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ETERNAL VIGILANCE IS THE PRICE OF LIBERTY

MOYER, HAYWOOD AND PETTIBONE TRIALS COMMENCE ON MAY 9TH. TRIAL OPENS WITH HAYWOOD

The Working Class are Called Upon to Be on the Alert to Discuss Quick and Judicious Action, to Insure Full Justice for Our Innocent Brothers in Their Race with Death at the Hands of Our Capitalist Oppressors.

LET THE HEART OF THE WHOLE WORKING CLASS BEAT AS ONE FOR THE VINDICATION OF OUR INNOCENT BROTHERS ON MAY 9TH, WITH YOUR THOUGHTS AND EYES TURNED TOWARD BOISE, IDAHO, IN THE ROCKY MOUNTAINS OF THE NORTHWEST.

THE MOYER-HAYWOOD-PETTIBONE PROTEST MEETING AT COLISEUM HALL, DENVER, COLORADO.

Saturday night, March 23th, the laboring people of Denver assembled in the Coliseum building to again demonstrate their sympathy for the imprisoned victims of a corporate conspiracy. By 8 o'clock every seat was taken in Denver's largest auditorium, notwithstanding the fact that the meeting was held the night before Easter Sunday, when everyone is supposed to be making preparations for that great anniversary in the history of Christianity.

William Leonard, as chairman, opened the meeting with a brief but eloquent address and introduced the first speaker of the evening, J. E. Herman, of the Painters' Union of Denver. Mr. Herman dwelt upon the rights and liberties that were supposed to be incorporated within the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the nation. His arraignment of the decisions of the Supreme Court was caustic and eloquent and received cheers of applause.

Mr. Tobin, of the Carpenters' Union, was introduced by the chairman and made a telling speech which was frequently interrupted with applause.

After the collection was taken up John M. O'Neill, editor of the Miners' Magazine, was introduced, and spoke as follows:

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen, and Comrades:

Looking into the earnest faces of the men and women assembled here tonight, I feel that it will require no flight of oratory or unneeded rhetoric to touch the fountains of generous sympathy in your hearts for the imprisoned men whom capitalism yearns to sentence to a scaffold in the state of Idaho.

I am here tonight to mingle my voice with yours in protest against an infamous conspiracy as was ever born in the delinquent brain of corporate anarchy. While in the city of Pittsburgh, Pa., in the early part of last month, I listened to an eloquent address delivered by a lady in exposition of the conspiracy of capitalism to murder for profit in the packing houses of Chicago, in the textile mills of Philadelphia, and in the mills of Allegheny county. But, my friends, the conspiracy of capitalism to murder for profit is going on not only in the packing houses of that great city on the banks

of Lake Michigan—not only in the textile mills of the City of Brotherly Love, not only in the mills of Pittsburgh, where sweat, flesh and blood are frozen into iron and steel and sold for profit, but the conspiracy of capitalism to murder for dividends is going on in every nation upon the face of the globe.

The great mass of the people are the victims of a hellish system that knows no rights or liberties that conflict with the supremacy of plutocratic despotism. Might makes right is the slogan of a class of privilege who use the functions of every government upon the face of our planet to dominate the millions of a world that is cursed with a slavery that fetters the human race and makes of our civilization a nightmare of horror. The Western Federation of Miners has learned to know the class struggle from the lesson that have been taught, from the many raging conflicts upon the industrial battlefield. The organization since its birth in the year 1893 has been continuously fighting a battle for individual liberty. We have felt the need of the boycott, the cowardly

blows of the corporation thug, and the bullet of the military hireling, who executes and carries out the orders of industrial despots. We know that bull pen, deportations, kidnaping and all the outrages that have been perpetrated against the producing class are but the results of a system that will remain upon this earth until the millions of a slave-enslaved world shall rise in their united strength and proclaim that the long night of misery, agony and pain shall end, and usher in a civilization that will enable man, woman and child to bask in the sunlight of economic liberty.

The Western Federation of Miners is not alone in the recognition of the class struggle. The rumbling of intelligent discontent is heard in every nation upon the face of the earth, and the ceaseless battle that is going on presages the dawn of a day when a glorious sunburst of industrial liberty shall rise in its matchless splendor to shed its rays of light upon every nation beneath the stars. It will require brave men and brave women to face the future. The battle of all the ages must be fought and won. Many of the bravest of the brave will fall and be sacrificed in the struggle, but their memory will be treasured by the unborn generations that are yet to come, who will live beneath the sheltering dome of a republic where man shall be a king and woman shall be a queen—a republic that shall know no master and no slave.

The conditions that are being created by capitalism are uniting the wage slaves of the world. The scattered remnants of labor throughout the length and breadth of this earth will yet come together, to march shoulder to shoulder under one flag, to fight the coming battle, until wrong and oppression go down to their death, and economic liberty becomes the heritage of all mankind.

The poet, the orator and the journalist have paid their most glowing tributes to the progress which crowns the twentieth century. The press and pulpit have plucked from the vocabulary of the English language the most flowery verbal gems to picture the noble generosity that permeates the human heart, and to portray the deathless fraternity that exists among men. We have been told year after year that the human race is holding closer communion with the doctrines that were once preached by the lowly Nazarene, that man has risen from the mire which disgraced a brutal past, and that our present civilization is teaching and enabling man to plant in the span of life that lies between the cradle and the grave, roses of happiness, love and joy.

The poet, the orator and the journalist may well fail to greatness of their splendid work, and yet they will fail to carry conviction to thinking men and women that this mundane sphere of ours is growing better as a place upon which to live.

This grand old earth of ours is shadowed by the gloom of human misery and suffering. Eyes are moistened with the dew of tears and lips are pallid in the grip of famishing hunger and want. We may hear the laughing music of hope and joy in the mansions of Capitol Hill, but we can likewise hear the wails and the death groans in the hovels on the Dives, but Lazarus in the cellar, in the garret, and in the prison, is moaning from "man's inhumanity to man."

The system under which we live, which has bred a millionaire and a tramp, is drying up the fountains in the human heart. Profit is the monster that is ever strangling justice to death, and crucifying man upon the cruel cross of agony and despair. Greed has risen in its majestic might, and rules with the imperial despotism of a soulless tyrant. All over the bosom of this broad earth can be seen the signals of distress and we can hear the dirge of blighted hopes and blasted lives. Our civilization is loaded with sighs and sob, and man, who is said to have been made in the image and likeness of God, has resolved himself into either a tyrant or a slave.

For 1,900 years the voice of Christianity has been heard, and for centuries in every civilized land, Christian temples have reared their spires towards the stars, and yet crime reigns rampant and man has not yet been able to obey the scriptural mandate, "Love thy neighbor as thyself." Through all the ages of time the pages of history are wet with tears and reddened with blood, and notwithstanding the commandment from the Book of Books, "Thou shalt not kill," yet, every nation under the canopy of heaven has forged the implements of murder to maintain the supremacy of our brutalized system of profit. Every year, upon the returning anniversary of the death of the man who died upon Calvary, we proclaim, "Peace on earth, good will to men," and yet, we have standing armies with bristling bayonets, patting guns and cannon upon the land, and armored monsters sailing the seas, to crimson our boasted civilization with human blood.

With all the wisdom that has been handed down to us from the lips of sages and philosophers, and with all the denunciation that has been thundered from press and pulpit against wrong and sin, yet now, under the dome of every nation's sky and beneath every flag, we can quote the poetic language of Scotland's immortal bard, "Man's inhumanity to man makes countless thousands mourn." Shall we go on through all the ages of the future upholding and defending a civilization that makes human flesh a commodity for sale to the world? Shall we go on maintaining and perpetuating a system that builds a prison and a palace, that breeds a pauper and a Croesus, and that has as its motto, "Peace on earth, good will to men," and yet, we have standing armies with bristling bayonets, patting guns and cannon upon the land, and armored monsters sailing the seas, to crimson our boasted civilization with human blood.

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We may read the pages of our country's history and take pride in the names of the immortal heroes, whose matchless valor caused the tongue in that old castle suspended in the tower of Faneuil Hall to strike its iron lip proclaiming to the world the independence of a nation. We may grow eloquent in our tributes to the men who were the first to plant the flag of freedom on the shores of the states when the sun's unshaken glow had buried the memory of slavery in the achievements and the remembrance of the fading glories of a bygone age. We should not blind our vision to the grand historical character of imperiousness that has crawled like a serpent upon the neck of our country's liberty, to strangle that serpent with the words, "My Country is of Thee." Justice unto the oppressed is the only way to peace and happiness. We should not be so-called sovereign citizens equipped with the right to do as we please, and to trample upon the rights of others.

and we shout for the "Red, White and Blue," and yet, I who speak a poor tongue, have seen colored plutocracy planting the flag of the nation upon the mountains, and in the adobe pen, behind whose walls the wage slave was held without charge, warrant, or due process of law. I want to say that I am not in favor of the "Red, White and Blue," but I am in favor of the banner of a czar. Capitalism is the same all over the world.

The hireling of capitalism in America is no more humane than the calicoed Cossack who guards the blood-stained master in his prison-palace in Russia.

Capitalism knows no justice.

Capitalism rears no country and respects no flag; its religion is profit and the God is Gold.

I presume that when the Denver Republic comes from the press tomorrow morning, that meeting will either be blood-thirsty looting from the Western Federation of Miners attempted to fire your brain and nerve your arms against the holy and sanctified brand of "law and order" that prevails in Colorado and the state of Idaho.

I want to say my friends, my friends, that I love the meaning of the word "agitator," because its meaning warms the blood and quickens the heart beats of the world in its onward march towards the goal of industrial liberty. I love to hear the sobs of the ruffling brook and the splash of the rushing river as its waters swirl, and I want to say, and I am a sightless and muffled in the presence of a stagnant pool or a dead sea. The "agitator" has lived in every age of the world's progress and the names of the agitators of the past emblazoned on the pages of history are as monuments that ever shine until time shall be lost in eternity. Christ was an agitator and he paid the penalty upon Calvary, but the doctrines which he preached, revolutionized the religion of the world and the Christian teacher of today, stand as monuments to that "agitator," who was born in a stable at Bethlehem, wept in the garden of Gethsemane and expiated his life upon a cross amid the jeers, the scoffs and the maledictions of a frenzied "respectable" mob.

Patrick Henry was an "agitator" when he lifted up his voice in denunciation of regal despotism and shook the pillars of cowardly conservatism by declaring: "Caesar had his Brutus. Charles the First had Cromwell, and George the Third may profit by their example. If this be treason, make the most of it."

Phillips, Garrison and John Brown were "agitators," but the sentiments that flowed from their lips inflamed a nation to rise in its might and strike from the limbs of the poor, despised black man the chains and shackles of chattel slavery.

Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone are "agitators," and because their eloquence rang out in denunciation of an industrial system that enslaves a race, they were seized in the darkness of night, kidnaped by outlaws robed in the authority of law and placed upon board a special train to enjoy the legal rights of constitutional liberties of American citizenship, behind the walls of a prison in the state of Idaho.

On the 17th of last February a year ago, there was announced as black and as infamous a conspiracy as was ever hatched in the history of our country. The object was to bring about a judicial murder of the citizens of the state of Idaho, men who have had the courage to bare their breast in the battle of all the ages and stand upon the firing line to measure the tyrant of organized greed. Because they refused to meek submission to the will of a Mine Owners' Association, because they refused to see any identity of interest between the wage-slavery and corporate despotism, they were made the victims of a combination whose members, in the name of citizenship, stuff ballot boxes, hires repeaters, unsets duly elected governors, corrupts courts, debauches legislatures and labor whenever labor rises in rebellion against the mandates of a master class.

Because these men stood true and loyal to the class to which they belong, and whose interests they represent, their names have been heralded through the columns of the capitalist press as red-handed murderers, who would never live in the state of Idaho alive. A blood-stained Pinkerton agency, with its horde of salaried thugs and professional perjurers, is the auxiliary that is being used to railroad (Debs) "his loyalty to the working class."

But, my friends, the conspirators in their maddened frenzy to murder, by the judicial route, have been hampered in their vile enterprise by the aroused millions of the working class, who in every state of this union and throughout every province in Canada, have thundered their ultimatum: "Thou shalt not kill."

During the strenuous days of the Colorado strike the military-crazed adjutant-general of the Centennial State, the man who belongs to the Sherman Bell, declared that forty men in the bull-pen would hang, but when the atmosphere of the Colorado National Guard that was rented to a Mine Owners' Association for a mortgage-governor, Bell then had about as much evidence in his possession against members of the Western Federation of Miners as he has tonight brands in his sky-peg.

During the Colorado strike Moyer was held in the full for a period of 103 days, and notwithstanding the fact that the capitalist press piled charges maintain high against the hounded and persecuted president of the Western Federation of Miners, yet these defamers and calumniators of this judicial tribunal did not dare to invade the sanctuary of a charge. During his 103 days he was tried upon a criminal charge in the penitentiary, meditating during the "law and order" reign of James H. Peabody, that modern Nero, who or-flassed like a meteor and then fell like a rock.

Had Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone owned packing houses in the cities of Chicago, Kansas City, Omaha and other large cities of the country, had they poisoned and murdered men, women and children by the thousand, and through those mysterious murders, who embalm flesh and cartion to mint dividends, they would have been hailed as Napoleons of commerce and kings of finance, and Pardon Duesel, the governor of this state, would be searching the English language for the glory of immortality. But, no, they are only plain, and dare to stand upon their feet to sound the blast of a new Declaration of Independence that will yet place upon the brow of all humanity the crown of economic liberty.

Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone are among the Patrick Henrys of a new revolution of thought, that is slaying the hydra of a civilization, that scoffs at justice and falls upon the sword to worship Mammon.

even the formality of commitment papers. A Mine Owners' Association in its wrath and vengeance decreed that they should be held behind the walls of a state prison in solitary confinement until either reason spoke from their throats, or those men succumbed to the sweating process that belongs to the dark ages of a savage past. For nearly thirty days they were held behind the walls of a state prison ere the heroic efforts of the attorneys of the Western Federation of Miners could secure an order from a District Court in the state of Idaho, releasing them from the penitentiary and committing them to a county jail.

Immediately after the kidnaping of Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone, the attorneys of the Western Federation of Miners made application for a writ of habeas corpus in a District Court of the state of Idaho, on the grounds that they were illegally extradited, but the application was denied. An appeal was taken to the Supreme Court of the state, but again the writ was denied. A Federal Court was invaded, but again a ruling was handed down which brought joy and jubilation to the hearts of the conspirators, who thirsted for the feast of blood. But the Western Federation of Miners did not hesitate or falter, and the case was carried to the Supreme Court of the United States, the highest judicial tribunal of the nation. The arguments were heard in the early part of the month of last October, and on the 14th of last December the Judicial Caesars in America's royal temple of justice at Washington handed down a decision (with but one dissenting voice) which practically legalized kidnaping, and Justice Harlan declared in that decision that it was not within the province of the court to go behind the scenes and examine as to the manner in which Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone had been smuggled into the state of Idaho. The court held (with the exception of Justice Harlan) that no legal rights or constitutional privileges guaranteed to Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone had been violated, but the court failed to say under what line, sentence or article of the organic law of state or nation, Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone had any rights which corporations are bound to respect.

