

INDUSTRIAL WORKER

VOL. I

SPOKANE, WASHINGTON, THURSDAY, JUNE 10, 1909

One Dollar a Year

No. 13

THE MONTANA STRIKE IS THE REAL THING

Tuesday, June 1, J. H. Walsh, the National Organizer, arrived in Eureka and proposed to hold a street meeting. On Wednesday Flathead County, Hangman, O'Connell, and up the peaceable meeting of the Union...

June 8, 1909.—The strike is about the same; there are three of the scabs back to work. They are three Flat Broz. From their statements they intend to work...

Everything closed again at Somers. Peachie, the Superintendent, had to run the electric light plant last night. Spats all tied up at Somers. What river drivers are working will go out...

Kalispell, June 8th, 1909.

Everything closed again at Somers. Peachie, the Superintendent, had to run the electric light plant last night. Spats all tied up at Somers.

What river drivers are working will go out next today.

600,000 feet of logs are lost to the company. The only thing they are short of is money.

The women are picketing at Somers. Wells ordered the women off the company ground this morning, stating that there was an injunction on. The Union women told him to go to heaven.

Twenty more deputies were sent to Somers yesterday afternoon. They are mostly red light district bums and stiffs that won't work, except when there is big money stabling labor.

A corporation can buy injunctions and deputy sheriffs here, the same as buying beer in a saloon.

The enclosed statement of the Hangman in a saloon at Eureka, and how he came through with the money to a I. W. W. man, is a sample of the lies told by corporation hirelings.

After hearing the order he stated that he was away hunting, which shows where the money comes from.

The Flathead Lumber association says they will never come through to the I. W. W., which shows that the whole association is fighting us.

The women at Somers are the stuff. The company has paid out more money for injunctions, sheriff's deputies and Pinkertons than would have paid all the demands of the Union men for the next two years.

C. J. Shelton, an I. W. W. man who won the \$125 suit from the sheriff, was offered \$125 a month to act as deputy sheriff. O'Connell, the sheriff, offered him the money.

There is easy money here for any scabber who will close his mouth and be a company sucker, and help to knife labor.

The Eureka Lumber Co. has offered a large sum of money to the photographer who took pictures of the boxes of eggs and molus of the Eureka Lumber Co. and the riot at Eureka.

People in Libby, Mont., are offering a large sum for the photos to show up the law-breakers in Eureka. Both Libby and Eureka are fighting for the county seat.

Enclosed find new pasters just out.

HESLEWOOD.

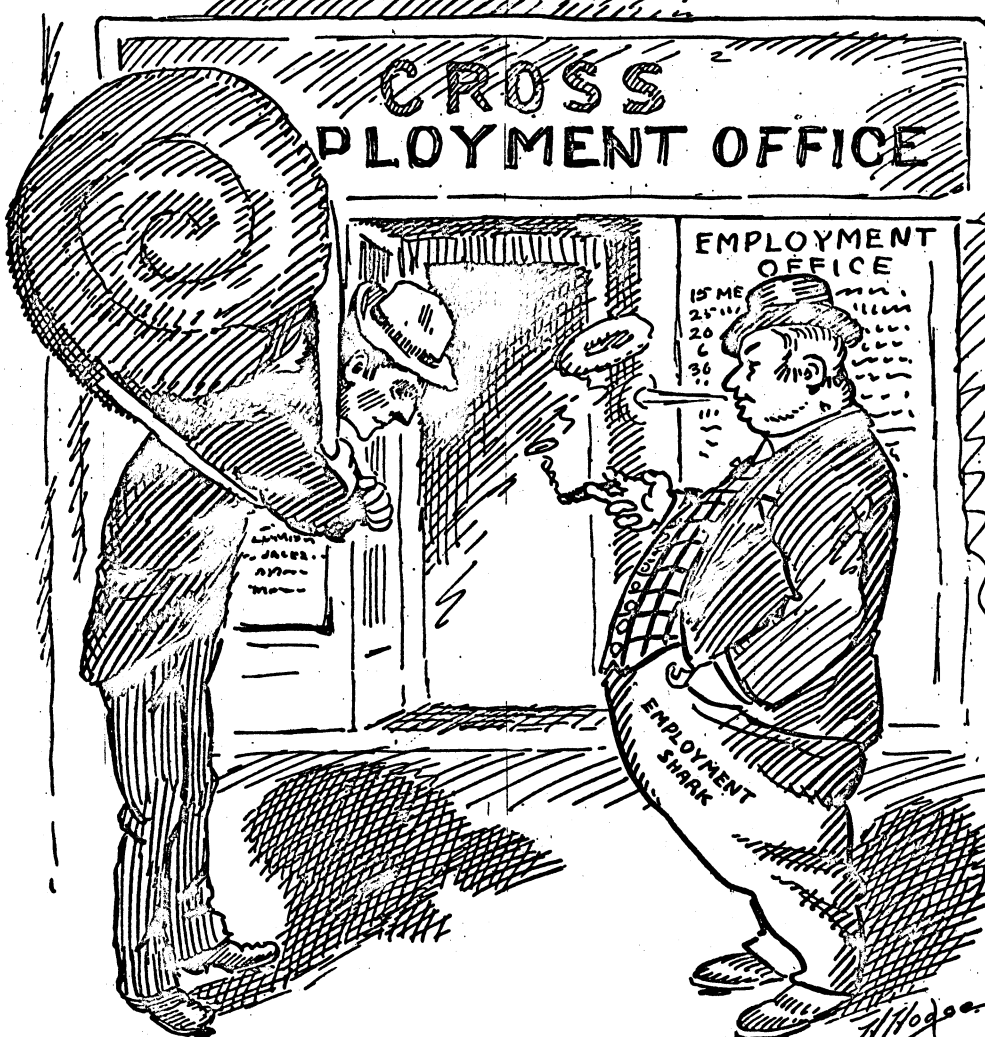
The following contributions have been received by the Executive Committee of Spokane I. W. W. since the last issue of the paper:

Table with names and amounts: \$126.80 total. Includes names like John Foss, L. Lyman, L. Hearin, L. Lofholm, etc.

LAW IN EUREKA.

Overheard a young man, who has acted as a lawyer lately, say: "The laborers are protected by law—meaning scabs—and if these fellows behave we'll put them out of town. They'll have to go."

JULIUS PETERSEN.



BLANKET STIFF AND EMPLOYMENT SHARK--WHICH SIDE IS YOUR HUMP ON?

WOODLAND NOTES--FROM THE JUNGLES.

A Trip at Jim Hill's Expense After an Exciting Skirmish With a Gun Man.

W. Smith and myself left Tuesday for Hilliard to catch a freight for Newport. We were skirmishing around about an hour; finally we lay down on the grass out of sight. To our surprise "bang! bang!" went a gun; bullets flying close by. We were marching down the center of Jim Hill's yards, when out jumped the gun man. After a few cross words, he marched us back out of the yards, which he said was "private property."

The union scab receives less pay than the professional scab, works better than the amateur scab and don't know that he is a scab. He will take a pattern from a scab pattern-maker, cast it in a union mold, hand the casting to as lousy a scab as ever walked in shoe leather and then proudly produce a paid-up union card in testimony of his unionism.

Don't forget to dig up for the strikers. Address: No. 421, I. W. W. Kalispell, Montana

CRAFT SCABBERY AND HOW IT WORKS

By Oscar Ameringer.

There are three kinds of scabs--the professional, the amateur and union scab. The professional scab is usually a high-grade, high-skilled worker in the employ of strike-breaking and detective agencies. His position is that of a petty officer's in the regular scab army.

The union scab receives less pay than the professional scab, works better than the amateur scab and don't know that he is a scab. He will take a pattern from a scab pattern-maker, cast it in a union mold, hand the casting to as lousy a scab as ever walked in shoe leather and then proudly produce a paid-up union card in testimony of his unionism.

When a strike is declared it becomes the chief duty of the organization to effect a complete shutdown of the plant. For that purpose warnings are mailed, or wired, to other places, to prevent workmen from moving to the afflicted city.

Now, while all these things are going on and men are stopped in ones and twos, a steady stream of dinner pail parades pours through the factory gate. Why are they not molested? Oh! they're union men, belonging to a different craft than the one on strike. Instead of brick-

bats and insults it's "Hello, John! hello, Jim; howdy, Jack," and other expressions of good-fellowship.

