill and oiled the pill in an oil coating of equivogues; its labor lieutenants were charged with the administration of the pill in such doses as might be found necessary; and the rank and file of the working class swallowed the drug, and were thus seasoned into "condition" to be served to the capitalist exploiter. At the bottom of the history of the labor

In such a capitalist country as America, as well say that because the capitalist class is prosperous, therefore the "nation is prosperous," as to say that because an economic body consists of workmen, therefore it is in the interest of the working class.
—DANIEL DE LEON.

movement in America for the last fifteen years lies the struggle for the "disturbers" and "disruptionists" to inject into the working class the antidote to the baneful pill, and thereby to quicken "contented and peaceful" labor to a sense of its actual condition, its power, its rights, its mission in society and its duty to itself.

As well say that man should have fins and live under water, and that to have fins and live under water is the natural condition of life, on the ground that thus did life begin on our planet, as to say that the natural form of unionism is the pure and simple style. Unionism started as pure and simple. The "naturalness" begins and ends there. Unionism makes its appearance with capitalism. The facts that go to make experience were then wanting. The illusion, at that season, was natural that the workingman could cope with the capitalist the same as the capitalist copes with the purchaser, the consumer of his goods. In Europe, the continent especially, two circumstances, independent of unionism itself, stepped in to neutralize the illusion. One was the circumstance that the still semi-feudal social institutions were calculated to mark sharply the class distinction between the worker and the exploiter; the other, that sprung from the first, was the revolutionary movements for political rights. The joint effect of these two causes was, as a general thing to raise unionism in Europe, the continent especially, out of the original ruts in which it started. But lo! from this circumstance arose the most untoward of illusions. Seeing that in continental Europe unionism had become, besides a means to resist capitalist aggression, an aspiration, the question of the ultimate object of the union dropped to the rear, not that the object was neglected, or lost sight of, but that it was considered too obvious for discussion—the union was anyhow builded upon working class principles. The illusion that arose was, first, that the union need not, then, that it must not, and then that criminal was any attempt to cause the union to concern itself about its ultimate mission. The practical manifestation of this illusion was the dogma that the economic or social opinions of the membership of a union were "private affairs" which did not concern the organization. "Unionism" thus became a term that covered certain acts only, such as wages and hours of work, regardless of the economic and sociologic principles inculcated in the union. That, of course, knocked the bottom from under the union's true mission, and, as a consequence, from the hours of work and wages proposition also. With this plunge downward, unionism became just the thing for capitalism. It is curious to watch how the delusion invaded America, and furnished capitalism with its main prop.

Willful wrong could not live a day if not innocently supported by the well-intentioned but uninformed. It is from this well-meaning but uninformed source that American capitalism drew its spiritual force. Im-

agine a man born and brought up in Western Europe, for instance, and descended from a long line of indigenous ancestors. Such a person, if at all given to watch the weather, will have learned that east wind brings dry, and west wind wet weather. If he is a superficial man he will say: "East wind, dry; west wind, rain," and imagine he is uttering a chunk of deep, natural wisdom. The fact is that he is merely expressing a manifestation of a fact in natural philosophy, a fact which underlies his observations. The underlying scientific fact is that wind which comes overland is dry, while wind which comes over the waters is wet. In Eastern Europe, for instance, east wind comes over land, and consequently, is dry, not because it comes from the east, but because it comes over land; on the other hand, west wind comes there over the waters, and consequently, is wet, not because it comes from the west, but because it comes over the waters. He who has fathomed the phenomenon down to its scientific foundation will adapt his actions to it everywhere; he who has not so fathomed the secret will find himself in trouble the moment he changes his home. If such a one were to come to New York, for instance, rain will overtake him regularly when he expects dry weather, and he will find himself regularly burdened, unnecessarily, with an umbrella when he mistakenly looks for rain. The scientific fact remained; just because it remained what it was in Western Europe, in New York, which lies to the east of the waters and to west of land, east wind will bring rain instead of dry weather as in Europe, and west wind will bring dry instead of wet weather, as in Europe. In the identical predicament will the New Yorker be found who imports his weather wisdom without scrutiny. No better off is he in America who would follow European slogans. Such a slogan is that concerning the make-up of the union.

So to speak, in America, land does not lie, as in Europe, to the east, or the waters to the west. The total absence of feudalism from our land leaves the country wholly subject to capitalist influences. Chicanery is the breath in the nostrils of the capitalist class. False appearances is the standard of capitalist society. Here, accordingly, all the social institutions are calculated to blur the lines of class distinction. Under such conditions, in such an atmosphere the consciousness of the class struggle and, along with it, the ultimate mission of unionism, is not "too obvious for discussion." Here it must be emphasized, and the emphasis must manifest itself in the structure of the union. In such a capitalist country as America, as well say that, because the capitalist class is prosperous, therefore the "nation is prosperous," as to say that, because an economic body consists of workmen, therefore it is in the interest of the working class. As in the former instance, so in the latter; the advertiser's trick is but a deception. The capitalist class is not the nation; their prosperity does not imply national prosperity, it implies the reverse; it implies the misery of the nation's majority, of the working class; so with the economic organization: the union is not necessarily a labor organization; it may be, like the army of the German emperor, a body of proletarians so organized and officered, however, as to be a weapon for im-

perial despotism and for the oppression of the proletariat. In America, accordingly, the conservative notion with regard to unionism has no place. Here the conditions demand the adoption of new ideas.

Among the things that we may learn from the recent populist uprising is its clear-sightedness and radicalism as to methods. It would be a pity if its confused and confusing economics were so to becloud the clearness of its radical methods as to have these lost to us. "The free coinage of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1 regardless of international agreement" was supremely absurd as to economics, but as supremely luminous as to radicalness and clearness of temper. Long had the single standard men dilly-dallied; they had held offers that looked to 16 to 1, but always with a string attached. The string one day was this, and then it was that, and then it was the other. At last the

free coinagists had made their experience, and in the wording of their demand cut all the strings. It was so at the Chicago Industrialists' convention. There economics stepped abreast of clear-sightedness as to methods, and clear-sightedness as to methods stood abreast of economics. The stand taken was that a union is not a union, unless it is a labor organization; that a labor organization is an organization of the working class for the working class, and consequently is in the field not to harmonize the vampire capitalist with his victim, the workingman; not to play at peace where there is no peace, but to bring a sword that shall separate the goats from the sheep; that naught is a union that is not so constructed, drilled and officered as to smite the capitalist class hip and thigh, and raise the republic of labor. In short, that a "union" is but an outpost, or even bulwark of capital-

ism, if it is not a Socialist union. Conservatism long-pool-pooled the idea. Radicalism has enthroned it.

The Industrial Workers of the World is the mature fruit of the old International. True to the psychology implied in Colonel Higginson's maxim, the fruit has ripened in the youngest of the sisterhood of nations. It ripened in season. How fully in season may be gathered from the sheet lightning that is now crimsoning the social sky of old Europe. Our duty in America now is, on the one hand, to furnish the powder-laden cannon of the social revolution in Europe with the ball needed to render the charge effective, and on the other, to avail ourselves of the European powder to propel, out of the cannon of the social revolution in America, the ball that we have here cast in the foundry of ripened capitalism.

YOU'LL GET WHAT'S COMING TO YOU

BY ERNEST UNTERMANN

Every one gets what's coming to him. That is a popular belief. And like every popular axiom, this one also has a germ of truth.

Take a certain man. He comes into the world as a product of forces toward which his own will contributed nothing. He is endowed with certain powers, which he did not himself procure. His physical gifts are an inheritance, which enables him to secure for himself certain things, so far as his individual powers can secure them. To that extent he gets what's coming to him.

But certain conditions are stronger than any single individual. He can overcome them only by working together with other individuals. He must organize. His organization will get for the individuals belonging to it as much as its powers can command. To that extent, his organization gets what's coming to it.

A working man in a class society has certain needs. Alone, by his unaided individual powers, he can secure nothing for himself but the right to starve. Of course, people don't call it that. They call it the right to work. But a working man cannot work without selling himself to some master. And when he has sold himself, his master tells him what is right, and he has to do it. If he refuses, he is turned loose, to look for some other master whose bidding he must do, or starve. So the right to work really means the right to starve. That is the only right of a working man nowadays, which the courts do not declare unconstitutional. And so long as he remains isolated as an individual workingman, he will enjoy the right to starve. That is the only thing which is coming to him, and he will get it all right.

For a long time, the working classes knew no better than to starve. They were so helpless that they looked to some savior from beyond the stars to come to their rescue. He came, so we are told. But working people continued to starve.

Then they began to look to great men for salvation. The great men came in due time. But no great man ever helped the working classes. Every great man helped himself. If he helped others, he helped only with a view to helping himself. The working classes lost faith in great men.

Then they began to think a little about helping themselves. So they got together.

A million workers, organized on the industrial plan and acting together as one man, will paralyze the system that robs and oppresses the working class. A million workers so organized will not only strike, but also vote and fight together.
—ERNEST UNTERMANN.

They organized. The kind of organization varied a good deal according to time and circumstances. Whatever form it took, it expressed the degree of intelligence acquired by the workers.

And every one of their organizations got what was coming to them.

In the nineteenth century we have seen larger bodies of working people organized than ever before. Some of them claim a million members or more. They are organized in what is known as trade unions. Each trade is organized by itself. Each trade works for the salvation of its own members. Each trade exerts as much power over the masters as it can command, and that is only as much power as the limited number of men organized in that trade can command. The million men organized together under one chosen leader do not exert all their powers as one man against the master class. Each trade deals with the master class by itself. And the master class likes to deal with each trade by itself. If possible, they would like to deal with each trade-unionist by himself. And both the masters and the trade-unionists have been getting what was coming to them.

The masters have been getting nearly everything which the trade-unionists produced above a bare living. And the trade-unionists got little more than a bare living, little more than they would have gotten if they had not organized at all. Sometimes they got a little more, but never for very long. And in the long run all their tremendous organization did not secure satisfactory conditions of life for them. Above all, it did not gain security from want for them.

Oh yes, I know, they managed to get a few cents more, here and there. They managed to get the hours of labor reduced here and there. But what they gained in wages, the masters took out of them in raised rents and raised prices. And what they gained in hours, the masters took out of them by speeding up the machinery with which the trade-unionist had to work.

But hold on, they did get something more than that. They got the lockout. They got the blacklist. They had their treasuries confiscated. They got injunctions. They got imprisonment. They got clubbings from the police. They got bullets and bayonet stabs from the militia and the regulars. They got just what was coming to them.

For it was they who refused to stand together one million strong and make a lockout and blacklist impossible. It was they who elected the judges who shocked them with injunctions and imprisonment. It was they who voted for the republican and democratic mayors who sent the police to club them and scab on them. It was they who voted for the republican and democratic governors and presidents who sent the militia and regulars to shoot and stab them. And therefore I say that they got just what was coming to them.

Just think of it. A million men, or more, organized in trade unions, and yet they are still at the mercy of the masters. A million men organize, and yet more and more wives and children of working men are driven from the home into the factory. A million men organized, and yet not organized, for they have never, never, stood together as one man and exerted the power of one million organized men against the masters.

Some of them are still looking for a spirit beyond the stars to save them, instead of relying like men on the manhood of one million organized workers. Some of them are still looking for some great man to save them, instead of using the strength of one million organized men to save themselves. Some of them still think that by begging the masters for mercy they can get more from them than by rising, one million strong, and forcing the masters to accede to the just demands of the working class, no matter what these demands may be. And that is the reason why I say, they got just what was coming to them.

But there are others who no longer look to a savior beyond the stars, nor to a savior among the great men, nor a savior in the shape of the master class. They look to no other savior but the organized working class, to themselves. They realize that organized labor gets just what is coming to it; that they can get everything they want, if they know how to take it.

These working people have abandoned

the trade union form of organization. They have adopted the Industrial form of organization. All the men, women, and children, working in the same industry, when organized on the Industrial plan, act as one solid body. And when they have to strike, they strike together as one solid body.

These Industrial Unionists don't tell the masters beforehand when they are going to strike. They don't tell the masters anything of what they are going to do. They don't give the masters a chance to hire scabs, organize a special police force, get the militia ready, and write out the injunctions before the strike is declared. They don't send any leaders to their masters' table or conferences. They don't parley at all with the masters. They just get ready to strike, and when they are ready, they will strike.

If there are one million Industrial Unionists, one million of them will strike together. And then they will get just what is coming to one million organized strikers.

And what will that be? A few cents more? A few hours less? Go on, you're just fooling.

Injunctions? Police? Militia? Regulars? May be. But perhaps the masters will think twice before they tackle one million organized workers who strike together. And if they do tackle them, they will get what is coming to them—namely, a revolution.

A million workers, organized on the Industrial plan and acting together as one man will paralyze the system that robs and oppresses the working class. A million workers so organized will not only strike, but also vote and fight together. They will make workers of the masters.

A million workers, striking, voting, and fighting as one man, will get what is coming to them, and that is the whole United States.

The success of the working-class movement for emancipation, presupposes a highly developed organization of that class; it presupposes also a developed intelligence and a power that comes through self-discipline. Still further, it presupposes an organization that, with intelligence and discipline, WILL BE CAPABLE OF CARRYING ON INDUSTRY AND PRODUCTION when capitalism attains the climax of corruption and forces a catastrophe upon us. Such an organization of the workers can only be effected in the field of actual work—in the shop, the factory, the mine—and only an organization that stands for working-class solidarity, including all workers in any one industry, can be effective to accomplish its ends. This the Industrial Workers does. The fundamental principle of the organization arises from the economic interests of the workers. It secures to them a firm foundation in their struggle against the organized forces of capitalism.

The time for the Industrial Union movement was when the old trades union movement was ripe to rotteness, and by nobody is any attempt being made to show that it isn't rotten ripe. Let it go. It is a stench in the nostrils of decent people. The Industrial Workers are here; here at the right time and here to stay. The organization stands for working class solidarity and the use of all means necessary to win emancipation. The American Federation of Labor stands for capitalist interests and division of the workers, which promotes capitalist interests.

The robbery of the working class takes place in the shop where work is performed. In all the processes of production there is robbery. It takes place in the market where the products of labor are sold. In all the processes of distribution there is robbery through profit. A system that proposes to secure to the working class all that it produces ought to appeal strongly to the victims of robbery. And it will, with the spread of intelligence and distipation of prejudice based on ignorance.

"What would you do if the people of your state were to clamor for your resignation?"
"I'd profit by the hint," answered Senator Sorghum, "and keep a closer eye than ever on the legislature."—Washington "Star."

INDUSTRIAL FREEDOM

By Wm. R. Fox.

(Written for THE INDUSTRIAL WORKER.)

WORLD-WIDE ringing goes the message,
Tyrants quake with horrid presage,
Freedom! Freedom! Freedom, toilers!

Land and tools at last for users,
And the product to producers!
Unto him who works requital,
But the idler has no title!

Workers of the world, unite all
World-alliance
Hurl defiance!

Force compliance from the spoilers!
Down with shirkers!
Up with workers!

Freedom! Freedom! Freedom, toilers!

Freedom! all-victorious Freedom!
Bouyant, beautiful, glorious Freedom!
Plenty, pleasure, treasure, honor,
Love and leisure wait upon her!
Freedom, toilers!
Freedom, toilers!

