



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

## INDUSTRIAL WORKER

PUBLISHED WEEKLY BY THE Local Unions of the Industrial Workers of the World, P. O. Box 1443

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Subscription, Yearly \$1.00  
Canada, Yearly 1.50  
Subscription, Six Months .50  
Bundie Orders, Per Copy .02 1/2

Cash MUST Accompany All Orders.  
Entered as Second-Class matter, Dec. 21, 1909, at the Postoffice at Seattle, Wash., under the Act of March 3, 1879.

### THE HOBO'S VINDICATION.

The cry is raised by the eminently respectable that the I. W. W. is made up largely of hoboes. To refute the statement would be not only to lie, but to acknowledge a cowardly spirit of shame for that for which we should be honored.

In the first place, what is a hobo? A recognized encyclopedia says: "A laborer without a fixed location."  
Well and good; let us accept the definition. A hobo I am, and such I have been for more than ten years. When a very young man, impatience of social restraint, a desire to travel and especially a preference for an outdoor life, led me to quit my respectable and, of course, extremely profitable profession of rural pedagogy and turn hobo.

I have helped to build railroads and have had so little conscience as to steal rides thereon, hither and thither, during my ill starved career.

I have given my last four-bit piece to a lame hobo and then stole my dinner from a benighted Chinaman; I have traveled on foot for hundreds of miles at a stretch; I have bucked straw on threshing machines and talked Socialism to the gang at night; I have had the gall to freely enter into debates, formal or extempore, with such intellectual giants as sage brush financiers, dry goods salesmen and preachers, and even once jeopardized my immortal soul by telling one of the latter named gentlemen that he was a d—d liar.

The heroic young men who have eaten the prisoners' bitter bread in the Spokane bastille are hoboes, almost every one; unsung hoboes, who, when history shall occasionally tell the truth, will no longer be unsung, but, though their names be forgotten, yet in the aggregate will they be remembered as homeless wanderers who nobly and manfully stood the test of the "times that try men's souls."

If the farmers are the backbone of this nation, they can only claim to be part of it. They may be the dorsal vertebrae, but the hoboes, the wayfaring laborers, who have not where to lay their heads, except on bundles of old shirts in cold tents or in the open air, who imagine that they are taking a vacation in the lap of luxury when they eat ham or beef and get plenty of condensed milk for their coffee, and sleep in a warm shanty, these men may at least claim to be the lumbar vertebrae.

Furthermore, if those noble farmers don't get an intellectual move on, they will find out some time that the miserable dirty hoboes are the brains of the nation.

From the dirt, rags and misery of the hobo camps have burst forth a galaxy of brilliant lights, to take their place in the literary firmament today.

If the farm had its Robert Burns, the hobo camps have given to the world a Jack London, a Mark Twain, a Joaquin Miller, a Maxim Gorky.

And the real leaders of the revolutionary forces today are the hoboes.

The revolutionary hobo, when he meets his fellow tramps and sings the songs of his cause, not only sings "The Red Flag" and "Marsellaise," but his grim sense of humor prompts him to celebrate his own miseries in comic song.

To one who thinks and feels, there is a world of humorous pathos in such songs as "Hallelujah, I'm a Bum," or in such lines as "Where is my wandering boy tonight?"  
The boy of his mother's pride?  
He's tramping the road with his bed on his back.

Or else he is humming a ride?  
To me there is the wall of tortured humanity, bitter with grief, yet ready to calmly joke about the matter. In that one simple line in one of our songs, "How in hell can I work when there's no work to do?"

It is the historic mission of the hoboes to build railroads, canals and other things pertaining to civilization, to harvest the crops of the country, to level the land of the great southwestern deserts for irrigation, to fell and saw the timber of the great northwestern forests, to continually run along near the line of actual want, and in the meantime to be sneered at by the brainless, idiotic scissor-bill, who, forsooth, has shown the genius and ability to get married and make some woman work herself to death helping to accumulate money enough to buy another acre of ground or another hog.

The little school boys are not to blame when they throw clods at us; they have been taught that a hobo is everything that is vile and degraded and a stench in the nostrils of the Delty, who, by all accounts, once begot a hobo son.

I have worked for prosperous farmers who would say, "If I were young again I would travel and see the world. I would work my way from place to place, and of course, I couldn't save much money that way, but I could make a living and have a good time."

In the next breath, perhaps, they would curse the hoboes for doing that very thing. To bel with the insane, pernicious, ignorance bred and nurtured by this damnable system of greed, the survival of the fittest, save the mark.

If the farmers raise the crops and get in debt, the hoboes harvest the crops and get well.

NED B. BOND,  
Imperial, California.

### ORGANIZATION AND TACTICS.

The ways and means of organizing the working class is one of the subjects most often discussed by members of the Industrial Workers. Some contend that our efforts are useless in the vicinity of the slave market, that the floating proletariat outside of our organization will not join us; it seems to me that some of the

Fellow Workers must understand the reasons why the working class suffers, why he is looked upon as a scapegoat in society, and why it is that he must endure the miserable conditions, and the necessity of emancipation. To know the worker thoroughly you must also study his habits, environment, and his customs, as well as the method by which you are to give him relief.

