



# Our Fellow Workers, Preston and Smith, Are Still In Prison

## INDUSTRIAL WORKER

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Spokane Local Unions of the Industrial Workers of the World

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

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What have you got to show for the hard work you've done all summer?

The politicians may abuse us all they like; they can not fill a hungry stomach. Only the workers can do that.

A storekeeper gives poor goods for "low" prices. A workingman should give poor work for poor wages. The employers are good men; do as they do, and be moral.

The followers of the Lamb will close the Fruit Fair on Sunday. A leading Methodist preacher says the fair has brought 2000 additional prostitutes to Spokane—and he probably knows.

It is impossible to graft off a member of the employing class. The only graft is that which is done on the workers. Everything you can get off an employer you are morally entitled to. He has no rights that his flag and bayonets don't give him.

Don't forget to write up an article on just why the American Federation of Labor can never become revolutionary, and why patriotism is treachery to the working class. We expect to get up a leaflet or pamphlet that will be a hummer. If you have any ideas along this line, send them in.

The shirt-waist makers of New York are out on strike for enough wages to keep them off the streets. The civilized employers hired thugs and several of the girls were beaten and sent to the hospital as the result of the actions of these ruffians. Now, politicians, what should these girls do—wait and vote?

The survival of the fittest means the survival of the organism or species that is fittest to survive under the circumstances. The industrial union is the best fitted to win in the struggle with the employers. It is not a matter of right or wrong, or a matter of sentiment; the question is, does it get the goods?

The progressive and up-to-date workers in New York, and elsewhere, have started to organize the "International Labor Aid Conference" to raise funds to help strikers in this and other lands. The spirit of stick-together among the workers is the one thing that makes life worth living for the wage slave!

The Salvation Army in North Yakima is to build a \$16,000 headquarters "where men with a little money can get cheap lodging, soup and salvation." They are also to have a "winter soup kitchen." The Salvation Army, like the other grafters, preys on the misery of the working class, and prays for their souls. Good Lord, deliver us!

If you think that this paper is not radical enough, tell us how to make it stronger. After you have paid your union dues, do you know of any better way to spend 50 cents or \$1 than to subscribe for the Industrial Worker? This paper will be so rank that no one but a workingman will buy it—we're not supposed to have any feelings, but get busy and help us make it as miserable as possible this winter for the employment sharks.

Taft, the president of the Standard Oil States, is coming to Spokane. It is some time since this man, who is a member of the American Federation of Labor, was in the West. The last time he came west it was to make speeches at Boise and Pocatello, Idaho, to stir up prejudice against the officers of the Western Federation of Miners, and to help Orchard and the prosecution. Taft belongs to the Steam Shovel Separated Union. Malony, the district organizer of the A. F. of L., is expected to present the fat president with some of his scrip—as part of his salary.

It is a pity to see a bunch of workmen become bitter and prejudiced. A narrow mind means a broad highway to ruin for the workers, but when our friends, the "comrades," start lawsuits with each other, it is enough to make a horse cry. The leading socialists of Spokane started a colony near Adrian, Washington. This was to be the center of the co-operative commonwealth. Lawyers, preachers, real estate agents—any kind soul—could buy stock, and thereby put Rockefeller on the bum. Now, Comrade Mangold is suing for \$100,000 "damages." It is hoped that the comrade will not compromise for another meal ticket!

W. G. Lee, president of the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen, made a speech at Indianapolis on Labor Day. He said that he was "against the closed shop." There is no closed shop arrangement in his organization, he said. The St. Louis "Globe-Democrat" says that there is "solid sense as well as robust Americanism in this talk." But the rank and file of the working people are getting away from the scab teachings of Gompers, Mitchell, Lee and Taft. The trainmen are learning that they are only fighting themselves when they haul scabs on the railroads. The spirit of industrial union is growing too strong for the labor fakery to stop.

De mortuis nil, nisi bonum—which means, "speak not of the dead, if not for good." J. H. McMahon, for some time president of the Boston Typographical Union, and New England organizer of the A. F. of L., is dead. The New Haven "Union," a paper of the employers, devotes a column to praising him. But to the working people, the praise is blame. This paper says: "McMahon never went about stirring up trouble between employer and employee." The friends of this talk. But the rank and file of the working people are getting away from the scab teachings of Gompers, Mitchell, Lee and Taft. The trainmen are learning that they are only fighting themselves when they haul scabs on the railroads. The spirit of industrial union is growing too strong for the labor fakery to stop.

### McKEES ROCKS—AN OBJECT LESSON

The history of the I. W. W. strike at McKees Rocks should be studied. It is instructive. This strike is the most notable event of the year, not only on account of the wide-spread publicity given it by both classes of society, but by reason of the position of the various interests involved. More can be learned from this strike than by reading a library of dusty books. Driven to desperation by tyranny and outrage, only equalled by the feudal cruelties of old, the workers replied with a grim determination and courage unsurpassed. Americans and "foreigners" without regard to language, nationality or race, demonstrated to the world that it is indeed true that there are only two nations on earth: the nation of thieves and the nation of slaves. No longer is it possible to slaughter strikers without retaliation. The days of the Home-ruled strike are of the past, and in future it is doubtful if the most oppressed and tyrannized workers will submit, tamely to be shot down without answer. But mere personal vengeance, or the application of retributive justice alone is no match for the organized power of the employing class. This strike has shown that industrial solidarity and economic power are greater forces than the "shot heard round the world."

The apostles of the employing class, the lackeys of the American Federation of Labor, and like camp followers, the politicians, have expressed surprise that such action could be taken by workers "unorganized." Desperate and contradictory have been the efforts of the masters to disguise the fact that the Industrial Workers of the World is the controlling power in this industrial battle. The local press, and all but a few of the most prominent dailies, have ignored the Industrial Workers of the World. True, the Chicago "News," the most widely read paper of Chicago, the Philadelphia "Ledger" and other extreme capitalist sheets have grudgingly admitted that "a majority of the strikers have affiliated with an organization known as the Industrial Workers of the World," but generally speaking this fact of the growing power of the I. W. W. has been belittled. Forced to admit that the workers have gained their demands, and that the company was forced to capitulate, an attempt was systematically made to spread the report that, after all, the workers were again divided—this time on the lines of patriotism. Even this lie, supported and fostered by the employers and the American Federation of Labor, has been exposed. The workers have vied with each other, not in supporting the superstition of patriotism, but in working class unity. They are learning that it were as noble to reverence the hangman's noose, frayed by long service, as to worship an emblem stained with the fratricidal blood of slaves.

Here is a solid industrial union of over 6000 members, united in the most desperate of fights and coming out victorious and elated. No dependence was placed on politicians; none on forms or legality, and yet they have won!

The contagion of enthusiasm pervaded the minds of the railroad workers to the extent that they refused to haul strike-breakers. Money by the thousands of dollars poured in to help the fighters; the attempts, though supported by the police and military, of the American Federation of Labor to divide the workers have failed. The example of this one conflict, like the knowledge of a new power, is setting the workers of America to thinking—and to acting. The workers of the world will yet face many a grievous struggle. Many a worker will yet suffer and die in the fierce class struggle; but the affair at McKees Rocks will, in time to come, be as epoch-marking an event as the battle of Lexington, and the idea of industrial union of the workers can never perish. This preliminary skirmish has been won in spite of the employers, and not by their help. Is it a mere accident that every one of the murdered strikers was a member of the I. W. W.? And that not a hair of the head of any of the representatives of the A. F. of L. was injured?

The example of their heroes should spur to unrest and ceaseless activity every nerve and fibre of the membership of the I. W. W. The approaching day of the revolution is at hand.

"Hearken, how they cry, 'O happy, Happy, ye, that ye were born, In the sad, slow night's departing, In the dawning of the morn!'"

The deadly enmity of the employers, the industrious treachery of the would-be traitors, and the slithering of the politicians, proclaim the significance of this strike. What has been done once can be done again. It is your own fault, workingman, and working woman, if you fail to use your industrial power for your own interest!