The "37 Varieties."

You see, this is a carriage factory, and it is only the Amalgamated Association of Brim Stone and Emery Polishers that are striking. The Brotherhood of Oil Rag Wipers, the Fraternal Society of White Lead Daubers, the United Sons of Varnish Spreaders, the Benevolent Corporation of Wood Work Gluers, the Iron Benders' Sick and Death Benefit Union, the Oakdale Lodge of Coal Shovelers, the Martha Washington Lodge of Ash Wheelers, the Amalgamated Brotherhood of Oilers, the Engineers' Protective Lodge, the Stationary Firemen, the F. O. O. L. the A. S. B. E. S. Societies have nothing to do with the Amalgamated Association of Brim Stone and Emery Polishers.

At the next regular meeting of those societies, ringing resolutions endorsing the strike of the Amalgamated Association of Brim Stone and Emery Polishers will be passed. Moral support is pledged and five dollars' worth of tickets is purchased for the dance given by the Ladies' Volunteer and Auxiliary Corps for the benefit of the Amalgamated Association of Brim Stone and Emery Polishers.

The whole thing is like beating a man's brains out and then handing him a headache tablet. During a very bitterly fought molders' strike in a northern city the writer noticed one of the prettiest illustrations of the workings of plain scabbing and union scabbing.

A dense mass of strikers and sympathizers had assembled in front of the factory awaiting the exit of the strikebreakers. Out they came and scabs and unionists in one dark mass. Stones, rotten eggs and other missiles began to fly, when one of the strikebreakers leaped on a store box and shouted frantically: "Stop it, stop it, for C---'s sake, stop it; you are hitting more unionists than scabs; you can't tell the difference."

That's it. Wherever scabs and union men work harmoniously in the strikebreaking industry all hell can't tell the difference. To the murky conception of a union scab, scabbing is only wrong when practiced by a non-union man. To him the union card is a kind of a scab permit that guarantees him immunity from insults, brickbats and rotten eggs.

After having instructed a green bunch of amateur scabs in the art of brimstone and emery polishing all day, he meets a striking brother in the evening and forthwith demonstrates his unionism by setting up the drinks for the latter. Union scabbing is the legitimate offspring of craft organization. It is begotten by ignorance, born of imbecility and nourished by inamy.

My dear brother, I am sorry to see under contract to hunt you, but I know it will please you to hear that the scaffold is built by union carpenters, the rope bears the label and here is my card. This is union scabbing.

Chicago, June 4th, 1909.

Fellow Worker Frederick Schade of Wilkes Barre, Pa., died, at the age of 72 years, on the 15th day of May. Fellow Worker Schade was a "Member at Large" of the I. W. W., and was a revolutionary socialist and industrialist.

SLAVE MARKET NEWS JOBS, WAGES, HOURS

NOTICE. The A. Y. P. E., of rather the Sucker's Convention, is strictly on the hog, and town is also. FRED. L. RHODA, L. U. 382, Seattle, Wa.

NO. 12 I. W. W., LOS ANGELES. Things here are as usual, but the local is growing every day, and now we are going into a new hall next week. You can keep on sending the bundles of Workers of 100 copies. Local No. 12 sent \$23 to the lumber jacks in Montana. G. W. REESE. Literature Agent; Local No. 12, I. W. W., Los Angeles, California.

CONRAD, MONTANA. Plenty of work here if the boys want it; no employment shark graft; \$2 a day for day men; \$10 a month for skinnners; board \$3.50 a week; good, clean camp; foreman O. K.-Benj. F. B. Gathany.

RHYOLITE, NEVADA. Enjoined please find postoffice order for \$5 for five yearly subscriptions for the Industrial Worker. The fellow workers here think it is hot stuff and want you to keep it up.--Joe Russell.

THAT NACHES JOB. Naches, Wash., June 10, 1909. We have conducted debates in J. M. C. A. tent here, Fellow Worker Montgomery, of Portland, was our best speaker.

Work on Tieton, eight hours, making and placing concrete forms, from \$2 to \$2.60. More men needed at Government Reclamation office, North Yakima, for here, and for Bumping Lake. No employment agent fee. H. FLOYD.

THE I. W. W. IN NEW ORLEANS. I believe you are getting out the best revolutionary working-class paper in the country. Things are moving slowly for us here, but we keep pegging away for the I. W. W. Our opponents long since have refused to face us openly and a large section of the workers is in open sympathy with us. I think it only a question of time now until they begin to come to us. The A. F. of L. leaders are moving heaven and earth to stave off their doom. We would make much better headway if it were not for the terrible industrial condition of the city. Thousands of workers have been out of work for months. COVINGTON HALL.

THINGS IN WALLA WALLA. Walla Walla, June 2, 1909. As I am very busy (n't) I will write and let you and the boys know how things are out here. This country is full of little men at present, but there is a little hayrag going on, but wages are on the bum. The ranchers only want to pay from \$1.00 to \$1.25 a day, but we are holding out for \$2.00 or more. A lot of hungry scabberhills and misson stiffs are going to work, but we have a few I. W. W. boys here and you can bet that we have our mullin and Java, as we don't patronize the booze joints. Myself and two more boys went to Freewater, Ore., and put two strawberry patches on the bum by starting a strike while berries were ripening and had to be picked. Hoping this will find the I. W. W. in prosperous condition. Hayrag will be all O. K. in two weeks. F. GUNTHER.

FROM FRED ISLER.

Received the bundle of Industrial Workers and was pleased to get news from civilization. I am sorry not to be in a position to send you money to pay for the bundle and also the price of a sub; have not got a cent in my pocket and will have none until payday or until I quit my job. Nevertheless, hope you will trust me and send me the Worker, and as soon as I can dig some cash, will send it to you. I have been promoted from a mucker to a carman and that kind of a job beats a Missouri mule. We only work eight hours, but it is short and sweet. We simply work like hell. This place is a very cheerful and delightful spot, the hill is still covered with snow and the spring makes its appearance about the fourth of July. A man who walks 90 miles to such a location is indeed hungry for a job. The board is a little improvement upon a railroad camp, nevertheless it is none too good. There are two stores in town and they are not afraid to charge exorbitant prices for their wares; had to pay two dollars for an apology of an undershirt, and almost everything is sold on the same scale. Life divided between working in a mine and a bunk house has but little charm, and will be glad to get back to civilization before long. Will be glad to again come in contact with the I. W. W. in the near future.

With best wishes to all the boys and to the I. W. W. in Spokane. FRED ISLER, Atlanta, Idaho.

SEATTLE'S I. W. W. ON THE MOVE.

Your letter at hand and carefully noted. We will give you all the news we possibly can get. Industrial unionism is slowly but surely gaining ground in Puget Sound country. First of all, the loggers are organizing fast and going into Seattle local, No. 432. At present a good many members are out in the camps working and doing agitation work. Until now we have not received any news whatsoever from Prince Rupert. There seems to be a strike on in Aberdeen. The two "leaders" of the so-called Anti-Employment Office league have separated. One of them, Mr. Thurber, is selling Tigerfat now. When he gets enough money he will start an employment office. The other man is selling Hallelujah songs. The organizing committee is advertising the Montana strike and doing all in their power to help Hallelujah and the boys to win the strike. Walsh and his band will surely make things interesting in Montana. All in all, the outlook is better than ever for industrial unionism in this part of the country. FRANK JAKEL, Secretary Organizing Committee I. W. W.

INDUSTRIAL WORKER

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TELEPHONE MAIN 1546

Editor

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The Industrial Worker is published by workingmen. We have no capital. Subscriptions and orders must always be prepaid.

Entered as second-class matter April 8, 1909, at the postoffice at Spokane, Wash., under the Act of March 3, 1879.

Freedom will never "come." Freedom must be fought for.

Common interest holds the industrial union together. This is the strongest force of human association.

Common sense: The good old rule, the simple plan—that they should take, who have the power; and they should keep who can.

What is the difference to a workman when it comes to a question of a raise of wages between a socialist employer and any other kind?

Was there ever a revolution in the history of the world, that did not depend on organized physical force? Every form of life depends on physical or natural forces, organized for a special purpose.