Every organization or denomination, whether fraternal, religious, political, of labor, in fact any organization or individual, is guided by his or their material interests. In fraternal organizations for instance, the members do not join for the purpose of expanding their brotherly affections, but for the benefits they receive therefrom.

The sky-pilot while looking up to heaven and appealing to the Almighty, at the same time is feeling around for the sandwiches, and if he does not see them coming his way, he soon changes his tactics and looks around for other means by which to secure them. The policeman does not beat you over the head because he likes to, but for that same sandwich, that same material interest is at stake.

Now let us get to organization. You understand why it is that the Salvation Army is not composed of working men, why he does not become affiliated with it, and the answer is, that he does not see any benefits to be derived from it. And the result is that they scream at him from the streets and from the rostrum and nothing is accomplished. We hear on all sides contempt expressed by the worker in reference to these sky-pilots.

Now we, the Industrial Workers of the World who claim that we stand for the working class, who go out onto the streets and speak to the worker, telling him that we are an organization looking after his interests, that his grievances and troubles are our own, that an injury to him is an injury to us all, and that we are looking after his general welfare. Those of us on the inside understand, but the other fellow on the outside, he has to be shown.

In this western country the conditions differ a great deal from those of the east. A majority of the workers in this part of the country do not know what a home is. The only home most of us have is the roll of blankets which we carry on our backs. In ninety-five cases out of one hundred he is single and his work often compels him to travel often as far as three hundred miles in search of employment, while in the east a majority of the workers are married and therefore not transients.

We must look at the worker from a different point of view here west of the Rockies. Understanding the conditions of camp life, understanding the conditions of our western industrial centers, and understanding the different environments in which the floating proletariat is subject to, we must prepare to meet those conditions.

Now let us take the Y. M. C. A. for instance, in conjunction with their reading rooms they have other inducements for the men to gather. They have baths and gymnasiums and other accommodations whereby the members can benefit materially. The result that instead of these organizations being compelled to run after the individual they congregate there of their own accord, they believe that the organization is out for their interest. There is the secret of their success.

Let us take the Spokane locals for another example, why their success. From the very time that they installed accommodations in their new hall, from that moment on the membership grew, and the locals were prosperous and continued to be so, and the impression that it left among the workers was that the organization was doing something for them. It showed him that when he visited the hall that we were looking after his material welfare, that we were practicing what we preached, and when he went back to the camp he told his companions in the bunkhouse, the interest the organization was taking in helping the workers. Talk about propaganda, those workers immediately became interested; they said here is where I belong, and what was the result? A card, an organization to fight for.

Another instance of where these small material interests received made good, and that is in the Imperial Valley at Brawley, an agricultural district, a district where the farm hand reigned supreme (and to hear some fellows talk it was impossible to organize him), there, as in Spokane, the frontier, the revolutionary worker understanding the surroundings, the conditions, etc., proceeded to get a hall that would meet the emergency in that district. The result was that every worker in the district came there, and the result was that they were able to dictate terms to the farmer. The expense was nothing in comparison to the good work derived from these methods.

Now the same case applies to other locals on the Coast, and I think a good idea to bring the outsider in contact with the organization is to adopt these methods. We must first get the pupil before we can carry on the work of education. We must show the worker that we are looking after his welfare outside of the camp as well as in it.

I will say that we can not under the present conditions of the organization do anything on the elaborate scale, but no matter how small the benefits to the worker he will show his appreciation. When you take the outsider into our halls and tell him to make himself at home, and you have nothing that pertains or even resembles it, you bring doubt to the mind of the outsider.

T. J. O'BRIEN.

### RESOLUTION FOR CONSIDERATION.

Whereas, It is at present provided that a member of the I. W. W. must have his dues paid up for the current month in order to be in good standing and to have a vote in the proceedings of the I. W. W., it is the sense of this Local that this provision is reactionary and unjust and unworthy of a progressive Labor Union, and places us in this respect on a lower plane than the most conservative craft unions, none of whom have such stringent rule.

We also believe this ruling is financially detrimental to the organization inasmuch as it has a tendency to discourage members who have fallen behind in their dues from paying up such portion of their indebtedness as they are able to pay, when such payment will not bring them up to good standing.

We believe, therefore, that all members who are not behind more than two months, besides the current month, should be considered in good standing and entitled to a vote.

It is also the sense of this Local that all Locals take this matter up and discuss this matter at their business meetings and instruct their delegates to the next convention to bring the matter forward.

R. VERES,  
W. MITCHELL,  
T. KILCULLEN,  
Committee.

## PROCEEDINGS FLYNN FILIGNO TRIAL

(Continued from Page One.)

tered the whole papers over the pseudo objections of counsel for the defense. After Mrs. Fiset had vacated the witness chair the attorneys for the defense asked the privilege of reading from the copies of the "Worker" in evidence. Mr. Pugh objected, but he was trapped, as he had vigorously insisted on the whole paper going in as evidence and Judge Kennan could do nothing but consent to the reading. Mr. Pugh got sore and made some slurring remarks which were objected to by Mr. Symmes, who became hostile in a minute. Mr. Symmes was fined \$5.00 for contempt of court and immediately paid it. For five hours Mr. Moore, Mr. Symmes, and Mrs. Fiset relieved each other reading articles of every description from the dozen issues of the "Worker" in evidence. According to the ruling everything was legitimate, and an amused crowd listened to tales of lousy bunk houses, employment sharks, Cherry mine disaster, I. W. W. preamble, industrial unionism, Franklin school, the sweat box, etc., etc.