### "THE SLUM PROLETARIAT"

The I. W. W., especially in the West, has been accused of being a "slum" or "bum" organization, as distinguished from those labor organizations which are largely composed of the meek and tractable home-guard. While we can not be accused of having no pride in one part of the country than in another, in a land we don't own it should be noticed that the true slum or degenerate class is less in evidence in the newer parts of a city than in those older and more settled. That there is an element in all industrial centers who are incapable of organization, and who have long since lost all power of resistance, goes without saying, but the principles and organization of the I. W. W. do not appeal to those who have thus lost all elements of fight and desire for better conditions. The transient workingman who comes to town to spend his money in "an honest workingman," a hard worker, and is well received as long as he is content to lead the life of a bird of passage, and is willing to submit to any conditions either in town or out of town to earn an existence. Only when he becomes discontented, and has the energy and resolution to unite with his fellows to wring concessions from the masters, does he become the "dangerous element," the "unemployed menace," etc. Little is said by the "respectable citizens" about the permanent dens of vice which smell to heaven, and which line the streets of the tendorlin quarter, and which need a thorough fumigation like that dealt out to Bodung and Gomorrah. For the man who is steeped in intemperance, who has lost all respect for himself and his fellow workers, and who has become so degraded that he is impossible to arouse, there is little social hope. The man whose only ambition is booze, and who is too lazy even to keep clean when he can, is a dead loss to himself, and a detriment to those unfortunate enough to come in contact with him. But such persons as these are in a very, very small minority in any industrial center. They are subject to the process of elimination, and rank socially together with idiots, and other defectives. The ranks of the slum element are not made up necessarily of former members of the working class, but the most dangerous portion of the "down and out" are recruited from the ranks of the employing class—the broken-down business man, the lawyer who will resort to any crime rather than work for wages as a rule, so that the worst element even among the slums is the employing class element, and if labor unions of the old-fashioned kind are corrupted by the agents of the employing class among them, the slum element is preyed on and misled by the one-time respectable thieves, who now resort to thievery of a more disreputable kind. While we throw no bouquets at ourselves, it would be fair to ask where can be found a more vigorous, energetic body of men than the average laboring class, who, whatever their faults, have still much independence among them, and who will tramp or suffer, rather than be the servile tools of those who are counted as good masters and kind bosses by the church-going and weak-kneed "citizens." A tramp is a thousand times better than a scab, even if the tramp never worked a day. "Proletariat" is a foreign word and sounds bigger to some of the parlor socialists than "working people."

The same terms of abuse have always been used against any body of working people who really meant business, and who propose to depend on themselves alone. The love of the master class, especially such families as those in Spokane, would be an insult to every working man worthy of the name. A strong organization can, however, compel their respect. The time is rapidly approaching when the working people will no longer submit to be driven from pillar to post, to be vagged and drilled from one town to another, and then told that a lousy bunkhouse is good enough for them, and that garbage grub is all they deserve.

There are enough first-class groceries and meat, enough good warm clothes in Spokane alone to feed an army, and plenty of railroads to haul more. When the workers are organized in one revolutionary union, that has sense and discipline enough to be successful, and courage enough to take a few chances, there will be less talk of slums and the slums themselves will be abolished. The church members and sky-pilots, and the whole crowd of grafters live off the rents of houses of prostitution and the liquor traffic, besides a thousand other grafts. The employing class is responsible for the slums—not the workers. Only the organized working class can and will abolish the conditions that allow the foul haunts which pollute the very air in the meantime, don't be afraid of the slums nor of the people who make and fill them. Clean 'em out!

### I. W. W. LITERATURE

The strength of the Industrial Workers of the World lies in the intelligence, courage, and organization of its members. Working people do not join the I. W. W. from mere sentiment, or because they must needs follow some leader. A fountain can rise no higher than its source, and no organization can be protected from traitors, nor from the attacks of the enemy on the outside, solely by the watchfulness and integrity of those who happen to be officers or in positions of responsibility. The history of the world could be written, with every letter of it representing the corpses of those who have given their lives for the aggrandizement of leaders. Personal magnetism, and the ability to command, have deluded millions to their own undoing. The best man is liable to fall before temptation, and miserable is the workingman who pins his faith and hope of emancipation to another. To the end that the union be orderly, revolutionary and triumphant, it is needful that each of its members be thoroughly posted in its affairs. Every member must realize and understand the two sentences: "The working class and the employing class have nothing in common," and "Labor is entitled to all it produces," as well as the constitution of the I. W. W. To this end, the study of the literature of the labor movement is necessary. It does not follow because a person may be a historian and acquainted with a thousand books dealing with the class struggle that such a person is a consistent member of the I. W. W. A man may be very ignorant and very sincere, or he may be very well educated and a crook. But intelligence and a clear understanding of the principles and tactics of industrial union are of the utmost importance. The union must be intelligent enough to know how to act to the best advantage, and also able to detect possible treachery of those in positions of trust, within its ranks. Napoleon—That successful vulture—said that he feared one newspaper man more than ten thousand troops, and the suppression of free speech and a free press is, from the standpoint of the employers, necessary in fighting the growing intelligence and revolutionary spirit of the workers. Just experience shows that free speech, and free press, are not permanently suppressed, and if any long argument were needed to prove the value of the working class press and working class literature, such an argument can be found in the attitude of the employers themselves.

Too much emphasis can not be laid on the duty of each member of the I. W. W. to circulate literature and support the work of education among his fellow workers. Those who have not the time nor the inclination to hold public meetings, and who are not gifted in argument, can always go armed with a pocket full of revolutionary literature which is more dangerous to the employing class than the roar of cannon. To control the guns of the enemy, it is necessary to control the man who operates the gun; to render the soldiers mutinous, it is necessary to foster in them a spirit of mutiny against the tyrants. Then too, the argument of a printed page is often of more effect than the wordy discussion. Men have a certain amount of intellectual pride, and the person who would be unconvinced by a personal appeal, might, nevertheless, be much impressed by ideas read at leisure, and afterward thought over. The value of advertising is well understood by the employers who pay well for it. The sign board, the advertising card in the street car, the columns of the daily press—all are a monument to the power of such appeals. The literature and leaflets of the I. W. W. should be distributed by the million. Take such a leaflet as the "Address to Wage Workers" in various languages, or any one of the many circulars printed by the I. W. W.; they are very inexpensive—\$1.50 per 1000, or even less. If, after distributing a thousand of these papers, you succeed in getting but one single member into the union, is not well worth the trouble and expense? As a matter of fact, the results would be far—many times—greater than that, but this is merely to show that the effort and slight expense of circulating literature is as nothing compared to the results. Every member of the union should, of course, have a copy of the constitution and by-laws, and should take time to study the interests of the organization, which are his own. Each industrial union should have a fund for the sole purpose of buying books, leaflets, papers and periodicals. Where possible, there should be a reading room containing the leading papers of the labor movement, as well as the papers of the employing class. The arguments of the politicians and other enemies of the organization should be familiar to each I. W. W. member, for we have nothing to gain by concealing any part of our mission, nor anything

to lose by the fullest criticism of our tactics and principles. The I. W. W. rests on a foundation of truth, and nothing can prevail against it.

While we are reproached with being an aggregation of "AVE" and "nihilists" "rooters," the continual drift of the workers of America is toward its favorable side. Information is thereby diffused, and the Industrial Worker in one place or another is soon known wide and far. Each member of the union should be a committee of one to circulate leaflets, get subscriptions for the I. W. W. papers, and spread the knowledge of the union wherever the wind happens to be. The separated state of the workers of the world is due to ignorance. Whatever dispels ignorance in the minds of the workers has a unifying tendency. The divisions of race, language, religion, and craft, as so many scarecrows which, at a distance and in the dusk, look like giants. The daylight of education is exposing them in all their tatters, and will soon make them as powerless as the shadows of a horrible dream!

### TREASON

Treason against the United States shall consist only in lovingly assisting them, adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort in their Constitution.