The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. They are necessarily enemies. The working class can live, advance, and develop without the employers. The employing class would starve without the workers. Abolish the employing class—the enemy!

Karl Marx said that private capital drips blood and filth at every pore. Do you think it likely that the employing class will be tame enough to allow themselves "pored" out of existence. If not what will you do about it? Remember, too, that the employers have the guns and the powder.

About 600 Italians are on strike at McCloud, California. Of course the employers' (Governor of California, a man named Gillett, has sent troops there—the scab working militia—to protect the workmen and their families? Not much. To "protect" the property of the robbing employers. These scab militia thrived with capture when they saw the American flag—the flag of freedom!

It is wonderful how politics affect the "friends of labor." John Burns in England, the former socialist, is now the right hand man of King Ed and is more conservative than the nobility themselves. While thousands of people are hungry in London, and unable to get work, Burns says it is their own fault and liquor is the cause of their misery, etc., etc. The Imperialists want four new big battleships: Burns wants eight! A workman in a political office is apt to outdo the employers themselves in cruelty and tyranny.

Short pay, short work should be the rule. If the boss cuts wages, and you are not in a position to carry on an open strike, then turn out that much less, or poorer work. If you work in a store, do not fail to tell every customer just how much the proprietor's scales are short, how much sand there is in the sugar, or how many inches less than a yard you are selling for a yard of cloth. This will soon drive away trade, and the boss will find it pays better to raise wages than to lose customers. Try this scheme—it's cheap and easy.

A fellow named Erickson has got a job as "judge" in Flathead county, Montana. He lately "injected" the I. W. W., the organizers, and God only knows what all. The log boom in the Flathead river went out and the 6,000,000 feet of logs are anywhere along the 30-mile length of Flathead lake. This is too bad! The judge should have put up the "political shield" and should have told the river not to rise. The Flathead river is simply an anarchist, a physical force, a stumbler, and has no respect for law and order! This river is even worse than the I. W. W. men.

There had been a large strike on at McCloud, California, in a lumber mill. The several hundred Italians involved, refused to scab, but the Americans—"white men"—scabbed in numbers. The "union" engineers on the railroad hauled deputies, militia, etc., to break the strike. With the engineers organized in the I. W. W., and true to their class, not a wheel would turn on the railroad. Engineers, firemen, switchmen, telegraph operators, section men—everybody would strike before they would haul one soldier or one sheriff or one deputy. Don't be discouraged. All these things like the McCloud strike are teaching the workers the need of industrial union.

The strikers at McCloud, that is the Italians, shut off the light from the town. This is the stuff! The strikers did the same thing in Paris, France, and it brought the bosses to terms very quick. Think what even a town like Spokane would be with no light at night. What would the poor people at Davenport's do? As for the workers who live in shacks, they would have light in their dwellings—like the Israelites in Egypt. The workers are used to kerosene lamps and candles. Anything is right to help the workers, and any sucker that thinks that the employers will ever yield to any "isms" or prayers, or votes, without organized industrial force has another thing coming.

After July 1, the Nez Perce Indians will not be allowed to draw money which has accumulated through the leasing of their lands. The Indians are accused of living "idle, dissolute lives." The intention of the Department is to force the Indians to work. The employing class lives idle, dissolute lives, and produce nothing. The wild Indian had better living conditions than the man who works in a grading camp on the railroad. This last steal against the Indians is some other of the "civilized plane" of society which the political class worship. This title to real estate in America is founded on theft and fraud practiced on the Indians and the Indian race has been nearly destroyed by the whites. Civilization has brought missionaries, whiskey, disease and robbery to the Indians.

Thomas Maloney, the District Separator of the A. F. of L., has been up at Ellensburg lately attending the yearly meeting of the Washington State Grange. Whoever has worked in or around Ellensburg for the ranchers knows the grangers love the workers—nil! Tommy bore the brotherly greeting of the long handled shovel union to the grangers. Tom was named as business agent of Separated Union No. 11,624, but they do not seem to have lost him after all. Now, if Tom will only go to the Citizens Alliance and the militia with some more "brotherly greetings," the shovel stiffs will soon get \$5.00 a day where there will be no cold weather next winter. Maloney is a brave and fearless champion who loves the working people, and the bosses at the same time!

There has been a strike of the haters at Orange, New Jersey. It seems that the police were not so ready to club the strikers as usual. The New York World gives as a reason for this slackness of the police that "most of the policemen were haters themselves before they joined the force, and are in sympathy with the strikers." This is a hopeful sign. The feeling of working class solidarity is beginning to enter the ranks of the police and to some extent the regular army in this country. When the day comes that police will not club strikers and kick cripples, and the soldiers refuse to shoot down workmen, what will the enemy do then? Anti-militarism should be taught in every industrial union. Parents should teach their children to loathe war and to despise its upholders.

J. W. Van Cleave who, for three years, has been the head sprag of the National Association of Manufacturers was in Spokane lately. In an interview he said: "I believe the days of labor unions are numbered, unless they recede from the criminal methods which have been employed by them during the last 16 years." Van Cleave—that enemy of the working people—does not believe that the workers have a right to control "the business of their employers," etc. The craft unions must indeed recede from their "criminal methods," but not in the sense that Van Cleave meant it. He pretends that the unions resort to violence and crime. The only crime of the unions is their divisions among themselves. When the separated unions "recede" from the crime of craft division, when they stop teaching the lie that the employers have rights that the workers ought to respect, it will be all off with the Manufacturers' Association—they will simply have to go to work like the rest of us.

Fellow Worker Sam Kilburn, the secretary of the Wallace Miners' union No. 17, Western Federation of Miners, has sent us a copy of a reply of the Miners' Union to a scurrilous article against the Western Federation which appeared in one of the employers' papers, the Wallace Daily Press. No. 17, W. F. M., sent some resolutions to this latter paper relative to the infamous employment office in Wallace run by the mine owners. The Press garbled and twisted the resolutions, which were published at the time in the Industrial Worker. We regret that we have not the space, this time, to print all of the reply of the Miners' Union, to this hiss from the reptile press. The miners' article calls attention to the fact which can not be denied, that the Western Federation has upheld wages in the Coueur d'Alenes, and has fought the battles of the working class. This and this alone is the reason for the persecution which has been heaped on the union by the mine-owners and their

papers. The miners' article says, among other things: "The charters of the older Unions had many of the names of the pioneers, and we have some amongst us yet; but they might as well try to get a seat in the U. S. Senate, as to try to get a job at the mines employment office." Workingmen, the employment offices are the blacksmith shops, where your chains are riveted on you. Abolish them!

THE EMPLOYMENT SHARKS

The employment agencies are such unmitigated evils; they rob so many thousands of workingmen... The employment sharks rob the workers when they buy a job, or "information" which is supposed to tell where a job may be. They sharks flood the country with titles and whenever conditions are extra bad, they revivify the collar of slavery for men around our necks; and more than all, the employment agencies are the headquarters for scabs. It may be tiresome to some of our scientific friends to see and hear so much on the one subject of employment agencies. Too much, however, can not be said or written against them, as long as there is one of these vile doors left open. It is a piece of scabbery for a man to buy a job of an employment agent. It is a damned shame for any man to encourage these grafters who are riding in automobiles while the blanket stiffs are hiking up the track. Life is sweet, but if any man—especially a young man—could not look forward to anything better than an existence in the average lumber and grading camp, he might better be dead. The men in these camps who are sent there by the fat employment sharks, are herded together in a worse state than cattle. Deprived of the society of women, worked with the tools of the black slave of the South was a thousand times better off. The black slave had at least his cabin and his family. Whether or not there is a hereafter, or Heaven for workers, is a matter of discussion; but if there is a reward for well-doing, there must certainly be a large premium for the man who willfully help to abolish the damnable, grafting, robbing, lying employment thieves. Wretched shovel stiffs! When you lie down at night after a day's hard work, while the vermin swarm around you; half sick, broke and well-nigh discouraged, remember that the employment agents who fatten on your misery are lying in comfortable clean beds, in nice houses and having up money. What do you think about this? And what will you do about it? Join the I. W. W., and help to help to abolish this kind of thing!