Like whipped curs the small souled attorneys for the state crouched in their chairs and sneered at the reading. They were not game enough to face the consequences of their own stupidity.

At 3 p. m. amid a profound hush in the densely crowded courtroom, Gurley Flynn, very simply dressed, and perfectly composed, took the stand. In a few words she told where she was born and educated. She then gave a short sketch of the ends and aims of the I. W. W. and its construction. She stated that she didn't come to Spokane in response to Filigno's telegram, but came of her own free will, to take part in the fight. She was then asked by Mr. Moore as to what she had said from the platform in regard to the tactics to be pursued in the free speech fight. Amid a death like stillness, in her clear bell-like tones, she stated that she had advocated nightly to the men in the I. W. W. hall the adoption of three lines of tactics to carry on the fight—First, to contribute financially; second, to circulate the initiative petition repealing the old ordinance and enacting a new one; third, "to assert their" God given and inalienable right "of free speech by going out on the street and exercising it." This last statement came almost as a thunderbolt. The suspense was snapped and a loud murmur or sigh went up from the large crowd present. Gurley Flynn had, once again sustained her reputation as a fearless and honest fighter.

She was then turned over to Mr. Pugh for cross-examination and her fearless acknowledgement of her part in the fight practically disarmed him. Even this unscrupulous attorney recognized her courageous attitude and grudgingly remarked, "You took an active part in the fight and you don't intend to go back on it now that you are on trial, and we all admire your spirit."

She was asked many difficult questions regarding constitutional law and obedience to the courts' decisions by Mr. Pugh, who is an expert cross examiner, but she brilliantly parried them and his insinuations that the I. W. W. is an organization without regard for any law, because it has seen fit to quarrel with the street speaking ordinance of Spokane. More than once she snared Mr. Pugh in his own net, and forced him to abandon his line of questioning. This was particularly the case when she stated that she understood that the second ordinance had been declared unconstitutional on November 2nd and that test cases were required to try the first one, yet such a case had never been allowed to come to court, as all street speakers had been punished for disorderly conduct. He didn't ask her again if she obeyed the decision of the courts. She graphically told of how she was sweated in the Chief of Police's office by six men, while her attorney vainly demanded entrance to the office. Mr. Pugh felt very much hurt at this, and

tried at great length to make her admit that she was not treated discourteously. She insisted that she hardly thought it courteous to be denied the privilege of seeing her attorney. At the time of adjournment she was still on the stand.

Friday, eighth day of trial. Gurley Flynn on stand. In one of her articles in the "Worker" Gurley Flynn made the following statements, which Mr. Pugh repeatedly tried to misconstrue into a sweeping denunciation of the whole jury system and an insult to the present jury: "They've got the money, they've got the government, and they'll probably get the jury. Fine chance the poor old constitution has with a lot of middle class scissor-bills who know only the law of the almighty dollar." She evenly explained this and routed Mr. Pugh horse, foot and dragoons. She stated that this criticism had reference to the lower courts where a panel of 18 taxpayers is drawn by the court and each side allowed to strike off six names and given no chance to question the jurors remaining as to their prejudices. In the upper court the procedure is altogether different as the panel is not limited and the attorneys are given a chance to question the veniremen. She stated that also in the upper court a workingman has a ghost of chance to get on the jury. Mr. Pugh then asked her if she wasn't seeking notoriety as a Joan of Arc, and she indignantly denied it. She was excused at 11 a. m. after having been in the witness chair about four hours all told.

B. Warren, a title expert, was next called to testify as to the whereabouts of the fire limits, but his testimony was ruled out by the court. This witness closed the presentation of evidence by the defense.

Mr. Pugh then moved to strike out Thompson's testimony in regard to the sweat box, but it was denied.

The "slimy" Capt. Burns, as he is usually called, was then called in rebuttal of Thompson's testimony. He stated that there is no sweat box in the city jail. He admitted, however, that there is a cell of exactly the same description designated "the tank" by the police. He said the cell is used to confine disorderly prisoners. Surely this is the limit. Mr. Symmes made a motion that the jury should be allowed to see the cell, but it was denied. The state rested with Capt. Burns' testimony.

Mr. Moore moved the dismissal of the case, on the grounds of the ordinance being unconstitutional. He stated several reasons for its being unconstitutional, and mentioned that Judge Webster had so pronounced it a few weeks ago. The motion was denied and in a dozen words Judge Kennan set aside the five thousand word decision of Judge Webster.

This ordinance is the one permitting "regular religious organizations" to hold street meeting while forbidding the same privilege to the I. W. W.

The balance of the session was taken up with counsel on both sides reading and arguing instructions.

In this class of case the jurors are allowed to go to their homes after session hours. Judge Kennan gave them a strong caution not to be influenced and told them to report at 10 a. m. Monday.