The Salvation Army, Volunteers of America and other religious sects are allowed to hold street meetings. The eminent and venerable citizens of the "Inland Empire" have expressed themselves as being in favor of this, but they do not want the same liberty to be allowed the Industrial Workers of the World to utter "treasonous teachings." There is probably need for small employers and cockroach business men to study their own constitutions, as well as for the I. W. W. members to study theirs. The charge of treason, like that of heresy, has been a whip with a thousand lashes. Kings and emperors have slaughtered victims either for revenge, or to get the victims property, by bringing up the charge of treason. The American revolutionaries had been guilty of "high treason" against England, and only the fighting qualities of the rebels, and the help of France, prevented the wholesale executions which marked the defeat of Monmouth's rebellion in England, against his uncle, James II. The American constitutional convention was held behind closed doors, and the people in general feared the strong central authority of a monarchy. The victors in the squabbles of centuries in England had used the charge of treason to cover the most damnable cruelties. The liberty of the press, freedom of discussion and debate were to be the sign of all in free America. Until the modern concentration of capital had given power to an ever-decreasing number of employers, free speech and free press were general. The abolitionists were called traitors and persecuted, but no law if applied at all, was applied spasmodically. It is now applied more and more, and that continually. The national flag is the object not of veneration, so much as of slavish idolatry. Even the display of the Confederate flag on some of the buildings of Spokane during the Irrigation Congress called for a storm of protest from the G. A. R. survivors of the Civil War. The American constitution recognizes slavery. Slaves are called with thin hypocrisy "persons held to service." The Confederate constitution was equally progressive and candid. It plainly said that "negro slavery" was never to be abolished in the Confederate States, and that the most damnable and heinous crime to the constitution. He "levied" on the United States at Harper's Ferry. His name is revered by the very soldiers against whose flag John Brown took up arms, in his attempt to liberate the negroes. And yet in 1909 there are people in this country—and many of them—who are so afraid of the risk, power of industrial organization of the working people, that it is "treason" for a man openly to urge organization; to condemn the robbery of workingmen; and even to advocate peaceful resistance to outrage and tyranny. A man who denounces the employment agents is an enemy of the government! A man who fights his employer is a "traitor." In other words, the government is the employing class. It can be nothing else. A patriot that is a willing slave. A "good citizen" should resist not evil—if done by the specimen in the Church, the State, the Army, the Navy—how they stir together! The Church to enslave the mind and sap the manhood and womanhood of the working class; the State to enforce obedience; and the Army to Navy to conquer, rob, and kill! Who are the real enemies of society: the who advocate peaceful organization and discourage war and murder, or the who teach that the few should prey on the many, and that war is holy, just and right? A railroad company which kills scores of helpless people through criminal negligence is honorable. Its officers are the pillars of society. The workers who would take the railroad from the criminals and operate the for the workers' benefit, are anarchists!

A labor organization, to be worthy the name, must endure persecution and slander. The I. W. W. has the cordial hatred of the parasites of all degrees. This is an honor. But even with the law as it is, the wise and good of Spokane, and elsewhere, should learn what constitutes treason according to their own precious constitution. The treatment given to the working people in this land of liberty will no doubt make patriots of us all!

### IMMIGRATION

If the unemployed working people in America ever start a suicide club they should elect John Mitchell editor of its official organ, for did we know that Mitchell is a mere tool of the employing class, his drive is enough to disgust a sensible workman with the race that could breed such a specimen and make the "unemployed" wish for a speedy death. John had time between banquets and receptions to write an article for the "look on 'Protect the Workingman'"—and this article is not in the joke department of the paper either. Whatever the radical agitators may say against Mitchell, they can not deny that he is a patriot of the first degree in this country; and "our government" are set up in copper and when John writes an addition to his confessions as a member of the Physic Federation, the printers have instructions to put them in on every other line—they fit it well anywhere. John has had a bad attack of "hop," for he becomes dynamiter when he says: "If the products of our mills and factories are protected by a tariff on articles manufactured abroad, then, by the token, labor should be protected against an unreasonable competition by a stimulated and excessive immigration." The I. W. W. is fighting and organizing to take and hold the mills and factories, but it's no use! They are "sure" already. Then, too, John has learned that the employment sharks are man-catchers and scab-herders. He quotes an advertisement in a Pittsburgh paper, as follows:

"Men Wanted—Tinner, catchers and helpers, to work in open shop. Syrians, Poles and Romanians preferred. Steady employment and good wages to men willing to work. Fare paid, etc."

This is an underhand attempt to mail, or people believe that it is the "elgiers" who are the scabs. The fact is, generally, not necessary to advertise to get American scabs—they'll come without. The scabs do move—this should be followed by about a pound of Limburger cheese to move the taste: "There is perhaps no group in America so free from race or religious prejudice as the workmen." If this were so, John is at best doing his patriotic duty in stirring up hatred by pointing out the "necess" of restrictions against the workers of other countries. The whole article shows the polished labor scab; pretending to sympathize with the class he has repeatedly betrayed, he stirs up the foul passions of national prejudice and race hatred. Just how much "Mitch" got for this article probably appears on the books of the Civic Federation along with the expense account of labor faker in feeling dull, or not in the writing vein, and yet has to fill a just so many gallons of dope, it is safe to talk about more law, or to divide the working people any old how. Make the workers think they have some interest in the laws of the country, or get them to fighting each other, it all serves to help the bosses. A respectable yaller dog would get off after reading this kind of Mitchell dope for an hour. "Keep out the immigrants, and there will be no unemployed," or at least not so many but that there will be room for all of them on the chain-gang for the men, and "women may go to the brothel!" Not a word from this critter about shortening the hours of labor till all the unemployed are able to have a job. But there is not enough timber in his rotten arguments to drive a nail into the wall. In the next paragraph, snivels about the bread-line and tramps. It will be some comfort to the patriots. J. F. of L. man that the bread-line of a country are no doubt at least longer than in Europe—yes, and "free!"

The employing class is international. The United States Steel Corporation has passed the day when it needs the tariff, for like the Standard Oil Company, it is but a little time till it will have world control of the market, and even now can laugh at national laws and restriction. The employers constitute the government, and immigration will continue as long as it is in the interest of the employing class. It is unthinkable that Mitchell should for one minute wish for anything but to deceive the workers. He is a patriot, and needs the money. Study his record, if you think this is not so. There is this thing to be looked at in the matter of the workers from other lands: The true union member regards the misery of the workers in Sweden, in Italy, or in any land, as of equal importance and reality with those of this part of the employers' world. But the spirit of the "assimilated" is not enough timber in his rotten arguments to drive a nail into the wall. In the next paragraph, snivels about the bread-line and tramps. It will be some comfort to the patriots. J. F. of L. man that the bread-line of a country are no doubt at least longer than in Europe—yes, and "free!"

It would probably be a waste of time to criticize further such articles as this. Not every workman, thank fortune, is even familiar with the record of Mitchell, Gompers & Co. But any article of speech coming from a man pretending to represent working people can be judged every time by the fact: "The working class and the employing class have nothing in common, and such drive as that of Mitchell will appear for just what it is: the drive of a scab."

# THE CONSTITUTION— RULE OF THE I. W. W.

(Continued.)

## PREAMBLE.

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

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

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

These conditions can be changed and the 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.

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

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

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

## ARTICLE VII. Membership, Etc.

Section 1. None but actual wage workers shall be members of the Industrial Workers of the World.

Sec. 2. A majority vote cast shall rule in the general organization and its subordinate parts, except as otherwise provided for in this constitution.

Sec. 3. No member of the Industrial Workers of the World shall be an officer in a pure and simple trade union.

Sec. 4. No one employed in an industry which is organized in his locality is eligible for membership in the mixed local, and no member of a mixed local can remain a member of the same after an industrial union of the industry in which he works has been organized in that locality.

Sec. 5. The General Executive Board of not less than 10 locals in at least three industries may initiate a referendum on any subject, but referendum on deferring action on any matter upon which the date has been set, must have sufficient indorsements at least 60 days prior to sending out such referendum.

All referendum returns from Local Unions or National Industrial Unions shall not exceed the membership in good standing for the month prior to the issuance of such referendum.

Sec. 6. As soon as there are two or more National Industrial Unions in closely kindred industries, with an aggregate membership of not less than 10,000, the General Executive Board shall immediately proceed to call a convention of these National Industrial Unions and to organize them as a National Industrial Department of the I. W. W.