THE GENERAL STRIKE

The general strike is an expression very much used in the last few years in connection with the revolutionary movement of the working people. Much time and space has been wasted by the politicians and the theorists in discussing just what is meant by the term "general strike." Just what would be the result of the general strike, etc. It has even been said in regard to the struggles of the working people against their employers, that the working class can never win but one, and that the final victory over the enemy! It is also held by some that a general strike on the part of the workers would be to leave the factories, the mills, and the tools of production generally, in the hands of the enemy, and that a general strike would be a general retreat of the workers from the battlefields of production. One man in Germany went so far as to say that general strike meant "general nonsense." The spectacle of newspaper editors, of writers or professors mapping out a plan of campaign for the struggling working class is like a caterpillar telling a lion when and how to spring. As for the childish assertion that the workers as from one defeat to another, and that they can never win but one, and that the "final victory" over the enemy, it is hardly worthy of answer. It is enough to say that the final victory must depend on the previous struggles. Every struggle brings its lessons and its experiences, and therefore there is no single and entire defeat, even in the worst of cases. The instances of the workers winning better conditions as a result of their struggles, and the fact that in the past five years the industrial union here and abroad has won an average of over eighty per cent of all strikes, gives the lie to this tree-toad croaking. As to the argument that a general strike would merely leave the tools in the hands of the enemy, the employers, it is well to remember that the employing class alone could not for one minute operate the tools of production, and their position would be utterly unprofitable to them. That a general suspension of work in one industry, let alone in all industries, can bring the employers to terms is well shown in the postal strike in France. This was a strike in one industry, and in only one country. Society is so interlocked that the stoppage of one industry is like the breaking of one wheel in a clock; it paralyzes the rest of the system. As for the man who said general strike is the same as general nonsense, he was like the old woman who watched George Stevenson preparing to start with his first locomotive. "It'll never start; it'll never start," she croaked. When the engine started off at thirty miles an hour she then squeaked: "It'll never stop; it'll never stop!" The I. W. W. has also been called the general look-out of the employing class, the idea being that at the proper time the workers, being industrially organized, will simply take possession of the factories, the mines, and the farms and the other places and tools of production, and proceed to operate them for the sole benefit of the workers, thus locking out the employing class. Now let us see the practical bearing of all this talk for you and me, for now and here. Any kind of a strike, however weak and small, implies some form of organization, or at least some amount of common understanding among the workers. The larger the strike the larger must be the organization of the workers. When the time comes, and there are many signs to show that it is nearer than many of us think that the working class is so strongly organized, and industrially organized, that it is possible to suspend production either through the world at large, or over vast districts, we will then be strong enough to act in defiance of the master class—either by suspending production for a time or by continuing it for our own good. There is one thing that every member of the I. W. W., and working people generally, should always remember, and that is that success depends not necessarily on blind following of a rule, without regard to circumstances and conditions, but success depends on organization, discipline and courage. It is admitted on all hands that the first requisite is industrial union. The tactics of the enemy and the form of the battlefield will tell us at the time just how each battle must be fought. With a disciplined industrial army, all things are possible for us. Without industrial union, nothing but defeat is possible for us.

To try to settle the question of "just what we will do on the day after the general strike" is like a man with black hair trying to foretell just when his hair will turn gray. Time alone can tell. The job in front of us working people is to organize ourselves, with the understanding that we have nothing in common with those for whom we work; that an injury to one worker is an injury to all workers. We must learn that the end justifies the means, and that all things are fair for the workers against the employers, who are robbers. The employers are organized and comfortable. We are disorganized and miserable. We are many; the employers are few.

Let us get our industrial army together, get ourselves drilled and learn how best to fight the employing class, and we will then know in just what way to give the finishing blows to the dying dragon of the master class. In making clam chowder the first thing needful is to catch the clams. In fighting the organized employing class, the first thing needful is the revolutionary industrial union.

The I. W. W. is the only organization for workers; we have the partial strike, the industrial strike, the passive strike, the irritant strike, and the general strike—one continual series of skirmishes with the enemy, while in the meantime we are collecting and drilling our forces and learning how to fight the boss.

The I. W. W. will know just how to conduct the general strike, and it will be anything but "general nonsense" for the boss.

The first duty of a worker, to himself and to his class, is to join the Industrial Workers of the World.

FREE SPEECH AND FREE PRESS

There is a general and deliberate plan on the part of the employing class to suppress agitation among working people. The recent persecution by the Spokane authorities against the I. W. W., the suppression of meetings in New York as referred to in the last number of the Worker, and now all at the same time, in Montreal, Winnipeg and Vancouver, Canada, the police are adopting the same tactics. In the Canadian cities, the Salvation Army, and other Bible pounders can beat drums, blow horns and make frightful noises without being hindered. It is only the revolutionary workers who are persecuted. It has been often pointed out, as a matter of comfort and satisfaction for the working people, that these are signs of the coming revolution, and that the employing class is "getting scared," by the spread of the spirit of working class unity. It is no doubt true, that the employers appreciate the

meaning of the rising spirit of revolt among the workers, but as for the becoming "scared," it is of no comfort to the thoughtful working man. woman—quite the reverse. The employing class of France were certainly alarmed at such a showing of working class spirit as that in the Paris Commune. In the same degree that the ruling class were alarmed and excited were they made cruel and revengeful. Physical force and organization are the only things that the employing class fear, and it is only as leading to organization and revolt, that suppression of free speech is attempted. Some people dream and many papers openly print articles about the "coming" of socialism, the peaceful evolution of society, and the power of right, etc. It may be pleasant to imagine that the employing class who do not hesitate to murder, to imprison and torture the workers after robbing them, who are even now stopping the first natural right of men—to cry out against wrong and pain, will quietly submit to be decried by the ballot, but what warrant is there in fact for such a pleasant imagination? Have the rulers ever yielded except to force? The answer often is that, that if the employing or capitalist class refuse to be out-voted, the workers will proceed to use military force! This is also reckoning without the host. The armies of the world today are not all class conscious by any means, though here and there the anti-military teaching is making the army less reliable for the masters. The capitalists, today, generally speaking, and especially in the United States, may depend on the army and the militia to fight the workers. For any man to dream of military resistance by the workers against a drilled, armed, well fed, disciplined army in shirt machines. All history and experience have shown that there are no lengths to which the ruling class will not go, to keep their places on the backs of the workers. If the employing class can gag the workers, can the employing class not also deprive us of the ballot, and are they not already doing so? We have no guns, and many of us have no ballots; but as long as food, clothes, and all commodities are produced by the working class, our industrial power can not be taken from us. True, individual workers may be blacklisted and discharged, but the working class is the one indispensable class in the world. The actual bread and butter power, of the workers, has but to be organized, and who will transport the soldiers? Who will feed the soldiers? Who will make powder for the soldiers? The industrially organized working class have it in their power to starve any army on earth. The final test between the employing class and the working class is always a test of actual physical and economic strength. Not prayers, nor votes, nor arguments will raise wages one cent in the last analysis. Organized resistance by the working people against their employers, and the laws of their employers must be made, if we are not to sink into the condition of peons. The injunctions of the courts and the laws against free speech must be resisted, in a systematic, courageous manner. Every working man and woman in this country and in Canada should be willing and ready to go to jail and to stay in jail rather than give up the right of free speech, and the chance to appeal, not to the Supreme Court, but to their fellow workers against the common enemy. What objection there can be on the part of any person calling himself a socialist, or anarchist, or revolutionist, to the program of the Industrial Workers of the World is hard to see.

Workers of the World, Unite! The I. W. W. is the labor union of the working class. Every wage-worker should rally around the Red Flag, and in support of its rights, before we are more and more degenerated till perhaps even the spirit of liberty be lost!

FORMALISM AND HYPOCRISY

The spirit of working class unity and solidarity is the reliance of the Industrial Union, more than the mere form of the organization. It is not necessary that the form or rules of the revolutionary union of the workers be always the same. It is important for us all to remember, that it is the spirit more than the form, the principles more than the rules that spell success for us, in the fight against the employing class. The courage and intelligence of the workers are the criterion, rather than any particular details of structure or tactics. The Industrial Union is the expression of the spirit of unity of the workers, and its form is not a formal ideal, born in the mind of intellectual dreamers, but the hammering together of the working class by the many hard blows of the enemy. The I. W. W. is the outcome of the needs of today, coupled with the experience of yesterday.