### JUSTICE.

The crimes of tyrants and oppressors are accounted virtues so long as they retain their ruling power. 'Tis the same in all countries, near and far—the law serves the strong while professing to defend the weak. The rich man gains his cause—the poor workingman loses it. How can it be otherwise, while greed for gold prevails? Money is the great moving force of this, the twentieth century. Without it rulers and their ministers of state are helpless; and vast armies of the unemployed starve; with it all things can be accomplished, even to the concealment of the foulest crimes of both capitalists in general and government (federal, state and municipal) officials in particular.

No man will ever deal justice to his fellow-man on earth, unless perhaps, in the distant future, when the old creeds and dogmas are forever swept away, and a grander, wider, purer form of faith—the true philosophy of Jesus—is accepted by the people. For the religion (falsely called "Christian") of today in America is a hollow mockery—a sham, kept up partly from fear, partly from motives of policy. Our splendid (?) civilization is tottering towards its fall, and should the foredoomed destruction of this nation (U. S. A.) come to pass, it will prove a sad and bitter day for the capitalist and governmental, but a glad and glorious day for the victims of capitalism and government.

Ye "Sons of Toil," Americans, awake! Shake off your lethargy! Arouse to action! Demand justice through love to man!

Yours for justice to all, and special privileges to none.

N. J. B. BAILEY, Pa. Id.

## A CALL TO ACTION

Five thousand men and women, who believe in Freedom of Speech, Press and Public Assembly, to be in Spokane, Wash., on March 1st, and show contempt for home-made laws that are enacted solely for the purpose of keeping the workers in ignorance.

Remember, if the working class can be evicted from their own hall, their paper confiscated, and 500 men and women arrested and jailed for demanding their constitutional rights in Spokane, it is only a matter of short duration when the same barbarous treatment will be meted to the toilers all over this so-called land of Freedom.

Don't come to Spokane to break good laws, but come and show your contempt for those who trample the Constitution of the United States into the earth, and thus break the laws themselves.

The Constitution says that "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof, or abridging the Freedom of Speech, or of the Press, or the right of the people to peaceably assemble."

Industrial Unionism is our religion, as through it we will have peace on earth. It is denied us in Spokane. Our Press is confiscated, and the right to assemble is denied us. Every guarantee that the Constitution gave us has been taken from us by a lot of corporation tools, whose only object is the suppression of the Industrial Workers of the World. They tremble at the thought of the working class acting as a unit against them. Everything that could be said or done to discredit our organization in the eyes of the working class has been used by these would-be guardians of law and order. They claim to be getting black-hand letters threatening their lives, and openly interfere through their subsidized press that these letters are the work of the I. W. W. They have appealed to the American people to assist them in squelching our organization on the grounds that it is anarchistic, socialistic, and every other trick that is not understood by the people.

We have been heralded to the world as bums, hoboes, tramps, vags, etc., yet they love to uphold a system that makes millionaires at the one end and tramps at the other. The members of the I. W. W. in Spokane are every one working men and women, and all we demand in the constitutional right to speak to our fellow-workers on the street and in our halls, so that they may become educated on Industrial Unionism, and thus create a power against the industrial combinations of capital in America.

If we would tell the workers that there was an identity of interest between labor and capital, we would not be molested. We are not organized to tell lies.

We cannot expect the capitalist class to stand idly by and allow this great one-union idea to grow in the minds of the working class. It would be foolish to even think of such a thing. Property rights are of more importance than human rights. Gold is God.

We must expect to have to fight every inch in the progress of Industrial Unionism.

If you believe in this constitutional guarantee of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, and the First Amendment to the Constitution of the United States, then be in Spokane on March 1st and exercise your right of Free Speech.

If it is absolutely impossible for you to come, then do the next best thing, and send some of the stuff that is necessary to hire lawyers, look after the sick, and care for the families of those who will go to jail to maintain the weapons of our class.

Call protest meetings everywhere. Raise men, women and money. If this fight is fought to a finish you will not have to fight it again in every town and city in this Land of the Free!

Every one that loves Liberty, get busy!  
Send all contributions to Fred W. Heselwood,  
Box 895, COEUR D'ALENE, IDAHO.

### THE SPOKANE FREE SPEECH COM.

#### TRIALS ARE A FARSE.

In the Spokane police court there is not the slightest pretense of observing legal procedure when an Industrial Worker of the World is up for speaking in a public place. The prisoners are sentenced to jail, fined, sent to the rock pile without being given an opportunity to say a word in their own behalf. This is about the way a trial is conducted in the Spokane police court.

The prisoner is roughly ordered to stand up. More often he is dragged to his feet and then the judge says to the policeman:

"Here did you get this man—on the street?"  
"He was at a meeting on the corner yer honor."

"Thirty days in jail and costs for you. Next prisoner up."

"But, your honor," some luckless prisoner would begin.

"Shut up—take him away," the judge would snarl.

This procedure would sometimes be varied by the judge asking:

"So you were arrested on the street while speaking?"

"Yes, I was arrested. I said 'Fellow-Citizens,' and I was arrested," the prisoner would reply.

"Thirty days and costs for you. Take him along with the rest," would be the order from the bench.

But of all the comedies, or probably more properly, tragedies, enacted in that police court in Spokane, which is more powerful than the Constitution of the United States, is the case of one poor fellow I must relate.

Like the others, he was arrested for "speaking on the street and for conspiracy." Brought before the judge he was asked the single question, put more in the form of a declaration:

"You were speaking on the street?"