Lords of shops and ships and chariots,
Hear the cheering proletariats!
Freedom! Freedom! Freedom, toilers!
Lo, outravenging your bravado,
Bolder rolls the world-tornado!
All your ancient forms of evil
Totter in one wide upheaval!

Down they sink beyond retrieval
Joyous races
Lift their faces

In the places of the spoilers!
Gone the shirkers!
Glad the workers!

Freedom! Freedom! Freedom, toilers!

Freedom! all-victorious Freedom!
Bouyant, beautiful, glorious Freedom!
Plenty, pleasure, treasure, honor,
Love and leisure wait upon her!
Freedom, toilers!
Freedom, toilers!

Earth is man's, and men will take it!
Heaven it is, for heaven they make it!
Freedom! Freedom! Freedom, toilers!
All that's good and grand and human
Grows and grows in man and woman,
Owners of their occupations
In the liberated nations—

In the Socialistic nations!
Much they wonder
We lived under

The long plunder of the spoilers!
None are shirkers!
All are workers!

Freedom! Freedom! Freedom, toilers!

Freedom! all-victorious Freedom!
Bouyant, beautiful, glorious Freedom!
Plenty, pleasure, treasure, honor,
Love and leisure wait upon her!
Freedom, toilers!
Freedom, toilers!

What are your politics but simply obeying orders?
By whom are the orders issued?
By capitalists.
Do capitalists issue orders to politicians in the interest of the working class?
Never.

In whose interest, then, are the orders issued?
In the interest of the capitalist class.
Now, the Industrial Workers propose that the working class shall issue the orders. Then for capitalist politics you will substitute working-class politics. The working class will issue its own orders. When the working class issues and obeys its own orders something will "come to pass!"
There will be something doing! See it?

It is a class struggle that we are in. One class sweats while the other steals; one surfeits while the other starves; one plunders while the other produces; one draws rent, interest and profit while the other draws rags, insult and poverty.

Horrors of Child Labor

All the training required by children in the labor market is in the direction of mechanical and brainless routine. Outside of a very few surviving skilled trades there is no real apprentice system. The child who wraps caramels a fortnight before Christmas; carries "uppers" a month in a shoe factory; delivers telegrams a season, or drifts to the stockyards for a few weeks, acquires no real trade-skill or knowledge. Working in half a dozen branches of industry in as many months—and this is by no means rare among working children in Chicago—the child is the worse for every change, because he is taught by this experience that cheapness is the one quality desired, instability a matter of course, and that his added size, strength and skill, if accompanied by a demand for added pay, afford a reason for his discharge. The Illinois factory child, trained neither in the schoolroom nor the workshop, can develop no individuality, and promises, in coming maturity, to be little more than an addition to the mass of wretched, helpless, unskilled labor.

Moreover, many occupations threaten actual disability by mutilation or disease. In the manufacture of cigars, both girls and boys are employed, and the saturation of the children with nicotine is only a question of time. In tobacco factories there are processes during which no fresh air can be admitted to the work room, and the atmosphere becomes intolerable to all save those already sufficiently saturated not to notice it. Among the paper-boxmakers, the serious danger of the machine proclaims itself in the frequent accidents. In paint-works, soap-works, chemical and rubber works, photographers' shops, and the absorption of poison through the skin and membranes is no less deadly for being less conspicuous than the accident which finds its way into the daily paper.

Of the garment workers it is true now as in 1894 that "many of the boys in the sweatshops are buttonholers, and every little buttonhole is destined, sooner or later, to develop a curvature of the spine. Other boys run foot-power machines, and the fate that awaits these is consumption of the lungs or intestines. Many of the little girls are 'hand-girls' whose backs grow crooked over their work of hemming, felling, and sewing on buttons. Others run foot-power machines, often incurring tuberculosis, or they develop pelvic disorders, ruinous to themselves and to their children."

In the stamping industry, children are often mutilated. Where an adult operates a die machine, and the machine is guarded, danger is not eliminated, but merely minimized, because the fingers must still be used for pushing the tin or other material under the descending die. When children are the operators, mutilations are common and sometimes result fatally. Manufacturers, in all lines habitually insure their employes in accident insurance companies.

Work in the laundries entails exhaustion from heat and dampness, and long, irregular hours of work. The girl who stands all day and far into the night curves her back, forcing the weight of her body upon the left foot while she starts and stops the machine with her right foot on the heavy treadle. Even when no mangle accident renders her a cripple, the child who works steadily in a laundry is reasonably sure of life-long invalidism. The glass-works share with the laundries the heat, night work, and overtaxation of the children. It is rare to find a glassblower working at his trade after the age of thirty-five. The peculiar dangers of glass-works are the flying particles of broken glass, and the rapidly moving, long handles of the carriers. The proportion of blind and partly blind children in glass-blowing communities is unusually large.

The future of the labor movement belongs to that form of organization which will include provision for all workers engaged in one industry being organized in one union; that is to say, the future of the labor movement belongs to the Industrial Workers of the World.

A clergyman in Richmond, Va., tells this story at his own expense: "One Sunday I was returning home when I was accosted by a quaint old woman, housekeeper in the employ of a dear friend of mine. 'I want to tell you, sir,' said the old woman, 'how much I enjoy going to church on the days that you preach. Expressing my appreciation of the compliment, I said that I was much gratified to hear it, adding that I feared I was not as popular a minister as others in the city, and finally asked: 'And what particular reason have you for enjoyment when I preach?' 'Oh, sir,' she answered, with appalling candor, 'I get such a good seat, then.'—Philadelphia "Record."

A FEW WORDS TO WORKINGMEN

BY J. SCHLOSSBERG

You are often frightened away by the term "science" or "scientific." You imagine science to be within the exclusive realm of the college professor, and far beyond the mental horizon of the ordinary workingman.

The appellation of "Scientific Socialists" is frequently given us as a slur. It is intended to imply that science, not being within the reach of the workingman, socialism is not a workingman's movement. One might as well say that the knowledge of anatomy, not being now within the reach of the workingman, the workingman's body is not his own.

What is science? Nothing more nor less than the real truth as proven by actual and well established facts.

In olden times people believed the sun to be moving around the earth; now we know that the earth is moving around the sun. In former days people did not know the facts, and they had to believe what appeared to them to be true; since then facts have been discovered, and they have given us positive knowledge which took the place of belief. The knowledge that comes from understanding actual facts is science. If you say 2 and 2 equals 4, it is scientifically correct because you can prove that by actual facts.

Science, therefore, at least, inasmuch as it concerns our own workingmen's affairs, is within the mental reach of every single one of our class, who only takes the trouble to think for himself. A few examples will illustrate this.

Mr. Baer, of the coal trust, claims that the Almighty, in His infinite wisdom, entrusted him with a very big share of this nation's wealth. That may be good capitalist theology, or theologian philosophy, and Roosevelt may have been philosophically justified in appointing a commission committed to the mission of protecting the Lord's minister of finance in the coal regions, but we have no time and our minds are too weary from hard work for fine hair-splitting. We want facts. Can Mr. Baer prove his ecclesiastical claim by facts? If he can, he is right—and it is scientifically proven; if he can't, he is a fraud, though he may be philosophical.

When we look into the facts, we discover that all the wealth found in the possession of Mr. Baer was produced by a host of wage-slaves employed by him in and about the mines. When we question the producers of his wealth we find that never has the Almighty, or any other part of the Holy Trinity, revealed Himself to them with an injunction to turn over the products of their toil to Mr. Baer for safe keeping. All facts lead to one conclusion: The workingmen, in their infinite ignorance, allowed themselves to be plundered by Mr. Baer.

Mr. Baer's philosophy may be good or bad, but we have scientifically proven—established by irrefutable facts—that Mr. Baer came into the possession of his great fortune by robbery. That is good and sound working class economics, is perfectly scientific, and there is no workingman unable to understand it, if he but tries to.

Division of labor has been hailed as one of the devices of human genius for lightening the white man's burden. That, too, can very easily be tested in a scientific way by the simple method of applying the theory to the touchstone of facts.

Enter any sweatshop in New York where

What the workingman lacks is not the capacity for understanding, but the opportunity of learning. That opportunity the Industrial Workers of the World is to afford him. For this reason, I hail "The Industrial Worker" as another means of shedding light where there is darkness.
—J. SCHLOSSBERG.

they make the shoddy clothing you wear. There you will find division of labor to a very high degree. Among the inmates you will notice a little boy or girl bent over a big overcoat, pulling bastings from it for twelve long hours every day. The division of labor has made it possible to press that little tot into wage slavery for the munificent compensation of one and a half to two dollars a week. The child grows up in hopeless stupidity, not only because of the lack of opportunities for education, but because of the very nature of employment which kills its mental faculties and cripples the child physically. A trained dog will do the work just as good. But whereas the dog would have been elevated to the level of the human child, the child is degraded to the level of the dog. The facts in this case show that under capitalism, division of labor, like all other improvements in industrial activity, is a curse to the workingmen, though it is a blessing for the profit-gathering capitalists. And since facts prove that, it is scientifically correct. Can anyone say that that is too much for a workingman's intellect to grasp?

Again, Mr. Gompers argues that his label placed on any given product is a guarantee that that particular thing was produced by members of his organization, in good standing, working under sanitary conditions, short hours, are receiving the union scale of wages, and enjoying all the bliss and happiness promised by the American Federation of Labor to every mortal fool who pays Mr. Gompers per capita dues.

We do not wish to convict Mr. Gompers of fraud, unless we find the facts warrant same. We proceed to examine them.

There is a sweatshop of paper boxes on the Bowery in New York. Little girls, somewhat older than the basting-puller in the clothing factory, work there for three, four, possibly four and a half dollars a week. They are ill-treated, abused, and their "wages" are cut. They are too young to understand anything about a union, still they band together and refuse to work. That develops into a real and formal strike with pickets and all else that goes with it. With the help of police and little "scabs" the strike is broken.

A few blocks east of the Bowery there is a factory of paper cigarettes. It is a "Union Label Factory," because those who make the cigarettes are members of the union of their craft. They pay Mr. Gompers his tithe regularly, and proclaim very loudly their feeling of solidarity for their fellow workingmen. The boxes from the Bowery factory, made by "scab" and child labor, are brought into the cigarette factory, are filled with cigarettes by the members of the cigarette makers' union, and are decorated by them with the union's label, as proof of "union labor." Likewise is the union label sewed into that overcoat from which the little boy or girl pulled the bastings.

These facts prove, that Mr. Gompers' union label is a fraud and an imposition

upon the working class in the interest of the capitalist class.

That is good, sound, working class economics, and being proven by facts, it is scientifically established.

Is there any workingman so dull as not to understand that when made clear to him?

Finally, the American Federation of Labor insists that "the interests of capital and labor are identical." When we test that assertion by the facts known to us from our own working class experience, we find that the contrary is the truth: The interests of capital and labor are diametrically opposed to one another. Hence, the American Federation of Labor, based on false grounds, is false to the interests of the working class; the Industrial Workers of the World, being based on true and correct grounds—the class struggle—is true to the interests of the working class.

Who will say that that is impossible for an ordinary workingman to comprehend, if properly explained to him? Yet, that is science.

What the workingman lacks is not the capacity for understanding, but the opportunity of learning. That opportunity the Industrial Workers of the World is to afford him. For this reason, I hail "The Industrial Worker" as another means of shedding light where there is darkness.

Education will pave the way for organization, and will make possible the overthrow of wage slavery.

New York.

The Industrialist makes his appeal only to the working class, to the victims of capitalist exploitation, and never to the exploiters. He does not seek to harmonize the conflicting economic interests of these two, by preachments about the "identity of capital and labor." He knows that working class interests are one thing and capitalist class interests another; but between them there is, there can be, no identity of interest; that the economic interests of the capitalists dominate the interests of the workers, and, therefore, dominate all institutions under which the workers must live.

There are four rules of division in the game of capitalism: Wages for the worker, rent, interest and profit for the other fellow. You get the questionable advantage of one rule; the other fellow gets the full benefit of all four. Divide not at all is the rule of Industrial Workers; "labor is entitled to all it produces." But you can't get Samuel Gompers or William Hearst to see it—or acknowledge it. Both of them believe in more battleships and more guns—to make more work, to make more profits, to create more misery and keep the workers of the world divided.

When you see in a capitalist newspaper references to "discredited" labor leaders, consider the source—a CAPITALIST paper; then consider the object—deception. Every labor leader who is "discredited" by the mouthpieces of capitalism is above par with intelligent and thoughtful workmen. Any labor leader whose credentials are indorsed by capitalists lacks the confidence of the workman who understands his class interests.

Terry Powderly, "accredited" labor leader and salaried politician, took occasion at Pittsburg to say that he and Gompers "were now a unit on the labor question." Having come into close touch with the sources of corruption, Terry and Gompers have become "safe, sane and conservative." Hence they are a unit, in a group which includes Cleveland, Belmont, Potter and Ireland, on the labor question.

A Girard school teacher, instructing her class in grammar, wrote this sentence: "The horse and the cow is in the lot." No one seemed to know what was wrong with it, till at last a polite little boy raised his hand. "What is it, Johnny?" asked the teacher. "You should put the lady first," corrected Johnny.—Kansas City "Journal."

Organization of Labor in America

BY A. M. SIMONS

The organization of labor, like every other social institution, has its form determined by the industrial conditions amid which it arises.

In order to understand present organizations we need not go back further than the Civil War. Previous labor movements although of great importance in the formation of social institutions, and in the acquirement of many of the weapons with which labor must fight today, have so little connection with immediate problems as to require no further mention. Indeed it was with the coming of the panic of 1873 that present labor history had its beginning.

This panic changed the industrial face of society. The transcontinental railroads with their countless branches grid-ironing the country, formed a national market for all industrial productions, while the abolition of chattel slavery combined with this same perfection of transportation created a national market for labor-power also. The panic of 1873 crushed out the class of little village capitalists who had hitherto-made up the majority of the ruling class. The battle for supremacy now began between the industrial giants who were able to operate within this national market. In their fight with each other they forced the price of labor power ever lower and lower. So it was that the hundredth anniversary of the Declaration of Independence saw the American workers who had fought the wars by which that "independence" had been gained, who had laid down their lives again that "slavery might be destroyed," in a condition of servitude and suffering more pitiable than that endured by the colonists in the days of King George.

A final horizontal reduction of 10 per cent in wages by the Pennsylvania Railroad in 1887 was the spark that fired the explosion and the great strike of that year was on. With very little organization this strike took on many of the features of the anarchistic general strike. Thousands of laborers dropped their work in simple, individual revolt, realizing dimly the feeling of class consciousness with no adequate method of expressing it. For a few days it seemed as if victory was theirs. In some cities the workers came close to gaining complete control, but their lack of organization or of any intelligent method of action rendered their rulership ineffective.

Moreover the workers soon learned for what they had been fighting during the Civil War. The capitalist class of the North had sent its wage slaves to die on Southern battle fields that it might have a national government at its disposal. Among the weapons which capitalism gained in that struggle was control of the armed forces of state and nation. Now for the first time was heard the crack of rifles in American cities as government in the hands of a triumphant plutocracy crushed out the revolt of its wage slaves.