With the growing need of union among working people, and the disunity of union men and women at the traitorous and old-fashioned methods of the separated unions, it is necessary for the would-be leaders of the working class, to pretend to conform to the new conditions, and to pretend to be persuaded by the cry for closer union for all working people.

It is even claimed that the American Federation of Labor is taking on an industrial form. The basic principle of the American Federation of Labor is a lie. It is a lie for any man to say that workers have interests in common, with those who hire them. The A. F. of L. seeks and has always sought that the boss be entitled to his share of the profits, and that there should be harmony between the natural enemies; the robbers and the robbed. The foundation being wrong, the building is insecure and shaky. Founded on deceit and compromising with slavery, it is not a mere change of form that will make the craft unions a help to the workers. They must be fired with the spirit of revolt, and be able to feel and see the outrages of the wage system and its certain destruction.

For a member of the Civic Federation—that society of cannibals—to pretend to desire better things for the working people, while deceiving them, is hypocrisy. For an employers' union to pretend to dress itself in the old clothes of the I. W. W., is formalism and a farce.

The proof of the pudding is in the eating. The I. W. W. is able, both here and abroad, to show better success for the workers; the I. W. W. cannot succeed except at the expense of the employing class. In the case of the case, any attempt on the part of the hirelings of the masters to pose as friends of the industrial or revolutionary union—should deceive no one. Imagine \$5,000 a year Compers walking behind the Red Flag, or John Mitchell, the European tourist and friend of the miners' enemy, telling the miners all to strike, at once and better their miserable condition!

The employing class from old Rocky down to a jack-knife contractor or anti-fat farmer, and their spies from Compera down to every little local scab, will do anything and say anything, will preach any "ism" or any religion, as long as they can fasten themselves on the workers and eat the bread of idleness. The I. W. W. is the knife that will remove the cancer of the misleaders of labor from the hearts and minds of the working class.

The Spokane Review editor is undoubtedly a kind and moral man. If he were not a model of virtue, it is likely he would take so much interest in the welfare of the Spokane citizens as to fill up columns after columns with advertisements of quick medicines and doctors who "specialize" in venereal diseases? These advertisements, by the way, would disgust a decent yaller dog, but they are all right with Grandma Durham. Among the other accomplishments of this friend of the poor—Durham—is the art of publishing lying dispatches to the supposed injury of workingmen, especially when the latter are engaged in a struggle with the employers. The recent lies of the Review about the National Organizer's visit to Eureka, Montana, and that other story to the effect that the I. W. W. had settled the strike with the Somers Lumber Company are samples. But it is as an economist that Grandma is without an equal! The world has waited long for the coming of Durham. For ages there has been a struggle between the slaves and the master. The rich and the poor. Men have starved and suffered while looking for a change to come. All this is at an end! "More chain gangs and longer sentences will solve the 'tramp' problem," says Grandma. After giving the world this revelation of the will of God, we ought not to expect any more such pearls as the above from the prophet, but the dear old girl has handed out an editorial on "Brazil Coffee Crime" which is the limit. Brazil has put an export tax on coffee of about one-tenth. The object of this is to enable the government to destroy this one-tenth of the coffee and so raise the price of the rest. It is estimated that this will destroy over 150,000,000 pounds of coffee. Granny says this is a crime because it will force consumers all over the world to pay more for coffee. Of course this is one of the many crimes which show the insanity of the present system of production. But for Durham, who is always on the side of the rich against the poor, to pretend to weep over any "crime" is rich. The crocodile weeps. "Economic crime," indeed! But what has this got to do with the waste of thousands of millions of dollars and the murdering machines, battleships and guns? Not a word. And speaking about waste, what about the millions of workers' lives which are snuffed out by the flame from a candle in the factories, in the mines and on the employment battlefields? Why, Granny never heard of the like! The limited intelligence of Durham makes his violent hatred of the working people almost harmless. It is lucky that a rattlesnake is not as cunning as a fox! Grandma Durham's petty died of grief when the enemy failed to hang Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone. If Durham's "milk of human kindness" were churned, it would make Lindburger cheese!

The new criminal and penal code of the State of Washington is about the size of Webster's unabridged dictionary, or an old-fashioned Family Bible. This contains the law—part of the law—by which the working people are judged. This book would cost too much for the ordinary workingman to buy, and he could not understand all the big words, even if he had a copy. Nevertheless, ignorance of the law is no excuse! The new book contains a "criminal anarchy law." In view of the suppression of free speech of the working people, this new law book contains a libel law, which is indeed a spider's web of tyranny. This law will not prevent union men from being libelled, any more than the false pretence law prevents them from being swindled. This law like one of the laws of old Henry VIII: it is a law with six strings, and will be used to gag the labor press. Wait and see! It is not a matter for sentimental whining. A worker who has not the spirit of Liberty, deserves to be a slave. Be a man and a fighter, and "O, Liberator Liberty! Fight with thy Defenders." It's a shame to take up space with the enemies' laws, when we might be printing our own; but here is part of this charming "criminal libel law." Will Durham of the Spokane Review go to jail now?

Law! Shudder, you miserable agitators! "A libel is the defamation of a person made public by any words, print, writing, sign, picture, representation or effigy tending to provoke him to anger, or expose him to public hatred, contempt or ridicule, or to deprive him of the benefits of public confidence and social intercourse."

So that when we urge, entreat, beg and implore working men to get away from the employment sharks, and when we do all possible to "dep" them of public confidence, it is libel!

This law will never be used except against the workers. It is a disgrace even to Spokane.

All Union men should despise this "law."

"SUNNY CALIFORNIA" THE LAND OF SLAVES

Season in Redlands was over. So W. W. men set out for the...

At the first inception of the I. W. W. a charter was granted there and a crook was in control...

It is hard for me to express my surprise and pleasure when I saw the first copy of the "Industrial Worker"...

Club Pool Parlors Largest Pool Parlor in the City. 227 Howard Street. MERVIN & ZINTHO, Props.

CIGARS, TOBACCO AND PIPES, SWEET DRINKS AND CANDIES. Basement in Connection Everything New.

J. Benedetti Commelli & Benedetti Dealers in CIGARS, TOBACCO, CONFEC-TIONERY AND NOTIONS. 225 Washington St. Spokane, Wash.

RESSA BROS. POOL PARLOR, CIGARS, TOBACCO Grocery Store in Connection 416 Front Avenue

to sun, tossing foxtail with a little alfalfa tucked in...

Fresno is about the costliest place to live, in the West, and I know some workers who get the large sum of \$1.50 per day to keep a family on...

There are a great number of Russians here, and they are mostly on the labor market. The Armenians are also here in force...

At the first inception of the I. W. W. a charter was granted there and a crook was in control who simply put organization out of the line of possibilities...

I have divided the following into the Political Socialists here, until they believe it, I. e., "That these controlling the industrial power, always control the political power; hence, until our labor power is organized into an industrial union, we never can destroy the political power of the bosses."

The time has come when actions must displace the "War of Words," and measures must be taken to fill mouths of hungry hordes.

Then rally, "Industrial Workers" For in union there is strength. The battle fight, as braveman fight, and to win—go to any length!

Throw off the fetters that bind you, And to the workers of future give, A place on God's green foot-stool; And in future—a right to life! Yours for Industrial Freedom, W. F. LITTLE, Fresno, Cal.

IN MINNEAPOLIS. The bundle of 100 papers that you sent me some time ago I have sold, and also the bundle of the May number.

Minneapolis is a well-known point on the map on account of its large amount of employment shacks; being the largest slave-market in the Northwest. In fact, at points as far as 300 miles from here, you can hear the slaves say: "Let's go to Minne and shop out."

On union, jobs, conditions are not much better; at least not for the laborers, who, on these jobs, get the same pay as stated before. As for the organized jobs, they are really open shops, as they have no control. This is especially true of the biggest union of the A. F. of L. order, namely, the carpenters, who have of late been very useful to help the bosses defeat other crafts in the building industry.

Also, it may not be out of the way to mention that "Minne" has a workhouse with a brick yard in connection, and a good police force to keep these institutions full-handed. Also, judges who fix the sentence according to how bad help are needed at the work.