Had Rockefeller, Gould, Hill, Harriman, Vanderbilt or my old friend Baer (God's partner in the Coal Trust)—had any of these "respectable" gentlemen been kidnaped from their respective states, it is safe to assume that the Supreme Court of the United States would have hurled a judicial diadem blazing with indignation against the outrage that had been perpetrated upon the sacred rights of American citizenship.

We are told that we are all equal before the law, but the man who hugs this deceptive delusion to his breast in these days of the twentieth century should be placed in an institution for mental cripples and flooded with the tears and the sympathy of a weeping world.

Eighty-eight hours after the assassination of ex-Governor Steuenberg, of the state of Idaho, a man by the name of Harry Orchard was arrested on the grounds that the finger of suspicion pointed to him as the assassin. Some six weeks afterwards came the kidnaping of Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone. It was immediately announced in the corporation-owned Journal of the West that James McParland, alias McKenna, of Molly Maguire infamy, had secured a confession from Orchard, implicating the officers of the Western Federation of Miners as the Cain who had brought about the assassination of ex-Governor Steuenberg. According to the alleged confession of Orchard as published by McParland, it contained the blood-curdling stories of twenty-six murders in which Orchard had participated as the hired assassin of the Western Federation of Miners. Some officers of the officers of the Western Federation of Miners, I want you to think you can, of the moral decency of a man who could be hired to accomplish in twenty-six murders, and then ask yourself the question: "erected upon the amount of faith, confidence or reliance can be placed in the testimony of the president of the presentation, whose alleged confession crimson his soul with the blood of twenty-six human beings. If Orchard could be hired by the officers of the Western Federation of Miners to commit the murder of Harry Orchard, then Orchard can be hired by a Mine Owners' Association to perjure himself, to swear away the lives of Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone. But the prosecution realized that the story of Orchard must be verified and no man by the name of Harry Orchard, committed to the penitentiary. In a few weeks afterwards the Pinkerton hangman, James McParland, declared through the columns of the press that he had secured a confession from Adams, corroborating in every detail the story of Orchard, the champion murderer of the world. Several months ago a brother of Steve Adams, living in the state of Colorado, wended his way to Idaho, and through skillful diplomacy managed to gain an interview with the chief warden of the penitentiary. He discovered that Steve Adams, under threats of death, was forced to place his signature to a framed-up confession of the president of the Western Federation of Miners, leave to your judgment, knowing full well that the confession and your verdict will be Steve Adams' death. If the story of Orchard is a confession that corroborated the story of Adams, just as the confession of Adams corroborated the story of Orchard, then the confession of Adams is a confession that corroborated the story of the rest of the conspirators, but just as soon as the confession of Adams was made, he became a criminal and was immediately charged with murder. He has been tried for murder in the state of Idaho, and notwithstanding the fact that the executive, legislative and judicial machinery of the state failed to convict Adams on their trumped-up charge of murder, in the trial of Adams was disclosed the corroborating plot to bring about the murder of Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone under the forms of law.

You will probably remember that immediately after the kidnaping of Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone, Vincent St. Burke, Idaho, brought to Boise City and committed to the penitentiary on suspicion that he was implicated in the assassination of ex-Governor Steuenberg. He was held in the state penitentiary for a period of twenty-three days before he was released upon a writ of habeas corpus. No sooner had he been liberated from the penitentiary in Idaho than he was immediately re-arrested on a trumped-up charge of murdering and dragging to the state of Colorado, and notwithstanding the fact that not a single particle of corroborating evidence was produced at his preliminary hearing, yet he was released on a District Court in the sum of \$10,000. His case was called in a District Court in the state of Colorado last September, and the prosecution, with the state of Colorado a Mine Owners' Association, were forced to go into court and prove that the case he was not proved on the grounds that there was no evidence upon which to base a conviction. The case of Vincent St. Burke, Idaho, was his home in the state of Idaho, and the same conspiracy that dragged him from Idaho and committed him to Colorado on a charge of murder is only a part of the conspiracy against the officers of the Western Federation of Miners.

The alleged confession of Orchard, according to McParland, contained the recital of twenty-six murders that were committed by the Western Federation of Miners. According to the alleged confession of Orchard, as expounded by McParland, twenty-five of these murders were committed in the state of Colorado, so it is not strange and surprising that

Governor McDonald, of the state of Colorado, believed in the truth and reality of Orchard confession, if he believed that Meyer, Haywood and Pettibone had reddened their hands with the blood of twenty-five human beings in the state of Colorado, it is not strange and singular, I say, that Governor McDonald, of Colorado, entered into a collusion with Governor Gooding to have these men smuggled into the state of Idaho, where they are charged with the murder of only one man.

Governor McDonald must have thought that it was far easier to convict these men, charged with only one murder, in the state of Idaho than it would be in Colorado, where they have been charged with twenty-five murders.

The county attorney of Canyon county is the "respectable" gentleman who filed the information and swore to the complaint, charging Meyer, Haywood and Pettibone with the murder of ex-Governor Steunenberg and with being "fugitives from justice." When the county attorney of Canyon county swore to that complaint he knew that he blackened his soul with the crime of perjury, for he was cognizant of the fact that these men had not been in the state of Idaho.

Governor McDonald, of the state of Colorado, and Governor Gooding, of the state of Idaho, were well aware of the fact that Meyer, Haywood and Pettibone were residents and bona fide citizens of the state of Colorado and were not fugitives from justice, yet legal rights and constitutional liberties were trampled under foot by the very men who are sworn to uphold and defend the majesty of the law.

The conspiracy against the officers of the Western Federation of Miners is not confined to the Rocky Mountains and the Pacific Slope, but every mighty corporation that is waging a ceaseless battle against organized labor is behind the plot to murder these men under forms of law. Even the administration at Washington ungloried its hand when President Roosevelt sent Taft, the heavy-weight of his cabinet, to Idaho in the late political campaign to raise his voice on the rostrum for the re-election of Gooding, the acknowledged and recognized candidate of the Standard Oil Company. The sending of Taft, to Idaho to aid in the re-election of Gooding is probably the peculiar method employed by "Teddy" for busting the trusts. Yet, we are told through the columns of the capitalist press that there is no conspiracy against the lives of Meyer, Haywood and Pettibone. I want to say to you tonight that the most infamous conspiracy that ever blackened or disgraced the pages of this world's history has been hatched by capitalism and its soulless hirelings.

Less than a half a century ago, when this nation was trembling upon its blood-bought throne, when the Union of States was about to be torn and shattered into fragments; when the earth shook beneath the tread of millions of armed men; when blood flowed upon a hundred battlefields and all over the bosom of this nation, could be heard the wail of the widow and the orphan, then, even then, capitalism sat in its gilded dens on Wall Street and watched with eagle eye the raging battle, and planned and schemed to rob the nation if it lived, and to make the posterity of the struggling patriots, yes, planned as coolly and as deliberately to do this

damnable deed as men do in playing a game of chess. Capitalism that conspired to rob a nation, when its fathers and sons were immolating their lives upon the field of battle, and while mothers, wives, sisters and children were weeping for the slain at home, will feel no scruple of conscience in conspiring to murder Meyer, Haywood and Pettibone in order that a deadly blow may be administered to the labor movement of this country.

For years the capitalist press has branded the Western Federation of Miners as a band of dynamiters and anarchists because we refused to bow in mute subsiliation to the will of arrogant corporations. Branded as agitators and demagogues when we raised our voice in denunciation of a government by injunction that assassinates liberty, which should be the patrimony of every man, woman and child that lives beneath the canopy of heaven. Branded as disturbers and enemies to prosperity when we spring from our knees and stand upon our feet and in the name of justice and humanity demand conditions and a remuneration that will enable men and women to live above the squalor of want and wretchedness. No man or woman can be a good American citizen whose life is cramped in the narrow and contracted sphere of poverty. There may stream from the lips of the orator the dinosity of rhetoric's most beautiful flowers in commemoration of the glory that clusters around the folds of the nation's flag, but countless millions of flags kissing the breeze of heaven will not keep the fires of so-called patriotism burning brightly in the homes of the people of this land while the representative of brain and muscle stands upon the shelterless streets, conscious of the fact that a wife and babe are clad in ragged rags and hunger at home.

The anarchy of the rich and the anarchy of the poor. The anarchy of the rich towers above the law, and escapes with impunity. The anarchy of the poor, the law reaches, condemns, convicts and punishes. The time has come in the history of the labor movement of this country when the working class must use their economic and political power in removing the causes which breed anarchy, and then there will be no more Pittsburgh conflagrations, no more Mongolian massacres at Rock Springs, Wyo., no more Haymarket hangings at Chicago, no more Homestead riots in Pennsylvania, and no more bull pens and kidnappings in Colorado and the state of Idaho.

The grand sentiments which once fell from the lips of an Abraham Lincoln that "this is a government of the people, by the people and for the people," have been relegated and in its stead has been substituted a government by the courts. When conflicts arise between labor and capital, when the wage slave raises his voice and demands that "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness" shall be guaranteed to him as it is written upon the pages of a Declaration of Independence, the magnates of wealth whose coffers are filled with the profits of masked piracy and modern brigandage, invade the sanctuary of the courts and from these tribunals of so-called justice comes forth a weapon which annuls the Declaration of Independence and assassinates the very constitution of the nation. Government by injunction steals from the brow of American citizenship every jewel that decks the

crown of liberty, and desecrates the memory of every patriot whose valor was consecrated in defense of human rights.

There is no injunction against a widow's tears. There is no injunction against an orphan's grief, whose parent fell by the bullet of a corporation-assassin. There is no injunction against the moans of misery that come to us from hovels of poverty. There is no injunction against hunger and destitution stealing from the dimpled cheek of virtue the rose-bud blush of shame, the priceless charm of womanhood. There is no injunction against the Lazarus lifting his eyes towards the battlements of heaven, praying to the ruler of human destiny to take away the tired and weary soul from its torment of clay. No, let capitalism beware! Jeffersons are writing Declarations of Independence that are rekindling in the hearts of millions the smouldering embers of human liberty. The labor movement of the future will cause Lincoln to leap from the loins of this Republic, to tear from the limbs of American manhood the chains and shackles of corporate bondage.

A few more injunctions, a few more bull pens and kidnaping, a few more groans of agony from hovels of poverty, a few more murders and a few more tears as the annual tribute which labor pays to corporate greed, and there will arise from the brawn and muscle of this nation an army of heroes, breathing the spirit of '76, who will wend their way to the ballot box on the day of election and there deposit a voice that shall shake from center to circumference every prop and pillar upon which is reared the hated structure of private greed.

I am here tonight to appeal to your sense of justice. I want to feel that the bone and brawn of the city of Denver are aroused to the magnitude of the conspiracy which treats the lives of three of as brave Spartans as ever stood beneath the banner of organized labor.

I want you to remember that here in the "Queen City of the Plains" lives a little woman—an invalid—who has not the walks for eight long years, who has placed her confidence and her faith in the labor movement of this country to rescue her arms her great, big brainy husband—William D. Haywood. I want your acts to bring into the park and wan face of this brave and patient little wife a smile of joy, and into the tear-dimmed eye the light of hope, as she looks at you men and you women who stand shoulder to shoulder with us in this battle until the Western Federation of Miners shall plant the flag of victory upon the shattered ramparts of the enemy. I want you to remember the plaintive voice from that little flower in childhood's garden, who has put the question to every laboring man and woman of this country, "Are they going to hang my papa?" You can answer this question. The United States of America has sentenced them to death in advance of their legal conviction. Are we calmly then to leave men whom we believe to be innocent to be tried for their lives by state authorities whose only proof of an impartial judgment and judicial temper lies in their strong assertions without proof, declamation without argument, and violent gestures without dignity or moderation?

Breeding Contempt.

Theodore Roosevelt and Frank R. Gooding—the paid executive servants of the American people—in using their high positions of honor to create a public impression of guilt in advance of the trial of these men are guilty of a lawlessness and cruelty that should subject them to official impeachment. When men in such positions of dignity stoop to such intemperate action the respect for high office becomes confused in contempt for its occupant.

Wrong From the Start.

If it was the desire of the authorities of these Western States to involve in the working class the cooperation and cannot rest uncommenced by us, we observe that in all historic cases where wealth and privilege have combined to victimize the weak, the only way to secure a fair trial is to have the case tried by a jury under the same legal conditions.

The working class of this country is not so lacking in understanding and spirit as to believe that a performance which begins in unconstitutional violence and official lawlessness, may be continued in an unswerving judicial temper.

Cooper Union Demonstration a Rousing Success

MEMORABLE EVENT IN THE NEW YORK AGITATION FOR MOYER, HAYWOOD AND PETTIBONE

Wentworth's Great Speech Makes Sensation --- Stirs Audience to Enthusiasm and Goads Capitalist Daily Press into Recognition of Aroused Indignation of the Organized Working Class.

The protest meeting on behalf of Meyer, Haywood and Pettibone, held in Cooper Union on Thursday, March 14, under the auspices of the New York Central Federated Union, was one of the most successful yet held in this city. The large auditorium was packed to its utmost capacity and the intensity of the enthusiasm surprised the promoters of the meeting. John Holland of the Central Federated Union acted as chairman and the speakers were Alfred L. Holder of Washington, D. C., representing President Goetz of the American Federation of Labor, Clement J. Driscoll, who gave a detailed and highly interesting report of conditions in Idaho and Colorado as he had found them while acting as special correspondent, and Franklin H. Wentworth.

The meeting was such an emphatic outburst of indignation against the methods employed toward the imprisoned Western officials that the capitalist daily press was compelled to break its studied ignoring of the long agitation that has been going on in New York and to give reports of the meeting. The speech of Comrade Wentworth attracted special attention, one paper giving it a column on the first page.

This was quite an achievement in itself, but when last Sunday, in the Central Federated Union, some criticism was made of Wentworth's speech by one member of that body (who it seems had not attended the meeting, and took the capitalist press reports as his authority), while a motion to thank the speakers for their services was being considered, the Monday morning papers were compelled to recognize this.

This motion was adopted amid great applause from the delegates, many of whom expressed their approval of Wentworth's speech. Mr. Holland declaring it to be the most impressive he had ever heard.

Wentworth's given that portion of Comrade Wentworth's speech which is said to have caused the comment. In addition to covering the legal aspect of the case in much the same way that he has done previously, he said:

"It is a rash and published opinion which attempts today the destruction of the working class by the law of this country. The capitalist press reports as his authority, while a motion to thank the speakers for their services was being considered, the Monday morning papers were compelled to recognize this.

one man sees. Chain that man in a dungeon and the star is no longer visible. But how shall you blot out a star which a million see? For the first time in human history the workmen of the world are basing their action upon a settled philosophy; a philosophy which it will require something better than a seventeenth century intellect to combat.