Before he could answer the big policeman arose and said:

"Yes honor, this man came from up country, and he said he was going to break all the laws of Washington, and I arrested him."

"Yes, I was speaking on the street, because I have a right to do so. I was reading the Declaration of Independence, your honor," rattled away the prisoner, before he could be prevented.

"Thirty days. Hustle him away," fairly roared the infuriated judge.

He gave an Industrial Worker of the World member, an American-born citizen, thirty days in jail, had him fed on bread and water, made him work on the rock pile, for reading the Declaration of Independence!

Do you wonder that those people have rebelled against these injustices?—Sacramento Bee.



# OPEN LETTER TO REV. HINDLEY

Seattle, Wash., Feb. 17, 1910.  
To the Rev. W. J. Hindley,  
Spokane, Wash.

Dear Sir: I have just received a clipping from the Spokane Spokesman-Review of the 6th Inst., in which you are reported as follows: "About two years ago, an organization known as the Industrial Workers of the World was guilty of several street riots here in connection with their street speaking; they wrecked employment agencies, injured inoffensive spectators and were only subdued by the massed forces of our police; following these disturbances the city council passed a regulative ordinance, prohibiting street speaking within the fire limits (and the supreme court has decided that cities have the right to pass such regulative ordinance), and this ordinance has been a constant source of irritation to such organizations as the extreme socialist wing and the I. W. W., which opposition crystallized last fall into a determined effort of these I. W. W. people to override the law."

You have made some strong assertions regarding the action of the I. W. W., and the burden of proof is on you. What evidence do you have that the I. W. W. was ever guilty of any street riots? I want to have something tangible. Do you have any evidence that any of the I. W. W. ever wrecked any employment agencies? Kindly produce proof that the I. W. W. injured any inoffensive spectators, will you? In all such cases as this, involving the character of this organization, I feel sure that you will see the reasonableness of the demand that you produce ample proof of every charge made.

Every allegation contained in your charge has been most emphatically denied by every official of the I. W. W. in Spokane, and many of these working men are known to me personally to be reliable men. Hence the need of strong evidence in support of your claims. You say that the courts have sustained the right of town councils to pass regulative ordinances of the character of the one passed by the city council of Spokane. If this ordinance was essential to the safety of the public, why

was it not enforced against Taft and W. J. Bryan?

It is a matter of public knowledge that both of these persons spoke on the streets of Spokane in defiance of this very ordinance. Kindly explain why this discrimination was made against the I. W. W. You seem very ready to rush to the defense of the police of Spokane, and you say that it is the opinion of practically every decent citizen of Spokane that the mayor and police are deserving of the greatest commendation for having effectually squelched this anarchist uprising and for doing so without overstepping at any point the rights and comforts which even a lawbreaker is entitled to, and at another place you say that you visited the jail in person and you found conditions almost ideal for institutions of this kind.

Do you know that many of those confined in the jail have made affidavits contradicting your statements in almost every particular?

It is very easy for your devoted officials to have these men punished for the crime of perjury, and most people believe that this would be done if they have not told the simple truth about the inhuman treatment accorded to them while in that filthy jail.

I want to tell you that I was in Spokane just after the I. W. W. were released from the Franklin school. I visited that building and made critical examinations, and I believe every word that has been attested to under oath by the various members of the I. W. W. who were confined there.

You have sedulously avoided saying anything about that steel cell, 6 by 8 in size, in which 28 men were confined, and tortured by steam.

Why did you skip this little item? Do you believe this is of no significance? Can such things be done with the sanction of the clergy of the city of which you are so proud? Do the modern clergy believe in torturing the victims of an industrial system which gives all the fruits of industry to the idlers and poverty and degradation to the others?

You were not reported as saying anything about beating and bruising men after arrest. Do you sanction such practices? We have a right to know your attitude on this specific point. What is it?

You say: "And the supreme court has decided that cities have the right to pass such regulative ordinances." That seems to be final with you, but I want to remind you that at one time the supreme court of the United States declared that I must hunt a runaway negro and return him to his master when found. But when the people were heard from the voice of the supreme court cut very little "ice" for the Southern Oligarchy had run its length; its days were numbered; it passed away.

I am thoroughly convinced that the police of Spokane were guilty of the many brutalities and barbarities charged by the I. W. W., and I am convinced that it will not take much longer for them to convince the world of the truth of every allegation alleged against your mayor and the police. I am convinced that the dominant class in Spokane are conscious of the truth of all the many charges made, but like the dominant class in every society, they will give support to any course of conduct which promises to perpetuate their reign.

And you have proven yourself to be a most servile tool of the present ruling class in Spokane; you have shown that you will defend your masters against any charges if to do so is demanded by those who subsidize you.

When you say that facilities were furnished the prisoners for cleanliness and decency while in jail, you prove that you are ignorant of the facts or that you are willing to deliberately lie for pay.

When you say that in this uninvited publicity Spokane has conducted herself with "decency and decorum," you prove that you would have praised the Spanish Inquisition for its moderation and decency, had you lived at that day.