These, in short, are the conditions we are up against in Minneapolis. Altogether, this spells work for the members of I. W. W. here; and we are hard at it. We hold, regularly, three meetings a week on the streets, sell I. W. W. papers and books, and from all signs we hope to, in the near future, establish a stronghold here for the Industrial Workers of the World. Worker, we are doing our part. Are you, readers?

SEATTLE LOGGERS ARE 600 STRONG

From all accounts, the loggers of Puget Sound are beginning to know their business; they are organizing, not only in and around Seattle, but are also going it some in Portland and other lumber centers...

The loggers L. U. 432 has at present nearly 600 members and ever growing, will in the near future be one of the strongholds of organized lumberjacks on the Pacific Coast...

There are in Montana, at present, a large number of fellow workers belonging to the Lumber Industry of the I. W. W., of which 472 is an industrial union, out on strike for better conditions, and any workmen going there with the intention to take a strike's place is a cur and must be treated as such...

Loggers and Lumbermen's Industrial Union No. 432 is here to stay, and there is room in it for all loggers, single mill and sawmill workers on Puget Sound.

STRIKE STILL ON IN MONTANA. DON'T BELIEVE THE LYING CAPITALIST PAPERS.

Have also got busy in spreading letters from Hestved and "Labor's Epitaph to a Scab" among the loggers in the camps and the fellow workers here as well as the letter I received from you and will keep doing so...

CONDITIONS IN THE VARIOUS CAMPS. There is no file at headquarters of the I. W. W., 308 James street, Seattle, Wash., a record of conditions, etc., existing in such logging camps where members or delegates of Loggers' L. U. 432 have been working at one time or other...

Number of men working in camp, from 15 to 200. Sentiment, favorable to unionism. Conditions on the bum, poor, medium and fair. Wages, ranging from \$2 to \$4.50. Number of hours' work, long—10 to 11—too long.

Pay day, on some once a month, some when you get fired and some don't pay. Most of the jobs in the logging camps have to be gotten through the employment sharks, on account of the infernal, degrading system of the employers, which must be dealt with first; there have been some jobs gotten through the union headquarters, and we will have them all come that way as soon as possible.

FAIRBANKS, ALASKA. Your welcome letter of January 19th to hand. Am glad to hear that you are in good health.

Your letter of March 16th to hand. Am glad to hear that you are in good health. Howard got those papers O. K. Stokdenberg and Mike Davis are here. There must be at least 1000 men got in over the trail this spring...

It would mean larger profits to those who have invested capital. The wages which have prevailed here resulted in serious hardship. It has been recently reported that many employers have been obliged to cut down their living expenses; those keeping ten servants were obliged to get along with eight, and those provided with two yachts were compelled to do with one.

By all means let this law be enforced. If a man is not willing to scab put him in the penitentiary until he changes his mind.

saloon every evening, a little group here and there, still digging away (sighing). Will close now, hoping to hear from you soon. Yours for the I. W. W. F. J. WHALEN.

THE FACTORY: It Tells of Its Power, and Its Work.

I am the factory! Of my looks I boast not; I am ugly, squat, dark, even gloomy. My windows are covered with grime. My bare walls with soot. Out of my tall, lank chimneys Are belched the heavy black masses of smoke That hide the blue heavens from sight...

Woe-eyed, desperate, forlorn, beseeching me with prayers. To open my grim doors—that they may find toll again. And of my power I am insolently proud: I do not boast of my benevolence. But if I have wrought much evil, I have also wrought much good.

Needs, aspirations, and the strength that lies in union: I knit. Closing the books of toll that they have ever been before in labor's long, hard history.

When I shall be the servant of the people. I shall give way to better things, as worse things gave way to me.

At a meeting a week ago arranged by local 157, I. W. W., and held in the north end hall, 1017 Aunshut avenue, at which Joseph J. Ettor, of the I. W. W., spoke in Italian, the hall was packed to the doors with Italian textile workers.

I. W. W. IN NEW BEDFORD, MASS. At a meeting a week ago arranged by local 157, I. W. W., and held in the north end hall, 1017 Aunshut avenue, at which Joseph J. Ettor, of the I. W. W., spoke in Italian, the hall was packed to the doors with Italian textile workers.

Mr. Ettor spoke for one hour and fifty minutes outlining in a lucid and exceptionally clear manner the aims and objects of the Industrial Workers of the World. Several questions were asked and answered to the satisfaction of all concerned.

Several applications were taken in at the meeting near the Pierce mill. About one thousand leaflets were given away and great interest evinced in the growth of the I. W. W. in the textile centers.

The new law providing that fathers who fail to support their children shall be imprisoned in state's prison is a very meritorious act.

It would mean larger profits to those who have invested capital. The wages which have prevailed here resulted in serious hardship. It has been recently reported that many employers have been obliged to cut down their living expenses; those keeping ten servants were obliged to get along with eight, and those provided with two yachts were compelled to do with one.

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MINERS' STRUGGLE IN THE COAL FIELDS

The last act to the tragedy of the treason to the Coal Miners of the Anthracite Region: For the last three or four months the world of labor and all that depends on it in this region of wage slavery has been in a state of unrest and travail all due, as the business interests would have it, to the laborers of the mines. All have talked, written and argued, and in spite of all, the fust, predictions and bluffs indulged in by the leaders of both forces, those of the operators and those of the mine workers, peace has been declared and now once more "everything is lovely and the goose hangs high."

We said in the last article published, dealing with the conditions of the anthracite mine workers, that whether there would be a strike or not a shameful defeat would await the coal miners of this region; not because of the power of the masters altogether, but that combined with the impotency and utterly hopeless methods of the United Mine Workers of America.

For the benefit of those that may not be altogether acquainted with the conditions here, let us state in brief, that these conditions are what is probably the most serious class struggle any part of this country ever faced; figures tell us that all told, there was about one hundred and sixty thousand mine workers on strike for better wages and shorter hours; the strike was waged for nearly six months; the miners suffered untold miseries but they stood true, they were on the eve of victory. They had defeated their oppressors and exploiters and they were tricked out of their well-earned victory, for when labor was to claim the fruits of its struggle, the elements that always make their life's work to protect the interests of the masters, rushed to their post and saved the situation for them; yes, turned a victory into a defeat.

From the green fields, the mellow farm, the rural brook. To the noisome cities and crowded them in squallid tenements. Shattering health, crippling bodies, producing weaklings. Yes, did I teach labor to know labor, gathering the sons of toil.

Under one roof and making them conscious of common aims. Needs, aspirations, and the strength that lies in union: I knit. Closing the books of toll that they have ever been before in labor's long, hard history.

Peace and tranquility hovered over the men of labor and the men of leisure for a long period; the masters were sure their slaves would not rebel until such time as the sacred contract expired, and why should they worry? Had not the labor misdeeders assured them of industrial peace for the period of three years?

The year of 1909 comes to us and again attention is called to the fact of a class struggle between the mine workers and the mine owners. The national convention of the United Mine Workers amid pomp and applause, endorsed the demands of the anthracite mine workers and directed their National Executive Board to place the national treasury at the disposal of the anthracite workers. Much bluff was indulged in as to what harm would result to the mine owners if they refused to consider the demands of the U. M. W. of A., but they were indeed bluffs, for we were immediately assured by the president of the organization, Tom L. Lewis, that whatever would be the result of the conference with the operators there would be no strike and that he would do all in his power to see that no strike took place at whatever the cost. Numerous were the conferences with the masters but they were useless as far as results go, for at the first conference the operators told Lewis that they would only be willing to consider the signing of the old peace treaty and none else. The original demands, it will be remembered, asked for an eight-hour day and other concessions, but Lewis immediately agreed to waive them if the operators would even consider the demand for the recognition of the Union and the check-off system. To this the operators refused point blank. A special convention was held in Scranton March 23d, to consider the whole situation; again more bluff as to what they would do to the masters; but they labored and drew wages out of the mine slaves only to finish up by deciding that they would appeal to Taft! Yes, still Taft of injunction fame to intervene, but that was not sufficient, so they instructed their "policy committee" as they styled it, to go to the operators once more and drive the best bargain they could. Yes, drive the best bargain—why not? They were dealing in a sell-out. Again capital and labor met, face to face, to find out if they could head the row, but of course labor received the same reply as before.