Class Interests and Power.

"The age of brutal force; the age of the lead-balls and thumb-screws is dead; and the age of guns is dying. You cannot hit the white lightning of the intellect with a sixteenth century cannon. And the age of intellect is here, not the intellect of the few, but the intellect of the mass. The man in the street is lifting up his head and calling those in high places to the judgment of a new philosophy. The courts are very human institutions; but the judges, are seen to reflect the prejudices of their class. A thousand years ago, as only yesterday, they were considering the little thieves of the working class to prison and the big thieves of the privileged class to congress. Those who possess the power in every country possess the courts of that country. The laws are theirs and the interpreters thereof. It is power alone to which courts respond in every case involving a conflict of class interest.

"It was the power of the slaveocracy which gained the Dred Scott ruling. It was the power of money interests which forced the income tax decision; and it is the power of the money interest, too thinly disguised, which leaves Meyer and Haywood and Pettibone to languish in an Idaho jail.

What Justifies Suspicion.

"The Supreme Court suggests that we are to presume that these men will be innocent and lawfully tried. But unfortunately we do not feel that we can rest upon such a presumption. The courts of the state of Idaho are not such that we feel in their respectable appearance that no inquiry will be attempted. Every public attention that comes from them is better with the malignity of justice.

"The power of the state has been so designed that these men shall never leave Idaho alive; and the President of the United States in a written message to congress announced that he would not order their release unless it is shown that we are to have our presumption of a fair trial."

"By the ruthless and lawless spirit of cruelty manifested by the authorities in the beginning of this matter, the administration of justice has become odious and suspected to the whole body of the people. It is of the utmost moment that executive authority shall not make mistakes in the use of strong measures; and democracy is itself a virtue only when it accompanies the most perfect legal wisdom.

The Slavery of the Press.

"But our complaint is not done when we point to the fact that both the executive and judicial departments of government are swayed by the privileged class. Another and more baffling fact against which we are forced to contend is that the American newspapers are no longer free. They are either owned outright by the privileged interests, or are dependent upon their advertising for their existence. Here we have an influence which operates without noise and without violence; but which may become the deadliest and most cowardly weapon of privilege. It is not only that any man who dares to stand against privileged wrong may be blackened in reputation and driven from public life. These crimes of commission are common; but there are crimes of commission which are equally as deadly.

"In the city of New York, on Sunday, January 20, nearly five thousand men and women gathered in Grand Central Palace to protest against the kidnaping of Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone. Will the city editors of the New York dailies contend that a matter which calls together so vast an assemblage is not of public interest? Yet there was not a single line in any paper regarding it. This silence was too widespread, and too general to be accidental. It proves beyond any written or spoken word that the command has gone forth that we are to have no help in getting our aspect of this case before the public. The masses of the people have heard only one side of the case, and by order of the masters they are to be given no opportunity of hearing the other.

Labor's Resource in Itself.

"In such a conjuncture the action of President Roosevelt and Governor Gooding in publicly prejudicing the minds of the people against these men becomes something more grave than a misdemeanor; it becomes a dastardly crime. The publication of the Supreme Court opinion that it finds no grounds for criticizing the law-acts of the authorities in these states carries with it to the minds of the people the implication that these acts are lawful and that we have no grounds for complaint. The opinion written by Justice Harlan was spread by the press from one end of the country to the other; but the splendid and convicted indictment of this opinion made by Justice McKenna was passed by in contemptuous and guilty silence.

"The press will not print this opinion. The only way in which it is given the light is through the political and industrial organizations of the working class. With this as the masterly opinion as a weapon the points of the workers are fighting for the lives of these miners against the uncounted millions of the capitalist class. But you shall not despair of your quest. What would have become of Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone had not these lawless authorities been restrained by the power which lies in your organizations? If then your recent organization can halt these officials in their hot pace for blood; compel them to go through the face of a trial; why cannot a more perfect organization stop them altogether?

What Might Be.

"Organization makes the strength of every man and the strength of all. You can, if you have the will to do it, make laws and the world's life in your hands. Does not your labor feed the house and clothe the world?

"Shall I tell you how these men in prison might be freed without the sending of a dollar or a lawyer to Idaho, if you were only prepared by a suitable organization to do it? Shall I tell you how the working class in the adjacent cities of New York and New Jersey might cause a telegram to be sent from Washington to Idaho that would open the jail doors to these wrongly imprisoned men?

"Idaho is not governed from Idaho. Idaho is governed from New York. Upon Manhattan Island, the labor of the whole American continent casts its product at the feet of the Spenders. New York is the capital; the central heart; the great spider which sucks and gorges itself upon the life blood of the country. It is there that thousands upon thousands of idle men and women eat and eat, and dress and dress, and waste and waste, and curl their lips in contempt. And yet I can show you how in spite of this stupendous waste New York City is within a week of starvation.

The Power of Labor.

"Let the milk carts stop running; let the long line of vegetable wagons that crawl all night over the Brooklyn bridge cease their deliveries; let the trains and ferries stand idle for a single week, and the blasted and cruel faces that look today so contemptuously out of the windows of Delmonico's and Sherry's will be drawn and white with famine.

"When workers assemble in the streets, and cry out and threaten, and make angry demands, they can be shot down and cowed and driven back to work at last. They assemble conveniently for their own destruction and defeat; as their economic masters expect them to do—and prepare for. But what can the militia and their riot-cartridges avail against the worker who, at the final signal of organized labor, does not go in the streets to riot, but sits quietly in the tenement he calls his home and lets his masters and their families starve? What will New York City do when tyranny such as this in Idaho provokes you to call it to such a reckoning?

"A New Idea."

"Rage and terror will call for the militia—the old resource, the old idea—to prevent violence and to protect property. But there shall be no violence, and property shall not be threatened. A new idea shall come to demonstration. Non-resistance shall raise its banner in the silence. In the quiet streets of the city the soldier shall find no food for his cartridge—nor for himself. Into her bosom the Pale Lady of starvation shall gather the soldier too.

"And to the Spenders, for whose selfish pleasure the workers are living their lives of sordid toil; to those who turn night into day, and whom high noon finds stupefied upon their pillows; unto these at last shall come the liveried lackey who has silently hated so long but dares not speak. He shall say, 'The day is over. You are free to drink and lust and sleep, but there is no food in the city. The workers whom you have scorned so long, weary of your lip shall uncurl and you shall harken to their cry for justice!'

A Hard Lesson to Unlearn.

"Ah, how helpless! How helpless are the Spenders when there is no one to answer the bell. Service, to them, is not something to give. It is something to be insolently exacted. It is a hard lesson to unlearn, but it is a vital lesson and starvation, when you shall lead her up out of the East Side and point out her new walk upon the Avenue, shall do your Spenders shall crawl to you like the Pale Lady that they are not work.

"Will innocent people suffer by such a course, you ask me? Are not innocent people suffering now? On the East Side of New York tonight ten thousand children have gone supperless to bed. Let us sympathize with all who suffer;

but let us not lose our sense of proportion. While there are thirty thousand people east of Third Avenue who have never had enough to eat, one need not put on sackcloth for a week's hunger in Fifth Avenue.

Is It Impossible?

"And is it impossible, do you think, for the working class to gain so great an end, in such a way, and without the giving or receiving of a blow? I say it is not impossible. Every step in the development of industry gives to the working class a greater solidarity. Every act of political tyranny such as this in Idaho brings all workmen into closer sympathy and strengthens their collective power. May I suggest to you how great a public fortune may rest upon what some may call an insignificant event?

"This act of unreasoning violence by the authorities of Idaho and Colorado; this illegal putting in jail of three workmen in doing in a few months what ten thousand earnest spirits have been praying for years. It is bringing the industrial organization of the working class and the political organization of the working class together under a common banner. Is it not such a union as this which has already given the political future of Europe into the hands of the workers? What then may be the outcome of such a coalition in America?

A Consistent Climax.

"Whom the gods would destroy they first make mad. Is losing their temper in Idaho, the official servants of capitalism have imprisoned their wit and cunning. If they persist in pursuing a course of blind revenge, it may appear that the final catastrophe shall do no dishonor to their preparations.

"The effect of their proceedings, should they succeed in their present undertaking, may indeed reach somewhat beyond their expectations. For should the working class of America once find it expedient to unite upon the political field, we may hazard the belief that no expense would be spared to secure such executives as Governor Gooding and such jurists as Justice Harlan an honorable and affluent retreat to private life.

"Sooner or later the working class of the world is to undertake the building of a new and reputable civilization; for out of the collective thought has already come an understanding of the political sources of power. Who controls the political machinery of a nation controls the destinies of that nation. No organized state has ever yet represented the people of that state. The state has always meant merely the class or the individuals in whom legal privilege is centered.

"We Are the State."

"It was a King of France who said: 'The state? It is I. I am the state.' And a few decades later, Napoleon Bonaparte, the master criminal of Europe, made in other words, a similar declaration. What triumphant army at his back he faced the remnants of the house of Bourbon and the remnants of the liberties of the people. 'Which of you,' he cried, 'dares undertake to rule? The throne is the power. And what is the throne? There is your throne!—and he hurled it to the floor. 'I am the Empire!'

"So I believe the day will come in this twentieth century, when an awakened common life, with the light of a new ideal in its eyes will get to its feet and say to the representative of the present infested and outworn social systems: 'You call yourself the state? You with your monstrous selfishness and social cruelty; with your hideous prisons, and madhouses and brothels. You with your wretched civilization which condemns millions of the people to hopeless and poverty; which takes from half the world's little children the joy and innocence of life's morning. You with your adulterated and poisoned food; your corrupt legislatures; your unclean and hateful cities. You call yourselves the state? Oh, no. You are not the state. Your sun has set. A new day has dawned. We! We are the state.'—New York Worker.

REPRESENTATIVES OF 200,000 CHICAGO ORGANIZERS DENOUNCE ROOSEVELT "Unwarranted and Demagogic" is Way His Attack on Moyer and Haywood is Styled: Morgan Stirs City Workers

A valiant grinning at the sight of blood was the picture drawn by President Roosevelt at the meeting of the Chicago Federation of Labor, Sunday, April 21st, at which the chief executive was taken to task for his "unwarranted and demagogic" attack upon Moyer and Haywood.

The meeting of the federation, which was attended by 500 delegates, representing about 175,000 workmen, was a distinctly anti-Roosevelt and pro-Moyer and Haywood session. All business of the federation was suspended and J. Edward Morgan, the representative of the Western Federation of Miners, in this city in behalf of the jailed leaders of the Western Federation, was given the floor. In a speech which surpassed the oratory of William Jennings Bryan in eloquence, and rivaled the century of Delia in sincerity, Morgan outlined the trials of the Western Federation of Miners, the tortures to which its members and leaders were subjected by the mine owners, who, he declared, are also the owners of the law and government and officials who enforce the law.

In brief but cutting sentences the speaker then outlined the history of the Moyer and Haywood case, disclosing the depth of the conspiracy.

Roosevelt Behind All.

"After they have vainly tried to put the Western Federation of Labor in a strait-jacket, the speaker declared, they started in other methods. They took up the last word

proved the ruin of many a labor organization. They sought to buy off the leaders. Moyer and Haywood were invited to a banquet, which was given by the mine owners and at which the governor was present. The leaders refused to attend, saying that the wine they would drink with their tyrants would turn to blood.

This, Morgan said, was the beginning of the conspiracy which now seeks to railroad Moyer and Haywood to the gallows. Morgan concluded his speech by saying that Rockefeller is behind the conspiracy, and, he shouted, "God forbid that it be true, but it seems that behind the millions of Rockefeller and the Standard Oil Company and the remainder mine owners, stands the strong arm of the chief executive of the nation, saying: 'Go to it, fall upon your prey like vultures, and I will sit and grin while you gorge in their blood.'"

Without a dissenting voice the Federation then adopted a resolution in which the action of "Demagogue" Roosevelt was denounced as bordering on cowardly assassination.

The Resolutions.

The resolutions adopted by the Chicago Federation of Labor in its latest session were: "Whereas, His Excellency, Theodore Roosevelt, president of the United States, in a recent address, with demagogic assumptions is reported to have denounced Charles H.

Moyer and William D. Haywood as dangerous and undesirable citizens; and

"Whereas, This attack on the character of these famous and influential labor officials at this time, when they are about to be tried for their lives because of their devotion to organized labor, is so close to the borderland of cowardly assassination that we cannot draw the line very distinctly; and

"Whereas, As this new role of our president is so entirely strange to us that we earnestly recognize him in it, we would most respectfully suggest to him that he read the lives and study the characters of Moyer and Haywood before he again makes such infamous statements.

"Whereas, A telegram was sent requesting the president to either affirm or deny this statement and no reply having been received, therefore be it

Resolved, That we denounce this unwarranted and demagogic attack on our fellow-workers, and that the Chicago Federation of Labor again reaffirm its previous declaration that the characters of Moyer and Haywood before he again makes such infamous statements.

"Whereas, That a copy of these resolutions be forwarded to President Roosevelt, William D. Haywood and Charles H. Moyer.

The meeting of the federation yesterday stands unparalleled in the history of organized labor. Even the most ardent

Republicans and supporters of Roosevelt had not a word to say in his behalf.

"The solidarity with which you stand by your fellow-workers thousands of miles away from you," declared Morgan earlier in his speech, "is one of the noblest events and brightest hopes of organized labor. This throwing away of differences in methods of organization and politics and rallying round one standard in the great struggle of labor against capital is one of the greatest of the trends of unionism. But it is more than that. This sympathy on the part of nearly 500,000 of Chicago workers for their martyred brethren in Idaho and Colorado heralds the day of doom of all industrial tyranny and oppression."

Berlyn Says Remember.

The strangest of all occurrences at yesterday's meeting happened when it fell to the lot of a Socialist to counsel moderation.

Morgan's eloquence so inflamed the delegates that when he finished speaking and the resolution against Roosevelt was read, labor leaders in several parts of the hall sprang to their feet clamoring for stronger resolutions and for more radical action.

Harney Berlyn then took the floor and said that the resolutions were radical enough.

"Resolutions are worthless unless backed up by the proper action," Berlyn said. "You can make these resolutions as strong as you please by taking the proper action in the case, by remembering what Roosevelt and the clique which elected him have done for you, have done for organized labor. Remember this at all times, but especially when the time comes, for you can take the proper action to prevent such things in the future and do away with the conditions which make such an outrage possible."

Anton Johannsen of the woodworkers announced that a parade and demonstration would be held on Sunday, May 5, the Sunday preceding the trial of Meyer and Haywood.—Chicago Daily Socialist.

The Rise of The American Proletarian.

By AUSTIN LEWIS.