Sec. 7. All unions, departments and individual members must procure supplies, such as membership books, official buttons, labels, badges and stamps from the General Secretary-Treasurer, all of which shall be of uniform design.

Sec. 8. There shall be a free interchange of cards between all organizations subordinate to the Industrial Workers of the World and any Local Union, or National Industrial Union, or Industrial Department shall accept in lieu of initiation fee, the national membership card of any recognized labor union or organization.

Sec. 9. All Departments and other subordinate organizations of the Industrial Workers of the World shall use the official Industrial Workers of the World stamps in membership books. All stamps shall be paid for as provided in Article VI, Section 2, and no book shall be considered in good standing unless stamped up in date.

Sec. 10. Editors of papers not controlled by the I. W. W. shall not be eligible for membership in the I. W. W.

(To be Continued.)

## Industrial Union Advocate

Advocating industrial unionism, printed on the 1st and 15th of each month by the I. W. W. locals of New York City and vicinity. Subscription rates, 50c per year and 25c per six months. 250 West 125th St., Room 17, New York City.

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## GOMPERS IN FRANCE. (By Grandjolan in Hervey's "La Guerre Sociale.")

We profess to be meagerly acquainted with the working class movement in America. Informed (and how informed!) by our bourgeois press of the social situation in the United States, we know only too farcical contrasts between the democrats (Bryan) and the republicans (Taft), the one party as capitalistic as the other. We are gained to know that there is a socialist party broken into two of unequal strength, the party of Debs—with the tendencies of our Millerands and Briand nationalists, and the party of Daniel de Leon which represents pure Marxism, corresponding to our Guesde party. Finally, outside of that sickening or insensate political field, there are two purely economic groups. The more powerful claiming 2,500,000 members (The American Federation of Labor), represents reformism in all its branches and stands as the ideal to which our own reformists are lending. Finally, a slight fraction, some 10,000 industrial unionists with revolutionary tendency—the Industrial Workers of the World. Gompers has been for 23 years chief of that imposing American Federation of Labor. His influence with the workers is considerable and, although attacked by the revolutionaries, by the socialists, who also wish to monopolize the working class movement, and by the capitalists, he has kept his place through all these storms with a steadiness which calls for our respect. Shortighted but with a grasp of iron, one might say of him. The recent happenings in America, however, have enlarged his horizon and the present trip is one proof of this. For having boycotted in the official review of the Federation a conjunction by a capitalist judge. The injunction (which a Briand can not have learned about, or he would certainly have introduced it into French law for the suppression of the labor movement) is an action which a common judge may take, interdicting, for example, the person concerned from going to such and such a town, into such and such a street, holding a meeting or receiving friends, and any infringement of this injunction is treated as "contempt of court," that is, as an insult to justice! Without discussion, without defense, without delay and without appeal, the accused person or union is imprisoned and their money, even that lodged in bank, is confiscated. Truly a beautiful law! The last villainous invention of capitalism, and we shall see the same thing flourishing before long in France and the potent federations will have to dance to the same tune. Then, Gompers, on account of his having continued his blacklisting and relating the injunction was condemned to prison along with John Mitchell and Frank Morrison, for 12, 9 and 6 months, respectively. At last the reformists, having run themselves against capitalist organization, the struggle in America will soon be more keen than in any of the European countries. (The writer incorrectly thinks that the A. F. of L. is a labor union.—Ed.)

The financial crisis of 1908 was desired by capital, the election of Taft was desired by the same class, and the first capitalist laws made without shame or reservation at last open the eyes of the most confirmed reformists, many class struggle in all its grandeur will end by shattering the former status and the shock will be terrible. The information which Gompers brings to us is precious, for we have everything to learn about the method of organization in the Trade Union (Yes! translator). We shall treat here in the following weeks of their methods of conducting strikes, of their precautions not to make martyrs and how they avoid the weakening of an organization after a defeat.

But on the other hand, Gompers has everything to learn of the evolution of the French working class movement which, for ten years, has decisively placed the problem of the complete emancipation as the only one whose solution will be effective against capitalistic legal harassments of labor. "Spread the hate of class," we say, "and advocate direct action in all its manifestations." It is necessary to tell him to have done with the reformists' ideal, to tell him that we cannot fight money with money—for money never loses its rights and is preponderantly on the side of our enemy. It is necessary to tell him to deepen the chasm which separates the two classes, to diffuse among our children the truth that every man who derives profit from others is not worthy to live. In one word, Gompers must preach the Social War. It will be necessary, if his mission is not to be a ghastly failure, that he arrive at that attitude. Without this declaration he can never emancipate the federation he has so firmly defended.

Gompers comes with beautiful projects and some inquietudes. The immigration of 2,000,000 unemployed annually into America threatens to undermine his organization. He throws talks of establishing an international General Confederation of Labor which will determine the movement of the working class army all over the world. Project sublime, project indispensable for the emancipation of all workers. What ideas may we expect to be agitating minds at the international conference which is in preparation? What influence upon the different working class movements throughout Europe such an exchange of views will have! All of us ought to follow it and to participate in it, no matter what be the complexion of our views or our conception of right tactics. It is for us to make the most reasonable prevail.

## TAFT AND MITCHELL MEMBERS OF A. F. OF L.

John Mitchell, ex-president of the "Divided Mine Workers of America, vice president of the American "Separation of Labor and vice president and member of the executive committee of the National Civic Federation prepared some dope for the wage slaves of America to swallow. The dose is called a "Labor Day Address to Workmen."

All workers are warned not to swallow the dose whole. Those who do will be no good to themselves or to the working class, although the robber class will, no doubt, be very pleased with them.

Like all dope from the free dispensary of the Civic Federation this dose should be well shaken before taking.

Speaking of the panic and trying to show that although "the organized" workmen felt keenly the effect of the depression, their suffering was not so great or so general as was that endured by the "unskilled" and unorganized workmen," Mitchell says "a circumstance which proved helpful to the organized workmen was the fact that only in rare instances and in a few trades were wages reduced."

It would be interesting to compare this statement with the news of wage reductions published by the different papers of the country during the panic, but it is unnecessary, as hundreds of thousands of workers will know it is a lie when they read it.

When the panic came on thousands of workers were laid off in nearly every industry in the country, and those who were not laid off began working at a pace that kills, for fear it would be their turn next. Most of them tried to show the boss that they were good slaves, so if there was any more laying off to be done he would not select them. On a matter of fact they did more work for the same money and in many cases for less money, than they did before the panic.

Cost of Living.

Then, again, the cost of living has gone up fully 50 per cent in the last few years. A man getting \$15.00 a week now, can buy no more with it than he could with \$10.00 a few years ago.

Anyone with brains enough to give him a headache, knows that these things amount to a reduction in wages.

John Mitchell knows it, but he is careful not to point it out to the workers. And why? Because it would never do for him, in his position as a lieutenant of the capitalist class, to adulterate his dope with the truth.

After mixing in a few ingredients in the form of shallow and twisted economies he says, "There is no fundamental necessity for industrial strife." This is a choice bit of poison for you.

"Harmony of Interest."

The workers "felt keenly the effects of the depression," "the suffering of some was not so great or so general as that endured by others," many died from exposure and want; thousands were hungry because there were too much meat, and in rags because of an overproduction of clothing; producers of wealth, starving amid plenty; none of our class able to work at all, unless they can find some member of an idle class who can make a profit out of their hides; and yet this faked the gall to tell us, "there is no fundamental necessity for industrial strife."

Compare this with the glowing declarations in the preamble of the I. W. W., "there can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of working people and the few, who make up the employing class, have all the good things of life," etc. But then the I. W. W. is a labor organization. We believe that capitalism is only a passing stage in the economic development of mankind.

This system under which one class does all the work, and another class enjoys all the product, is considered by the A. F. of L. to be the final state of society. They believe in slavery.

The I. W. W. stands for the idea that the workers of the world should stand together as a class. The A. F. of L. does not believe in this. They believe each craft should stand alone and when one craft is on strike, they consider it proper for the other crafts to remain at work and help to break the strike.