IMPORTANT! WE must have our own I. W. W. Labor Exchange. Do not fail to write to your union or to the Editor of the Industrial Worker about the job you are working on. Hours, Wages, Crub, Discount, Poll Tax, R. R. Fare, Etc. We will print this job list every week.

FRENCH UNIONISM, A MILITANT POWER

(Continued from last week)

Without attempting to follow all the battles and skirmishes between the adherents and the opponents of alliance between the socialist party and the syndicalist forces, it may suffice to quote the concluding clauses of the resolution of neutrality adopted by the C. G. T. at the Congress of Amiens in 1906 and resolutely adhered to since.

No far as the individual is concerned, the Congress affirms that the member of a union is entirely at liberty to participate outside the union, in whatever movements correspond to his philosophical or political beliefs, limiting himself to ask in return that he should not introduce within the union the opinions he professes beyond its confines. So far as the organization is concerned, the Congress declares that, in order that syndicalism may attain its maximum effect, its separate actions should be carried on directly against the employer, the federated organizations having, as labor organizations, nothing to do with parties and sects, which, outside its sphere, are entirely at liberty to seek the transformation of society.

No "Political Shield"

The refusal of syndicalism to ally itself with Parliamentary socialism is based, negatively, on its belief in the essentially faulty position of the latter, and, positively, on its belief in its own self-sufficiency. The indictment it brings against the socialist party is that it is based on a misconception of the class struggle. Party struggle is not class struggle. The party is bound together by identity of opinion, the class by identity of interests. The party is an artificial grouping of men of all classes united by a temporary agreement; the class is an organic division of men subjected to the same economic influences, living and working on the same plane of material interest. This misconception has fatal results on the competition both of the rank and file and of the leaders of the party. The rank and file are recruited from every region of discontent; the party is committed to the defense of every doomed and decaying faction of the petty bourgeoisie which is suffering from the onward and inevitable march of industrial progress, its action is clogged and hampered by the necessity of catering to the largest possible vote. The leaders more and more are drawn from the capitalist "intellectuals," some led into socialist ranks by honest conviction, some seeking the honors and fishes seats in parliament, for editorially the party organ the camp followers whom Marx denounced as "lawyers" without clients, doctors without patients and without learning, students of billiards. Whatever their motive may be, self-sacrificing or self-seeking, they are in either case hopelessly out of touch with proletarian thought and life. Fatal again, to the integrity of socialist doctrine, is the changed attitude toward the state which results from parliamentary action. Instead of becoming less and less the state becomes more and more; it is really the state becomes more and more; it is really the state becomes more and more; it is really the state becomes more and more. The attempt is made to realize socialism in the framework of the existing state. And meantime the workers are assigned merely the passive role of casting a ballot once in four years. No attempt is made here and now to build up the economic institutions which are to control the society of the future, or to train the workers for the new and greater part they are to play. In the business chiefly the positive belief of syndicalism in its own strength which is the barrier to alliance. Syndicalism is no more content to accept socialist suggestion of syndicalist control of the economic struggle combined with socialist control of the political field than the medieval papacy was content to accept the Emperor's compromise of papal supremacy in spiritual and imperial supremacy in secular affairs. For it believes that it can conquer single-handed, itself above the revolution, itself build up the economic structure of the future. It is the heir of socialism as well as of capitalism.

Anarchism vs. Organization.

With Anarchism, finally, the new movement has much in common, so much that socialist critics insist that syndicalism is only anarchism in disguise. It was, in truth, very largely the adoption by the Anarchists of the policy of "barracking" in the unions which led to the anti-socialist revolt. In their opposition to the state, to political action, to militarism both movements stand at one. But it is claimed by the exponents of syndicalism that the resemblances are only superficial, the differences fundamental. Anarchism is a survival of eighteenth-century individualism and sentimentalism; syndicalism a forerunner of twentieth-century cooperation and scientific matter of factness. Anarchism makes its appeal to all humanity, syndicalism to the proletariat alone. Anarchism, reactionary at bottom, can see no good in capitalism or any of its works; syndicalism thanks it for preparing the material equipment and the spirit of cooperation essential for the society of the future. Anarchism makes the individual the unit; syndicalism the union. Even in their anti-militarism they wear their cue with a difference—anarchism actuated by humanitarian motives, syndicalism by opposition to the use of the army in supporting industrial outbreaks.

The new unionism can not be identified with anarchism any more than with socialism. Syndicalism is not content with negative criticism; it has a positive constructive policy to offer. It admits the old war cry of the International, "The emancipation of the workers must be wrought by the workers themselves," and gives it new meaning. In every class struggle in the past, it is contended, the revolution has created its own organs of emancipation. In the battle against feudal privilege the middle class conquered; not by generalizing and controlling the distinctively aristocratic institutions, but by creating new institutions, free towns and parliaments, and thus building up the framework of a new bourgeoisie society while demolishing the old feudal society. The proletariat has its distinctive institution ready to its hand—the union.

It is the mission of the Confederation General du Travail to aid the workers in forging this new mechanism for its diverse purposes, building up union, federations, labor exchange, each with its part to play in the society of the future. Marx himself—whom syndicalists delight to quote against the Marxists—was the first to recognize that in the struggle for proletarian emancipation the union was to play the part played by the Commune in the struggle for bourgeois emancipation. The union, then, has a double part to play: in the present (the official phrasing runs) an organization for collective resistance, in the future the unit of production and distribution, the basis of social organization. Or, as the organ of the movement phrases it: "The labor unions are coming to recognize more and more clearly, the important

part they have to take in the social structure. They know that beside defending their daily bread they have to make ready the future. They know that the labor organization is the matrix in which the world of tomorrow is being moulded."

Details of the structure of the coming organization prudently withheld by the major prophets, declining in the classic phrase, to draw up kitchen receipts for the successors of the future society. Such forecasts as have been made, notably in response to a question asked out by the C. G. T. to its constituent members reveal the extent to which utopianism survives in syndicalist thought. Meeting "the day after the triumph of the general strike," the union of each trade is to decide what production is necessary to meet the community's needs, and make an equitable division of the work to be done, "taking into account the strength and capacity of each workman, and leaving him free to produce in accordance with the amount of energy which he can summon." To the federation is allotted the task of equalizing production and distribution throughout the country, with the cooperation of the labor exchange, which will further assume what few of the functions of municipal bodies are to be preserved. The C. G. T. will have charge of international exchanges. But what the precise division of functions in the future society will be matters little. What does matter is that the institutions of the future exist in embryo at present, and that here and now beginnings may be made in upbuilding the order that is to be. Syndicalism is at one with revolutionism in this instant attitude, however widely the means adopted differ in character. Action is not postponed till some distant cataclysmal instant. According to Pouget—

The revolution is a work of every moment, of today as well as of tomorrow; it is a continuous movement, a daily battle, without truce or respite, against the forces of oppression and exploitation.

Industrial Union Means Action.

There is none of the passivity of the fatalist belief in the all-sufficiency of economic evolution, none of the passivity of deputed action, syndicalism, with its policy of direct action, demands all the courage and confidence and energy the workers can summon and in turn trains them for the tasks they will have to assume in the future. Gradually, then, the various labor organizations must take over whatever functions they can snatch from the employer and from the state, preparing for the day when they will supersede both entirely. Against the state direct action takes the form of "external pressure," by agitation and demonstration in force as employed in the successful campaign of 1903-4 for the abolition of registry (employment) offices and in 1906 for the passing of a weekly day of rest law. Against the employer the means adopted are novel, not in themselves but in the revolutionary vigor with which they are applied. The strike—the main weapon—depends for its success not so much on strong strike funds but on "the enthusiasm, the revolutionary spirit, the aggressive vigor" of the workers who supersede both entirely, competing with their employers on the pecuniary plane. Characteristic are two customs which have marked recent French strikes—"communist kitchen," where co-operative house-keeping is carried on, both for economy's sake and for the stimulus of contact, and the "children's exodus," the dramatic expedient of appealing to syndicalist sympathizers in other cities all the children of the strikers, thus putting the force on a war basis. The boycott, apparently legalized by the repeal of Article 416 of the Penal Code in 1884, and the label, are called into play, the latter expedient only to a minor degree. Sabotage is an expedient which has aroused more syndicalist enthusiasm and more capitalist condemnation. This means the use of which was formally recommended by the Congress of Toulouse, takes the form sometimes in the slowing up in production, sometimes of lost workmanship, as in the case of the railway men, of wanting the commodity sold, to the customer's benefit; or the contrary practice of rebuffing the customers to lead him to take his custom elsewhere. The fear of sabotage is a precious motive. An example of its efficacy is afforded by the success of the employees of the Parisian hair-dressing establishments in winning a weekly rest day and shorter hours. It was by "whitewashing" the fronts of the shops with a caustic solution which injured the paint that this union won its better terms. In the space of three years, out of the two thousand shops in Paris there were scarcely one hundred which were not "whitewashed" at least once if not often.