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The study of the evolution of industry, then, in the first place, becomes a study of the various forms assumed by the division of labor, the human arrangement for the making of things to satisfy human needs.

How, then, did this division of labor originate? Was it the result of that tremendous intelligence with which man is gifted, and upon which so much enthusiasm and self-admiration is bestowed? Hardly, for we have seen that certain of the lower animals at all events have displayed at least an equal degree of intelligence with the lower races of man, as we have discovered this in out-of-the-way places and amid primitive conditions. The same degree of sagacity as marks the labor of the beaver, the same sense of prudence as distinguishes the bee, is hardly to be discovered among any primitive people. It was not the innate sagacity of man that determined his career as a maker of commodities as an organizer of the labor force inherent in him, but the force of circumstances. The necessities of the case drove a feeble animal, without any very effective means of defense, against the elements and the rapacity of the beast and his fellow man, to solve, one by one, the problems of sustenance as they were presented to him, and to use nature herself, his erstwhile foe, as his slave.

Looking back over the wonders achieved, the men of primitive tribes endeavored to typify the first triumphs of their race under the names of individuals and to describe as one great achievement of super-human strength the startling records of human activity and progress through countless generations. Tubal Cain and Prometheus are the naive explanations of great and permanent inventions and discoveries. We laugh at their childishness, but as a matter of fact the ascription of super-human power to individuals is no more absurd in the naive hero-worship of the early tribesmen than the later conception of the same idea in the mind of a Carlyle.

What the race has won the race has earned; and by the race we mean not the individuals whose names stand out as conspicuous landmarks to mark an epoch or an event, but the great common mass of men and women whose lives and experiences have been blended in what we call the experience of mankind and from the great stores of which the inventor and the organizer must draw his material be he ever so mighty.

The division of labor is therefore the history of the race in more than one sense. It

is to a great extent its record as seen in the passing events and incidents which go to make up history, and, in a still greater and wider sense, it is the sum of the mental activities generated by the efforts of man to solve the various problems which have been from time to time presented in his struggle for existence.

Men come and go, much of the result of labor is lost by the way, but the store continually increases in the treasure-house of mankind. Peoples must apparently begin at the beginning. They work out their first problem by themselves and afterwards they spread out, come into contact with other peoples, who have themselves been solving their problems. They melt the one into the other and at the same time their different industrial efforts amalgamate, and the whole race is permanently endowed with the results of the separate achievements of its component peoples. New methods succeed the old ones, and thus old arts decay and the skill achieved in certain directions to which the roads have been forgotten is evidenced by the finds in sepulchers and the ruins of long-buried buildings.

It thus appears at first glance that the division of labor is not the result of individual but of social effort. It is not due to the transcendent ability of this or that man, but is, on the contrary, the stored-up knowledge of man, dealing with new conditions and amid a fresh environment. With this truth admitted disappears one of the most cherished ideas of a once exceedingly popular school of philosophers.

When Defoe put Robinson Crusoe on his desert island he little thought that the genial Yorkshireman was to become the center of a conflict with which any of those waged against his cannibal foes is very insignificant. Robinson Crusoe was a great find for the old individualistic political economist. It saved him inventing anybody. This economic man was made ready to his hand, and omic man was made ready to his hand, and Robinson with his bags of potatoes has served as an object lesson for all sorts of learned dissertations, from the greatest happiness theory down to the most modern abstractions in the shape of marginal utility.

But if Robinson was a favorite instance with the individualistic economist and philosopher, there is no reason why we should not use him also, and he will be found at least a valuable example for us, and not as embarrassing as Professor Bohm-Bawerk appears to have found him to be. It is really

worth considering whether Robinson in the flesh had ever half as heavy a load to carry, as he climbed the winding road to his cabin, as the learned Austrian has laid upon his back, and if he was nearly as surprised at the footprints of the savage as he would be at the marvelous legerdemain shown in the handling of his modest bags of provisions.

True, Robinson was a mighty individual. He routed the savage tribes with a spirit and a measure of success which is very pretty to read about and he provided for his own comfort in an exceedingly satisfactory manner. His Yorkshire appetite and his Yorkshire anxiety about his food supply never desert him and he solves all the little problems incident upon his strange conditions with a dexterity which has been the wonder and admiration of school boys and still continues to be so.

But if Robinson had been the great individual, the supreme and all-conquering one, Nietzsche's "over man" incarnate, he should have started from the beginning. Defoe should have put him on the island a naked man, unequipped to begin his struggle with the elements. How long it would have been then before Robinson would have found himself in the cannibal economic system?

Instead of that, one simple tool after another comes into his hands. An axe—what generations, nay ages of human toil and experience lay behind that axe which Robinson so easily finds and so skillfully uses? How immeasurably had the people to whom an axe was a familiar implement progressed beyond the savages whom Robinson met and to whom it was a strange and wonderful thing! And so with all the tools until the crowning one is reached, the gun, which made him master of the bird, the beast, and his undeveloped fellow-man. Even had Robinson been placed on the island under the elementary conditions of which we have spoken, he would still, by virtue of the racial experience behind him and the greater brain development consequent upon his inheritance of racial experiences, have been immeasurably superior in resource to the savages against whom he had to contend.

All that Robinson had to owe to human society, to the aggregated experience of countless men and women, who had been associated for generations on generations before his time. In fact, this typical individual turns out not to have been an individual at all, so far as the solution of his problems on the island is concerned, but a broken-off section of a society which has

formerly claimed him as a fraction, and composed of the same materials as the society from which he had been separated by shipwreck.

We have dealt with Robinson at some little length because through him we can reach a whole host of belated individualistic objections to the later philosophy of society and industry. Thus the utilitarian accounts for the growth of the organization of industry, the creation of the division of labor, upon the assumption that it was made in the pursuit of human happiness. This is an old idea. The argument runs something in this way. Every man desires to be happy, the sanction of every man's acts is his individual happiness; therefore the evolution of industry has come about as the result of individual experimentation in the direction of individual happiness.

Unfortunately for this argument it remains to be proved whether there has been any increase in what may be termed human happiness, owing to the institution of the division of labor. Happiness is a sufficiently indefinite term in any sense, but it would puzzle even an individualistic philosopher to show that the terrible suffering and destitution which have been the lot of great masses of men at every period of industrial transition, have been willingly undertaken by them for the purpose of securing at most a doubtful happiness to other people. Imagine the happiness which is at the present time expressed in a slum-huddled and gin-befuddled submerged population, called into existence, and doomed to extinction under circumstances of the greatest possible misery by the industrial organization invented by individuals, each one of them bent upon securing the greatest possible amount of happiness!

It would be hard in the history of human thought to find a theory so absurd in its actual results as the utilitarian. It was a ready-made affair, intended unconsciously to serve the purposes of the new capitalists and the Manchester economists. It has gone with much other lumber of the same kind. But it has to be mentioned because venerable old gentlemen who were at College when John Stuart Mill was a power, still put up their hands and deliver themselves of portentous platitudes based upon such utilitarian ideas. There are few things as persistent as a preconceived notion, and the ghosts of utilitarianism come back with quite depressing frequency to haunt the age of trusts and the dynamo.

What, then, are we to say? That men began the division of labor because they could not help it? Even this would be much nearer the mark. Men invented the division of labor because they had to do so or succumb. They must go forwards or backwards. There was offered for their choice in the prehistoric times, merely extinction or a new way of grappling with the environment. How many races perished because they did not discover a way of meeting the exigencies of the circumstances we know not, but one race at least worked it out and survived, and by continual modifications of its methods at long intervals still continued to survive.

This much we know, at all events, that the progress of people in the sciences, arts, and all other things of that nature, is dependent upon the degree of efficiency which

has been attained on the field of industry. We know also that these fine things are the effects and not the causes of industrial progress, which depends, in its last resort, upon a much more prosaic fact, the necessity of each man, woman and child eating at least one meal a day.

The object, then, of the division of labor is the support of the group in which it is employed, not the support of the individual of the group, except incidentally, but the support of the group itself as a unit. As Professor Giddings says in a burst of candor and straightforwardness, as refreshing as it is rare among professors: "Industry is the solution of the problem of subsistence."

The division of labor then consists in the employment of different kinds of human activities to one definite end, and that is the subsistence of the group. It can only, therefore, be effected among the members of an already constituted society.

The industry of wandering tribes is of necessity a simple thing. Even here we find some differentiation of activities, but, generally speaking, each member is able to perform any duty which may devolve upon him at any particular time with regard to tribal life. Thus, as Spencer points out, the industry of nomadic tribes in itself implies an absence of concentration and a dispersal over as wide an area as possible. All of which is naturally against the development of any complex system of organization.

Agricultural settlement, on the other hand, is much more conducive to a more complex form of industrial organization, but still does not give scope for this in any degree at all comparable with later forms of the social structure. The various activities of agricultural life demand some sort of organization and arrangement, and in the patriarchal system there is a very complete and practical delegation of duties.

A later French sociologist, Durkheim, has defined earlier forms of social life as consisting of repetitions of the same segments. This is rather an effective comparison. Thus in agricultural societies, the society is made up of farm after farm, each of them presenting the same features, one being, as regards its economic structure, a repetition of the other.

The division of labor arises from and results in the breaking-up of these segments. As its result we get the organized society of today, which is just the reverse of segmental. In the segmental form of organization, any segment may be injured or destroyed without any particular effect being experienced by those remaining. It is quite otherwise with the societies of today, at least with those which combined constitute the great modern system. The least upset or disturbance in the industry of the one is the cause of suffering and misery in another. A drought in Dakota may set the children of a London carpenter crying for food; a financial disturbance in Vienna sends the daughters of a San Francisco banker out into the world to earn a living.

Spencer gives a definition of social evolution, which appears to fill all the requirements of such a definition. He says that in the course of such evolution, small and simple types first arise and disappear after short existences, that these small and simple types are succeeded by higher, more complex and

longer-lived types; and these again by others which give promise of greater longevity and a higher type of existence.

The evolution of industry fulfills all these conditions; it has kept step in its complexity, with the growing complexity of society; nay, it has been the cause and the reason of the complexity in society. In its growth to a more and more involved machine it has dragged along with it society willy-nilly, but always in pursuit of the same object, the satisfaction of human needs, for, underneath all the superimposed grandeur and magnificence of modern civilization, the same problem, the problem of subsistence, lies at the base.

Industrial evolution has been divided into four stages, called, respectively, the Family System, the Guild System, the Domestic System and the Factory System.

These are useful divisions, but they are by no means absolute. They cannot be regarded as hard and fast divisions, for, in some conditions of society, we may get several of them working together. Thus, even in the form of industry at the present day, the dominant expression of which is the factory system, we get a great and strong survival of what was called the domestic system, and still some other survivals of an old guild system. But each of them has, at any rate represented the dominant form of industry at some time in the evolution of a society up to the present form. They appear to be the recognized steps by which the division of labor progresses, and social activity on its industrial side, may be included in one or other of them.

In the family system the work was carried on by the household for the good of the household. The household may be large or small, as small as a Boer farm, where this system was the only one commonly employed, or large enough to include a feudal manor. In either case the essential marks are practically identical.

The distinguishing marks of this system are that sale is not by any means a dominant factor; where it occurs it is, for the most part, accidental and occasional. Production is mostly for use. These are the main characteristics of the family system, in whatever form it shows itself. Among the forms assumed by the family system at different periods we get:

(a) Communal or Tribal Production. This is found among nomads, savages, barbarians and village Indians. The Pueblo Indians furnish a good example of this stage in the organization of industry. These Pueblo Indians tilled their fields in common, they divided their food from a common store and they cultivated gardens, etc., in common, beside making a common provision against the possible encroachments of hard times. Perhaps even a better example still is furnished by the Polynesian Islanders. The great war canoe of the Fiji Islanders is a striking instance of the working of the system in what was to them an exceedingly great enterprise, the building of a ship as the common property of the tribe. There is not a nail in all the canoe. It is held together by coconut fiber, the deck is adzed with a flint adz; there is a house in the middle of the canoe, which is capable of holding about 200 people. This canoe took about two years to make. During its construction

portion of the tribe labored upon it while another portion provided food and clothes for those engaged in the building. At the end of the work, the canoe became the property of the tribe. Here is an elementary form of the division of labor sufficient to answer all the needs of the society in which it existed and which it sustained. (See Hyndman's "Economics of Socialism.")

(b) Slavery.—Not until the institution of slavery did the division of labor make any great headway. Slavery was the source and origin of many of the separate and independent trades as they exist today. The differentiation of labor was a result of a desire to get as much labor as possible out of the slaves whose surplus products went in the aggrandisement and luxury of the master. Under slavery arose the distinction between agriculture and handicraft. Some sort of trade, not ostensibly as trade, but rather as exchange, arising from a superfluity of certain commodities, arose, and this naturally tended to increase. But there was no production for the sake of sale alone; the values created were for the most part use values. Labor over and above what was required for the purpose of maintenance was usually expended in the making of luxuries, whence arose the magnificence which Oriental despots and the Roman nobility enjoyed. The great Oriental empires rested on a foundation of chattel slavery. It appears in a very crude form among the Greeks of Homeric times, although here we find a certain intimacy and even friendliness between master and slave, for which our later conceptions of the system of slavery do not altogether prepare us. In spite of the terrible personal powers of the master in the disposal of the slave, it is at least doubtful whether the burden weighed as heavily upon him as that of the modern system upon our free proletarians.

The system appears in a more advanced form in Sparta, where we have an example of communist property in slaves, and again in Athens, where a comparatively small free population subsisted for the most part upon slave labor, and under the exceptionally good climatic conditions of the Hellenic peninsula found an opportunity for the cultivation of the fine arts and the development of the aesthetic instinct to an extent which has never yet been equaled.

(To be continued.)

FELLOW SLAVES! FELLOW SLAVES! WHAT WILL YOUR ANSWER BE?

The President of these United States calls you "liars, agitators, undesirable citizens and anarchists," fit only to be hanged or shot. What will your answer be? Are you sure you are in a position to resist the imputation and avenge the insult? Are you sure you are ORGANIZED, you, the working class of America?

Theodore Roosevelt is in the conspiracy to murder your innocent, faithful brothers, the purpose being to destroy the great Western Federation of Miners and every other labor union whose officers are not for sale, that the fetters of wage slavery may be more easily and more securely riveted to your helpless limbs. He and his masters—the Smelter Trust—have learned the truth of the maxim, "Together we stand, divided, we

fall," and they, the frenzied Shylocks of a business-mad commercial and military despotism are agreed to stand together to work your undoing, separately, accordingly as you divide yourselves into groups of little strength and feeble resistibility; hoping through their persistent persecutions to madden you to the point when forbearance ceases to be a virtue; when still in your weak and disorganized condition you may commit an open rupture of the law—their law—that they may pour into your emaciated ranks the withering blaze of the hellish machine guns used with such assimilating benevolence on the helpless old men and women, and naked children of the Philippine Islands by the \$13-a-month myrmidons of our great American Christian civilization.