I infer from what you are reported to have said that if I have less than \$1.00 in my pocket, the police are justified in breaking my ribs, striking me with their fists, with their clubs, or in doing any other brutal thing that might happen to occur to them to do. These men were poor men, all admit that, but they are honest working men and have helped to build up Spokane with all its beauty and magnificence. They are the real empire builders, but having builded, the masters have possessed, and now you, in the garb of their shepherd, justify their robbery by these masters.

But I notice that, while commending the police for the "kind and gentle" manner in which they have enforced the law, you have had nothing to say about the manner in which these same police have set at naught the constitution of both the state and of the United States. You have refrained from saying anything about the confiscation of "The Industrial Worker"; you have been silent as to the closing of the hall of the I. W. W. without process of law, but law in such cases is a most inconvenient fetter on the will of the masters whom you serve, and you are so tender hearted that you cannot bear to see suffering? That is, you cannot afford to see your masters suffer, for to do so might lessen your subsidy. That is a thing that cannot be tolerated. It is so much

(Continued on Page Four.)

# PROPOSALS TO THE COMING CONVENTION

San Francisco, Cal., Feb. 11, 1910.

Motion.—That the per capita tax to the general administration from directly chartered Local Unions be 5c (five cents) per member per month.

Motion.—That no general officer of the Industrial Workers of the World shall serve more than two (2) consecutive terms in the same office.

To the Locals and Members of the Industrial Workers of the World:

Fellow-Workers.—The above motions were adopted by Local No. 173, I. W. W., and we request you to carefully consider them and, if you find them to be for the further interest of the I. W. W., please adopt them so that the same may be presented to the next I. W. W. convention.

In order to justify the radical stand taken by this local in regard to the internal affairs of the organization and to help you to come to a favorable conclusion, we have also decided to place before you the following facts and reasons:

The principal reasons for reducing the per capita tax are (1st) to leave and have more funds in the locals to carry on more education and organization, and (2nd) to reduce to a minimum and prevent the concentration of power in the general administration.

The nearer we get to the starting of the Industrial Workers of the World, the stronger and more concentrated we find the general administration. We note at that time, that organizations galore, revolutionary, and strong, then composed the I. W. W.; at least, so the general headquarters were giving it out to be understood. But soon we find that these pseudo organizations were only on paper, formed and brought in by politicians and labor fakera, whose only aim was to live off the fat of the revolutionary movement.

They failed, because they could not build from the top down. A revolutionary organization of a working class cannot be built downwards, but upwards; that is, from the bottom up.

So, we find that the more we have gotten rid of grafters and politicians at the top, the closer we have come to the real workers at the bottom and the stronger have become the foundations of the Industrial Workers of the World. Thus, now more than ever, we realize the truth of the axiom: "The emancipation of the working class must be accomplished by the working class itself."

True, the honesty and ability of the I. W. W.'s administration officers may have a great deal to do with the progress of the organization, but we must not forget that anything granted or given by any administration to its component parts can be revoked, or taken back, unless said component parts are capable enough to take hold of and stand by the intelligent methods of their organization.

We fail to see any material help rendered by the general administration to the organization at large; even in such great strikes as in Schenectady, N. Y., and the present Free Speech fight in Spokane, Wash.

The general administration, as it has been and now is, seems to be very much like a Chinese or Bourgeois God—good only to be fed and respected.

It is a self-evident fact that, the smaller the sums we send to the general headquarters, the larger will be the funds left with the locals for use. All the reasons which can be advanced for sending large sums to general headquarters can be much more fully applied as a motive for their being left with the locals.

If the general administration needs national organizers, the unions also need them for their locality. The locals can use them to much better advantage; they can keep much better tabs on their work, and will, consequently, be able to value and appreciate their services much more accurately.

It may be said that there are occasions when general and national organizers would be extremely useful to the general administration in certain localities. In such cases the general office can make arrangements with the locals, disposing of and sending them where they are needed.

The McKees Rocks strike will probably be presented by many as an example of what general organizers can accomplish when intelligently directed from general headquarters. Yes, and the same could have been done if the organizers had been called and ordered from some local. And, furthermore, it is time for the general and national organizers to do something in the way of organizing. And we hope that the general administration has learned enough to avoid pitfalls and disasters, such as the great strikes of Portland and Bridgeport, etc., the failures of which most of the workers of said localities attribute to the indiscriminate manner in which the general headquarters sent organizers to take the fight out of the hands of the actual workers.

When the workers of one locality or one industry are on strike, no one better than themselves can see, observe and know the situation, and therefore draw the most logical conclusions and choose the best way to bring the issue to a successful end. And, if they have their own capable organizer or organizers, in whom they can trust and whom they can control and command, so much the better.

As we partially said before, we wish to emphatically state now, that the education and organization of the workers into the I. W. W. is not done in or from the general headquarters, but right where we are—in the shops where we work, in the halls where we meet, or in the streets where we agitate—as the case may be.

We venture, without fear of contradiction, to say that had it not been for the quiet and unknown agitators among the actual workers in McKees Rocks before and at the time of the strike, the flying organizers of the I. W. W. would not have been so able to achieve the success we all take pride in.

The organizing of new locals, the growth and development of the old ones, etc., always reflects on the general headquarters, both financially and in the matter of credit. But, on the other hand, you may have fine, large offices in Chicago, with able and fat organizers in them, and yet they may not reflect or attract one particle of good to the locals throughout the land.