This great battle, however, had taught the workers the necessity of organization—taught it to them in that hardest and bloodiest of all schools, which the workers have so long attended, experience. Out of this blind revolt of a class, reflecting the industrial confusion amid which it arose, sprang the Knights of Labor. Utterly ignoring the industrial or trade lines which still existed, largely blind to any ultimate aim or object, it was

The industrial form of organization corresponds to the widespread solidarity of interests in the production of wealth. Its class-conscious revolutionary position is the reply of the proletariat to the class-conscious reactionary attitude of the capitalists.
—A. M. SIMONS.

foredoomed to failure. Yet shall we really call it failure? Can we say of any social institution that it has failed? Shall we not say rather that it was one of the lessons in the school of experience, which must be learned. The Knights of Labor had vegetated for over ten years, but now within the five following 1881 it grew from 100,000 to nearly seven hundred thousand. In so growing it had taken within its bosom that most deadly of all poisons to any working class movement, the labor faker.

The Richmond convention of 1886 marked the beginning of the downfall of the order. It met with a full treasury. When it adjourned nearly half a million dollars of spoils had been distributed.

The great eight hour agitation which was to have culminated on May 1, 1886, completed its disintegration. The Knights of Labor, to be sure, had refused to endorse this movement. Its officials had already become so far separated from the real class struggle as to be unresponsive to the tremendous demand for better conditions which voiced itself in what has come to be known as the great "eight-hour movement" of '86. In the midst of that movement came the Haymarket bomb, the unloosing of Judge Gary and the pack of hounds of hell controlled by capitalism and ended with the scaffold in Cook County jail yard.

Meanwhile another organization had been barely existing. In 1881 a body of men met in Pittsburg and formed what they styled the "Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions of the United States and Canada." Few would recognize in this high sounding title the baby name of the present American Federation of Labor. President Gompers has told us, in an official report, "that 107 delegates representing nearly one-quarter of a million men" met at this first Pittsburg convention. When we examine this list of delegates, however, we find that nearly all of them came to the convention by street car and that fifteen or twenty thousand would be a fair estimate of the actual membership represented.

During the first year of this organization the office was under Sammy's hat and the total income from all directions was \$445.31. Three years later this organization was able to show an income of only \$336.22. These figures are taken from the official reports issued at the time and not from those which are now issued and which have been modified to suit the necessity of present propaganda.

Meanwhile this organization was carrying on a bitter fight against the Knights of Labor. When the latter organization went down the American Federation of Labor was ready to pick up the fragments. This took place in 1887, and from that time on the growth of the American Federation of Labor was rapid.

Industrially this is accounted for by the fact that the late '80's and the early '90's was the period of the extension of great industries throughout the national market.

The struggle which had been taking place a few years before was now narrowing down to a few gigantic firms in each industry. There was little sign of consolidation across trade lines, however, and it was but natural that the American Federation of Labor should reflect the existence of these trade lines. Moreover, there was little expression of industrial solidarity among the capitalists; on the contrary, they were still engaged in a cannibalistic struggle for survival.

The panic of 1894, however, brought new industrial conditions; it ushered in the beginning of the era of consolidation across all lines, trade or industrial. Now began the growth of the great trusts and combines. It was soon to become the era of Employers' Associations, and Civic Federation—of conscious consolidation of class interests for the purpose of open combat upon the one hand and deception and bribery upon the other.

Such a consolidated capitalist class can call to its aid every power of government. The capitalists of today are disturbed by no contest among themselves concerning the class use of government. Legislative, executive and judicial powers are absolutely at their disposal.

These are powers to which they are entitled so long as they remain the ruling class, and the working class at least can not complain while it refuses to use the forces at its disposal to take these powers from the master class. But one other power the capitalists have secured to which they are not entitled. They have captured a large portion of the strength of the very organizations which were ostensibly formed to fight working class battles. So far has this gone that today the American Federation of Labor is to a large extent but an instrument with which to tie the hands of the workers politically, while they are robbed industrially.

Under such a condition the birth of an organization which should express these new industrial relations was inevitable. The Industrial Workers of the World came into being not because a few men conspired together one year ago, but because industrial conditions were ripe for its birth. It came into the labor world of America representing the answer of the proletariat to consolidated capital, its organized deception and exploitation. It is built upon the lessons gained by the working class in these years of suffering.

Its industrial form of organization corresponds to the widespread solidarity of interests in the production of wealth. Its class-conscious revolutionary position is the reply of the proletariat to the class-conscious reactionary attitude of the capitalists. It is the fitting culmination of a half century of evolution in proletarian organization.

But it is even more than this. In its recognition of the inevitable tendencies of industrial evolution it is the beginning of a new age—the age of the workers when capitalist rule and wage slavery will be no more.

"I suppose you scorn the amateur actor?"
"Not at all," said Mr. Stormington Barnes.
"I have on occasion regarded the amateur actor with much admiration as a man who has his rent paid and is close to home."—Washington "Star."

CAPITALIST LABOR UNIONS INDICTED

It has been said that the Industrial Workers of the World is premature and was brought into existence artificially. Those who say this are singularly disinclined to take into account the facts and conditions which justify its birth. Victor L. Berger, laboring hard to maintain an attitude of real hostility, has this to say: "They (Industrial Workers of the World) cannot grow, because in the labor movement everything must have a natural connection. Industrial groups cannot be arbitrarily invented, but must arise out of existing relations" or conditions. What particular "natural connection" the Industrial Workers of the World should have had we are not told. The individual units composing it have been connected with the labor movement actively for many years, and in as honorable relations as those of Mr. Berger. He tells us that the American Federation of Labor, or some of its craft divisions, will very soon furnish the basis for a "modern" labor organization. From this we conclude that Berger is still under the illusion that by some mysterious arrest of the processes of corruption and decay that are eating at the vitals of the American Federation of Labor and destroying it, it can be "modernized" and made to rise "out of existing relations." This theory of "progress" will not stand investigation. There is and can be no proof of such a theory; it assumes, on the contrary, a result unwarranted by the tests of experience. It might as well be argued that the Socialist, who alone understands the historic mission of labor, should remain in the political parties of capitalism with the expectation of raising them "out of existing relations" and accomplishing their purification. The "opposition" starts and ends with an assumption; it is a chain of assumptions without a missing link.

We give herewith a small part of the record made by the American Federation of Labor and some of the organizations that Berger expects (?) to "modernize" and "purify," in a statement made by W. E. Trautmann at the convention of the Industrialists:

"When one files an information and charges against another, he is expected to prove them. Before this convention we stand ready today to prove the charge that the trades union movement has become an auxiliary to the capitalist class, in order to hold down the toilers of the land. All that has been said, all that has been charged against individuals in the trades-union movement, is absolutely nonsensical, if we do not go down to the facts upon which such charges rest. I intended before I came to this convention to compile from my own bitter experience in the trades-union movement, from the facts and quarrels and battles and tribulations, a synopsis which might go before the world as proof from the trades-union journals, and from the documents of the trades-unionists themselves, that they cannot act otherwise and be consistent, because they are, and recognize that they are, under the management of the capitalist class. I bring such as I have already completed. I bring it in a concise and brief form, with all the documents from the trades-union journals whereby to prove that such indictments were in order.

"The first instance is connected with the railway strike of 1894. You have it under the seal of the American Federation of Labor, with the signature of Samuel Gompers attached, that he was one of the lieutenants of capitalism who broke the strike. In the official publication of the St. Louis, Mo., Exposition of 1894, occurs this passage from the exhibit of the American Federation of Labor, by Gompers, its president:

"It is not without reason that the members of this vast Federation have been inspired with confidence in the ability and devotion of their officers. All of this latter are working officers of the most successful national unions, and as such have proved their capacity before being promoted to their present position. It should be remembered that it was the council of the American Federation of Labor, acting in con-

junction with the chiefs of the railway brotherhoods, which refused to participate in the great strike on the railroads centered in 1894, and thus averted a bloody and disastrous conflict with the military forces of the United States. It was this same council that in refusing to affiliate with the central federation of New York, with its fifty-nine local unions and some 15,000 members, because it included a branch of the Socialist Labor Party, struck the keynote of the resistance against the dangerous delusion that the emancipation of the working class can be achieved by placing in the hands of shallow politicians the business enterprises now conducted by private persons. And it was the same council which, after an envenomed conflict of five years' duration, was vindicated in open convention by a decisive vote of 3,790 against 214, and the program of the common ownership of all the means of production and distribution was declared alien to the trades union movement.

"By the systematic pursuit of a policy as above illustrated, the American Federation of Labor demonstrates to the world that the spirit of the trades unions is essentially conservative, and that in the measure of its conservatism it has become the most valuable agent of social progress. This is a truth only grasped by the most capable minds, and it is the recognition of this truth, and its practical application in the Labor to transform the old-time trades union forces and tactics into a disciplined army, only engaging in industrial war when diplomacy has utterly failed."

"Out of the great mass of evidence, which I have gathered to show the practical operation of craft unionism along the lines of capitalist exploitation, I have selected first that pertaining to the Cigar Makers' International Union of America. Its constitution establishes an aristocracy of labor and discriminates against the workmen because of their race and the poverty of their circumstances. Section 64, page 17 of the tenth edition of the constitution, provides that 'All persons engaged in the cigar industry, except Chinese coolies and tenement house workers, shall be eligible to membership; this shall include manufacturers, who employ no journeymen cigarmakers, and foremen, who have less than six members of the union working under them.' It is further specified that 'the acceptance of rollers and filler-breakers as members by initiation, or by card, shall be optional with local unions, except in places where the system has already been introduced.' This section is manifestly designed to foster a monopoly of a few craftsmen in collusion with a certain class of manufacturers against outsiders. Section 154, page 39, reveals additional evidence in the clause that 'no union shall be allowed to furnish the label for cigars made in whole or in part by machinery.' Thus the blue label of the Cigarmakers' International Union of America, instead of being the mark of improved conditions for all the workers in the cigar industry, is merely the medium whereby a small proportion of trades-unionists, by mutual agreement with employers on the selling price of cigars, preserve some rights which they refuse to extend to those whose employers cannot be forced to sell their goods at the prices stipulated by the union and those of their craft who work in shops where machinery is used. Yet, in spite of these restrictions, and notwithstanding membership discrimination against Chinese and tenement house workers, section 154 of the constitution provides that 'where the manufacturer deals in Chinese, tenement house or scab cigars, it shall be optional with local unions to withhold the label from such a firm.'

"Stogie makers and common workers in cigar factories and employes of the cigar trust are absolutely debarred from the union, and when they tried to organize under the American Federation of Labor they were refused a charter because the Cigarmakers' International Union of America objected to its issuance. (See proceedings of American Federation of Labor convention held in Detroit, 1899.) This is also true of the Tobacco Workers' International Union, into whose membership no employes of the tobacco trust may be admitted, and whose regulations provide that whenever an independent union factory becomes absorbed by the trust the label shall be withdrawn and the employes either leave the factory or the union.

"Another organization, which is even more notably in collusion with the employers than the Cigarmakers, is the United Garment Workers of America. In 1903, the Association of Manufacturers of Workingmen's Garments met in Chicago to confer with officials of the United Garment Workers concerning the regulation of the prices of garments and the use of the union label. Agreements were made between the two contracting parties, by which the union became a facile tool of the employers. On January 26 and 27, 1904, the association met again in New York. According to the Weekly Bulletin of the Clothing Trades, February 5, 1904, official journal of the United Garment Workers of America, 'the chairman was Mr. H. S. Peters, I member of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen and a manufacturer. It was voted by each firm to subscribe a liberal sum to the fund of the national union for advertising the union label and to assist the union to improve

the quality of the goods bearing the label. One of the principal objects of the association is to remedy selling abuses that create an injurious competition, and the effects are to depress wages and make difficult an increase.'

"The union label, it will be observed, is practically the manufacturers' label. In the account of the 1905 convention of the Union Made Garment Manufacturers of America, the Weekly Bulletin of the clothing trades, under the title of 'Perfect Harmony with Union Made Firms,' reports that 'a uniform national scale for the overall trade is to be considered by a special committee and a committee of the union prior to the union's convention. To cap the climax the manufacturers selected as their secretary and labor commissioner, Walter Chuck, the well-known General Executive Board member of our international union.' And in rebuttal of a charge made by the Daily Trade Record, the Bulletin avers that 'the only hostility shown is toward those employers, label or non-label, who refuse to come up to the standard demanded equally and invariably of all manufacturers.' These standards, you will perceive from what I have already said, are measured by the selling price of the union manufacturers.

"The like 'harmony of interest' conspiracies exist between the International Boot and Shoe Workers and the shoe manufacturers, as evidenced in the business transactions of the international officers of that union in the last four years. Their official journal openly admits that the label should be issued to manufacturers at the discretion of the national officers, and that 'the shoe workers must come to the realization of the fact that owing to existing conditions the majority of the manufacturers do not derive anywhere near as large a profit from their business as the manufacturers in other directions.'

The opponents of the present policy of the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union claim that wages should be increased before the union stamp is issued. At the present time there is about as much sense in this as there would be in a shoe-worker with a sturdy pair of legs buying crutches to navigate on, or taking a dose of Paris green for an invigorator.

"Now, I wish to recall a case from memory, because I have not the documents here. There is present at this convention, as one of the delegates, a man who was a victim in this case. Here comes the general secretary of the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union, offering the Hamilton-Brown factory to operate one of their non-union shops with union men, to show the manager of that firm, after a certain lapse of time, that shoes can be manufactured cheaper in union than in non-union factories, and the result proved that the cost under the agreement with the Boot and Shoe Workers' organization—the wages of the slaves in the union factories—were less than where there was no organization. And here are men in St. Louis thrown out on the street, because, as letters in my possession from the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union proved, the officers insisted that the boot and shoe workers be not organized in St. Louis. And when the men in the factories insisted that they had a right to come together, and when they were forced to go on the street, it was the same Boot and Shoe Workers' Union that filled the places of the men and crushed the spirit of those people.

"Now, as to the indictment against the high initiation fee. There comes over to this country a Bohemian by the name of Richard Stepniak, a man, who for eleven years belonged to the industrial unions of Germany, Switzerland, Bohemia, France and Denmark, and was everywhere recognized by his card as a glass blower. He arrives upon the shores of this county, and being imbued with the class solidarity of the toilers, and believing that the doors of the unions here would be opened to him, he applies for a job in a factory in New Jersey. The manufacturer tells him he can give him work, but before he can go to work he will have to apply for admission in the Green Bottle Blowers' Union. He makes application for admission to an organization belonging to the American Federation of Labor, and the vice president of the Federation sends a reply (and the letters are on file) that unless he pays down \$500 as an initiation fee he will not be allowed to work, and that man was made a scab because he could not get work under the union.

"Go to the city of New York and you will find unions charging \$100 initiation fee and a press censorship against those who rebel against the extortion. You find the National Civic Federation fostering this condition through the trade journals in the last few years, and these journals

(Continued on Page 12.)



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For the Workers Only

Justified by conditions long existing in the ranks of organized labor, demanded as a protest against the prostitution of labor organizations to the foul purposes of capitalists, consciously committed to and glorifying in a revolutionary movement, and inspired by the task which lies before us, "The Industrial Worker" enters the world struggle between organized glutony and its outraged and dispossessed victims, solely in behalf of the latter.