WHAT WILL YOUR ANSWER BE?

Have you forgotten how, in the turbulent days of Ancient Rome, the Senate, noting the dissatisfaction among the Gothic Slaves with their horrible condition, and fearing an uprising among them, ordered a general massacre which resulted in the slaughter of nearly 10,000 of these helpless, ignorant creatures?

How much better than the Gothic slaves are you? A mob unorganized, uneducated, economically or politically and armed only with wooden guns, petitions, stones, bibles, bad temper and resolutions, you fill the streets, a heterogeneous conglomeration of wasted energy expended at cross purposes while your numerically inferior enemy, being organized, disciplined and equipped with the modern weapons of scientific warfare, stay at a safe distance from your cuss words and brick-bats and mow you to the earth until the sewers run red with your blood.

But your masters are in possession of the weapons of modern warfare, and they will continue to use your foolish carcasses for targets until you have decided to take a day off and have a little practice with the weapons of modern peace, the ballot, that your moulding progenitors spilled their blood to place in your hands, and which, if properly used becomes more formidable than all the steel and lead on earth.

The times of today are not dissimilar to those of Ancient Rome. The money power is supreme. The wealth of the nation is in the hands of a handful of parasites. The workers have become landless and propertyless serfs, moving their pine furniture and rags, if lucky enough to possess either, hither and thither, from rented shacks to rented shacks, from city to town, back and forth, over the earth in search of what? Love, peace and happiness? Not in search of a JOB. As if a job were the quintessence of human achievement; the one thing sought, to secure which, home is abandoned, loved ones are deserted and forgotten, and men tear at each others' throats like beasts of prey quarreling over a paunch.

The economic and political situation has all the ear-marks of a monarchical plutocracy; the analogy becomes dangerously realistic when the chief servant of a Republic usurps the authority of a dictatorship over the domestic and business affairs of private citizens; organizes and disbands private armies in brazen contempt of the Senate; conspires or sanctions the kidnaping, deportation, imprisonment and execution of

innocent, peaceful citizens without process of law or trial by jury, and freights his private, animated sewer around the country to discharge his nauseating excrement in the face of organized labor at the behest of a gang of red-taloned murderers, convicted fellows, kidnapers and land thieves.

FELLOW SLAVES! FELLOW SLAVES! WHAT WILL YOUR ANSWER BE? Will you never awaken to the horrible damnation into which you have drifted? Will you never stop your foolish, jealous fighting among yourselves and turn your eyes and your power against your ancient historic foe?

My brothers of the world of toil, why do you so love your shackles?

Why do you so hate Liberty?

Why do you love your masters?

Why do you not strike the blow that will forever shatter the hateful fetters of economic servitude and miserable poverty, and stand forth in all the health, beauty and glory of a free race of emancipated manhood?

Why will you faun at the shrine of a system of individual competitive effort that has outlived its usefulness and is perpetuated by your masters only to enslave you, and to keep your house divided against itself, depriving you of your childhood, depriving you of love and of home and liberty and finally casting you, like an old boot, into the scrap heap at the age of "venerable respectability"?

You are clinging, like centipedes, to the stinking old carcass of capitalism, which is rushing you and your loved ones on the tide of progress into the maelstrom of blighted hopes and martyred souls to be sucked down to death and oblivion in a sea of blood and children's tears. Unless you turn your eyes to the rising sun of organized labor, Industrial Unionism and socialism, you are lost.

Working men and women of this nation, you in whose veins runs the warm, red blood, and whose hearts beat full with love and paternal yearning, come together into a mighty phalanx ere it comes your turn to hang separately at the end of a rope.

Oh! that my words were meteors, white-hot, to burn their import into your toilsome souls like drops of molten ore. Were this true, they would still be inadequate to emblazon the message that tonight I am trying to reveal; the message that some day shall reverberate around the world: One class—the working class; one Union, that of the working class; and one political party; the party of the workers of the world—THE SOCIALIST PARTY.

WHAT WILL YOUR ANSWER BE? OWEN SPENDTHRIFT.

The agitator is the advance agent of progress.

"A slave I pity. A rebellious slave I respect."—Wendell Phillips.

Necessities of life should be produced for use, and not for profit.

Shall we bind the poor man in fetters and let the rich go revell in his crimes?—Thomson.



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The Editor reserves the right to refuse manuscript for publication.

JOLIET, MAY, 1907.

The continuation of the report of the last so-called Second convention will be found on page 14 of this issue.

GENERAL NOTICES

To All Friends and Members of the Industrial Workers of the World:

THERE IS BUT ONE OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD. THAT IS "THE INDUSTRIAL WORKER," PRINTED AND ENTERED IN THE POST OFFICE AT JOLIET, ILLINOIS.

Every local union directly affiliated with the general organization or with the Department of Mining, the Department of Metal and Machinery, the Department of Transportation, or Musical Unions, is urged to participate in the banner prize contest to increase the subscription list of "The Industrial Worker." See that every member is approached with a request to subscribe and set the pace for a spirited contest. Every reader secured strengthens the educational feature of the triplet guiding lights, "Education, Organization and Emancipation."

Every local union should appoint a journal agent to take subscriptions for "The Industrial Worker." Subscription to "The Industrial Worker" is 50 cents per year; agents sending in ten (10) yearly subscriptions at one time will remit at the rate of 40 cents each per year.

The capitalists are industrially organized into manufacturing associations to uphold the capitalist system in which the producers are robbed for the benefit of the non-producers.—The proletarians who produce all the necessities of life and own but a mere existence must organize on the economic field along the lines of Industrial Unionism into the Industrial Workers of the World and prepare to take and hold the tools and machinery of production and distribution, at the ballot box, when the workers will receive the full products of their labor and enjoy the fruits thereof.

The petition in behalf of Russian Freedom, issued by the Society of the Friends of Russian Freedom, printed on another page, should receive the support of the working class everywhere, as the turning of the Russian Kingdom into a Republic will be a long step in the advancement of the working-class movement for their emancipation from the thralldom of wage slavery.

We are informed that the Parkersburg Daily Truth will be published with the first issue on May 1, 1907. It is to be a working-man's daily newspaper, owned and controlled by the working class of Parkersburg, W. Va.

Due to the necessity of undergoing an operation, Mrs. Chas. Moyer has been in the hospital at Boise, Idaho, and is recovering from the effects of the operation satisfactorily and regaining her health. The reports circulated in the press that her illness was the result of a nervous collapse, caused by mental worry, is without foundation. When questioned about her husband, she expresses unbounded confidence in his innocence and feels assured that he will be acquitted.

The official journal of the International Musical and Theatrical Union, Industrial Workers of the World, "The Bulletin," for April, is replete with interesting matter pertaining to the organization and filled with breezy items of the labor field in general, and deserves the support of the membership.

It is announced that Julius Hopps' play, "The Friends of Labor," will be produced on the stage at The Kalish Theater in New York City for one week, commencing May 20th. The play is a four-act satire, showing how the American capitalist uses corrupt politics to gain his ends and causes corruption within labor unions.

Newspapers are giving us the information that the membership of the United Brewery Workers is making a desperate struggle for existence in Columbus, Ohio. This great struggle of the Brewery Workers is not a fight with the money powers, but they are fighting the efforts of the trades unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor on the jurisdiction question. The American Federation of Labor upholds these jurisdiction fights, but we expect the Brewery Workers will continue to pay per capita tax to the American Federation of Labor. That is the inconsistency of trades unionism.

See our prize offer on page 7.

President Roosevelt has come out in the press for the second time and asserts in unmistakable language that he brands Moyer, Haywood and Debs "undesirable citizens." He gives as his reason for doing so that Moyer, Haywood and Debs are not in harmony with the trades union movement. He does not say so in that many words, but he means that he is opposed to Industrial Unionism. President Roosevelt knows what it would mean to the capitalistic class if the workers were organized on the industrial form. A great howl has gone out from the working class condemning President Roosevelt for his attitude in this matter.

The Industrial Worker contends that Roosevelt is consistent and has got the courage to be honest with his convictions. He has no common interest with the working class under the competitive system and he realizes that, if he is to be the next President of the United States, he must not be too friendly to the producers. If he is, it spells defeat, for the money powers of this country will see that no one is elected to an important office who believes in justice to the producers. Men who give their lives in the interest of the working class are seldom supported at the ballot box on election day. The majority of the workers up to this date have shown a disposition on election day to invariably elect their enemies.

Organizer Wilburn has returned to Missoula, Montana, where he has in hand the adjustment of the wage scale for several of the lumber workers' unions. It is reported that some of the firms have signed, while strikes have been called at other mills. We expect, through the business methods of Organizer Wilburn, that all matters of difference between our membership and the lumber interests will be settled at an early date.

Our local unions in New York City are co-operating with the trades unions and will participate in the May demonstration in behalf of Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone.

Chicago trades unions are becoming very active in the Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone case and preparations are being made for a demonstration parade and meetings on May 19th.

The members of the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers will not concede the fact that they have been defeated by the American Bridge Co., but, regardless of their persistency that a fight still exists between their organization and the Company, the American Bridge Co. continues to do business.

The Amalgamated Iron and Steel Workers' organization, whose members' wages have decreased in the last ten years over 100 per cent, has also decreased 80 per cent in membership, yet the amalgamated steel workers are too proud to acknowledge the fact that trades unionism is a failure. It seems to be so hard for the trades unions to admit that industrial unionism must come.

It is expected that the trial of Wm. D. Haywood will take place on May 9th. The Industrial Worker forecasts that a verdict will be rendered of "not guilty."

On January 22, 1905, the workers of Russia, in the City of St. Petersburg, marched in a body to King's Palace to present their grievance and to ask that their claims be considered by his majesty for adjustment. This appeal met with a reply from the rifle, the sword and the bayonet, and hundreds of the Russian workmen and their wives died in the snow on that eventful day and the Russian workmen have been making history since that date for the emancipation of the working class.

On the 17th day of February, 1906, Brothers Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone, as a result of a conspiracy between two governors, were kidnaped from the City of Denver and railroaded on a special train to the state of Idaho and placed in prison, charged with murder. The moment they were arrested legal proceedings were instituted for their release or that a fair and impartial trial be given. To this date all efforts have failed and the brothers remain prisoners in the state of Idaho. The Supreme Court of the United States in the case of Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone has legalized kidnaping. The president of the United States has been appealed to and has refused to act, and it now develops that Senator Borah has been employed by the prosecution to conduct the same when the case comes to trial. Further developments bring to light the fact that Senator Borah is himself under indictment for fraud and the press dispatch reports tell us that this senator and would-be prosecutor is pleading to the President of the United States that his own case not be pushed until after he has had an opportunity to convict, if possible, Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone.

The President of the United States, who is supposed to be the executive head of the nation, is reported to have condemned Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone, adding that they were undesirable citizens and should be disposed of. We would ask the workers everywhere if the two cases are not parallel? The efforts of the Russian workers were met with death. The efforts of the American workers are met with prosecution and the prosecution has the support of the President, who condemned Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone before evidence has been introduced in their case to prove whether they are innocent or guilty, and "The Industrial Worker" asks the American men if this policy is to be pursued without a determined protest. Is there any difference between the United States and Russia? Will the President of the United States be permitted by the law-abiding citizens to make remarks such as he is charged with making, coming as it does from the executive head of the government, which is natural to suppose would prejudice the minds of those who perhaps would be accepted as jurors for this case, or will the thinking people raise up in a mass and condemn the action of the President in his utterance of condemnation of any of his citizens or subjects previous to their being convicted by evidence? If such is to be permitted, unchallenged by all those who believe in a fair, equitable government, then "The Industrial Worker" unhesitatingly claims that there is no difference between the United States and the horrors of Russia.

The last convention of the American Federation of Labor, held in Minneapolis, passed unanimously a resolution to the effect that the Amalgamated Wood Workers and the Brotherhood of Carpenters must amalgamate. The membership of the Amalgamated Wood Workers had just concluded their vote on the question and they rejected and refused to carry out the instructions of the American Federation of Labor convention.

This decision spells war between the carpenters and the wood workers and the president of the American Federation of Labor will make no effort to stop the slaughter of the wood workers which is bound to follow.

We expect, however, that the wood workers will continue to pay per capita tax to the American Federation of Labor, in order that they may have revenue to keep up the struggle in the ranks of labor.

The Associated Press reports that the Goldfield trouble of the Western Federation of Miners has been settled and that the mines have reopened.

GENERAL NOTICE.

The general office of the Industrial Workers of the World is located at No. 148 W. Madison Street, Chicago, Ill. No change has been made in the address. Chas. O. Sherman is general president and Wm. J. F. Hannemann is general secretary-treasurer.

Members of the Industrial Workers of the World should recognize no membership book pretending to be a part of the Industrial Workers of the World excepting the universal membership book, the same form that has been used since the formation of the Industrial Workers of the World.

By request of Ouray Miners' Union No. 15, Western Federation of Miners, Industrial Workers of the World, the following Special Notice is submitted to our readers:

An Absconding Financial Secretary.

Ouray, Colo., Mar. 31, 1907.

C. W. Moore, thirty-three years of age, height about five feet ten and a half inches, dark complexion, is in the habit once in a while of shaving off his mustache, which grows very heavy. He has a peculiar grin on his face when attempting to laugh. Wore a dark pepper-and-salt suit bearing the firm name of M. J. Canavan & Son on the inside breast pocket. Was a delegate to the last convention W. F. M. Is supposed to have gone east from Pueblo about March 20th, or else to have gone down to either Weatherford; Jack-Burr or Polo Ponto, Texas. Has defaulted for between \$600 and \$700. Any information about him should be sent to Federation headquarters in Denver, or to President Ouray Miners' Union No. 15, Ouray, Colorado.

(Seal)

T. J. QUINN.

The victory of the strike at Somers, brought about by the persistency of the members of No. 384, lumber workers, is having its effect and the result is that charters are being issued now to the lumber workers every week.

To All Members of Local Unions and Friends of the Labor Movement:

This is to certify that all organizers' credentials have been called in and all credentials issued previous to January 1, 1907, are null and void and should not be considered as issued from authority. New organizers' credentials shall only be recognized when signed by the President, which are in printed form on red cardboard.

Thomas P. Willburn is the duly accredited National Organizer of the Industrial Workers of the World for Montana and Nevada, with headquarters at 832 Cherry St., Missoula, Mont.

Wade Shurtleff is the duly accredited National Organizer of the Industrial Workers of the World for New York City and vicinity, with headquarters at 241 E. 42d St., Room 1, New York City, N. Y.

It is whispered in labor circles that there is an internal fight in the organization of the International Association of Machinists. All union men of experience know what the result will be.

See our prize offer on page 7.

THE GREAT PEACE MEETING.