As time passes and the workers come to understand the real purpose and philosophy of trade unionism, their opposition to it will increase correspondingly.

We of the Industrial Workers of the World insist that the craft unions with their craft autonomy and trade agreements, are nothing more than strike-breaking organizations. The A. F. of L. is not a labor union at all. It is nothing more or less than organized scabbery.

John Mitchell practically admits this, unintentionally of course, but nevertheless he lets the cat out of the bag when he says, "as time passes and as the real purpose and philosophy of trade unionism as a constructive force is fully understood, opposition to it by employers will decrease correspondingly, and the day will come when progressive employers will insist upon having agreements with their associated workmen as a guarantee against industrial strife."

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Just as they now have insurance to protect them against losses caused by disasters and accidents."

"The Poor Boss."

Just imagine, fellow workers, a labor union with agreements designed to protect the boss just like insurance! Some class, to that dope to be sure!

In further mixing up his dope Mitchell says, "the trade agreement is the most practical solution of the labor question that is within our reach." He quotes Washington, "to be prepared for war is one of the most effectual means of preserving peace," and says, "so it is in the industrial world; the strong unions, intelligently officered—as they are—and well financed, are able to guarantee peace and protection to their members; employers having contracts with such unions are guaranteed the service of the best workmen and the assurance of uninterrupted development."

Yes, Mr. Mitchell, the best way for the bosses to prepare for industrial war, is to get the workers divided up into separate craft unions, and then get each union to sign an agreement to remain at work when others are striking and thus scab on one another. Fine dope for the masters, if they could only get the slaves to guarantee "uninterrupted development" of the slave system. Such scabby tactics like the A. F. of L., for a capitalist organization, may be all right, but we of the Industrial Workers of the World, are undesirable citizens for we refuse absolutely to swallow the dope of the National Civic Federation. We realize that the best way for the wage slaves to prepare for industrial war is to organize as a class, and when the battle comes, all stand together, having for our motto, "An injury to one is an injury to all" and "Labor is entitled to all it produces."

We are organizing to win, and all hell can't stop us.

With the triumph of the working class the exploitation of one class by another will end, and you, Mr. Mitchell, along with the parasites you represent, will have to do something else besides shoot hot air at the wealth producers.

JAMES P. THOMPSON.

## LOGGERS, WAKE UPI—NO. 432 OF SEATTLE MAKES APPEAL

The Logger who has any idea in his mind that he is free, and in a free country, with equal rights with his boss, is, to say the least, laboring under a delusion.

For the last year, Loggers L. U. 432 of Seattle has attempted to organize the Loggers on the Pacific Coast into the Woodworking department of the Industrial Workers of the World, and up to the present time, success has crowned what efforts have been made by approximately 1000 men.

Believing that an organizer that was familiar with the organizing of loggers in Montana, would hasten along the work on the Pacific Coast, the Loggers local sent for Fred W. Heslewood of Montana, and instructed him to make a systematic tour of all the logging camps on the coast, especially in the State of Washington and Oregon.

Organizer Heslewood arrived on the 10th of August, and on the 11th he called the men together at Brown's Bay, Camp No. 3 and while addressing the men, he was ordered to stop speaking by the Superintendent (whose name is Grammer) and immediately leave his property, on threat of bodily harm being done to him, if he did not go.

As the Brown's Bay Logging Co. is part of the National Lumberman's Association, we believe that their organization of masters will use their power to head off the organizing of the Coast Loggers.

The fact that the master class (not only on the Pacific Coast, but entire America) hate the Industrial Workers of the World is proof, that they understand the plan of organization, as well as the aims and objects of the I. W. W.

If the Loggers understood their interest as well as the boss does his, there would be no need to send organizers to the camps to speak to the men, as the Loggers would enroll themselves under the banner of the Industrial Workers, where "An injury to one is an injury to all."

The man who says he is free and in a free country, when he cannot receive a visitor of his own working class into his home, where he is paying \$5.00 a week for board and room, is either a coward or a fool.

A negro slave had the right to receive visitors in slavery days and a hired girl of today, who does the scullery work for the rich, is given the privilege of bringing friends to her masters home, but not so with the loggers. They are only free to work long hours like hell and keep their mouths shut.

"Equal Rights"

You will have equal with the boss, when you are dead. Your boss can, and has organized to raise prices, cut wages, get more money out of your hides, and you did not order him away, and forbid him to organize. Why? Because he is your master and you are his slave.

If there was such a thing as equal rights, you would have the same power to stop the boss from organizing, as he has to stop you.

Of course you don't care about being called a slave, because you think you are free. You are free to starve if you don't like your boss and you can't better your conditions without organizing your force.

At the last meeting your boss had, they were

advised by their Corporation doctor, to feed you well and keep you clean, and have you all examined by a doctor, before you get to work, so that only good, sound, husky plugs might get employment and when you get sick or hurt you can go to the poorhouse, or to hell. Neither your master who refers to you as his men, or the Employment Shark, who fattens on you, will give you anything.

No better argument could be advanced as a reason why you should organize industrially, than the enmity displayed by your boss to the I. W. W.

His organization is bad for you and yours will be bad for him, and he knows it, and you don't. He don't want you to shorten the hours of labor, or get more wages, or force him to send to the Union Hall for his men, instead of the Employment Sharks, or elect your own doctor, run your own hospital, and then when you get enough power to run the industries yourself, instead of slaving your life out for to make profits for your boss. Why, that would be awful for the workers to own the forests, when God intended them for Gramme-God & Co., like Baer got all the coal mines in Pennsylvania.

If you believe that your interests are the same as your bosses you should not organize; it would be a waste of time and money, it would be better to blow it in on the sidewalk, you would get something if only a headache.

Nothing can be accomplished without organization; your boss will admit that. Ask him. Men are battling for better conditions and fitting the boss all over the world, in some places with guns and clubs.

Japanese are striking by the thousands in the Hawaiian Islands, for better conditions, the same in Spain, but here in free America, where one workman has not the right to speak to another in his home where he is paying rent, there exists an utter to speak to another in his home where he is paying rent, there exists an utter indifference to the noble work of raising the standard of living for the workers and some day freeing us from the clutches of the capitalist mugs, who threaten men's lives and talk of their men.

Wake up loggers, many a good man is to day suffering in jail, because he has dared to turn their face to the stream and fight the powers that be.

Any old fish can float down stream, but it takes a live one to swim up.

Get in the swim and assist in bettering your own conditions. The boss wants profits and it must all come out of you. It is to his interest to pay you as little as possible and work hell out of you. Shorter hours and more wages means less profits. That is what your boss hates the union for.

## PHYSICAL FORCE TURNS THE EARTH.

Owing to the adverse conditions in the Imperial Valley, California, due to the economic force that drives one along, I perforce had to leave the valley and seek pastures new where masters were in more need of slaves. I came to Phoenix, Arizona. On the way I had experiences—experiences that no intellectual, however brilliant, can give. For, in order to gain such experiences, and learn the lessons that result therefrom, one must actually live the life—the life that the wage slave is forced to live. Everywhere I found physical menace and physical force, in fact, violence. Civilization(?) is founded on bayonets; that is to say, that all power flows from physical power. The "bull," the "cop," all used, not moral suasion, but physical suasion, or force. Back of them is always the "gat," the "smoke wagon," in short, the club and the gun. What do they do? They assault and prey upon every disinherited, dispossessed, jobless worker that is travelling in search of a master—of access to the means of life. They rob, they club, they shoot, they imprison the workers wherever they have the opportunity. I have seen and heard of such damnable acts that make the blood of a man rise to boiling heat. Are these men who do such acts, who are but agents of the ruling class, operating on the civilized plane, or the barbarian plane? A child can answer that question. When the argument of physical force is used, we are forced to use the same argument. Whenever and wherever violence is used against any wage slave by any flunkey or agent of the master class, the individual or individuals committing such damnable outrage should be treated to the same dose. "I say it deliberately," when force is used by the enemy, we must, where practicable, use force against them. The class war is on. Intellectual may not know it, but we, in the field, know it. Wherever and whenever one of our class is assaulted and outraged, note should be taken of it, and punishment meted out to the capitalist flunkey who perpetrated it. For the argument of physical force is the only thing that he, in his craven heart, respects. Let such flunkys beware!