We organize workers against robbers. We have contempt for those who defend robbery, and pity for all who would excuse it for a concession. "Labor is Entitled to All it Produces." We do not ask robbers to concede something as a favor. We call upon the working class to organize, on both the economic and political field, and take all that by its skill and toil and ingenuity and sacrifice it brings into existence.

With firm conviction in the justice of our cause, grounded as it is in the welfare and the aspirations of the working class, we begin our work with supreme confidence in the ultimate triumph of the principles and form of organization for which we contend. Our cause is that of the undermost man; his cause is ours. It is the paramount cause in the world today. Thrones totter and empires tremble in its presence. Labor is risen. All other causes are subordinate. Its rise means the overthrow of Privilege—the end of capitalist industry.

In this task, imposed upon us by the logic of events and the evolution of industry, we invite the co-operation of the workers the world over to help themselves by helping to make the circulation of this paper coequal to the mouthpieces of capitalism. Send in your subscription and solicit that of your shopmate and neighbor. Get a supply of your subscription cards and make this thing go as no labor paper has ever gone before. Twenty thousand copies of this number carry the message of hope, the gospel of freedom to the undermost men of America. We ask you, each and all of you who receive this paper, to help us make the edition of next month one of 40,000 copies.

Capitalists and Their Assistants

They have awakened to the fact that industrial organization, in which all the employed industrially, instead of into a number of autonomous craft unions.

Capitalists are crafty enough to know that craft unions serve their purpose.

They have awakened to the fact that industrial organization, in which all the employees in any given industry are organized into one union, is a form of organization that must be frowned upon and discouraged. They also realize that a labor leader who

stands for the separation of workers into sectional squads is in a position to perform a useful service for them.

Post, of the Manufacturers' Federation of Labor Skinners, speaking for the dues-paying members, says he favors the trades union, when it "confines itself to its proper function."

Who doubts that Post's ideal union is a paltry detachment of the army of labor instead of the army itself?

A dozen squads of the army, each carrying the badge of its own isolation, each jealous of its own sectional label fetish, all distrustful of each other, is easier to whip than the workers industrially organized under one banner, having one universal label, and actuated by one purpose—the emancipation of the working class as a whole.

The capitalist, interested only in profits and dividends from the operation of a factory, mill, mine or railroad, understands this. He has no doubt as to the value of the squad system of organization. His shibboleth is "Divide and Conquer!" His pliant assistants are labor leaders who keep the workers divided.

When the workers understand this as well as the capitalist does they will put the "assistants" and the capitalist out of business.

"Safe, Sane and Conservative"

A very good illustration of the prevailing sycophancy of many labor leaders and editors is given in the eagerness with which they have taken up and adapted to their own uses that phrase, originating in capitalist circles, "safe, sane and conservative." One can understand its use among capitalists and by capitalist politicians.

Safety, for the capitalist class, is a condition that involves no infringement of the privileges of that class; it means the freedom of that class from any assault on its economic interests and the preservation of the sanctity of private property rights in social capital.

Sanity, according to capitalist interpretation, is the acceptance of the capitalist theory of "right and wrong"; to submit and crawl to the might of those who are temporarily in control of the tools of production; and to accept as final the clap-trap of capitalist apologists on the relations of "master and man."

A conservative is the guardian of the existing order; he is the opponent of change and the enemy of progress. Like the old theologians, he would fix a limit line, beyond which men may not go in their investigation. He believes in sticking to things as they are, fearing that if they were otherwise he would lose an opportunity for graft, or be compelled to do something honest and creditable. The conservative is a very useful member of society; useful to that class which robs and debases the workers. He is an impertinent approximation to a capitalist.

But what has a labor leader to do with the "safety," the "sanity," or the "conservation" of capitalism? By what process of reasoning can it be shown that a labor leader is doing his duty to the working class by preserving the privileges of the capitalist class? How can a man be regarded as representing working-class interests who contends that there is no "necessary conflict between employer and employee"? If he fails to attack the economic interests of capitalists, is he not necessarily hostile to the economic interests of workingmen? Surely to the extent that he assists capitalists he assassinates workingmen. Their interests are abso-

lutely opposed; the succor of one is the subtraction of the other.

Some Points of Difference

The American Federation of Labor is conducted on the theory that the capitalist, or competitive system, is the final fruit of evolution, and that slaves must remain slaves forever.

The Industrial Workers of the World is founded on a recognition of the fact that capitalism, which has narrowed the sphere of the worker and made him a dependent, is only a temporary link in the chain of industrial development; it avers that wage-slavery, damnable in its persistence, is doomed to perish; it denies that progress is permanently crystallized in capitalist wage-slavery.

The A. F. of L. is committed to craft organization; this promotes division and jurisdictional wrangling; it defeats the purposes of the working class and promotes the objects of capitalists.

The I. W. W. is organized on the basis of the class interests of the workers as a whole; it does away with internal wrangling by uniting all on the principle that "An Injury to One is an Injury to All."

The A. F. of L. believes in perpetuating a system wherein the capitalist class is enabled to employ labor in squads, treat with labor in squads, keep labor divided in squads and defeat labor in squads.

The I. W. W. stands for a form of organization in which community of interests—solidarity of labor—will take the place of labor squads; it stands for such a form of organization as will mean defeat, not for the toilers, but for the spoilers.

The A. F. of L., through its officers, proclaims identity of interests between employers and employed; it seeks to maintain the relationship between the two by concessions wrung from the former that, when granted, leave the latter no better off than before.

The I. W. W. declares that the working class and the employing class "have nothing in common"; that their economic interests are everywhere and always in conflict; it seeks to abolish the relationship of master and man and put the workers in possession of that which they produce by their labor.

The A. F. of L. stands for harmony between the robbers and the robbed.

The I. W. W. stands for harmony between the victims of robbery.

The president of the A. F. of L. is vice president of the Civic Federation, a capitalistic aggregation organized to "arbitrate" the interests of the working class in behalf of the capitalist class.

The president of the I. W. W. has no such capitalistic connections.

The A. F. of L. officials are credited by capitalists and used by capitalist politicians.

The I. W. W. officials are discredited by capitalists—and this is the best endorsement they could possibly have in a gathering of workingmen.

The A. F. of L. upholds a scheme that fits in with the ideas of the employing class for exploiting labor.

The I. W. W. is opposed absolutely to that scheme and proposes through organization and education to put an end to it.

Finally, the A. F. of L. is conservative and subservient to capitalists, while the I. W. W. is revolutionary and destructive to capitalism. That the I. W. W. is opposed by capitalists is one of the best reasons why it should be supported by workingmen. That the A. F. of L. is in favor with capitalists is the best reason why workingmen should abandon it.

The Embodiment of Hypocrisy

The opposition of Mr. Gompers to the Western Federation of Miners is due to a constitutional dislike for those who refuse to crook the knee to his versatile individuality. The Western men are too rigidly honest and unyielding to suit him or his purposes. It is an offense to this ambassador of American labor at the Belmont Court not to regard him as ace high among the eminent and extraordinary. He would rather retain the temporary good opinion of Civic Federationists, and be considered an important person among them, than honestly serve the workmen who pay his salary. He is interested more in maintaining his tithes-gathering federation, for the purpose of proving his power to the "court," than in the elevation of those who pay. Not to pay is to incur his bitter hatred. Failure to collect and control means loss of prestige at the "court."

The Western men neither pay tithes to Gompers, nor can they be controlled by him. They know him! They know him to be an adept in appropriating credit to himself for anything that is done, that is worth doing, within the ranks of the American Federation of Labor. This habit of his is shown in respect to a certain appropriation of \$1,000 made at the Boston convention of the American Federation of Labor without solicitation, "as an expression of good will," in their struggle against the organized bullies of capitalism in Colorado and the state government.

With his habitual hypocrisy, Gompers, who on the floor of the convention at Boston opposed the appropriation, came forward in his annual message at Pittsburg with "a realizing sense that it was our duty to render moral and financial assistance," and charged the officers of the Western Federation with diverting the appropriation, together with other sums subsequently contributed, from the purpose for which it was given.

In reply to this trumped-up tale for dupes, the Western Federation of Miners' officers have made in the "Miners' Magazine" a complete and convincing answer. Gompers will see to it that the dupes never read that answer in the "American Federationist." It shows that Gompers absolutely ignored the reports sent to him by the miners' officials. The reports gave detailed information of the expenditure of all money contributed. He also showed in his convention address that he was ignorant of, or, what is more likely in a man of his stamp, indifferent to the court records which gave conclusive evidence of the untiring activity of the miners' officials to maintain to the fullest extent in their power the civil rights of the people concerned in the struggle.

As to the statement that the funds contributed by the American Federation of Labor were "diverted to financing" the Industrial Workers of the World, the only appellation that fitly describes the fellow who makes it is one written in four letters. The swaggering braggart and falsifier sees the handwriting on the wall. His malign influence in the labor movement is in the limelight.

About the Preamble

The preamble to the constitution of the Industrial Workers of the World has given rise to a great deal of discussion. Some contend that the preamble is ambiguous and contradictory; that it declares both for and against politics. When subjected to a

close scrutiny from the real working class point of view, it will be found that the document is, in its terms and purport, clear and consistent.

The Industrial Workers of the World is not a political party, neither can it be a political organization. This fact seems to be lost sight of by many who are trying to read into the preamble an interpretation that will give support to their opposition. Not being a political organization, the adverse criticism directed against the movement by the parliamentary purists is puerile and without effect.

The Industrial Workers of the World is an economic organization—the economic arm of the working class. As such it can have, it has, interest only in the politics that reflect its revolutionary purposes in the industrial field.

But in the preamble we do say that the toilers must "come together on the political, as well as on the industrial field," which recognizes the ultimate necessity for the exercise of political power to attain the ends we seek. Politics is an essential part of the working class progress to ultimate triumph.

The toilers are, in the terms of the preamble, "to take and hold that which they produce by their labor through an economic organization" of their own. This economic organization, as such, is not to be affiliated with "any political party."

It is upon this part of the preamble that the contest, if it may be called so, wages. One would think that having declared the necessity for the toilers to "come together" both on the "political" and "industrial" field, it ought to be clear that we recognize the need for action in politics.

Obviously it would be a very ridiculous proceeding to attempt the organization of the workers in the field of industry by saying to them: "We invite you into our economic organization; but if you come, it must be with the understanding on your part that you will support with your vote a certain political party that we may designate." In the first place no such proceeding could possibly succeed; if it were possible, its success would be temporary and abortive.

The working class can "come together" on the political field only as a consequence of a comprehensive understanding of their interests on the economic field. Men can be brought together at the polls, not by coercion, not with baits, but by education—and the education must be revolutionary in its fundamentals. The revolutionary character of the education will be recorded in political action, and politics will be made to serve the economic interests of the working class.

There are those who try to persuade themselves that somebody got a "little joker" into the preamble, and this they profess to find in the clause "without affiliation with any political party." Is it not enough to recur to the previous passage which declares that "the toilers must come together on the political field"?

The Industrial Workers of the World is a collective missionary of the social revolution; as such, it does not question the right of the toilers to have recourse to all necessary means to gain emancipation from the fetters of capitalist industry.

In the march of events the toilers will themselves learn what affiliation with political parties committed to capitalist interests means for them, and their political action, reflecting their economic interests, will be in accord with their experiences gained on the industrial field. The Industrial Workers of the World is not for any party, but for the entire working class.

In the culminating stages of evolution the paramount consideration will be the orderly and regular continuance of production, and no great foresight is required to see that the economic organization of the workers then will be the all-important need. Hence, the work of preparation for that great task is the undoubted requirement now. United in their economic interests, the workers will become united in what concerns them politically. Without the economic organization—intelligent, disciplined and skillful—the day of the working class triumph will also be the day of its downfall.

Life, liberty and happiness may be "inalienable rights," but what do they amount to when you can't get land, which is the source of life and guarantee of liberty? Of what account are these "rights"—on paper? The revolution comes through a clear understanding, not of "rights" written down by some old slaveholder of 1776, but of our relation to the things we make—the wealth we produce. That understanding brings with it the certain overthrow of the capitalist class and confers power on the working class to accomplish its mission, by whatever means are necessary and available. We are not making a revolution; but it sweeps upon us and in its climax will make your fictions on paper the glorious facts of life.

For an occasional pat of approval from organized thieves the executive of the American Federation of Labor is satisfied to take an occasional kick on the broadest part of its collective anatomy for the privilege of belonging to a harmonious tea-party affair, like the Civic Federation, or sitting cheek by jowl with shrewd politicians—who have flattered them into the belief that they are "great men," for whom the horny-handed sons of toil have waited through all the centuries—its leading officers cheerfully trust capitalists with working-class interests.

The growth of the Industrial Workers of the World is proof that there can be a real working-class organization that Gompers don't approve. This no doubt is as much of a surprise to Belmont and that ilk as to Gompers himself. But the v. p. of the Civic Federation shouldn't worry. When his present occupation is gone, Belmont (and that ilk) will provide a political job for him. Then he and Terry Powderly will continue to be "in accord on the labor question."

A labor organization whose officers admit that it represents the interests of capitalists as well as workers, which says (through its officers) that there is no future but wage slavery for the class which produces all wealth, is no good for the workers. Not only is that true, but such an organization is a positive harm and a hindrance to human progress. But the encouraging thing in it all is that the workers are finding it out. On with the work of organization for freedom!

You found that you could not stay in the Republican or Democratic parties and reform them from within. And having made that discovery you did the sensible thing and became a Socialist. Permit us to suggest that you will find it equally useless to attempt to reform the American Federation of Labor by staying in it. Being indifferent to and incapable of being reformed it is not worth staying with. When you see the uselessness of staying, you will become an Industrial Worker.

"These revolutionary working class organizations would seize the possessions of the thrifty and give them to the thriftless," says a writer who, while he may not be dishonest, is certainly ignorant. What Industrial Workers propose is to take the resources and tools of production from the hands of the thriftless and indolent and put them in the hands of the thrifty and industrious.

Agitation, organization and education will win emancipation. There is a place for every man in the movement. There is some work that everyone can do. Go out and canvass your neighbors for THE INDUSTRIAL WORKER. Help us to get it into every home occupied by a slave between the two oceans.

A workman can live and support a family on a dollar a day—providing he don't want to live long; and when he dies his family can move to the poor-house. Yet preacher and president affront our intelligence with platitudes on "race suicide!"

Our "Political Sovereignty"

Let us be honest. What has our "political sovereignty" done for us in America? How has it benefited the great body of workers? Conceding all that can be said for the political rights that citizenship confers, and standing ever ready, as the working class must do, to resist all attempts to restrict or destroy these rights, how has that class fared? We have one small body of men controlling coal, another controlling oil, another controlling transportation, another controlling the transmission of news, and so on all down the line. This power of control puts the economic forces of the country into the hands of a few of its citizens; it is a constant menace to the well-being of the producers of wealth. Whenever and wherever attempts are made to change this condition through politics, the uniform result is failure. This failure is due to the power which the class in control of industry is enabled to wield in politics. The benefits derived from the passage of laws are such as the capitalist class alone appropriates.