The press reports that a meeting was called recently by Mr. Carnegie, the multi-millionaire, in the City of New York, which was attended by many other money kings, for the purpose of discussing the question of peace between capital and labor and the nations of the world. It is reported that nothing tangible was offered that would cause the people to believe that any peace was in sight.

"The Industrial Worker" believes that the greatest interest that Mr. Carnegie and his associates are interested in, is peace with the slaves in the great steel mills, peace with the slaves employed by the great railroad corporations, peace with the slaves in the mines, factories and sweat shops. This is the peace that interests them more particularly than any other variety of peace, for it is through quarrels and war between nations that Mr. Carnegie and his financial associates make their millions. Great prospects are in store for peace. The Chinese government has just placed an order for two million rifles; the Japanese government is building twenty-five battleships; the German government has placed orders for battleships; the United States is building battleships; the Russian government is continuing to build the engines of death. While these great preparations for peace are going on, Mr. Carnegie and other steel magnates are reaping their rewards, as it is through their trusts that material is secured to build the great engines of death and it is while the preparations for murder are going on that Mr. Carnegie and his friends are attracting the attention of the people to the question of peace, for fear that it will become generally known that the nations everywhere are preparing for war, knowing as he does that there can be no peace under a competitive system, where the weak must give way to the lavishness of the strong; knowing as he does that it is through the quarrels of others that individuals become powerful in finance; knowing as he does that there will never be peace in the civilized world until the producers, which are known as the working class, are organized into an economic, industrial organization and become intelligent enough to announce to Mr. Carnegie and his class that peace has been declared, as the workers have decided to discontinue fighting the battle of the master class and that if there is any war it must be war between capital and capital and fought out by them individually. When these conditions are reached, there will be peace, because the workers will take unto themselves the means of production and distribution and the government for and by the people will declare peace, as competition, which is the mother of war, will be a thing of the past.

WHAT IS THE FUTURE OF THE BUTCHER WORKMEN?

Undoubtedly there is no class of workers, producing commodities for the human family, more important than are the butcher workmen, as it is the butcher workmen that prepare all meats for the human family and the great meat industries of the United States. To an uninterested observer it would undoubtedly appear to be very easy for the butcher workmen to secure the very best economic conditions that could be expected under a competitive system, owing to the nature of their vocation and the necessity of the commodity of which they produce, but an investigation would prove that the butcher workmen, when taking into consideration his general surroundings while being employed, the disagreeable work which he follows and the amount of wealth that he produces in the short space of time, is probably the poorest-paid worker that is today preparing the commodities necessary to the human family.

On three different occasions have the butcher workmen organized and on three different occasions have they had strikes of no small proportion in their class of work, and each effort on the part of the butcher workmen has proven to be a failure and they have been compelled to return to work on identically the same conditions which they have revolted against, with the result that

follows every industrial upheaval—that many of their most influential members, who participated in the strike, were sacrificed through the black-list and were not permitted to re-enter the services of the great corporations after such strikes were declared at an end.

The last strike of the butcher workmen, which occurred some two years back, should be an object-lesson not only to the butcher workmen, but to all classes of producers, as it shows that the trades union system of organizing the workers is an old-fashioned, crude weapon and one that cannot possibly be termed as useful in this great struggle for existence. It was said at the time of the strike, two years ago, that the butcher workmen comprised a membership of eighty thousand members. Granting that this was true, then we must admit that the majority of the butcher workmen throughout the country were organized. Regardless of this fact, the strike was a failure and today, instead of there being eighty thousand butcher workmen organized, there are probably not eight thousand organized in the United States, and no better conditions have been secured than what existed two years ago. Their opportunities for strike today are less possible than at that time, owing to the improvement in the methods that have been introduced in the great slaughter houses in the way of handling the products, which makes it more possible for the master butcher to introduce the green hand who can take the place, with a little instruction, of the skilled mechanic, in case labor differences should arise.

The last strike of the butcher workmen was not a failure because of the fact that the members of that organization did not do their duty. They did everything that could be expected by the union man. They vacated their positions, laid down their tools and left the factories, but they did so as trades unionists and, when finally the strike was declared in full force, those that had left their places of employment could see from a distance, when looking in the direction of the factory in which they had formerly been employed, that all the trades unionists were not engaged in this struggle—some of the trades unionists that were not engaged in this struggle were working for the same firm and in the same factory as were the butcher workmen, as, by observing the chimney tops, they could see the same volume of smoke belching forth from them, just as much as to say that the firemen and engineers had remained on duty—and they *did* remain on duty. The same engineers that had formerly revolved the wheels and machines occupied by union men, who were then engaged in a struggle for better conditions, were now revolving them in the interest of the master, but not in the interest of union men, as imported labor had taken the place of union men in many of the departments, and the great engines that once supplied the power to the union man were then supplying the power for what is known in union circles as the "scalp." The great ice machines were in operation, which is necessary in all packing-houses, that the meat may be refrigerated and kept in a condition that it will not spoil. The result was that, through the

efforts of the engineers and the firemen and the trades unionists who failed to join the butcher workmen's strike, the same had to be declared off, without getting any results.

Here we have a case in an industry where the large proportion of the workers go in economically strong and are defeated because of their not being supported by their brother union men who happen to be a part of some other trades union, and so it will always be so long as trades unions exist, with only an affiliation through federation; just so long will the master class be the king of the situation. But, when the butcher workmen, regardless of their skill, their service or their vocation in that industry, organize, counting in their organization the engineer, the fireman and the skilled mechanic, known in the preparing of meats, and they organize with the realization of their class-conscious interests being identical, then will it be possible for the butcher workmen to dictate their terms to the greatest slaughter-house kings in the world, and we ask the butcher workmen everywhere and all employes in the butcher industry to take the proposition of Industrial Unionism under serious consideration and study the same from a business-like standpoint and see if they cannot come to the realization of the necessity of uniting their economic power in one movement, not leaving one worker outside of the organization, so that when they are ready to make their demands in the next great combat that is bound to come, their committee can go to the master and there honestly state that they represent every workman. When the butcher workmen are thus organized and their committee can represent them in this way, then will there be a satisfactory settlement and not until then.

VICTORY OF STRIKE AT SOMERS, MONTANA, BRINGS INCREASE TO ALL LUMBER WORKERS

After a seven weeks' persistent fight of the members of Local Union No. 384, of Somers, Montana, against the O'Brien Lumber Company, and after persistent efforts on the part of the corporation to break the spirit of the strikers, in which they failed in every move, the company finally surrendered and conceded every demand made by our members. It was natural to suppose that this would be a signal for all lumber workers to organize in the Industrial Workers of the World and, to check a move of this kind on the part of the unorganized workers, the lumber kings of Montana called a meeting of what they term as "The Lumbermen's Board of Trade" and immediately passed a resolution to the effect that the wages of all lumber workers should be raised 25 cents a day. This decision was reached by the lumber kings the next day after the surrender of the O'Brien Lumber Company, and it should be the means of organizing every lumber-jack in Montana and Nevada, as it is plain to the most humble worker that this raise of wages would not have been voluntarily granted had it not been seen by the

lumber kings what Industrial Unionism would do, and they were desperate to off-set any effort on the part of the workers to organize all of the camps; hence, they threw out the bribe or bait, believing that it would be the means of the workers feeling that the generosity of the employers had been so bountiful, in granting them a 25-cent raise, that they would delay action on the question of organizing, believing that some day the lumber kings would again raise their wages and bring them somewhere near a respectable condition in the economic field.

"The Industrial Worker" sincerely believes that the lumber-jack is too intelligent to be hoodwinked by a bribe of this nature and will realize the necessity of an organization—not only to protect the 25 cents voluntarily given, but to secure better conditions than what are now enjoyed in all lumber camps.

The lumber workers throughout Montana owe a debt of gratitude to the members of Local Union No. 384, who suffered many inconveniences in their long struggle, but who, to a man, stood loyal to the organization, their reward being victory.

Brother Wilburn, our Western organizer, is due great credit for the way he handled the strike, as he did so in such a systematic way that the company was not able to carry out any of its schemes to cause disorder in and about Somers, every member remaining loyal to the organization and conducting himself in such a way that he held the full respect of every citizen in the town. This was contrary to the wishes of the lumber company, as they had on the grounds deputy marshals, detectives and a great many hired spies, watching for technicalities whereby, wholesale arrests could take place; but, during the whole struggle there was not an opportunity offered the would-be persecutors to lodge a complaint against one of our members and the strike was carried on in a business-like, systematic manner, and the result was victory.

Since the close of this strike several charters have been asked for and granted to the lumber workers and the prospects for the future growth of the lumber-jacks in the Industrial Workers of the World were never brighter.

"The Industrial Worker" sincerely hopes that the result of this struggle will be an educator to the working class in general as to what united action will do in any craft or calling.

ADDITIONAL DONATIONS MADE TO THE SOMERS LUMBER WORKERS' STRIKE FUND ARE

Potomac Lumbermen's Union No. 248, Potomac, Mont., \$130.00; Butte Workingmen's Union No. 5, Butte, Mont., \$25.00; Newberg Industrial Union No. 98, Wakefield, Cal., \$5.00.

GREAT DANCE AT SOMERS.

A correspondent at Somers says the union dance there last Wednesday night was an unqualified success.

In a word, many men who worked against us during the strike were there and report a fine time. It was open and free to all. The

ladies furnished the supper. Mr. Poole gave us the hall. The union paid for the music. Mr. Peacha gave us two very fine cakes; Mr. Burchfield, two hams, sugar and coffee. A feature of the evening was a raffle to win the beautiful cake baked by Mrs. Snider, which was handsomely decorated, and in the center were the words "Union Forever" artistically arranged and written in white sugar against a delicious chocolate background. The cake brought \$6.25, and Jack O'Neill left the hall smiling with the prize under his arm, after it had been raffled the second time for \$8.25.

There is no bad feeling and everybody seems well pleased at the outcome.

ORGANIZATION A GOOD ONE.

Sawmill operators throughout the valley have voluntarily increased the wages of their employes 25 cents a day. This action followed the winning of the Somers strike by the union. Organizer T. P. Wilburn will be aided in his efforts to organize all the lumbermen in the valley by this concession of the mill owners and operators and expects to report several additional local unions of the Industrial Workers of the World next week. It is stated that \$2,000 was sent from headquarters by the Industrial Workers of the World in case of necessity during the Somers strike, showing they intend to take care of their own. Fortunately, there was no necessity for the distribution of the general fund at Somers, and the local union had \$700 in the treasury when the strike was called off. Mr. Wilburn is a man of discrimination and steady head, and competent to take the union part in any controversy. The absence of any friction during his management of the strikers at Somers is indicative of his ability as a leader and organizer, and the success of the Industrial Workers of the World in this state is brought about by just such leadership.—From the Kalispell Bee.

MINERS WIN IN GOLDFIELD STRIKE Declare Several Concessions and Plants Will Be in Operation To-night

Goldfield, Nev., April 21.—At a special meeting of the Goldfield Miners' Union called this afternoon the miners voted to accept terms of settlement in the pending labor troubles.

In order to establish a definite understanding between the Western Federation of Miners, Local No. 220 and the miners and operators of the Goldfield mining district it is agreed that mining and milling operations will be resumed under the following terms:

"First. The wage scale in effect in the district March 1, 1907, shall remain in force, and eight hours shall constitute a day's work for all men under the jurisdiction of the Miners' Union.

"Second. The Miners' Union shall have jurisdiction over all men regularly employed in and around the mines, mills and smelters, including the timbermen, timber framers, blacksmiths and machinists and excepting superintendents and managers. The Miners' Union shall not have the jurisdiction over carpenters employed in the construc-

tion of head framers or houses or other buildings about the mines, mills or smelters.

"Third. No strike or boycott shall be officially declared by the Miners' Union unless by a two-thirds vote of the organization in favor of it, and no lockout shall be enforced by the mine owners and operators unless by a like vote.

"Fourth. No town labor controversy shall interfere with the operation of the mines, or the employment of miners.

"Fifth. The terms shall remain in force for a period of two years from date."

NOTICE OF STRIKE IN MONTANA

The Lumber Workers of Missoula, Ravalli, Sanders and Granite Counties, Montana, are on strike. The strike is the result of the refusal of the operators to sign the 1907 wage scale.

As the Lumber Workers demand for the raise in wages is just, they deserve the support of all workers.

Friends and sympathizers of organized labor are requested to

STAY AWAY FROM THE ABOVE-NAMED COUNTIES UNTIL THE TROUBLE IS ADJUSTED.

NOTICE OF STRIKE AT BISBEE, ARIZONA

Workingmen:

Stay away from Bisbee, Arizona. The members of the Western Federation of Miners in that place are on strike against the mining companies for the abolition of the Blacklist and the Discrimination against the Union men. Pay no attention to subsidized press reports or to agents of the companies. *The mines of Bisbee are unfair, and no man fair to organized labor will work in them until the companies accede to our demands.*

M. C. FISHER,
PERCY RAWLING,
DAVE MILLUTINOVICH,
MIKE GRAHAM,
JOS. D. CANNON,

Strike Committee, Bisbee Miners' Union No. 106, Western Federation of Miners.

HOW TO ORGANIZE SECRETLY

We wish to convey to our readers the fact that we have established a secret system of organization whereby anyone can become a member of the Industrial Workers of the World and, outside of the General Office, no one will be aware of the same if the individual himself conceals the fact. This system has been inaugurated and should only be used with corporations or firms that are antagonistic to industrial unionism. Many of the railroad companies and large firms, if they would learn that a few men had started a local union, would immediately start to discharge or lay off such men whom they knew to be interested in the union. By so doing, they coerce and scare others who would become members of such an organization were it not for the fact that they were in fear of losing their positions.

This can be overcome by workingmen applying directly to General Headquarters for membership. By making application for membership at large and paying initiation fee of \$2.00, a member is placed on our register of membership at large and his dues can be paid to the General Headquarters every month, and we guarantee that, no matter who would make inquiry at headquarters relative to who might be on our secret list, no names would be given to anyone. Under this system the employes of any corporation can organize themselves. One will not know if his fellow-worker is a member or not, unless he volunteers the information personally. Our system is so strict that we would not divulge the name of any new member from the same shop or locality to other members-at-large, realizing the danger of perhaps a detective or a spy becoming a member-at-large, for the purpose of securing the names of those who are members.

After a shop or system is well organized, then the workers can secure charters free of charge and form their local unions, and when the corporation or company realizes that the majority of them are organized it is very seldom that they will start their crusade of destruction, as we are then in a position to cause them trouble should they adopt that policy.

All correspondence from members who desire to become members-at-large is treated as strictly confidential at headquarters and the names will not be divulged to anyone outside of headquarters. This overcomes all obstacles where danger may lie on the question of forming a local union. Any individual desiring to become a member-at-large will be furnished, on application, with blanks for that purpose, with full instructions. Any individual desiring to organize a local union of the Industrial Workers of the World will be furnished, on application, with constitution, blank application for charter, literature and instructions free of any cost. Anyone forming a local union and securing a charter for the same from the Industrial Workers of the World will be paid the charter fee, \$10.00, for his services.