H. S. CARROLL.

## THE WAGE SLAVE.

Behold the docile unclashed slave!  
Cowardly, ignorant and degenerate,  
Tutored in patriotism,—  
Skilled in wage-slavery,—  
From the cradle to the grave,  
Chicken-hearted and white-livered!  
Cracked brain and broken wifed!  
With an elephantine-like agility,  
From boss to boss, from job to job,  
Goes the deluded, thick-headed slob;  
Underpaid and underfed,  
Boss driven and boss led!

EL RENAGADO.

**"IF SILVER SAYS SO, IT'S SO."**

**MEN'S NEW FALL SUITS AT SPECIAL PRICES**

Saturday we put on sale two lots of men's new Fall Suits at prices you cannot duplicate anywhere on the city—you will pay fully five dollars more than we ask, and even at that price you'll get a bargain. Every one of these suits are brand new and strictly up-to-date in every particular—built by tailors who thoroughly understand how to put up a suit right—the fabrics are of excellent quality and extremely durable—the fit and workmanship is absolutely perfect. Do not judge the suits by the prices we ask—remember they were made to sell for fully \$5.00 more.

**MEN'S SUITS SPECIAL VALUE AT \$10.00**

At this price you can take your choice of six different patterns in fancy worsteds, handsome color combinations in grays, greens, blues, and browns,—coats the latest models with shape retaining fronts,—all sizes Saturday, only \$10.00.

**MEN'S SUITS SPECIAL VALUE AT \$15.00**

At this price you can take your pick of twelve different patterns in fancy worsteds and cassimeres, —snappy designs in gray, green, brown, and blue color combinations, latest models in either single or double-breasted coats, extra good quality of cloth, very best of fit and workmanship, all sizes Saturday, only \$15.00.

**OTHER SUITS AS LOW AS \$7.50 AND AS HIGH AS \$27.50.**

Watch Our Windows—They Talk.

**OSCAR SILVER**

The Big Double Store Cor. Front and Bernard Sts. "THE WORKINGMAN'S STORE."

Why Strikes are Lost—How to Win  
PRICE 5 CENTS  
Discount of 25 per cent on orders of 100 or more

VANCOUVER I. W. W. APPEALS FOR UNITY

Conditions surrounding the labor market here in Vancouver are, figuratively speaking, considerably better than elsewhere in this much-boasted Pacific northwest. By making this assertion I do not mean to say that the slave, after selling his own commodity, i. e., "labor power," is, to any great extent, better off than he is elsewhere, but his or her chances of disposing of that commodity, which means life or death to so many, is considerably greater than in most places out in this part of a universe which we do not own. Most branches of industry are busy at the time of writing, especially the building trades, and I do not think that if one wishes to sell himself to this class of work, that much difficulty will be found in doing so. Shipping, which is, of course, a great factor in Vancouver's industrial life, is, at the present time the dullest of all trades; very little is doing in that line. I do not wish it to be understood by this brief glance at present existing conditions, that I am out to boost the Terminal City as a haven of rest for the toll-racked slave, nor would I suggest that any one should come to Vancouver with the idea in view that their labor power will be at a premium the moment they arrive here, lest they should be pulled up with a jerk that will cause their most lofty ideals of a loving master to be dashed to the ground with a resounding thud. A wanderer upon the face of the earth, it seems to me that I have heard this axiom applied to members of the working class somewhere before. What is it that causes the working class, "these producers of all wealth," to wander from place to place, riding the brake beams and rods, only to find that the elusive job is as far distant as ever. Labor is a commodity, offered for sale in the open market the same as flour, salt or any other form of merchandise. You have a pair of hands that represent the extent of your labor power, yet why is it that so many of our class are at the present time in the midst of unemployment? For this reason: We do not own the tools with which we work; we cannot hope to compete against our economic masters with all their vast improved machinery and all that we have to offer is our two bare hands. We can only secure access to this work by selling our life, our labor power, to the masters who own these great machines, and on occasion, failing to dispose of our labor power, we are rendered helpless and starving in the midst of all the wealth that the hand of labor alone has created.

Workers, Organize!

The working class, slow though they are in doing so, are beginning to arrive at the conclusion that there is little or no hope for them under this present system, and in accordance with this conclusion are beginning to organize themselves, so that with their united efforts they can eventually overthrow it. Howling politicians will tell you, "in order to make their own petty position more secure," that the interests of the workers in the mill, shop, mine and factory are diametrically opposed to each other, and to back up their statement they point with pride to that beautiful pet of the master class, the American Federation of Labor, which, with its hundred and twenty-six different unions, keeps the workers engaged in jurisdictional squabbles among themselves, instead of combining their forces to fight their one common enemy, the boss. While all this is going on, the leader of this scab-breeding organization, Samuel Gompers, is being feted and honored at the banquet tables of the European capitalists, and telling him that he is the beau ideal of a labor leader, and with him at the helm of a labor organization they have nothing to fear! Our masters are correct, just so long as Gompers, Mitchell and the rest of their kind can keep the workers fighting among themselves on the economic field, just so long will the industrial parasites fatten and live in luxury on the product of their own wage-slaves, listen not to the screams and howls of political fakirs who tell you that all you have to do is to use the vote "which you have not got," place a piece of paper into a capitalist ballot box, and \$1200 a year into the aspiring politician's hand, in order to emancipate yourself from wage slavery.

Don't Ask, But Take!

No; this great work of emancipation will not be accomplished by a mere line of force up at the place where we are robbed of four-fifths of what we produce, in the shop, mill, mine and factory, wresting little by little from our masters until we can finally appropriate the whole product of our toil. Craft unionism is the relic of bygone age. To organize along craft lines spells division for the working class. For the workers to be organized efficiently, they must follow along class lines, and the only economic organization on this continent of North America, to clearly state this fact is the I. W. W. We come before you, week in and week out, on the street corners and in our halls to tell you that there can be no peace between ourselves and those who exploit us, that so long as the few who make up the employing class have all the good things of life, just so long will the millions rot and vegetate in poverty, and that we must organize by and for ourselves, to take the machinery of production and abolish the wage system. The I. W. W. is trying to do all it can for the workers under this system, but while we are engaged in doing that, we have our eyes fixed upon the ultimate goal, and the masters are already finding out to their sorrow the great difference between a strike of revolutionary workers and a bunch of ignorant trades unionists who never know what they want when they take issue with the master. The issue lies with you, fellow workers. The I. W. W. is composed of your class, and it is going to continue the fight against the master until the day of our emancipation. Remember the words of Injunction Bill Taft when he said, during one of his campaign speeches, that labor organized industrially would be a stronger power than the federal government. These are no idle words, they were spoken by a man who thoroughly understands his position in society as a capitalist. The I. W. W. has been accused of creating discontent among the workers, "witness the recent injunction case in Portland." That is perfectly true: we are doing all in our power to increase your discontent; so just as long as you are content for the masters to exploit you, so long will you remain in ignorance of your true position in society as a wage worker. To quote the words of E. V. Debs, "the workingman who is contented with his lot under the capitalist system (today is truly an object to be pitied)." We would have you rise in revolt against this cursed system of exploitation and join with us into a union of your class, the I. W. W., where all the workers are united upon the basis of the class struggle. In conclusion, let me appeal to you to read the literature advanced by the I. W. W., read and subscribe to the Industrial Worker, the only true revolutionary paper of the workers, in the columns of which you will find from time to time further articles relating to this all-important question of industrial unionism. Organize with us into this class-conscious body and help us to carry the Red Flag to freedom in the industrial republic.

FRED C. LEWIS.

TO UNION SECRETARIES.

The following is a list of the Industrial Unions and Branches of industrial Unions of the I. W. W. in the United States and Canada. It is possible that there are some errors and omissions in this list. All secretaries are asked to send in a statement of their names, addresses, times of union meetings, etc. This list will be published every week, and those unions wishing their names continued are asked to write to the editor of the Industrial Worker without delay.