The workers are shorn of power at the ballot box because they have been impotent in the shops. Disunited and kept apart in petty and conflicting craft unions, they have had no opportunity to understand the economic interests of their class, and therefore have never been prepared to unite in effective political action. They must be united in the shop and the factory. They must come to understand their real interests there. So long as no solidarity exists there, it is useless to look for it in the voting booth. Unity in the factory, the mill, the mine, wherever labor is performing its economic function, will be reflected in class-conscious political action.

Economic interest is vital and dominates all the rest. None understand this better than the robbers of the world. Said an English peer to an American senator: "The people be sugared! they can't hurt us. You get your position by bribery and influence with the legislature. I get mine because I am the son of my father." He was about to invest in a large property in Pennsylvania, and all his inquiries about the people related to their degree of intelligence. Never once did he refer to their "politics," and the fact that they were "political sovereigns" was a small matter to him. If he had been told that they were intelligent enough to understand their economic interests, as he understood his, that they knew the science of production and distribution of wealth, he would have hesitated. He closed the deal which conferred power upon him to exploit the workers in that district, and did it in spite of "political sovereignty."

In the face of such conditions, is it not a crime for those who falsely claim to be serving the interests of the working class to put themselves in the position of actually promoting the economic interests of the exploiting class? No man can serve two masters. No man can serve the working class and the robbers at the same time.

Economic impotency does not generate political energy.

Workers of America: Look away from your labor leaders and look squarely at the labor problem itself long enough to satisfy yourselves about these questions: Do your employers want a united army of workers to deal with, or do they want the workers split into craft organizations? Isn't it true that they prefer to have you divided into little squads, to make contracts with you in squads, to lock you out in squads and beat you to the earth in squads? Can't you see that the craft organizations help the capitalists? Can't you understand that you will always go down before the capitalists, who are organized on the basis of their class interests, so long as you are

split into fractions of the army of labor instead of being organized on the basis of your common, class interests? Satisfy yourselves as to what your employers want, and then decide whether it is best for you.

Carnegie says he would welcome emigrants from everywhere and give them a premium for coming, if he "owned the country." Well, since he and a few like him do own the country, there is no reason why he shouldn't go ahead with his philanthropic scheme. He says the value of imported slaves to the country is about \$400,000,000 and that it is the very extreme of foolishness to oppose this annual addition to the wealth of the country. From the days before Homestead, Carnegie has regarded labor as a mere commodity.

Post, of Battle Creek, is not opposed to trade unionism so long as it "confines itself to its proper function." By which he means—so long as it does not interfere with his function as a capitalist. But a labor organization that does not interfere with the capitalist class is of no value to the working class. The proper function of a true working class organization is to destroy the function of the capitalist class. This form of organization capitalists dislike; Gompers and Mitchell are competent to testify that they favor the other.

The Pittsburg convention of the American Federation of Labor was notable for nothing quite so odious as the brazen hypocrisy of its president: He pointed out with approval the tendency among union men to have their meeting places disconnected with "saloons." What do you think of that—from Gompers? He also recommended "temperate habits" and a "diminution of the use of intoxicants!" From Gompers, mind you!

The "borers from within," who have been trying to raise hell in the American Federation of Labor, call us a "puny infant" and an "abortion." But we have raised more hell in the American Federation of Labor in six brief months than all the "boring from within" did in ten long years. There's nothing like going at a job in the right way.

Judging the growth of Socialist sentiment in the American Federation since the Kansas City convention by the two solitary votes at Pittsburg, it is obviously doomed to complete extinction about next December. And that is right. In such an aggregation Socialism is sadly out of place.

The time will come when "those who work together, strike together, are shot together, tramp together, and are locked out together" will vote together. It will be when they understand their economic class interests together. And this they will learn in the school of Industrial Unionism.

The principle of Industrial Unionism can't be refuted, and so it happens that its opponents are busying themselves by trying to make it misunderstood. Send for some of our literature or subscribe for THE INDUSTRIAL WORKER, and learn about it for yourself.

Well, the record of six months comes up to the June prospectus, and the Industrial Workers are "making good." Whereat there is great uneasiness in the ring that is bossed by Sam Gompers and his capitalist cronies in the Civic Federation.

All the workers in the world are working for you; you are working for them. Why should you and all your fellow workers not enjoy the full results of your joint labor? Why should any worker be satisfied with less?

When the machine hits the pantry, men begin to ponder. Every working man's pantry has been hit and the result is that millions are learning what they want. Pretty soon they will know how to get it.

Every reader of this paper is reminded that he can reach ten men that we can't. Duty to the movement suggests that you get out among the ten and bag every man of them as a subscriber.

Did John Mitchell have that photograph of Mark Hanna and himself before him when he said something about there being no necessary conflict between "capital and labor"?

Capitalism is an unclean beast and the rankest treason to labor is carrying favor with it.

Hogan—"Bedad, accordin' t' all rayports, Jawn D. Rockefeller do be sheddin' an occasional tear at late."

Logan—"Phwat th' devil is he cryin' fer now—the moon?"—"Poak."

NOTES FROM THE FIELD

By the General President

My time being so fully occupied with the work of organizing, I shall only ask for a limited space in the initial number of THE INDUSTRIAL WORKER, in order that I may briefly review our past work and take a glimpse at the future.

At the adjournment of the convention on the 8th day of July, I believe I am safe in saying there were few of the delegates who felt that the growth of our organization would be so phenomenal in the first half year of its existence. While the president was enthusiastic and confident that the Industrial Workers of the World represented a personnel such as had never before been gathered together in a working-class organization, and was equally as confident of its success, yet he is willing to confess that the growth and increase of membership has been far beyond his expectations.

On the 3d of August, following the adjournment of the convention, the president left headquarters in the interests of the organization for the first time, making a trip as far west as Butte, Montana. Since then he has been practically continuously away from headquarters, the greater part of the time being spent in the Eastern states, and he feels that he has been rewarded and the organization benefited for all efforts made in that direction.

Realizing as he did at the termination of the convention that the majority of our membership was in the Western states, he felt the necessity of having a strong Eastern movement to act as a counterbalance to the Western end of the organization. He now feels satisfied that this has been accomplished.

New York and vicinity has, in good working condition, about fifty-seven strong local unions. There is a good central body which has been in working order for the past two months in the city of New York, composed principally of men who have passed through many years of trades unionism, have made a study of the economic conditions and are fully prepared to control and handle the proposition to the best interests of all concerned in that district.

I am prepared to report that our Eastern unions everywhere are in the hands of tried and true union veterans, who have but one motive, and that is to organize their fellow men in the industrial organization, that they may place themselves in a position to regain a part of the many advantages that they have lost in their experiments with the old trade union form of organization.

I am also prepared to say that we have no enemy outside of the exploiting class, with the exception of the few business agents and organizers who are employed by the old craft organizations, and their opposition is personal and based on self-interest. The rank and file everywhere lend sympathy to the Industrial Workers.

In the Middle states, while the growth has not been so great, it is in my judgment, entirely satisfactory.

Reports from the Mining Department show that a good healthy increase has been enjoyed by all the local unions connected with it since they became a part of the Industrial Workers of the World. The Metal Department has increased in local unions and membership far beyond the fondest expectation of the officers of that department.

The machinists, polishers and metal workers of every description are rallying to the standard of Industrial Unionism and for each of these charters are being regularly issued.

I wish to extend my sincere thanks and appreciation to all of our many friends and voluntary organizers who have taken such deep interest in the success of the movement and in many ways have assisted us by their voluntary service. I also feel that the organization can congratulate itself on its good fortune in having secured some of the best organizers in the United States. The joint results of their efforts is evidence of their value to the movement.

I desire to say to our many friends who have on various occasions extended pressing invitations to me to address meetings in their industrial centers that it is absolutely impossible to comply with all requests and invitations. Your president averages seventeen hours a day in the service. As rapidly as possible I shall move from one industrial center to another, at such times as seem to be for the best interests of the organization in general.

As to the future the president sees nothing but success and prosperity. It will be necessary for every member to co-operate with the officers and organizers and assist in every way possible

the work of extending our influence and perfecting our organization. There are over twenty-five million working people in the United States who have never applied to any union. Knowing this, we can fully realize the great work in hand. Fifty per cent of this number must be organized before we can say to the world that the labor movement in the United States is on a solid basis. I can only hope that our many friends will remain as loyal to us in the future as they have proven themselves to be in the past, and if we can retain this unselfish support, the outlook for the future growth of the organization will become brighter every hour. Knowing this, our members should redouble their efforts everywhere and push forward with the work of organization, that we may have a magnificent showing at the next annual convention, which will assemble in May, 1906.

The president feels that it is the duty of every member to subscribe for the official publication, THE INDUSTRIAL WORKER, and take an active interest in its circulation. It is through education that the working class will gain emancipation. Those who read, think; those who think are in a position to act intelligently, and intelligence must be employed if we expect to get results from our efforts.

The Industrial Workers of the World has no doubt adopted the correct name for the organization. This is recognized from the fact that we are receiving encouraging communications from our brother unionists in many foreign countries. This leads us to believe that some day the Industrial Workers-of the World will be in reality a working organization of the producers of the world.

Our future depends upon the intelligent activity of our membership. Every member must become active. The officers of the local organizations have their hands full, but they must receive the unselfish support at all times of the membership. If this spirit of co-operation prevails throughout our movement, your president feels that we have nothing to fear for the future, but that the Industrial Workers of the World by the next convention will make a showing such as has never been made before by any labor organization for the same period of time.

With greetings to our brothers and fellow workers, respectfully submitted,

C. O. SHERMAN, Gen'l President.

What the Brewers Say

Brauer-Zeitung, official paper of the International Union of United Brewery Workers, after the Pittsburg convention of the American Federation of Labor, served notice that the brewers would disregard the decision of the convention, which seeks to dismember the brewers' organization, and stand upon its charter, resisting all attempts made to carry the decision into effect. It said:

"We are wrong," said Gompers, and still they dared not revoke our charter; the results were feared. The consequences of this so-called decision will, however, make themselves felt. We still have friends, comrades of the same fate!

"The American Federation of Labor is a voluntary organization of workmen and their respective unions—yet the officers of our International Union were to be compelled to do that which our membership decided by referendum vote not to do, and therefore they had to obey.

"The American Federation of Labor opposes and declared against compulsory arbitration in differences arising between employers and employees—affiliated organizations are commanded to submit to compulsory arbitration in settling differences existing among themselves!

"The American Federation of Labor declares contracts to be inviolate entered into between employers and employes of their union—and yet it directs irresponsible central bodies to discipline the Brewery Workers irrespective of existing contracts entered into with their employers, which is an encouragement for the violation of the same!

"The American Federation of Labor is a link in the chain of common interests and solidarity—but it requests all organizations without exception to oppose the Brewery Workers wherever possible!

"The American Federation of Labor indorses and supports the label of the Brewery Workers—and requests affiliated organizations at the same time to nullify the effect!

"The American Federation of Labor demands payment of a special assessment from the Brewery Workers for the support of organizations resisting the attacks of employers—demanding at the same time of the very organizations that they aid in disrupting our international organization.

"The American Federation of Labor claims to be a 'great and powerful' body—still it appeals to small, weak mock-organizations, to carry out its decision, requests central bodies to discipline violations, thus it sanctions and encourages discord and arbitrariness.

"The American Federation of Labor renders deci-

sions, but the executive council refuses to carry them out; nevertheless the members thereof are re-elected. Have we not the same right to disregard decisions?

"The American Federation of Labor should be a power—the Pittsburg convention was a mere 'bolster fight.'

"A part of the membership, organized by the Brewery Workers, are to be taken away from them by means of jurisdiction decisions, and turned over to other organizations who had nothing to do with organizing the same, which gave neither moral nor financial assistance. This is termed justice!

"The Brewery Workers are denied that which is granted to other organizations. This is styled impartiality!

"The Brewery Workers' delegates were deprived of a rebuttal, after representatives of four organizations, the members of the executive council and other opponents had made all kinds of unjust and misleading attacks. This is designated Fairness!

"The twenty-fifth anniversary of the American Federation of Labor has been celebrated and crowned with the shameful action against the Brewery Workers.

"We call upon all delegates of our local unions to central bodies, to most emphatically resist any and all attempts relative to the 'sham-decision' referred to. The affiliation of our local unions with central bodies is a voluntary one; it can be canceled at any time!

"Not one iota shall we move from the position now occupied. Not one man shall we surrender either voluntarily or against his wish."

A Bitter Dose for Them

Defeat often drives men to desperation. Few indeed are they who accept defeat gracefully. The conscience of some men who have knowingly worked against the interest of their fellow men and constituents for years, becomes hardened and their "revenge" often fantastic. Such is the condition of Samuel Gompers, James O'Connell and others of their class today. The bitter dose they are obliged to swallow is the Industrial Workers of the World, and it is playing havoc with their collective anatomy.

Many stories have been put into circulation since July 7, 1905, the birthday of Industrial Unionism, which are both humorous and pathetic. I desire to call attention to a few of them.

The principles and aims of the Industrial Workers are explained and elaborated upon elsewhere in this paper, and the readers should study them carefully. I will confine myself to some points raised by the opposition. On August 31, 1905, Machinist Pioneer Local No. 23, Industrial Workers of the World, was instituted in Chicago with seventeen charter members. The International Association of Machinists at first treated us with utter contempt. They placed us on a level with all other stray yellow dogs and tried to show a spirit of the "I-don't-give-a-dam sort." We grew in numbers and strength slowly and surely. On October 7th the International Association of Machinists held a grand mass meeting at the Y. M. C. A. auditorium, and expected to have an audience of at least twelve hundred machinists. As a matter of fact not more than four hundred turned out and great was the disappointment of the promoters, for they had a fine array of "talent" in the persons of Third Vice President J. P. Buckalew, Fourth Vice President Thomas Wilson, A. F. of L. Delegate A. E. Ireland, Business Agents Hagerty of San Francisco, Roderick, Keppler, Frye and Anderson of Chicago, most of whom were fresh from the Boston convention.

They all made speeches except Frye and Anderson, and all told the old, moss-covered story that has been told for years. Very few in the audience seemed to appreciate their efforts. After all had finished, the chairman said that questions would be answered. A brother in the audience took the floor and asked if the officers and members present thought that the International Association of Machinists could ever regain the 50 per cent of members they had lost in Chicago (Keppler's own figures) by continuing in the same manner they had been working, or must the International Association of Machinists change its policy and join hands with all workers regardless of craft and fight together in one big army of toilers against the common enemy, the capitalist class?

The uproar, which followed was deafening. Up jumped Mr. Wilson, white as a sheet. He dove down in his pocket and pulled out a red card which he claimed was a membership card of the Socialist Party, and waving it over his head, declared that he was a Socialist but did not believe in "bringing politics into the union." Keppler then got the floor and attempted to pour "oil on the troubled waters." The industrial speaker

then arose and challenged Keppler and his associates to meet the Industrial Workers in a joint debate before the rank and file and let them decide which was right, industrialism or craft autonomy. Keppler said he had not the power to grant the request, without the permission of all the locals in the district and that he would send out a letter asking for permission. Nothing has ever been heard of the debate since. He did, however, go around to the locals and call them down hard for not attending the mass meeting, for by staying at home the Industrial Workers were allowed to "pack" the meeting. Now we had only fourteen members of the Industrial Workers of the World at the meeting; all the rest were sympathizers, and this showed Mr. Keppler that the iron was hot and would burn his fingers if he handled it.