C. O. SHERMAN,
General President.

ELECTION OF OFFICERS.

To All Officers and Members of the Local Unions and Departments of the Industrial Workers of the World:

Dear Sirs and Brothers: We are sending you under separate cover, ballots, one for each member, to be used in the election of officers, whose terms shall expire when their successors are elected, after the convention of the Industrial Workers of the World, to be held on July 4, 1907. Ballots must be marked and cast by each voter.

Enclosed please find election return blanks, which please fill out properly after the ballots have been counted and return same to this office on or before May 25, 1907.

The ballots should be returned to this office after they have been counted, with the ballots unused, on or before May 25, 1907. Ballots received after May 25, 1907, will not be counted.

Fraternally yours,

W. J. F. HANNEMANN,
General Sec'y-Treas., I. W. W.

See our prize offer on page 7.

REASON VS. FANATICISM

The Globe Miners' Union, No. 60, Western Federation of Miners, of Globe, Ariz., is to be congratulated upon its discussion of matters that will receive the serious consideration of the delegates to the next annual convention of the Western Federation of Miners, which meets in the month of June in the city of Denver.

The members of Globe Miners' Union, expressing their sentiments upon various questions, will equip the delegates from that local union in voicing the opinions entertained by the rank and file. The following communication, bearing the seal of the union, has been sent to the Miners' Magazine for publication by Secretary William Wills, and speaks for itself:

"Hall of Globe Miners' Union No. 60, Western Federation of Miners, March 27, '07. Miners' Magazine, Denver, Colo.:

"The following resolutions are being discussed by Globe Miners' Union at the present time, and the first four sections have been adopted. A motion was carried at the last regular meeting to the effect that the resolutions be sent to the Miners' Magazine so that other locals may discuss them.

"Be it Resolved, By the Globe Miners' Union No. 60, Western Federation of Miners, that our delegates to the fifteenth annual convention be and are hereby commanded to act at said convention in accordance with the following instructions:

"First. We desire that our delegates strenuously oppose any measure which would tend in the least toward depriving us of complete departmental autonomy.

"Second. We declare that the members who compose and support a labor organization should have a voice in the making of its laws and the shaping of its policies; therefore we are opposed to becoming an integral part of any organization not using the initiative and referendum, or that limits or abridges this right.

"Third. Whilst we declare that we favor Industrial Unionism, in case this Industrial Workers of the World controversy cannot be settled without causing disruption in our own department, we favor complete withdrawal from said organization.

"Fourth. In case the fifteenth annual convention of the Western Federation of Miners should elect delegates to attend a convention of the Industrial Workers of the World, our delegates are hereby instructed to withhold support from all parties who participated in the so-called annual convention of the Industrial Workers of the World, and to see that the parties chosen are properly instructed as to the position of the Western Federation of Miners on all matters of importance.

"Fifth. Whilst we realize that the past convention of the Industrial Workers of the World was divided at the opening of the session by cunning and crafty means, and on questions of minor importance; we therefore desire our delegates to have due respect for fraternal courtesy by refraining from the use of the words 'reactionist' and 'revolutionist' toward any member of the

Western Federation of Miners, or applying the same toward his motives, or to allow themselves to be influenced in their actions, should this cry be raised by revolutionary reactionist or reactionary revolutionist.

"Sixth. Realizing that the interest of the Western Federation of Miners will be best conserved by the re-election of our tried and trusted officers, Moyer and Haywood, our delegates are hereby instructed to support them for re-election.

"Seventh. We indorse the policy of the Miners' Magazine under the able and efficient management of John M. O'Neill.

"Eighth. In view of the fact that the predatory capital has become organized and its power centralized to the extent that it is able to crush craft unions at will, as evidenced by the direct fight now being waged against the Western Federation of Miners, and being the recipients of financial and moral assistance in this our hour of need from all the different labor organizations, we deem it our duty to inaugurate some plan or movement which will unite all organized labor into one body, thereby obviating the necessity of calling labor conferences, etc., when centralized capital uses every energy to crush isolated unions.

(Seal) "WILLIAM WILLS,
"Secretary."

As the first four propositions have been discussed and adopted by Globe Miners' Union, and as we are in complete harmony with the sentiments expressed, we shall leave them to take up the four remaining propositions, which will in all probability be acted upon and disposed of before this issue reaches the members of Globe Miners' Union.

(We are advised that the last four propositions were adopted as correctly given above.—Editor, "The Industrial Worker.")

It is a well known fact that has been established by years of experience, that an indulgence in the use of coined epithets by members of organized labor will never advance the labor movement. The dark-lantern and cowardly insinuations of men, who pretend to be marching in the front ranks of advanced thought, having for their object the smirching of the moral fibre of other men's character will never bring about the dawn of humanity's emancipation. The man who, without evidence, casts suspicion and slander upon another, belongs to the slimy, serpent species, whose reverence for honor is on a par with the libertine's veneration for virtue. The mere fact that a man declares that he is a "revolutionist" does not make him one, no more than blasts from a trumpet signalize the day of doom.

Promiscuous chunks of "hot air" fired from strong and vigorous lungs will not shake the pillars of an exploiting civilization. Verbal thunder, warmed and heated by the fires of fanaticism, will never force capitalism to retreat or surrender the spoils of legalized robbery.

Organized labor must be directed by intelligence that is based upon the wisdom of

experience, and such intelligence needs no sky-rocket decorations.

The re-election of Moyer and Haywood is but a deserving tribute to their loyalty to the Western Federation of Miners and their allegiance to those principles that demand economic liberty for the human race. Because of their loyalty to right and justice they are now in prison threatened with the scaffold by the blood-thirsty hirelings of capitalism. Their continuance at the helm of the organization, though incarcerated behind the walls of a prison, will declare to corporate and political vultures that the Western Federation of Miners has placed a deathless faith and confidence in the honor and integrity of these men, whom capitalism has sought to assassinate, masked by forms of law.

So far as the editor of the Miners' Magazine is complimented, we would not be human if we failed to appreciate an indorsement of our humble efforts in serving the interests of the organization and organized labor in general. We recognize the fact that not every member of the organization is in harmony with our sentiments and opinions. For those who honestly differ with us we have the highest respect. We lay no claim to infallibility. We may err in our judgment, and we are at all times open to conviction. To convince us that we are wrong will always require argument and logic, but mountains of vituperation or seas of slander will never move us from any position which we deem, after mature deliberation, is right. For the few who have endeavored to malign us, we feel like lifting our eyes toward the stars and uttering a petition to the Most High that the Great Dispenser of mental gifts shall put into their craniums reason for fanaticism, and into their hearts, fraternity for hate.

While we appreciate the approbation of our fellowmen for the feeble efforts that we may be able to put forth in this great battle against wage slavery, there is something dearer to us than everything else, and that is, a self-consciousness that that inward monitor called conscience does not haunt us with the memory of a single dishonorable act toward the labor movement. We have realized from twenty-seven years' experience in the labor movement that there are more thorns than roses in the pathway of the man who dares to act in accordance with the dictates of his conscience. Labor officials who have done their duty fearlessly have generally died in garrets and found nameless graves in the potter's field.

The editor of the Miners' Magazine has no apologies to make, only so far as his limited ability retards him in performing greater service for the organization of which he is a member. We worship no heroes and we refuse to bow in mute obedience to the frenzied mandates of a wrecking aggregation that fights corporate despotism with explosions of verbal wind.

We yearn for the time when the regiments of labor will come together in a great

army holding aloft the banner of man's emancipation, to fight the coming battle until oppression in every form shall go down to its everlasting death. That battle will not be fought and won without first bringing about united and determined action among that great mass of our people who feel the weight of the yoke of capitalism.

Threats against exploiters will never place a single gem in the crown of human liberty.

The declaration, "I am a Revolutionist," will never remove Right from a cross or tear Wrong from a throne. We are prone to believe that the man who endeavors to manifest a great, superlative love for the down-trodden and oppressed needs watching, for we have not forgotten that Judas so loved Christ that he betrayed him with a kiss.—Miners' Magazine.

THE FILIPINOS.

By Forbes Garvey.

Three hundred years with all our might
We fought the Spanish power,
And found that we had nearly met
Our freedom's natal hour.
From o'er the sea the white men came
And promised us liberty;
They swore if we would fight with them
They would help to make us free.
Together side by side we fought
Against the common foe,
And when the Spaniards met defeat,
Our fate we wished to know.
"Draw back your lines," they said,
"From town go far into the country."
Far back we went, but one dark night
They fired upon a sentry.
All night we fought, but in the morning,
When we asked for peace,
Their leader said, "This war must go on,
Started once it shall not cease."
They ravaged our land from end to end
With murder and riot and pillage,
And the skies were red with the burning
Of many a city and village.
They spared not man or woman or child
In their deeds of brutal shame,
But for all they did they claimed no guilt,
For on us they placed the blame.
But lay down our arms we will never,
Till we gain our liberty;
We will struggle and fight forever,
Till we are all dead or free.

NOMINATIONS AND RESULT OF REFERENDUMS VOTED UPON

To All Officers and Members of the Local Unions and Departments of the Industrial Workers of the World:

Dear Sirs and Brothers: The following nominations for general officers were made: General President, Chas. O. Sherman, by Locals No. 18, 33, 50, 93, 120, 121, 140, 250, 263, 288, 337, 374, 384, 391, 393, and Musical Local No. 28; J. M. O'Neill, by Local No. 90; Eugene V. Debs, by Local No. 250; Albert Kraft, by Musical Local No. 26.
General Secretary-Treasurer: W. J. F. Hannemann, by Locals No. 18, 33, 50, 93, 120, 121, 140, 263, 337, 374, 384, 391, 393, and Musical Local No. 28; W. D. Haywood, by Local No. 250; C. H. Moyer, by Local No. 288; Frank J. Kovarik, by Musical Local No. 26.
Member of General Executive Board: W. Keough, by Locals No. 18, 90, 120; Chas. E. Jones, by Local No. 18; Jas. Trainor, by Local No. 18; Miss Luella Twining, by Local No. 18; M. Dumas, by Local No. 18; Fred Probstel, by Local No. 33; Thos. P. Wilburn, by Locals No. 33, 50, 120, 121, 140, 384, 391, 393; W. A. Bern, by Local No. 41, 50; George C. Frank, by Local No. 90; F. W. Cronin, by Locals No. 93, 140, 288; W. J. F. Hannemann, by Local No. 288; Wade Shurtleff, by Locals No. 384, 391; Eugene V. Debs, by Local No. 291; R. J. Clark, by Local No. 391; Jas. Dunn, by Local No. 391; B. J. Svestka, by Musical Local No. 26; Fred Lhotak, by Musical Local No. 26; Jas. Hruby, by Musical Local No. 26; Alois Dostal, by Musical Local No. 26; John Volence, by Musical Local No. 26; O. M. Stewart, by Musical Local No. 26.

The following candidates have not accepted the nominations:

For General President: Chas. O. Sherman, John M. O'Neill and Eugene V. Debs.

For General Secretary-Treasurer: W. D. Haywood and Chas. H. Moyer.

For Member of General Executive Board: Jas. Trainor, Miss Luella Twining, M. Dumas, F. W. Cronin, W. J. F. Hannemann and Eugene V. Debs.

Referendum No. 1—"Shall the constitution be amended by the initiative and referendum vote?"—was carried by a large majority.

Referendum No. 2—"Shall we hold our next convention July 4, 1907?"—was carried by a large majority.

As the convention is close at hand, it is deemed best that local unions make amendments to the constitution and send same to this office for submission to the convention and, after adoption by the convention, they will be submitted to a referendum vote of the rank and file for approval and will go into effect only after adopted by a majority referendum vote of the membership.

Fraternal yours,

W. J. F. HANNEMANN,
General Sec'y-Treas., I. W. W.

CALL FOR CONVENTION

Chicago, Ill., May 15, 1907.

In accord with the decision rendered by the rank and file through the referendum vote, the next convention will be held on July 4, 1907, and, in compliance with these instructions, a convention of the Industrial Workers of the World is hereby called, to assemble at 10 a. m. Thursday, July 4, 1907, in the city of Chicago, Illinois.

Organizations proposing to be represented will furnish each delegate with the credential herein enclosed, duly signed by the officers and with the local union seal attached, and forward the duplicate credential to the office of the General Secretary-Treasurer as soon as delegates have been chosen.

PROVISIONS OF THE CONSTITUTION RELATING TO REPRESENTATION—ARTICLE VI.

Sec. 2. Delegates to the annual convention shall be as hereinafter provided for. The General President, the General Secretary-Treasurer and other members of the General Executive Board shall be delegates-at-large with one vote each, but shall not be accredited delegates nor carry the vote of any union or organization.

Sec. 3. International Industrial Departments shall have one delegate for the first 4,000, or less, of its members; for more than 4,000 and up to 7,000 members they shall have two delegates; for more than 7,000 and less than 20,000 members they shall have three delegates; for more than 20,000 and less than 40,000 members they shall have four delegates; for more than 40,000 members and less than 80,000 members they shall have five delegates; for more than 80,000 and less than 160,000 members they shall have six delegates and for more than 160,000 members they shall have seven delegates.

Sec. 4. Local Unions, chartered directly by the INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD, shall have one delegate for 200 members or less, and one additional delegate for each additional 200, or major fraction thereof.

Sec. 5. When two or more delegates are representing any Local Union, International Union or Industrial Department in the convention, the vote of their respective organization shall be equally divided between such delegates.

Sec. 6. Representation in the convention shall be based on the National Dues paid to the General-Organization for the last six months of each fiscal year and each union and organization entitled to representation in the convention shall be entitled to one vote for the first fifty (50) of its members and one additional vote for each additional fifty (50) of its members, or major fraction thereof.

The Unions and International Industrial Departments shall properly fill out the blank credentials received from the General Secretary-Treasurer and return one copy to the General Office. The other copy shall be presented by the delegate to the committee on credentials when the convention assembles.

Sec. 8. Delegates to the convention from Local Unions must have been members in good standing of their Local Union at least six months prior to the assembling of the convention; provided, their local union has been organized that length of time.

Delegates from International Industrial Departments, to have a seat in the convention, must have been members of their local union at least six months and of their International Industrial Union at least one year; provided it has been organized that length of time.

The expense of delegates attending the convention shall be borne by their respective organizations.

Sec. 9. Two or more local unions in the same locality, with a total membership of 500, or less, may jointly send a delegate to the convention and the vote of said delegate shall be based on the representation heretofore provided for.

For the Information of Delegates.

Rates for rooms can be secured, where two occupy the same room, at 50 cents per day and up; where one occupies a room 75 cents per day and up. Delegates who desire to engage a room can do so by writing a request to the General Secretary-Treasurer, stating rate he will pay and date of arrival in Chicago. It is suggested that the delegates watch for announcements of railroad excursions, which, at the time the convention meets, are always numerous.