- Arizona. Secy.—Town—Address. 272—F. Velarde, Phoenix, 695 E. Van Buren. 273—W. Welch, Globe, Box 1230. British Columbia. 155—G. W. Rogers, Phoenix, Box 264. 44—Alice Harling, Victoria, 1630 Pembroke. 525—A. L. Elliott, Nelson, Box 653. 525—A. L. Elliott, Nelson, Box 653. Meets 8 p. m. Tuesday in Miners' Union Hall. 322—F. C. Lewis, Vancouver, Room 3 Sullivan Bldg. Meets 2 p. m. Sundays. 326—Pat Daly, Prince Rupert. California. 173—J. W. Johnstone, San Francisco, 173 East St., Maritime Bldg. 437—John Sanderson, Brawley, Box 61. Meets 8 p. m. Saturdays. 419—Wm. Kuhl, Redlands, Box 357. 12—W. R. Sautter, Los Angeles, 243 East Second St. Colorado. 26—Walker C. Smith, 3505 Humboldt St. Illinois. 500—J. J. Meyer, Pullman, 11,653 Yale Ave. 233—F. Balzano, Chicago, 161 N. Carpenter. 85—Branch No. 1 (Scandinavian), Oscar Gaderlund. Meets 2d and 4th Sundays in month at 8 p. m. 135 Wells St. 85—W. Zalewski, Polish Br. 85—P. Price, Chicago, 111 Oak St. Br. 2. 167—A. Simpson, Chicago, 1811 Oakdale Ave. Iowa. 139—H. Hagensen, Sioux City, 419 Jennings. Louisiana. 38—F. Abers, New Orleans, 137 N. Scott. Minnesota. 424—H. F. Loger, Jr., Deer River. Meets 1st and 3d Sundays of month at 10 a. m., Ruby's Hall. 64—C. H. Fisher, Minneapolis, 527 Emerson Ave. Missouri. 84—J. Pollack, St. Louis, 1529 N. 16th St. Hugh M. Scott, Kansas City, 513 E. 5th St. Montana. 142—J. F. Schroeder, Anaconda, 212 E. Com. Av. 105—J. H. Schwend, Anaconda, 511 Washington. 405—F. C. Meyer, Butte, Box 1132. 41—Morris Wagoner, Great Falls, 570 4th Ave. South. 421—Joe Duddy, Kallispell, Box 175. 300—M. F. McClung, Kallispell. 33—Pete Brown, Darby, Box 78. 39—W. H. Coombs, Billings. Meets Friday, 7:30 p. m. Michigan. Mrs. Elma Anoinen, Negaunee, L. Box 277. Nebraska. 86—F. H. Alexander, Omaha, 627 S. 17th. New Jersey. 24—A. Hagberg, Harrison, 15 Franklin Ave. 163—A. Olson, Jersey City, 349 Communipaw Ave. 510—H. Hartman, Jersey City, 107 Paterson. New York. 161—C. Delz, New York, 512 E. 146th. 420—C. G. Fisher, New York, 348 E. 152d. 130—N. Deekman, New York, 334 E. 51st. 95—W. Northrop, New York, 44 W. 96th. 317—J. Fronkowiak, Buffalo, 1159 Broadway. 91—J. Lynx, Vankers, 99 Barnhart. 15—A. Black, New York, 403 W. 127th. 179—J. Routsione, Brooklyn, 427 Nostrand Ave. Ohio. 33—Chas. H. Smith, Cleveland, 6636 Bliss Ave. 98—M. Marcus, Cleveland, 2472 E. 51st. Oregon. 93—Paul Frohwerk, Portland, 33 N. 4th St. Meets 1st and 3d Sunday of month at 2 p. m. 92—E. J. Foote, Portland, 33 N. 4th St. Meets Friday at 8 p. m. 141—Building Constructors, Portland, Ore., 33 N. 4th St., B. Lorton. Meets Wednesday at 8 p. m. Pennsylvania. 414—R. Walters, Philadelphia, 5539 Poplar St. 5—L. D'Andrea, Dunmore, 306 Smith St. 11—H. Davis, Philadelphia, 2439 S. 17th St. 112—H. Einhart, Philadelphia, 1154 E. 6th St. 404—Joe Shoerfer, Philadelphia, 420 Green St. 524—T. Goetomo, Scranton, 101 Lackawanna Ave. 215—J. Desmond, Pittsburg, 4 Gazzam St. 516—Anton Parise, Parsons, Box 81. 515—G. Grechi, West Pittston, 118 Luzerne Ave. 511—J. Yaniello, Old Forge, Box 13. 372—P. Cox, Paton. 25—John Lodone, Masontown, Box 697 Br. 1. 25—G. Basso, Fairchance, Box 226 Br. 2. 298—New Castle, 23 1/2 Washington St., Thursday Evening. Mixed Local, L. Duchez, New Castle, Box 622. 299—Jerry Kaufold, Lyndora, Nixon Hotel. 299—Joseph Schmidt, McKees Rocks, 100 Charter avenue. 392—Paulon Bastide, McDonald, Box 224. Colorado. Denver, 3505 Humboldt St. Rhode Island. 99—B. Ulderico, Woonsocket, 686 Diamond Hill. Vermont. 7—F. Rossi, Montpelier, 115 Barre St. 176—N. Imbruglio, Waterbury. 410—L. Marchetto, Barre, 10 Shurtleoff Place. Washington. 423—F. W. Schwartz, Spokane, 416 Front Ave. 132—G. E. Boyd, Spokane. 432—Wm. Liebrecht, Seattle, 308 James St. 434—Richard Brazier, Spokane, 416 Front Ave., Rear. 131—A. C. Cole, 308 James St. Meets Mondays, 8:30 p. m. 382—G. R. Coles, Seattle, 308 James St. 173—Chas. P. Williams, Seattle, 308 James St. 222—A. Lovett, Spokane, 416 Front Ave., Rear. NATIONAL INDUSTRIAL UNION TEXTILE WORKERS. National Secretary—Francis Miller, 12 Rosemont Terrace, Lymanville, R. 1. 20—G. O. Smith, Lawrence, Mass., 113 Newbury St. 55—W. Swindlehurst, Fall River, Mass., 33 James. 120—D. Ficari, West Hoboken, N. J., 447 Central Ave. 157—Wm. Yates, New Bedford, Mass., 720 Belleville Ave. 425—A. Debulgne, Philadelphia, 1842 N. Front St. 433—B. Martinelli, Stafford Springs, Conn., Box 698. 436—C. Coppens, Lowell, Mass., 47 Prince St. 513—Francis Smith, Woonsocket, R. I., Box 40. 530—T. J. Powers, Olneyville, R. I., Box 306. CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE. Seattle, Wash.—T. Brown, 308 James St. Spokane, Wash.—C. L. Filigno, 416 Front Ave., Rear. Portland, Ore.—E. E. Johnson, 33 N. Fourth St. PROPAGANDA LEAGUE. Buffalo, N. Y.—H. Tutbill, 69 Baynes St. Chicago, Ill.—B. H. Williams, 302 Wells St. Butte, Mont.—Paul Cooney, 261 E. Porphyry St.

REVOLUTIONARY UNION THE C. G. T. OF FRANCE

(By Andre Bruckere.) (Translated by F. Miller from the "Journal des Correspondances.")

There are few subjects more discussed at this time in France, and everywhere for that matter, than the General Confederation of Labor. It is perhaps worth while to furnish some documents about this Confederation, on account of some singular legends that are being woven around it; and the facts being so distorted, that it becomes necessary to trace them anew with only one aim in view, that of historical accuracy.

History. The history of the labor movement in France, and of Paris in particular, is one of strife since 1830, but its syndicalist character does not date back farther than 1878. Dominated by the conservative ideas of Barbare, the socialist ideas did not take root till 1882, but the fight between the different revolutionary parties kept the organization in a constant turmoil; each of the different socialist sects tried to get control of the unions, in each organization the members affiliated with the P. O. S. R., tried to swing their union in line with their party, those of the P. O. F., the same, and so on. This political sectarianism made organization impossible, the unions developing into branches of the different parties. The Congress of Nantes (1894) that made the few unions affiliated with the French labor party, cut loose from it, the Congress of Limoges (1895) that founded the C. G. T., and the International Congress of London, that excluded the so-called anarchists, mark the stages by which the French syndicalists elaborated their autonomous organization outside of all political parties. The start of the Confederation General du Travail was modest, its adherents few in numbers, and the per capita was not always paid; the unions barely existed surrounded by danger on all sides.