According to the "Industrial Worker" Vol. I, No. 45, the question of finances and the per capita tax was the most important and difficult matter to settle in the second convention of the Pittsburgh district, until they ultimately decided "to request the general executive board of the I. W. W. to remit five cents (5c) of the per capita tax, so that it may be used in the district to promote the work of organization." No comments are necessary. A new and important organization comes into the I. W. W. and finds itself financially tight and forced to request

the general administration for special financial privileges—the reduction of their per capita tax—so that they may keep on the fight.

Over two years ago, about three or four thousand (3,000 or 4,000) longshoremen of New York refused to come into the Industrial Workers of the World because the organization would not admit them on eight and one-half cents (8½c) per member per month. That was a monumental blunder, and we hope for no such repetition.

Some highly respectable and proudly-thinking fellow-workers may try to form a criterion and say: "Ho, five cents (5c) per month per member is too cheap for an organization like ours! We stand for high wages, and with such low per capita tax won't have enough to pay the general officers, so whom we must give a good salary." Well! Too cheap! We continually tell the workers that as far as money goes, we cannot expect to win strikes with even replenished treasuries, because for every dollar the unions have, the capitalists have hundreds and thousands of dollars.

And we truthfully and sarcastically emphasize the A. F. of L. unions, one of whose main objects is to have a strong fund from which to draw strike benefits, as total strike failures.

Furthermore, we point out and ridicule the trade unions for the high salaries they pay and the fine jobs they have created for their officers and organizers, and then we call them labor fakera, etc.

This A. F. of L. case should be enough to make us deeply consider the question of high finance.

We must state right here that high financing is bound, sooner or later, to produce crooked administrators and ultimately wreck the organization.

After we have shown all the financial tricks, manipulations and corruptions of the A. F. of L., suppose one of their unions drops out and comes to us, and some of their business agents say: "You I. W. W. don't believe in fighting strikes with funds; you don't pay as high salaries to your officers and organizers as the A. F. of L.; your general administration charges more for the charter and a higher per capita tax; and yet, in comparison your treasuries are far below those of the A. F. of L." What is the effective answer to the above questions? It is of no use to evade them by saying we spend the money on education, agitation, etc. These questions are, sooner or later, going to be put to us, and if we cannot give effective answers to destroy the intentions of the fakera, they will stay in their organizations and we shall be left.

Perhaps we may not care so much for the A. F. of L.; but if we want the working class to come with us on our own terms—and we most certainly do—we must make these terms as accessible and as easy as we possibly can, so that they may have no excuse to stay out.

The I. W. W. in general knows well enough why it does not advocate heavily replenished treasuries; at the same time it says nothing about and supports high financing in the general administration and between it and its various unions.

We beg to say—if full treasuries are dangerous to revolutionary organizations, high financing must be as much or more so, for the following reasons: The exchange of commodities requires bookkeeping, and money, as a medium of exchange, requires more perfect bookkeeping than any of them. The more money there is handled, the more bookkeeping there must be of necessity; the greater the amount of bookkeeping we have, the greater the number of auditing and executive committees there will have to be to audit and safeguard the financial and other properties of the organization; the more auditing and safeguarding are needed, the more work and power has to be entrusted to the executive boards, and the more work and power there is granted to the executive board or any other officers just that much is taken away from the membership of the organization. The more organization work and responsibility is taken away from the members the less interest they will take, the more apathetic they will grow and the more reactionary will be the result.

Examples of the above are to be easily seen in the great number of benevolent associations and the American Federation of Labor in this country.

In continental Europe the workers have many experiences along this line and the product of these experiences are the Modern Syndicates, with their insignificant dues—dues which to us would appear almost ridiculous.

Take, for instance, "La Confederation General du Travail" (the General Confederation of Labor), whose dues, on account of recent reorganization, have been raised to ..... directly chartered federations of syndicates (which correspond to National Industrial Unions of the I. W. W.) one and 20-100 dollars (\$1.20) per thousand members per year, and syndicates (directly chartered unions), to one-fifth (1-5) of a cent per member per year.

There they are not organizing for the money of the working class. They know that in order to organize the workers they must first gain their confidence; and the best way to win their confidence is by showing that they are not after the pennies of the workers, but that they are working in their interest to get shorter hours, higher wages, and finally, their emancipation.

In their turn, the workers have found after many bitter experiences, how much power is concentrated behind a large treasury, and how difficult and disgusting it is to dislodge officers of long standing in the administration. Thus, the wage-slaves there have looked with suspicion, and have fought high finances and long tenure of office, and they know that these two most important internal factors of their organizations have a great deal to do with their growing and the development of their revolutionary program.

The revolutionary organizations of Europe keep very few paid officers and their wages are always based on the average earnings of their members. A very good thing for us to take note of and remember! Some well-meaning members may be inclined to think "that if we don't pay good salaries to the general officers, they will be corrupted and bought much more easily by our masters, and, besides, when an officer knows the business of the organization, we cannot afford to put him out and start over again with a new one."