GENERAL EXECUTIVE BOARD INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD.

CHAS. O. SHERMAN, Gen'l Pres.
W. J. F. HANNEMANN, Gen. Sec'y-Treas.

Labor produces all wealth.

The workers will be economically free only when they collectively own and control the means of production and distribution.

WHO WILL BE THE WINNER?

THE PRIZE CONTEST

The Industrial Workers of the World will present as a prize a \$50.00 Banner to the Local Union securing the greatest number of subscriptions to "The Industrial Worker." The contest will start February 15th and will close July 15, 1907. Every list of subscriptions sent in by a Local Union should be endorsed by the officers and sealed by the union. Every list of subscriptions will be credited to the Local Union sending them in, and on July 15th the contest will close, when the count will take place, and the Local Union that shows the greatest number of subscriptions to their credit will be awarded a handsome Silk Parade Banner, worth \$50.00. The Local Union sending in the second largest number of subscriptions will receive fifty Gold Enameled Buttons. Now is the time for the Local Unions to hustle!

The subscription price of "The Industrial Worker" is 50 cents per year.

CHAS. O. SHERMAN,
General President, I. W. W.
W. J. F. HANNEMANN,
General Sec'y-Treas., I. W. W.

SATAN ON STRIKE

An eight-page pamphlet containing the story of "Satan on Strike," in verse by C. S. Stowell, of Floyd, Wash., is before us. It is gotten up very neatly and engages the attention of the reader from beginning to end. It tells of Be-elzebub, ruler of Hell, going on strike as he finds he cannot successfully compete with the hell that has been established on earth by the capitalist system. On the first page we find that Satan is made to say to his subjects, the imps in Hell:

I think I shall have to relinquish my berth,
For plutocracy's making a hell upon earth
So much tougher, I know that this joint
can't compete,
And must chuck up the sponge to acknowledge defeat.

And on the eighth page oily John D. is made to arrive in Satan's presence and after some parley demands that he be given command of Hell and then J. D. is made to say: My future graft no longer is a riddle, I'll lead the band whilst you play second fiddle.

So then, my antiquated chum, retire
And watch old Rooky poking up the fire.
And then Satan is made to say:
"Yes," answered Satan sadly, "I can see
My finish; I'm not in it with J. D.;
To some more genial climate I must hike,
Farewell, twin brother, Satan is on strike.

The pamphlet can be purchased from C. S. Stowell, Floyd, Washington. Price, 10 cents per copy, postpaid.

Each for all—is human duty!
All for each—is human right.

Labor is entitled to all it produces.

An injury to one is an injury to all.

REPORT OF THE LAST SO-CALLED SECOND CONVENTION

The Second Annual Convention of the Industrial Workers of the World, Properly Called to Meet Sept. 17th, Turns Out to be a Farce through the Illegal Actions of a Number of Its Delegates

Question called for.
 Delegate McMullen: Mr. President, the question of the brother there was very natural, as if the claim of No. 14 was recognized as one of the Transportation locals it would give him, being the delegate named, one more vote. He is desirous of getting that vote. He thinks that this special committee, handling the matter of voting of these Transportation locals, should handle his at the same time. The Credentials Committee never had that matter under consideration whatever. It has yet up to this time not made its appearance on this floor. This is the first time it came in question here. I have not heard any evidence on it, and while I do not want to delay the consideration of these brothers, now about to receive a vote, I think that the special committee ought to consider the conditions surrounding his case. Now, on the general merits of this report, from my point of view the matter of giving these brothers seats and a vote is clearly a violation of the constitutional law of this organization. I cannot from my point of view vote to give these brothers a voice here or a vote here, and I do not believe that it is necessary in any sense to rehash the reasons why; I have stated them before, and I shall vote no on this question.

Delegate Parks: Mr. Chairman, I will state that Brother De Leon's motion does not discharge the committee. If there are any of the railroad locals who are protested in any manner we will be open to them to present their matter before us or in any contested matter that comes within our province, to take up the case. If it does not, we will so report back to the convention, and the convention can refer it to the Committee on Credentials.

Delegate McMullen: If that is the procedure, I shall have to object. There is nothing in the report of this special committee only for those two.

Delegate Fox: I shall object also as to No. 14.
 Delegate McCabe: They were in good standing, and they paid their per capita tax right up to date in the Transportation department. Brother Kohl has been receive here as the representative of that department. Local 14 was notified to place a candidate in nomination at the same time the other vote was called. They nominated their President, F. D. Henion. I think he received nine votes in that local.

Delegate Fox: Allow me to raise a point of order. It is this, that Local 14 is not under discussion. We have nothing whatever to do with it.
 A Delegate: That is right.

Delegate Fox: The vote is on these delegates on whom we have reported.

The Chairman: The point of order is well taken.

Delegate McCabe: I just wanted to meet the brother's statement.

Delegate Lingenfelter: I move the previous question. Seconded.

The Chairman: Are you ready for the question? (Question called for.) Proceed to call the roll on the seating of the three delegates in question.

The roll was called, resulting as follows:
 Total number of votes cast.....623½
 Yes383½
 No240

The Chairman: The motion is carried, and these delegates will be seated.

Delegate McMullen: I offer a motion that the other matters, the segregated part of this committee report, be referred back to the committee and they be requested to decide who shall cast that vote. Seconded.

The Chairman: It has been moved and seconded that the question of the delegate from No. 1 be referred back to the special committee. Are you ready for the question? (Question called for.)

Delegate Fox: I will announce that we have another report to make on a credential and will be ready to make it inside of a minute.

The Chairman: Will that be acceptable?

Delegate McMullen: It will be acceptable to me. I will not delay the convention. I understand this is definite, is it? I understand that there has been handed to the Secretary of the committee another credential. We do not feel that we have got the power to accept credentials unless they are offered through the convention. I therefore offer this to the Secretary of the convention. (Handing paper to the Secretary.)

The Chairman: The Chair is of the opinion that until the Credential Committee are discharged they are supposed to handle all credentials and report to this convention.

Delegate De Leon: That certainly is correct. All these credentials must go through the regular channel, and the regular channel is the convention, and the regular channel of the convention is the Secretary.

A Delegate: That is right.
 Delegate De Leon: I often have credentials sent to me, and I hand them over to the Secretary. I cannot go hunting for the Committee on Credentials.

The Chairman: The Chair is of the opinion that the Credentials Committee should be discharged; there is no use for them.

Delegate Kleese: You would have to elect a new one, would you not?

Delegate Schomberg: I think so.
 Delegate McMullen: For that Credentials Committee I would say that we would cheerfully and willingly accept our discharge.

The Chairman: Is the committee ready to report?

Additional Report on Credentials.

Delegate Parks: If it be allowed, this committee will make a supplementary report, to seat the one of the delegates from Local No. 1 that has been agreed upon as the one who shall cast the vote.

Supplemental report of the Transportation Department Status Committee, recommends that W. L. Hall be seated as the delegate and William Hickey as the alternate. Signed by the committee.

Delegate De Leon: I move to concur in the report. Seconded.

The Chairman: Well, there is a motion; do you withdraw yours?

Delegate McMullen: Had you asked me to have that withdrawn I would have done so at your request.

The Chairman: You do withdraw your motion, do you?

Delegate McMullen: Why, certainly, at your request.

The Chairman: It has been moved and seconded that the supplementary report of the special committee be accepted. Are you ready for the question? (Question called for.)

A Delegate: There is no objection.
 Delegate Cronin: Is there any objection?

Delegate Cronin: Mr. Chairman, I do not want a roll call. There is only one or two that wants to be reported voting against it. I am not trying to have a vote, but I want to be recorded as voting against seating the delegate.

Delegate Mahoney: The delegates from No. 1 are in the same position as the delegates from the others are. I voted no before, and I wish to be registered just the same as on the other. I am willing that my vote shall stand just as it did on the other. I think there is not a delegate on this floor that opposes settling the question that way. I will vote no if they have a roll call. I voted no on the other, and I desire to vote the same way on this.

The Chairman: Brother Mahoney desires to be recorded voting no. Is there anybody else that so desires?

Delegate Cronin: I do.
 Delegate Schomberg: I ask for a roll call.

The Chairman: A roll call is asked for.

Delegate Fox: This is a roll call on seating all of them.

A Delegate: What is the question?
 The Chairman: The supplementary report seating this delegate and alternate; acting on W. L. Hall as the representative of No. 1.

The roll was called and the vote announced as follows:
 Total number of votes cast.....614
 Yes380
 No234

The Chairman: The motion has been carried. Brother Hall is recognized as the duly authorized delegate from Local Union No. 1.

Delegate Fitzgerald: Now, Mr. President, we contesting delegates would like to be informed whether we are now considered representing local unions of the Industrial Workers of the World, or are we delegates in the supposed Transportation department?

Delegate Matherwell: Local unions.
 Delegate Fitzgerald: Local unions? Is that the way?

The Chairman: The Chair would be of the opinion that you are representing local unions in the Transportation department.

Delegate Fitzgerald: That being the case, if I understand it correctly, the Chairman has stated that we are supposed to be local unions in the

Transportation department. We, the Transportation locals, absolutely refuse, while the department exists, to take a seat in this convention. We are not standing for fakerism; we are not standing for it.

Delegate Schomberg: I rise to a point of order. The Chairman: State your point of order.

Delegate Schomberg: At the present time is this putting the Transportation department on trial; is it not, or is it? I ask a ruling on Brother Fitzgerald's statement just now; I want a ruling on it.

The Chairman: The Chair would rule that the point of order is well taken; that if the matter is taken up it should be taken up directly under a motion for that purpose.

Delegate De Leon: I move that we now hear the report of the national officers. Seconded.

Delegate Fitzgerald: I, being a delegate here, I would like a ruling.

(Delegate Mahoney took the chair.)

The Chairman pro tem: The ruling was that in the opinion of the Chair, to take up the question whether or not there is a Transportation department, it would require a vote. That was my ruling and I at this time recognize the motion of Delegate De Leon as the property of the house. It is regularly moved and supported that we now hear the report of our national officers.

Delegate Parks: I rise to a point of order.

The Chairman pro tem: State your point of order.

Delegate Parks: My point of order is this, that Delegate De Leon's motion is out of order, because it has been understood, and by unanimous consent, I believe, that we should seat these Transportation delegates, that we should seat the Musical representatives, and dispose of the matter of seating the members who have been wanting to get on the floor of this convention, and I think we ought to dispose of that for the sake of harmony and for the sake of expediting the business of this convention. For this reason Delegate De Leon's motion is out of order. I think the next order of business is taking up these reports from the Musical department. I think that is right.

The Chairman pro tem: The records so show, don't they, Mr. Secretary?

The Secretary: Yes.

The Chairman pro tem: The Chair will then rule that the point of order is well taken, and I do not think Delegate De Leon will object.

Delegate De Leon: No, let it go, provided we go under the regular order of business, to something else.

The Chairman pro tem: All right, that is my opinion. The Committee on Credentials will submit their report on the Musical department to the convention.

Delegate Fitzgerald: I want to state to this convention that I refuse, for one, to be seated; that until after we hear the report, we refuse to be seated with fakirs and we will not compromise, and therefore whether we are out of order, or in order, we will not stand for any compromise and sit in competition with labor union fakirs. That is all I want to say.

The Chairman pro tem: I want to say to the delegate that I want you to have the floor; I want you to take up any matters that you have got to take up; but I do hope that delegates will proceed with the regular order of business that they have got outlined. I believe there is a proper time for every delegate to have the floor, and as one delegate on the floor I want to see every delegate get the floor in any question of importance to this organization that he wants to bring up at that time. Is the Credentials Committee ready to report on the Musical department?

Credentials of Musical Department.

Delegate McMullen: Where is the chairman of that committee? Mr. President, in the matter of the credentials of this Musical Union, or Musicians' Union, I cannot submit what is deemed right now a special report. I am in doubt whether they are entitled to ten votes or twelve votes, and I cannot decide it until we see the ledger of the organization; I mean the ledger of Brother Trautmann. We did not do that this morning, and I cannot give an authentic statement on it, and that is the reason why I asked the chairman of the committee. That they are entitled certainly to ten votes, there can be no question, and I believe they are entitled to twelve; and if you will hear with me till after dinner, I mean after the noon recess, and permit me to go over and get an official statement from the ledger, then Brother Keough and I will report. If it is necessary, I will go right now.

The Chairman pro tem: If there is no objection the committee will be given the time required to report.

Delegate Cox. Mr. Chairman, I now ask—
The Chairman pro tem: It is understood, if I remember correctly, and I believe it is so recorded, that Delegate Parks withdrew his motion on submitting the report of the Committee on Rules of Order to the house until this case is decided.

Motion was made to adjourn to meet at 1:30 p. m. Seconded. Motion was made that the motion be laid on the table, seconded by Delegate Sims. The mover of the motion to lay on the table requested to withdraw his motion, Delegate Sims, who seconded the motion to lay on the table, refused to withdraw his second. The roll was called and after the first two names on the roll had been called, Delegate Sims consented to withdraw his second. Thereupon, Chairman Mahoney, at 1:50 a. m., declared the convention adjourned to meet at 1:30 p. m., by unanimous consent of the house.

(To Be Continued.)

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METHOD OF ORGANIZATION.

The general constitution of the Industrial Workers of the World provides for thirteen International Industrial Departments, "subdivided in industrial unions of closely kindred industries." Provision is also made for Local Unions.

A local union of the Industrial Workers of the World is directly subordinate to the General Executive Board, by whom its constitution must be approved.

Ten men wishing to form a local union may do so upon application to the headquarters and remitting \$10.00, which is the fee for a charter and full set of supplies.

Any agreement entered into between the members of a local union and their employer, to be valid and binding, must be approved by the General Executive Board.

Local unions chartered by the general administration shall pay 25 cents per member per month, together with such assessments as are provided for by the constitution.

Members at large on moving within the jurisdiction of a local union must transfer their membership from the union at large to the local union.

Of the 25 cents per month paid by members of local unions direct to headquarters, 5 cents is placed in the "Defense Fund," and 20 cents in the "General Fund."

The constitution provides for one universal label for the entire organization.

All local unions must procure supplies, such as membership books, official buttons, labels, badges and stamps from the General Secretary-Treasurer.

Between all local unions and other organizations of the Industrial Workers of the World there shall be a free interchange of cards, and a paid-up membership card shall be accepted in lieu of initiation fee by all bodies subordinate to the general organization.

Where there are ten local unions with not less than 5,000 members in any one industry, the General Executive Board is empowered to call a convention of that industry and proceed to organize them as an International Industrial Department of the Industrial Workers of the World.

The foregoing gives a general outline of the functions of a local union and the method of organizing the same. Any additional information will be promptly supplied on application to the General Secretary.

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

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