Monday, October 9th, two days later, District No. 8 held a meeting and passed a gag law on Industrial Unionism. It stated that members of the International Association of Machinists would not be allowed to speak of a dual organization at any meeting of any local, or any mass meeting, or in the shops. Our growth has been much more rapid since then. O'Connell has sent out a bluff to suspend all members of the International Association of Machinists who had joined the Industrial Workers of the World, but when the bluff was called in District No. 8, Keppler threw up his hands and failed to put it into effect. The report also comes through our daily newspapers that Editor Wilson of the Machinists' Journal has been told by O'Connell to "blue-pencil" all articles pertaining to Socialism. While the game has been on in Chicago the boys in Schenectady, New York, have been fighting hard and now have 572 members of the Industrial Workers of the World in that small city. In connection with the foregoing statement of facts take a few figures from General Secretary-Treasurer Preston's (of the International Association of Machinists) annual report. He says: "A glance at the recapitulation will show that the expenditures for the past two years have not only absorbed all income, but have nearly eaten up the cash balance of over \$61,000, which we had on hand at the close of the term, April 1, 1903, and this notwithstanding the fact that we have collected on two Grand Lodge assessments." How do you like that?

Again, take a pencil and a piece of paper, turn to page 942, Exhibit No. 2, of same journal, and see if these figures are right. Total cost of international president, general secretary-treasurer and seven vice presidents, including their salary for 1904, is \$38,677.84, for general executive board \$5,556.42 (Exhibit No. 3), for all office expenses (Exhibit No. 1) including salary, merchandise and organizing, \$38,736.54; the cost of Journal \$35,557.03, American Federation of Labor tax and del. \$4,173.35, and business agent, which the Grand Lodge pays only half, \$23,946.34, or \$51,892.68, which they received, making a grand total of \$174,593.86 expenses for one year without counting the strike or death benefit, which must be made over the above amount, and by the same report on page 941 we see that Grand Lodge Assessment No. 1 paid \$48,002 at \$1 per member, showing that there is only \$48,002 members to pay the enormous expenses and, in addition to all the above named, we must pay the hall rent, officers' salaries and other expenses of each local and then, after calling off all strikes and paying these vast amounts of money, they have the nerve to tell us we have won a glorious victory. One more victory like that will put us out of business.

We have fought heroically and are willing to fight again, but we insist on fighting our employers and not our fellow workers. We must come together and stand solidly in one organization, recognizing the fact that an injury to one is an injury to all. We must cut-out these destructive jurisdictional fights, wipe out this feeling of false pride and join hands with all men who work for a living, regardless of his craft, regardless of his creed. Study these points and think for yourself.

Assert your manhood, exercise the spirit of liberty and in the name of justice proclaim yourself as free man; organize for the protection of yourself and family and join the Industrial Workers of the World.

MACHINIST.

NEW REVOLUTIONARY SONG.

The song, by Wm. R. Fox, "Industrial Freedom," published in this paper, has been set to original music by Ray G. Edwards, of Chicago. The music fits the words, as the words the new movement. It will be published in sheet music form and ready for delivery in February. Price, 20c by mail, prepaid.—Publishers: Industrial Workers of the World, 148 W. Madison St., Chicago.

Trade union autonomy means division, and division among the workers means strength for the capitalists.

OLD MORALITY AND NEW PROFITS

BY FRANK BOHN

Throughout the United States the conflicting terms "wide-open town" and "closed town" stand for two widely differing conceptions of the "public welfare." Advocates of an "open town" are those who find pleasure or profit in brothels, gambling joints and all-night saloons. Those favorable to a "closed town" may be divided into two classes.

First, and by far the more active, are the greedy shopkeepers and professional men who can not bear to see dollars going into other pockets than their own; second, well-meaning people, usually old women and clergymen, who, not comprehending the nature of the crimes of capitalism, think to abolish them by polishing over their most disgusting effects.

The ebb and flow of "open-town" and "closed-town" sentiment, nowhere occupies so important a place in public discussion and life as in the smaller economic centers of the West. For instance, a town of 10,000 people is situated in the heart of a mining or lumbering district as large as New Jersey, where there are employed perhaps 15,000 workmen. I have heretofore called attention to the homeless, wandering character of the larger portion of this class of Western workmen.

Now if you wonder why a miner or a lumber-jack desires a "wide-awake town" go to a small mining town or lumber camp and stay for a week. A construction gang on a railroad or an irrigation plant is even worse off for entertainment. Perhaps, after working two or three months, with little chance to spend money, one of these men has \$50 or \$75 in his pocket. The mean, often squalid, camp has furnished absolutely no means of recreation during this time of excessively hard labor.

So tonight the "gang" is going off for a little time of its own. The goal of their ambition may be twenty, forty or sixty miles away. They pan-handle it a piece and then strike a railroad. "Now why," queries some dear old sister of the W. C. T. U., "don't they stay at home and save the money toward buying a home and getting married?" But the W. C. T. U. woman doesn't know it all, no matter how faithfully she may have studied the biography of Frances E. Willard. She has never worked in the timber, nor taken a tour as a Pacific Coast sailor.

So behold, then, on Sabbath morning, this crowd of some scores of bearded, muscular, good-natured fellows coming into town. They are young in years, most of them, but old and rough in experience. This municipality, let us say, has lately been, unknown to them, subjected to a fresh coat of reform whitewash. The church bells are ringing and the Salvation Army drum is sounding forth. They look for a familiar sign—"San Francisco Steam Beer"—but see instead a great streamer hung across the street, bearing the words, "Gospel Services in the Tent; Salvation Free; All Invited." For some moons their throats have been parched by alkali-dust and their imaginations, on coming to town, had conjured up something sweeter than the voice of the Salvation Army captain calling to repentance. Tramp, tramp, they march by the gospel tent. They hear tales of angels, robed in white. "Good 'nough," growls Montana Mike, "but what I'm lookin' fer

is one right off, 'n' I don't care a rap whether she's in white, red er any other ole color." At this Sam and Buck and Dutch Jake laugh so uproariously that old Deacon Skinflint, about to lead in prayer, stops and listens. He hears the jingle of good, hard coin as the boys meander off and take the next train for Swift City, a rival town just over the range.

Now the good deacon runs a photograph gallery. He goes home with a lump in his throat as large and heavy as a dozen gold eagles. The prosperous, well-fed appearance of the Swift City photographers, the last time he was over, causes his heart to ache the whole Sabbath afternoon, usually so peaceful. Even to his wife he is painfully reminiscent of the good old times when the boys from "the hills" came in for their pictures, and when every new crowd of girls sent up by the San Francisco agency had theirs taken in a dozen different attitudes. And the deacon, suddenly changing humor, goes out into the dark wood-shed to smile at the funny things those girls used to say. But after family devotions he retires—crying over old times. Next election he arises early, sneaks away from the house before breakfast and votes for a "wide—very wide—open" town.

Bakersfield, Cal., is a typical center for proletarian mirth and bourgeois profits. A year ago all of its dance halls and gambling dens were closed. Just before the last municipal election the leading merchants assembled in the office of the largest hotel in town and placed a "non-partisan" ticket in the field. This businessmen's ticket won by a majority of some two to one. Men who owned property to be used for gambling and other immoral purposes were elected to office. The influences at work are suggested by the fact that the great, new, beautiful Baptist church of Bakersfield has been erected largely through the use of so-called "tainted money"—one saloonkeeper giving \$500, another \$400. The sanctified subscription lists were even sent about among the resorts of fallen women.

The main dance hall at Bakersfield resembles a Bowery theater. Public dances are held once or twice a week. On other evenings the auditorium is filled with tables and the guests are entertained by crude, often disgusting, theatricals. Until deep into the night the hilarity proceeds. On Saturday and Sunday nights, when the surrounding country pours in its crowds, the revelry continues until daybreak. The so-called "actresses" are furnished by a company with central offices in San Francisco and a branch office in all the surrounding towns. The amount of liquor consumed during an evening seems fabulous. The wine, all of one brand, is labeled \$1, \$2 and \$5 per bottle. Of course no real gallant would presume to offer cheap wine to his fair companion. She, working always in the interest of the house, may demand "goods" at \$10 a bottle. Occasionally, at the opportune moment, the wily deceiver gives the cue to the waiter and a bottle of drugged liquor is served. Next morning the luckless knight of the pick wakes from a nap on the sidewalk and feels in vain for his purse and watch.

Really interesting incidents are not uncommon. Not long ago, while in search of literary material for a short story of socio-

logical import, an incident was related to me concerning a man who had so far forgotten himself as to push a favorite demoiselle over a chair. Instantly a dozen revolvers flashed under the electric lights and banged away at the unfortunate miner. "How terrible it must have been," I ventured to suggest. "Weren't you frightened?"

"Oh, no. We get used to more or less trouble of that kind," replied my informant, in gentle tones. "Anyway, it served the wretch right. Stella was a nice, quiet girl. But you should have seen him next morning, after the boys threw him out of the window. He was a picture—shot in twenty-three places and kicked and beaten besides."

Let us be hopeful. Capitalism at its worst seems unable to wholly eradicate gallantry from our sex.

"I fancy that I had better go," I added. "You have given me material enough for a Sunday newspaper full of short stories. Furthermore, I'm getting scared."

"You needn't be. Over there by the bar is one of the best cowboys in town. That woman he's with is the wife of a San Francisco millionaire who 'goes on the stage' once in a while, for change. So you see the best people come in here."

And so proceeds, in what remains of the frontier, the struggle twixt old morality and new profits.

Missoula, Mont.

CAPITALIST LABOR UNIONS INDICTED (CONTINUED FROM PAGE 7)

are annexed to the so-called literary educational club of the Civic Federation.

"Now, when you realize that the Green Bottle Blowers' Union could not exist except by the permission of capitalists; when you realize the fact that the Anheuser-Busch Brewing Company, of St. Louis, was the first one that organized the Green Bottle Blowers in the belief that it would be a club which the American Federation of Labor could hold over the heads of other manufacturers of beer in this country, by creating a monopoly through a \$500 initiation fee; when you realize that the same Green Bottle Blowers' Union is fighting against all inventions and trying, if possible, to put them out of existence, so as to uphold its monopoly of a \$500 initiation fee, then you will see that it is the workers themselves that are interested in the destruction of this condition.

"In the Western Federation of Miners, it can be proved by incontrovertible evidence, that by collusion between Mr. Gompers and the Executive Board of the American Federation of Labor prior to the Cripple Creek disaster, it was decided to crush the western organization out of existence, because it would not submit to the mandates of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor. It can be proved that letters were sent to unions three years ago urging them to withdraw support from the Western Federation of Miners. It can be proved that after the mine disaster at Independence, Mr. Eastley, on behalf of the American Federation of Labor Executive Board, sent a telegram to Peabody, governor of Colorado, ordering that no discrimination should be made against members of the American Federation of Labor. It is on record that Governor Peabody said, 'We have no objection against organizations working in harmony with the capitalist class.'

"They have no objections because the organizations that Peabody had in mind are practically auxiliaries of the capitalist class. It is this indictment of the pure-and-simple craft union movement that has brought the men and women together here to fight for a better condition, to struggle for a better economic organization, an organization that will, in conjunction with all that makes for progress, bring about the desired goal where the workers will be free."

CORRESPONDENCE

The resolutions appearing below were adopted by Local No. 12, Industrial Workers of the World, of Los Angeles, Cal., at a meeting held December 14, 1905. Appended is Brother De Leon's reply; the latter appeared in "The People" December 24th.

"Whereas, Clauses nine and ten of section five, article two, give the General Executive Board the power to elect an editor for our official organ, and

"Whereas, The educational feature of our movement being the most important, the best talent on history, sociology, trade unionism and tactics is not too good to further our cause, and,

"Whereas, So many labor papers are edited, like the 'American Federationist,' without principle by superficial egotistical editors having no profound knowledge of the history of labor and for the principles of the class struggle upon which the Industrial Workers of the World is based and proclaimed in our preamble, without fear, favor or price, whose activity, sincerity and devotion to the cause of labor is second to none and admitted by all unprejudiced freedom loving wage workers, and,

"Whereas, Daniel De Leon in his capacity as editor of the 'New York People' has shown himself thoroughly democratic, having been elected by referendum vote of the Socialist Labor Party, which organization owns the Daily and Weekly 'People' and having always bowed to the mandates of said organization regardless of personal differences, therefore be it

Resolved, That we, the members of Local 12, Industrial Workers of the World, of Los Angeles, Cal., highly recommend Daniel De Leon as editor of our official organ, and request the General Executive Board if at all possible to secure his services as editor of our official organ. THE INDUSTRIAL WORKER, that some arrangement be made whereby THE INDUSTRIAL WORKER can be published at the 'Daily People' plant in New York City, under Comrade De Leon's supervision, which will insure efficiency and economy as Comrade De Leon's services can probably be procured more reasonable than those of one who must devote all his time to the editorship and not have the ability of De Leon, and the 'Daily People' management will most likely print the paper at minimum cost, as it is the only daily paper in the English language which openly advocates the principles of the Industrial Workers of the World.

DE LEON'S REPLY.

"While deeply grateful to my fellow members of the Industrial Workers of the World in Local 12, Los Angeles, for their expressions of personal esteem and confidence in me, I hope, I feel certain, that their sense of democracy will not do violence to the respect that man owes to the private opinions of man, within certain limits, and that they will realize that my private opinion in the premises does not go beyond these permissible limits of the sacredness of personal views.

"As to the editorship of the national organ of the Industrial Workers of the World, THE INDUSTRIAL WORKER, I hold it would be a grave error of commission or omission on my part were I to accept the position. 'The People' and THE INDUSTRIAL WORKER should not be edited by the same person. If for no other reason, it would be physically impossible for one man to do justice to both offices. As the brothers of the Los Angeles Local, and the people who will not require detailed reasons for this; they will concede that I know whereof I talk. On the other hand, my task in the political movement—always understood the bona fide political to be but the reflex of the bona fide economic movement—is not yet completed. So long as that task is unfinished and the Socialist Labor Party elects to keep me in this place, my place is here on 'The People' and nowhere else, and here is where my own judgment holds me.

"As to the suggestion that THE INDUSTRIAL WORKER be edited in New York and published at the 'Daily People' plant, again my editorial experience is adverse to that. The national organ of a movement should be edited and published at, or near the seat of the movement's national headquarters. New York should not be used as the seat of the General Executive Board of the Industrial Workers of the World. To edit and publish THE INDUSTRIAL WORKER here in New York would be to dislocate the administrative of the Industrial Workers of the World national administration.

"For these reasons I am not a candidate for the editorship of THE INDUSTRIAL WORKER and shall not allow my name to be used as such. If consulted by the General Executive Board of the Industrial Workers of the World upon the advisability of editing and publishing THE INDUSTRIAL WORKER in New York, I would strongly advise against it.