The most spectacular of syndicalist policies is the general strike. It is the climax of "direct action." There is something that fascinates the French workman's imagination in the picture of the sudden paralysis of industry from end to end of the state by the concerted strike of the whole working force of the country. This policy, discussed sporadically in socialist and anarchist congresses since its first broaching at the Geneva Congress in 1866, put into practice of late years by the workmen of Belgium and Sweden and Russia in social and political reforms, endorsed by many socialist authorities, and given a hesitating and qualified adherence by others, has become the peculiar possession of French syndicalism. At first it took the idyllic form of "the revolution with folded arms"—a mere picnic in the Bois de Boulogne; but in its later expressions it does not mean merely the cessation of work; it means the taking possession of the wealth of society—for the common good—by violent or peaceful means, according to the resistance to be overcome. It may be worth while quoting the official prophecy of its working.

The cessation of work, which would place the country in the rigor of death, would necessarily be of short duration; its terrible and incalculable consequences would force the government to capitulate at once. If it refused, the proletariat, in revolt from one end of France to the other, would be able to compel it, for the military forces, scattered and isolated over the whole territory, would be unable to act in concert and could not oppose the slightest resistance to the will of the workers, at last masters of the situation.

A necessary complement to the policy of the general strike is the anti-militarism propaganda. This opposition to militarism had its origin not so much in humanitarian longings for peace between nations as in the fear of the use of the army in the partial strikes of today and the general strike of tomorrow. Bound up with it there is an attitude of hostility to the state—the doomed rival of syndicalism organizations—and scornful rejections of the ideals of patriotism.

An essential feature of the syndicalist creed is the hostility to majority rule. Syndicalism possesses the happy faculty of making virtues of its necessities. Faced with the fact that it is only a minority of a minority, including in its ranks at most 400,000 of the 550,000 union men in France, who in turn are about 17 per cent of the whole number of male workers, the C. G. T. proudly insists the rights of the minority to rule. Democracy with its majority rule superstition, installs in power the reactionary and the sluggish, the inert and refractory masses. Syndicalism proclaims the right of the conscious and enlightened minority, stewards of the fu-

ture, to represent the "human zeros" who have not yet awakened to their opportunities, whether they will or no. A practical application of this doctrine is found in the refusal of the controlling spirits of the C. G. T. to give the larger and more conservative organizations represented the weight to which their numbers entitle them, petty federations with a few score of members counting for as much as great national unions with a score of thousands. It is quite possible that in the years to come the C. G. T. will become more conservative in its creed and its actions. The government is doing all in its power to give more weight to the influence of the less radical elements in the organization. Socialist effort tends in the same direction. Jules Guesde excommunicates syndicalism with bell, book, and candle, and attempts to break up the organization by forcing the withdrawal of the socialist unions of the North, while Jaures, more politic, is willing to go with the syndicalists a mile that they may go with him a twain, and seeks to keep on good terms with them in the hope of winning them back to the faith. But whatever the immediate outcome, the ideas of syndicalism, crude and visionary though they may be, will doubtless play a great part in the future development of labor thought and action.—O. D. Skelton, Queen's University, Kingston, Canada; selected by Geo. Nickerson, Minneapolis, Minn.

[This whole long continued article from a capitalist magazine, is a tolerably fair sketch of the revolutionary union of France.—Ed.]

GET WISE TO THE GAME—JOIN I. W. W.

Just why there is so much enthusiasm in the ranks of the I. W. W., why there is so much literature used and why individuals, at times, seem to view with such contempt the inactive bystander is a puzzle to many wage slaves.

Now, to begin with, the true I. W. W. man is not such an "ignorant" foreigner as Grandma Durham pictures him to be. He is a man who has done some serious thinking for himself and has arrived at conclusions. The very principle of the I. W. W. is the result of years of experience in the labor movement, not of this generation alone but of centuries back. It is founded upon a scientific basis, distinct from other labor organizations, and is so because of this knowledge of the labor movement. It realizes the inefficiency of the old form of union and is so formed as to eliminate past stumbling blocks.

"But," you say, "your union is met with so much opposition and is the object of so many virulent attacks."

To be sure it is. What we want is for you to find out the reason. And, furthermore, that the organization is opposed does not alter the fact that the I. W. W. is right. Has it not always been so when man has broken away from traditions or decided to throw away unnecessary burdens? You would be unwise to counsel with those who get fat under the present system.

New ideas have always shocked people. They do yet, but the I. W. W. stands the same. The invention of steam was condemned, but it's here now. Early Christianity was met with the severest of persecutions, and John Huss was burned at the stake for demanding the reformation. The advocates of republicanism were branded as bloodthirsty monsters, fear in mind that the influential classes, those who take upon themselves to be leaders, are liable to errors usually attributed to the mad "mob." Man's material interests play a big part in the formation of ideas. Don't you see that the more drilling a man gets in a bigoted belief the less he is able to reason with a new movement?

It was the learned classes that opposed with the most zeal the contention of the people of reformation times that they had the right to submit the teachings of the church to a personal investigation and throw them away if found wrong. At the time of witchcraft the wisest, holiest and calmest of men—preachers, lawyers and so on—stood in the inner circle about the gallows, loudest to applaud the work of blood, and last to admit their guilt.

Maybe you're brought up to believe it's all right. Well, if I were a capitalist I would likely do the same. It can be done. A child can be brought up to believe in most anything. It can be made to think so at least. Environment is all.

Again, it is also because of a knowledge of how much a man is a victim of circumstances that the true I. W. W. man does not view with still more contempt the poor wage slave with a capitalist brain.

Yes, the I. W. W. man knows of what he speaks. He knows that the less man has known of his position in society the more misery has he experienced.

Working people have been divided, don't you see—for profit's sake—and spent too much time fighting amongst themselves. A German and a Frenchman will fight and kill each other to see which paper-colored fellow is to have the jackpot, and the children at home must live on patriotism. No wonder they are true when they grow up.

Here in this valley I've seen boys who call themselves intelligent get down to the place of work in the evening to talk with the night shift about which shift does the most work! I've heard them boast of being on the shift that does the most work. Not a word about the questions they have to solve. In other words, these fellows talk about how much they can do toward pulling their sisters and brothers still further into slavery and degradation. For, to the writer, the man who takes 25 cents per day more to keep in the lead, or the man who does two men's work simply gets his bread from the mouths of hungry children.

But then, you wage worker, seeing that the I. W. W. is such a potent factor of the day, it's worth knowing what the I. W. W. is anyway. You must know even to attempt to make an intelligent defense of the present system, such as the adequate (?) wage and the tarpapered shacks you live in.

JULIUS PETERSON, Eureka, Mont.

From Wallace, Idaho.

Received your communication regarding the strike and got one of the local papers, the Wallace Times, to publish the letter as it read. They commented a little on it also, and gave it a good send off. His letters and prominent position, as it was printed in the Sunday edition, it would reach quite a number of the workers. I am working on a prospect out of town at present, so I haven't much chance to rattle subscribers for the Workers' paper. Enclosed find postal order for two dollars for subs. SAM KILBURN, No. 17, W. F. M.

CHICAGO PROPAGANDA LEAGUE.

Propaganda League just held a very successful entertainment and dance, Saturday night, May 30, which was entirely under the management of the women members, and netted \$21.50. Last Thursday night Elizabeth G. Flynn and I held a very successful outdoor meeting at Pullman, selling nearly \$4 worth of literature. The league is also holding very good street meetings in the city. Will probably be able to increase our bundle order to 100 or more copies in near future. B. H. WILLIAMS.

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