First danger—What has been called reformism, which was really nothing but the governmental corruption of which Millierandism was the worst manifestation.

Second danger—Subsidism. The politicians, especially the radicals, tried to steer the labor movement into political channels, by granting subsidies to unions and free headquarters to Labor Councils. These subsidies have been and are a dangerous source of corruption, the French syndicalists are but slowly freeing themselves from it; the present Clemencist reaction has done a good turn in advancing the day when this peril will disappear.

Third danger—The sectarianism of certain Socialist political leaders who made repeated attempts, all failures, to control the movement in accord with their ideas. This was the source of many sterile discussions, also much energy lost for the organization.

Fourth danger—The opposition of French workers, especially from the south, to regular dues. It seemed that political action absorbed the best of the working class forces, and there was none left for the work of his class organization. Beside that, up to late years the theorist, both socialist and anarchist, considered the economic organization as a mere accessory. These are some of the difficulties that confronted the syndical organization in France. It is absolutely necessary to remember the social surroundings and historical antecedents to form a correct idea of the C. G. T., as it is today.

At its inception the reformists had a majority, and the development of the organization was nothing till after the Congress of Montpellier (1902) that voted definite by-laws, and the one held at Bourges (1904) where the revolutionists got complete control. It is under the impulse of this revolutionary majority that the organization grew, and the puny C. G. T., of seven years ago became the nightmare of the bourgeoisie that it is today. At the present time the C. G. T. has at least 300,000 members, but its rapid growth, and the constant fight against governmental persecution makes accurate statistics impossible; there is a district council in 135 cities.

Organization. Each union is its autonomous. It is affiliated on one hand with its trade or industry federation, and with the district council in their locality (improperly called Bourse du Travail). This double affiliation is strictly obligatory. Each federation is autonomous, the decisions of the National Conventions held biennially are not imperative, they are simply general indications which the Federations and Unions are supposed to follow. The Confederational Committee with headquarters in Paris is composed of two sections, the Sections of District Councils (Bourses du Travail) composed of delegates of the District Councils, and the Sections of the Federations made up of delegates from the Federations. This committee has no directing power; its functions are purely administrative, and one of correspondence. Outside of pure theoretical principles, this extreme federalism is inevitable, on account of rivalry of long standing, and the different views held. But it can not be denied that these divergent views are gradually merging into a strong spirit of solidarity; this feeling of solidarity is derived not from a theory, but from the everyday fight is what is called Revolutionary Syndicalism.

Industrial Unionism. At the Convention of Amiens (1906) the majority declared itself in favor of Federations of Industries (Industrial Unionism) as against trade federations. The strong revolutionary federations of the (Building) and of (Metallurgy) are industrial, the National Industrial Union of R. R. workers has a rather conservative reputation, the transformation of old Trade Federations into Industrial federations is a delicate job, and one that requires time. Low dues is the rule, from 12 to 24 francs per annum (\$2.40 to \$4.80). There is a general tendency to make them higher. The so-called Conservative Federations of Printing Industry (Le Livre) and the Machinists have the highest per capita, but the revolutionary Federations like the (Metallurgy) and the Building are in favor of higher dues, and are gradually raising their dues. There is a little irony in the fact that the Federation of the Textile, whose secretary takes a leading part in the opposition to the present majority in the C. G. T., is one of those whose dues are the lowest.

Results. The official statistics give us these figures for 1906, and although caution should be used in accepting them, they will do for comparison: France—Strikes, 1,309; strikers, 438,466. Germany—Strikes, 3,328; strikers, 272,218. England—Strikes, 486; strikers, 217,773. Belgium—Strikes, 220; strikers, 38,326. The percentages were as follows: France—Complete success, 21.27 per cent; partial success, 41.23 per cent; strikes lost, 37.50 per cent. Germany—Complete success, 18.40 per cent; partial success, 41.23 per cent; strikes lost, 36.60 per cent. England—Complete success, 42.50 per cent; partial success, 32.70 per cent; strikes lost, 24.80 per cent. Belgium—Complete success, 24 per cent; par-

tial success, 26 per cent; strikes lost, 55 per cent. The year 1906 was exceptional on account of the number of strikes resulting from the eight hours agitation. It was remarkable also for the stubborn resistance of the employers, reducing the percentage of complete and partial success to 62.50 per cent, from an average of 80 per cent for other years, an average which is not surpassed in any country.

Representation. In the National Conventions each Union has a vote, irrespective of its membership. This mode of representation is severely criticized by capitalist newspapers, and by some of the organs of the minority of the Socialist party. This form of representation is based on: (1) The respect of the rights of the minorities.

(2) On the notion that in case of general strike, all organizations will be equivalent. It is favored not on theoretical grounds, but because it is believed that many practical advantages result from it. It discourages the chartering of large mutual aid societies, etc., that would be baptised (syndicated) for the time being; and would be the docile instruments of designing individuals.

On the other hand the revolutionary syndicates are often numerically strong, and the conservative syndicates weak in point of membership, and vice versa. As a matter of fact the application of proportional representation, and a vote for each member, would not have changed a single majority in any of the Conventions (the tabulation of the votes has been made out of pure curiosity).

The proportional representation may be adopted some day, but it would in no way change the actual trend of the movement. It requires a singular ignorance of the French Labor Movement to imagine that a change in the mode of representation in conventions, or that the recent adhesion of the Federation of Miners would in any way change the tactics of the organization, the result of a whole historical evolution, and expression of the class conscious spirit of the membership.

(Note of Translator.—The rest of the article would be of no special interest to readers of the Worker, the recent articles in the Worker on the French movement covering the subject matter in full.) A STORY OF A JAPANESE PAINTER. A Japanese, namely T. T., a painter in his profession, came to Gary, Ind., a few months ago. He was finally employed by the Indiana Steel company, after making application for the head master. Twenty cents for one hour is bestowed at first. But it was hard to keep his life, even though his tomorrow's life is to be kept for his master. He and his three other workers struck because their demand was refused by the boss, and honorably discharged from the company.

One can hardly observe what happened in his boss' mind after discharging the painter, but the boss sent word about granting higher wages and wishing him to come back to work immediately. But the spirited Japanese painter said: "What a good fellow my damn boss is, but I ain't such a good-natured fellow to go back to the old job, even if he promises to pay me \$1000 for an hour, even then I would rather starve. I will not beg him for a bit of bread."

A few days later an awful vengeance of the boss took place against the painter. In the union meeting, which union is, of course, a part of the sacred A. F. of L., the painter, who joined the union at that time, found his former boss in the senior seat of the meeting. What a great shock to the poor painter! But the boss was smoking a Havana, as if he did not care about anything that happened in the world, smiling a little. A smile of triumph, certainly it was! "Jap, get out a little while from this session. What we want to talk about now has no concern to you," said he suddenly, about the middle of the proceeding of the meeting. The painter did so and when he came back to his seat again his union card was revoked and he was expelled because he was not loyal to the slave-master, unfit to be an A. F. of L. T. TAKAHASHI.

THE MULE.

Said the gray mule to the black 'un one morning, "I'd like very much to go to town today." "Well, why don't you go?" asked the black 'un. "I've got no one to ride me," answered the gray. "What's the matter with your feet?" "Nothing. Why?" "Do you mean to tell me you can carry a rider, but your feet can't carry you?" "Nothing of the sort," said the gray. "But I can't go without a rider, can I?" "Of all the blithering nonsense," said the black 'un. "Nonsense, indeed. Do you intend to be smarter than your master?" "No, but I know that much." "You know nothing at all, because I heard master say the other day that the worker couldn't work without somebody to employ him. He's educated and ought to know. He does know. So I know I can't go to town without a rider. I am not going to fly in the face of common sense and political economy by trying."—The Labor Leader.

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