The Facts in the Case

Under the title, "Rule or Ruin Policy" certain officers of the American Federation of Labor-capmakers' union, haunted by the denunciations and curses of betrayed workmen, have largely distributed a circular, notably sent in same to branches of the Socialist Party. Space in this paper is too valuable to take every line up for refutation.

Every wage earner, honest in his desire to get the facts, should write to the general officers of the American Federation of Labor, United Hat and Cap Makers in New York, and ask for a leaflet containing the charges and compare the facts and the facts herein related, and substantiated by evidence open for inspection, that we can well afford to evidence open for inspection, that we can well afford to leave judgment of this matter to all unbiased workmen.

At the end of September capmakers commenced to interest themselves in industrial unionism, after they found that the delegate to the Industrial Workers of the World convention, Mr. Edlin, who did not register as delegate at all, had given a report which with the most ridiculous falsehoods—me for instance, that in the ratification meeting Delta and De Leon were the principal speakers, while neither one spoke on that occasion.

As soon as the national officers of the American Federation of Labor-capmakers union heard of the intent to get capmakers' members of their own union organized in the Industrial Workers of the World, they issued a war-declaration war issued and sent to every cap manufacturer in the United States. (Copy on file.)

"Our last convention decided to send a delegate to the convention of the Industrial Workers of the World, not

for the purpose of actively participating in same, only to watch developments and to report at the next convention the general impression received. Now several members of our organization have accepted a charter from the Industrial Workers of the World. They have thus organized an opposition union and if that is the purpose of the Industrial Workers of the World we will endeavor to take action. We have issued a war-declaration to these members and have notified the bosses that their shops, according to their agreement, would be open only to members of our organization.

The American Federation of Labor-capmakers' union informs the workers in their attacks on the Industrial Workers of the World that this organization issued a charter to capmakers on November 23d. Now October 23d.

On October 10th National Secretary Zuckerman of the American Federation of Labor-capmakers informed the officers of the Industrial Workers of the World that they had heard that a charter would be applied for by "Pinkerton and Boss-Hillman" capmakers from the Industrial Workers of the World. In the reply on October 20th, Secretary Trautmann asserted that indeed a charter had been applied for, but shortly after the war-declaration had been issued, but an investigation would be ordered at once and if any one of the charges would be proven the United Capmakers could rest assured that every one proven guilty of being a hireling of the employers would be forthwith expelled. The Industrial Council of New York was ordered to have the investigation started at once and an invitation was sent to the American Federation of Labor-capmakers' union to send the witnesses.

The charter was never kept back, because when the Industrial Council of New York notified the competing parties of the date set for the investigation the answer was sent that it was deemed superfluous to present the evidence.

In his two letters to Secretary Trautmann of the Industrial Workers, Zuckerman of the National Secretary of the capmakers' union, asserted that the Industrial Workers were instrumental in making "the closed shop agreement" of their organization abortive. The fact in the matter is that his organization would not want to undertake a task, when employers would discharge immediately, and have done so, after wage earner who would refuse to pay dues to unions for which the employers give preference, and which they in many instances deduct the dues and imposed fines from the wages. But the capmakers' union did not even have such a closed shop agreement, although this was only brought to light by a paper supporting the Industrial Workers of the World. Copy of that "sacred" agreement is in our hands, and below is an exact reproduction.

And the consummation of such a contract was heralded as a great victory for labor.

When Comrade Eugene V. Debs and President Chas. O. Sberman were in New York the complainants again approached and asked for a conference. Representatives of both parties were present. When pressed to undertake a task, when employers would discharge immediately, and have done so, after wage earner who would refuse to pay dues to unions for which the employers give preference, and which they in many instances deduct the dues and imposed fines from the wages. But the capmakers' union did not even have such a closed shop agreement, although this was only brought to light by a paper supporting the Industrial Workers of the World. Copy of that "sacred" agreement is in our hands, and below is an exact reproduction.

The Detroit capmakers' trouble is of the same character, and at par are the falsehoods circulated by the officers of the United Capmakers. The Detroit Cap Manufacturing Company owns three factories in Detroit. After the "glorious" last year two factories were allowed to run as so-called open shops, one as "closed shop," so as to have the union label. For some reasons irrelevant to the matter the United Capmakers' Union revoked the charter of one of its unions in Detroit, of the cutters, and the employers were appealed to settle the case for the union. A member of the executive board of that organization.

In October, two other members of the Industrial Workers of the World and also of the capmakers' union, the only two that the Industrial Workers of the World had as members outside of Gompers, who were working in the closed shop, were found guilty of offending the national officers, because they wrote on an official notice, "Don't be blinded." The war-declaration mentioned in the beginning had also reached Detroit, and Kiehnitz and Wolf were known to be members of the Industrial Workers of the World. They were fined, the fine doubled later and raised to such a sum that the men were unable to pay. The bosses were notified and when they refused to pay the fine for those two employees a strike was declared, the firm finally being compelled to discharge the two employees. They found employees in the shops which they could not pay, fined for being members of the Industrial Workers of the World.

But the employers had been preparing to make the closed shop an open one, after learning of the New York contract and its contents. A lockout was precipitated and the locked-out employees succeeded in getting employees of the other shops to walk out also. The cutters, whose charter had been revoked by the United Capmakers' Union refused to obey the mandates of a mismanagement organization, and then the papers, again the "impartial" ones leading, yelled in a choir "Industrial Workers of the World" members are filling the places of American Federation of Labor members, and surely the capitalist press would fall in, in order to get strike breakers to come to Detroit, claiming it to be a fight between the American Federation of Labor and the Industrial Workers of the World. Certainly the officers of the United Capmakers' Union had to deceive their members once more. But the tables were turned against them, and there is now and worry in their camps.

Lazarus Goldberg, the only cutter in the Industrial Workers of the World, whom called upon to stand with his fellow workers, the persecuted, the vilified, the slandered man in principle, walked out, never to get a job again in his trade. When he was discharged, the damnable confidence of the capmakers' union that had vilified him that secured bail for him, and when those other two members of the Industrial Workers of the World, in spite of the just promises they had against those who had made the "closed shop" agreement, walked out there was heard in the city of Detroit the rejoicing of proletarians who in spite of their faults

are longing for that union of thought and action that has marked the onward march of those upon whose shoulders rests the burden of the whole earth.

When the City Central Committee of the Industrial Workers of the World finally refused to accept the resignation from membership of those two members, who had promised to join hands with those who were responsible for them being strike breakers, and yet remained at work, and expelled them forthwith; this was done because the rank and file of the union, when addressed on the subject, had for the first time their eyes opened to the double-faced game played by the national officers of the organization; but while as a result thereof they were forced out on the street, the Industrial Workers of the World could not permit, however much a man might have been engaged before, to go back on the members of our class when wronged in battle with the enemy.

And when the capmakers of Detroit secured a statement from the perpetrators of the scandalous circular issued by the United Cloth Capmakers that the statement made relative to the Detroit affair would be retracted, then it dawned on their minds that when one part of the assertions is admitted to be a tissue of falsehood, how they and every honest workman should judge the other part. The shield of the Industrial Workers of the World will not be stained by the blood of workmen slaughtering each other in fratricidal warfare.

W. E. TRAUTMANN.

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

"No. 2. Employers will engage and discharge whomever they see fit.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

New York, N. Y., March 20th, 1905.

"This agreement to be in force for the term of two years from date.

"A. LEIDESDORF, President.

"LOUIS GOLDSTEIN, Secretary.

"M. ZUGARMAN, National Secy."

Czarism in Labor Movement

A labor organization that is dominated and bossed by a single leader or a clique of leaders, called an executive board, is an organization that the labor movement can very well get along without. The overthrow of such labor czars as Gompers, O'Connell, Tobin and others, and their retirement to a well-deserved oblivion, will come about when the workers, who have too long been their dupes, shall realize the shameful acts of treason to the working class of which they have been and continue to be guilty. The working class alone can accomplish this.

The charge is made against the Industrial Workers of the World by Gompers and others that the purpose of our organization is to destroy the old trades unions. This is not true. Our purpose is to substitute a more efficient organization of labor for the present ineffective one.

If the American Federation of Labor and its affiliated unions is right, it cannot be destroyed by us. If it is right, if it is honest, if it is first, last and always for the interests of the class that labors, it contains within itself the potential elements that will preserve it against all onslaught. If it had these attributes, it would hold the confidence of the working class.

But, as a matter of fact, the American Federation of Labor has lost its moral influence in the world of labor. It is destitute of all the attributes named. It is destroying itself. Or, rather, it permits itself to be destroyed by the czarism of its leaders. It is not true that the Industrial Workers of the World comes to destroy the American Federation of Labor. It has a higher mission. The American Federation of Labor is mangled and torn in the house of its friends. Its lustiest defenders are its worst enemies. Its president has never been on the firing line, except to betray the rank and file. No man can put his finger on a battle for labor that Gompers won, not one. The well-informed can point to many that he has helped to lose.

The American Federation of Labor, because of this man's perfidy, has long been rent with craft feuds. Stricken to the heart by the paralysis of capitalist influence, it is doomed to extinction, though the Industrial Workers of the World had never been born.

See what is going on in the labor world, and cease marveling that another working class organization has sprung into the arena to do battle for the exploited millions of toilers who slowly grope their way out of this capitalist hell toward emancipation and freedom.

LESLIE'S CONSECRATION

A True But Immoral Story

BY
GERTRUDE BRESLAU HUNT
 WRITTEN FOR
THE INDUSTRIAL WORKER

The hastening winter sun, its glowing countenance dimmed by clouds of smoke, had dropped dejectedly behind an immense storage warehouse at 3 o'clock, and that was sunset for people living in the hideous and rickety tenements for blocks around, and for the hurrying workers in the Hobbs' chocolate factory.

Andrew Quinn, the superintendent, was making his rounds. He had held his present position but three months and he knew he must make a record-breaking showing of gains this year, or lose his place; that he had been engaged because his employer supposed he would get more work and longer hours for less wages out of the employees than any other man on the market. He was a "hustler" and had a pleasant way of stimulating everyone near him to a similar activity. It was understood by the employees that he kept only such "hands" as would work at race-horse speed—the typical hired boss.

As he opened the work-room door on the second floor and the men saw him, the rushing and roar seemed redoubled. Foreman Tom Curtin gave several peremptory orders in a loud, nervous tone; the last he shouted to a slender lad standing in front of the chocolate grinder in the middle of the room. "Hey, Fred, clean them cogs." "Drop that knife, take a bunch of waste and do it right." Without a word the boy sprang to obey, working with all his might, as the others were doing. All unnoticed an end of the skein of waste caught in the cogs, and their swift revolutions dragged it and his hand into their relentless jaws. Fred's sudden, agonized scream pierced high above the clangor, and the hearts of all who heard were stilled with horror and fear. Most of them had heard such cries before. It was not the first "accident" in that factory. Those near saw him become rigid as a steel rod, brace for a supreme effort and jerk back, literally tearing his hand from the crushed fingers between the cogs. The blood spurted from the mangled stump as it leaped to view, and then the boy became mercifully unconscious and sunk to the floor.

He was carried down to the office, his hand bandaged to stop the flow of blood, and the company's doctor telephoned for; he happened not to be in, and Curtin wanted to take the boy in a carriage to another doctor very near, but the superintendent objected. "Wait a little, we want our own doctor; we can't trust every body."

Curtin understood. The company doctor would help persuade the victim to settle any claim he might have; would belittle the injury; swear the patient did not obey his instructions, and many other little services of that sort. Truly he was THEIR DOCTOR.

So they waited. The boy became conscious and exclaimed again and again: "Oh, gee, what will my mother do? This'll just kill my mother."

They telephoned again without any better success, and as the blood was soaking through all the coverings and the boy fainted from exhaustion, Curtin swore. "You can't wait any longer. He might die on your hands. I'm going to take him to that Rush Street doctor. I can't stand it. If you'd allowed that guard I asked for two months ago, those cogs would have been covered and this would not have happened. You know it."

His sympathy, remorse and excite-

ment made him reckless in speech, and well that it was so, for while it cost him his position later on, it was overheard by Lars Knudsen, a boy pal and disobeyed orders and followed to the office, and without doubt this evidence won for Fred the \$5,000 verdict obtained after years of struggle in the courts. Mr. Hobbs, the proprietor, came in at this moment, and ordered the sufferer sent at once to the nearest doctor, rebuking Quinn for the delay of nearly an hour. The superintendent replied quietly: "You want to do the best I can to make the business pay. I have been superintendent in large factories before, as you know, and one must be most careful in such an emergency not to let sympathy run away with judgment. It might cost thousands of dollars."

Hobbs answered: "I am insured against loss by accident to my employees in the London Guarantee Company, and they must take care of this on my nerves. It's easier for an outsider to deal with these cases."

Fred was taken unconscious into Dr. Burton's office. The surgeon questioned indignantly why they had allowed so much hemorrhage when they were so near, but the replies were conflicting and unsatisfactory. He performed amputation and made the same out of the anesthetic and had him briefly and his kindly face had a careworn look as he listened to his replies. He ordered an ambulance brought, then called his daughter Leslie, who was a trained nurse and her father's assistant, requesting her to accompany Fred in the ambulance; to take good care of him; to break the news gently to his mother, who, he told, was a widow, and Fred was her only child; also, to leave something for their needs if they were as destitute as he suspected.

The doctor's beautiful and highly cultivated daughter, bearing the bloom of health and youth on her cheek and her movements, did not shrink for a moment from her task. She was accustomed to going among the sick, poor and unclean.

Her father was a student of vital social problems and explained and discussed all such topics with her. She was in closest sympathy with his ideas and purposes of helpfulness. So active had Dr. Burton been in well doing that he was singled out by most of Chicago's corporations as the object of their bitterest animosity, for coupled with his unusual ability was unpurchasable integrity and fearless denunciation of dishonest practices. Corporation's hirelings feared him and frequently hurled at him the epithet "anarchist."

"Not quite," he answered, "but I'm near some. I expose anarchists in high places—who break laws, rob workers, debauch legislatures and courts, and violate every social and moral code that they may become rich and powerful. These are the anarchists that menace us nowadays."

When Leslie looked at Fred's "home" she found it to be two little rooms on the second floor of a shed facing an alley in the stock yards district. The ambulance threaded along between filthy garbage boxes and piles of tin cans and stable refuse. The lower part of the shed was used

for coal bins by the tenants of the flats on front of the lot. "Poor little fellow, he must have had to get up early, ridden eight or ten miles, and walked fully two to get to his work," she thought, "and right past a dozen schoolhouses where he should have ridden. I don't believe he is a day over fifteen even if the foreman said seventeen." Then, indignantly, as she mounted the quaking stairs: "Happy thought that wretched landlord had, in adding three feet to the height of his coal shed and thus drawing rent from poor souls who cannot help themselves. For shame, for shame, sir, whoever you may be."

In answer to her tap she heard a soft-toned "Come in," and as she opened the door saw a fair woman of about forty sitting in a broken rocker in the center of a barren, chilly room, who turned her sightless eyes questioningly toward her. "Don't be frightened, Mrs. Knudsen, your boy hurt his hand, and I came home with him. He feels a little faint." The pitiful face went gray, the hands gripped each other, but she did not start or scream.

"Misery must have been her frequent guest, that his coming no longer startles," was Leslie's mental comment.

Fred was helped in and placed on a cot covered with very soiled bedding. Leslie was not one who ranted that "the poorest may keep clean if they want to." She knew their strength was spent doing other people's "dirty work," either directly or indirectly, and the harder the work, the less the chance to live anywhere but in a filthy home in the midst of smoke, mud, ashes and vile odors.

Mrs. Knudsen groped about with her hands, tenderly touching the bandages and her son's face, clammy with the dew of suffering. She seized the truth, and kneeling by the cot hid her face beside Fred's shoulder and sobbed aloud in despair and grief.

Leslie's eyes were swimming, but she seated herself and began to talk, striving to divert the mind of the distracted mother and secure quiet for her patient.

Gradually in brief, broken sentences Mrs. Knudsen told the major facts of her life-long struggle. She spoke in the gentle, musical minor, peculiar to many Swedish people.

"Ay been 'shamed to have fine lady lak you see me dees vay, but Ay not can help. Ay work always hard since Ay been eight year old. Ay hav tings fine ven my hoosban' var vell and 'staid steady vork; vonce ve buy such nice cottage and for ten year ve pay every mont' on it; it been nearly paid for, but hard times coom and den ve not can get vork for nearly von year and ve lose it back. Ay vash and scrub to help, but ve not can save it; ven my hoosban' not get hurt, yes, hae been hurt five times in fifteen year hae vork for Armour. No, hae never get back. Det vas all. Last time, hae vork in glue factory. A big crank get loose and fly hard against hees head; dey carry him home so, lak dead, and for two day hae stay lak dat; den hae coom out, but he can walk again, never. Hae been paralyzed. Oh, lady, det been vorst of all. Hae varr only thirty-eight, and so strong vonce! Hae cry yust lak baby; hae say Ay must send heem to poor house, but Ay not can—Ay not can. Ay say, 'Neis, me

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and our boys make all 'nough." But mine oldest boy lose been work. Hae not can find more so hae youn det army, hae say hae get board and thirteen tollar a mont'. Ay cry so hae say, 'Modder, it not been worse to be shot den to starve.' In one year hae die of det fever. My fine boy!

"Fred hae var 'leven det time, hae pick coal, sell paper and rim, so many errands, hae help much, too."

"Von day Ay coom home so happy. 'Ay tank ay got such good job by Bond's brewery, more easy den scrubbing. Me and 'mudder, vomans, varnish some. Day been short of help; de second day ve bot feel our eyes funny, and next day ve not can see our own han's, not any ting--ve blind fur always."

"Det doctor at deesspary hae ask all tings, den hae say, 'too much wood alcohol in det varnish kill det eye nerve.'"

"Ven may hoosban' know hae tell Fred, 'Tek care your modder, and he cut bees trout in dees chair. Ay been glad ay not can see det day. Det var two year. Ay hev always hard time, Lady."

At the close she seemed too exhausted for tears. Leslie felt sick and faint from sympathy and the consciousness of wrong and oppression. She could but think of Markham's question: "How will you ever straighten up this shape, Give back the upward looking and the light, Rebuild in it the music and the dream?"

She tried to speak some helpful words, forbade them to touch the bandages under any circumstances, for fear of blood poisoning, and hastened out to the nearest grocery, leaving there a liberal order for food and fuel to be sent to mother and son.

The fresh, cold air was reviving, but Leslie felt depressed for days by Mrs. Knudsen's story, and always afterwards whenever she thought of them.

"It is worse than having witnessed a murder," she told her father.

"It is the cruelest form of murder, my dearie, sparing none, neither tender babes nor the feeble aged. Find your solace in an effort to abolish the cause--the private ownership of the means of life."

Let us hasten to the end; it is such a common, disagreeable story. Through Dr. Burton's advice a reliable lawyer undertook to get for Fred partial compensation for his loss. "We must try to make it cheaper to save life than to destroy it. When it costs more to take a life than to buy safety devices for machinery, they will buy the devices," said Lawyer Staunton.

Leslie went often to see the unfortunate family, leaving always substantial aid, but in spite of all, they suffered. After Fred's recovery she secured easy work for him. He was fairly dizzy with hope and happiness, but, alas, the second day came an officer and arrested him on a charge of stealing vegetables from a grocer. Leslie paid his fine, and tried again, but his enforced idleness and poverty combined, threw him into bad company and he acquired vicious habits. It was hard to get work suited to his strength and crippled state; he had no education; what could he do?

On several occasions Leslie found the landlord sitting with Mrs. Knudsen, a can of beer on the table between them. Finally, one day after he had shuffled out, Mrs. Knudsen suddenly burst into tears.

"Miss Leslie, Ay dont vant you tink Ay bean always a bad vomans. Ay not bean. Ay lak better go to poorhouse, but Ay 'traid my boy get bad, very bad, may be. If von of us must go to hell, Ay want to go, not my Fred. Dont tink Ay bean all bad."

"Stop, oh, please stop," cried Leslie, sharply. "I can't hear it." She clasped the blind woman's hands and scolding tears fell on the upturned face. "You shall not blame and degrade yourself. You have had no

choice. You have worked like a ~~black~~ slave and for less, far less; you have produced all your life for others to use; you have been robbed of husband, children, sight, food, shelter, self-respect, every joy of life to feed the bloody maw of capitalism. You are whiter today, after all the soil they have heaped upon you, than the charitable, christian families who are giving away such part of YOUR wealth as they cannot use themselves. I would go down on my knees before you and beg your forgiveness for these wrongs if it would do any good. Try to understand that all the riches of the world are made by the people who work; never should one of them suffer for aught if they got what they produce. Our warehouses stand so high they hide the heavens and they are bursting with goods, yet millions of those who made these riches are suffering as you have suffered. Some day the toiling host will wipe out capitalism with their ballots, and the Co-operative Commonwealth will come, a Heaven after this hell."

"Ay tank you tousan' times for your good vords, Miss Leslie. Ay never forget. Ay not can spik for mineseelf lak det. If my boy get a home, Ay go to poorhouse, happy det day."

So it was. Fred was taken by a good family living on a farm in Michigan, and this was all that saved him from becoming a criminal, he afterwards told Leslie.

It took hundreds of dollars and five years of struggle in the courts to get Fred's judgment for \$5,000. The company had expected to starve Fred and his mother out and make them settle for a few dollars. Their agent cursed Dr. Burton and his daughter, when he learned they were aiding the family. Fred prayed that he might get his money and get a little farm home for his mother and himself, but the money came too late for that. Two weeks before he got it, he and Leslie sat beside his dying mother in the county poorhouse.

"Miss Leslie," and she groped for Leslie's hand, "You tink det Commonvealt you spik about coom some day, sure?"

"Yes, indeed I do, Mrs. Knudsen. Before your Fred is as old as you are, I think. Over forty-seven thousand men in this state of Illinois voted for it last year. Think of that, dear."

"Ay bean more happy since Ay hear about det den Ay ever bean in my life. Tell eferbody, Miss Leslie; spik a vord for me, too. Ay vish Ay can vork for det."

"Dear, good-heart, I promise you that I will consecrate my life to telling the people. I will plead for you and the millions of women and children who are too weak, too ignorant, too oppressed to plead for themselves; that the fathers and brothers shall know when they vote what they vote for, and not give any class the right to rob them and destroy their families. Your sorrows have helped me to make my decision to serve the cause of the Commonwealth with all my strength from now on."

"O, det bean fine. Fred, Ay go far away now, Ay vant you to vork for dis grand ting, too."

"I will, mother. I will. I have learned about it, and I could not vote for anything else. I'll remember you when I vote, and I will work for it, too."

In a few minutes, Mrs. Knudsen breathed her last, but the radiance of the greatest hope that ever entered the heart of humanity lighted her pallid features as with the gleam of a splendid dawn.

NOTICES

San Pedro, Cal., Local Union meets every Sunday at 417 1/2 Beacon street.

Wade Shurtleff is organizer for the Industrial Workers of the World in New York City and vicinity. His address is Room 1, 241 E. 49th street.

They Clutched the Money

The visit of Eugene V. Debs to New York, in the interest of the Industrial Workers of the World, developed the fact that the labor tenants of capitalism in the American Federation of Labor have some very servile imitators and assistants in the office of the New York Volks Zeitung. It appears that Brother Charles Vollmers, who personally vouches for the facts herein stated, that he delivered at the said newspaper office one of the posters advertising the Debs' meetings. He requested that the poster be hung in a prominent place, so that it might be seen by the public. It was accepted with the promise that such disposition would be made of it. Having occasion to pass that way on two consecutive days following, he looked for, but could not find, the poster. When on the second day he inquired what had become of it, he was assured that "it was hanging up yesterday." When he insisted that the poster had not been in sight during the two days, he received the reply that it had not been hung up because it bore "no union label."

Now this poster bore the Universal Label of the Industrial Workers of the World, which in the minds of the revolutionary working-class supersedes the label of pure and simple unionism. We understand that the Industrial Workers of the World committee of arrangements for the New York meetings had to pay something like \$22.00 for a small space advertising the meetings in the newspapers that issue from the Williams Street establishment. Thus it appears that while the New York Volks Zeitung and Worker refused to display the Industrial Workers of the World poster, they eagerly enough clutched an exorbitant charge for advertising in their papers a movement which they professed to regard as injurious to the sort of "labor unionism" they uphold. This incident seems to fix the line of their opposition to Industrial Unionism at the sign of the dollar mark.

The Blacksmiths' Journal, which evinces a love for capitalists and professes an unchangeable faith in the form of labor organization which capitalists approve, is profoundly disturbed over the rise of a revolutionary working-class movement. It bases its fruitless opposition to Industrial Unionism upon the "evident prosperity" that has attended the "safe, sane and conservative" methods of organization founded on a basis of autonomy. The Blacksmiths' Journal has yet to learn that the meaning of autonomy is division, and the results of division are apparent only in the evident dissensions everywhere prevailing under "safe, sane and conservative" methods.

What was it that happened in Russia? The workers quit work--tied up the railways, closed the shops, shut down the mills and suspended profit-making in general. With what result? Business was alarmed and government compelled to make what, to the autocrat and aristocrats, were revolutionary concessions. It was a struggle in the economic field. It is likely to win more than any battle with ballots has done for any people in the world. The Russians are better fitted than before to conduct a triumphant political campaign and secure control of government.

The S. D. Herald of Milwaukee is deriving a little amusement every week from puerile flings at the Industrial Workers. Its sapient editor refers to us as an "abortive" organization. When it is known that the Industrial Workers of the World has a dues-paying membership of nearly 100,000--about four times that of the Socialist party and one-fourth the national vote of the party--and that this has been achieved in six brief months, it would appear that it is the editor's "wit" that is "abortive."

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The National Disease

"The Menace of Child Labor" was recently discussed at a meeting of the National Child Labor Committee, when some wholesome truth was uttered by those present. Felix Adler, of New York, said that while the American conscience revolts against women in certain parts of Europe performing hard labor in the fields, there are in this country between one and two million child laborers. The evil, he contended, was not only widespread, but steadily increasing. There were, he stated, about 10,000 children working about the mines, about 7,000 in the glass industry, and the number of child laborers in the Southern textile mills has increased within a few years from 24,000 to about 60,000.

He said there was reason to believe that in other parts of the country similar conditions exist. The cause of the evil he declared to be "the American disease"—the same disease the fearful symptoms of which lately have been exposed in the investigation of the insurance commission in New York, the separation between business and morals and the unscrupulous disregard of others' rights when material success is at stake.

He declared, however, that the conscience of the people was everywhere awakening and there were signs of a great moral upheaval, and that the children should be the first to obtain the benefit.

Dr. Samuel McCune Lindsay agreed with Dr. Adler that the number of children employed throughout the country was increasing faster than the efforts to cope with the situation.

Dr. A. J. McKelway, of Charlotte, N. C., after stating that 91 per cent of the children employed in manufacturing industries in the South were to be found in the four cotton-growing, cotton-manufacturing states of North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia and Alabama, said:

"It is a rude awakening that has come to our people, that the abolition of negro slavery marked the beginning of white child slavery; that our pet industry (cotton) is not different in the South from what it was for a hundred years in Old and New England—an industry distinguished for long hours and low wages, and cursed by the employment of children on a larger scale and of tenderer years than any other industry in the world. In this year of the twentieth century there are 60,000 children in Southern cotton mills, from six to sixteen years old, toiling twelve hours a day or twelve hours a night and reducing the wage scale

to what is necessary for the support of a child instead of what will support a family, or manhood wages. And the South is also awakening to the fact that its characteristic industry has so entrenched itself behind all the commercial life of the South that it is able to control legislation in opposition to the popular will, that would express itself in the enactment of human laws and their enforcement."

METAL AND MACHINERY DEPARTMENT

This department has made steady progress since the adjournment of the convention, July 7, 1905. Twenty-three new charters have been issued and 1,985 new members enrolled. While Schenectady, N. Y., has developed into one of the strongest centers of Industrial Unionism, and now has a membership of 960, there are other localities where central councils of the Industrial Workers of the World have already been established and the membership is growing. Schenectady is now in a position to organize a strong central council, which will place the organization there in a position to care effectively for the workers in the metal and machinery industry. In all parts of the country very good results are reported, and the department begins the new year on a sound basis.

TRANSPORTATION DEPARTMENT

This department, formerly the United Brotherhood of Railway Employees, meets the fiercest opposition from the reactionaries. Nevertheless, it is making rapid progress. Since the convention eight new local unions have been organized and the prospects for the future are brightening. The officials of the department anticipate a large increase in membership in the near future, as a result of the constant application from all sections of the country for information concerning the plan of organization.

A man who had purchased some currant buns at a baker's was distressed, on starting to eat one, to find that it contained a fly. Returning to the bakery, he made an indignant complaint, demanding another bun in place of the inhabited one.

"I'm sorry, sir," said the saleswoman. "I can't give you another bun, but if you will bring me back the fly I will give you a currant for it."—Harper's "Weekly."

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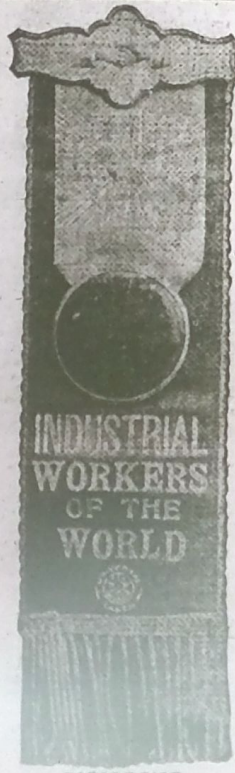
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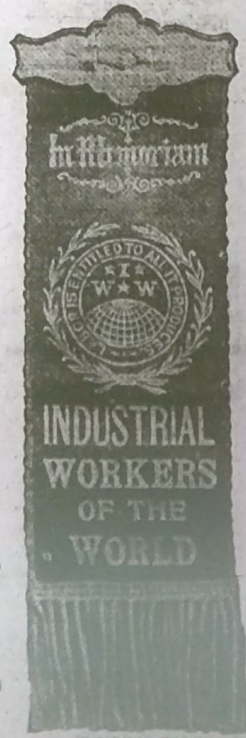
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