In regard to salaries, we claim that no one doing intellectual work is entitled to higher wages than the average laborer. And if he is an officer, why he has an opportunity for training and gaining knowledge which, outside of the I. W. W. he could not purchase with thousands of dollars. If he is unable to avail himself of it or appreciate it, he ought not to be there, and the chances are that he would be corrupted and bought at any price. Unprincipled officers have been and will be corrupted and bought, whether they are paid low, medium or high wages. For this reason the I. W. W. cannot depend on any one officer. This organization must always be ready and willing to replace any and as many officers as the capitalist masters may see fit to deprive it of.

The only way to prepare for such emergencies is to have as many members as possible knowing the duties of the important offices. Otherwise the organization may be brought into confusion and chaos with disastrous results to

itself and the working class. Therefore, it is most evident that if our organization cannot afford to train its officers in time of peace, it will be a thousand times less able to do so in time of war.

In regard to printing literature, we think that the labor unions of a certain locality know what they need; what would bring the best results in their particular industry, and being closer to the ground, will produce better and more efficient literature than the general headquarters, thousands of miles away. These locals can advertise in our papers, so that others needing what they have may order it, as has already been done by various locals.

We believe the general headquarters ought to be only an office or bureau for the exchange of correspondence between the various locals and organizations, and in case of a strike of certain unions, if necessary, to force others to come out.

By all means we must prevent the formation of a class of parasites, which will ride on our shoulders, similar or different to that class which is growing red and fat on the back of the A. F. of L. The most effective way to prevent this, once and for all, is, we are positive, to send as little cash as we have to, to the general administration; that is the application of the "economic determinism" factor, and by letting no general officer serve more than two (2) consecutive terms.

Trusting that we have shown you, not only that our motions are for the benefit of the I. W. W., but that of necessity something on this line must be done, sooner or later, and that, therefore, these ought to be adopted now for the more rapid development of the organization and the keeping of it revolutionary, we are,

Yours for the industrial control of production and exchange by the organized workers of the I. W. W.

LOCAL NO. 173,  
Per HARRY SMEET,  
Rec. and Cor. Sec.

NOTICE TO MEMBERS BELONGING TO SPOKANE LOCALS, OR OUTSIDE MEMBERS ARRIVING IN THE CITY.

The Spokane Locals of the I. W. W. have established temporary headquarters and office at 505 Market Street, Hillway, Wash. Any members desiring to pay dues may do so by calling at the above address, or addressing The Secretary I. W. W., at Box 2129, Spokane, Wash.

MEMBERSHIP CARD FOUND.

The membership book of John Kairman, member of Local Union No. 64 of Minneapolis, Minn., has been found and can be secured by writing to C. H. Axelson, 104 Washington Ave. South, Minneapolis, Minn.

In sending in for change of address, always state the old address as well as the new.

Seattle Advertisements

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**"SOLIDARITY"**

**SPECIAL NOTICE**

Owing to the fact that persecution is being carried on in a high-handed manner by those who hide under the disguise of law and order, the Executive Committee of the I. W. W. in Spokane has moved the Defense Fund headquarters to Coeur d'Alene, Idaho, which is in another State and close to Spokane.

No man who is a prominent and active worker in the I. W. W. is safe from arrest under the trumped-up charge of "Criminal Conspiracy"; all the old offenders and editors are at present in jail in Spokane. The penalty provided for this trumped-up charge is five years in the penitentiary. The best lawyers in the country have been engaged to defend our fellow-workers. These attorneys are high-priced men, but money is nothing when we consider the noble characters and principles of the men who are supposed to be railroaded to a prison. Many of the officers and editors who are awaiting trial at the hands of a venomous enemy have given up home, money and friends to fight for the grand principles of "One Revolutionary Union of Workers."

Bread Lines, Bull-Pens, Child Slavery, Prostitutes, Vice and Crime must all fall before this "One Union of All Workers."

Over 300 men are in jail and more going in daily to suffer the tortures of hell, that freedom of speech may again be wrested from a money-mad class, who are mortally afraid of seeing the working class united. These men will serve 30 days on bread and water, and when they get out they will immediately be rearrested.

The best legal talent has been engaged in Chicago, Seattle and Spokane to defend our officers from the masters' wrath. We must have the sinews of war. You must help. Send all contributions for "Free Speech Defense Fund" to

**FRED W. HESLEWOOD,**  
National Organizer I. W. W. P. O. Box 895, Coeur d'Alene, Idaho.

LABOR EXCHANGE NEWS ITEMS



LOGGERS, ATTENTION!

Owing to the rapidly increasing membership and necessity of being more centrally located in the Working Class District, we, the Loggers' Union No. 432, of the Industrial Workers of the World, have moved our headquarters to Room 3 Station Building, corner Second Avenue and Main Street.

WM. MCKENZIE, Room 3 Station Building, Seattle, Wash. Corner Second Avenue and Main Street.

Armington, Wash. A. B. Cook & Co. Am working for this company at the Armington, Belt cutoff. An I. W. man can get work here, but conditions are about what the average railroad camp boasts of.

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THE HORRORS AND OUTRAGES OF THE CONGO IN SPOKANE

Congoland is in Africa. Of it the world has heard. Abominable, ferocious as were the brutalities practiced by the agents of the tyrants in Belgium little did the world learn about, until the tremendous outcry of outraged humanity filled the air with terror and amazement.

The lash, the whipping post, torture and murder paid for the white merchandise that enriched the monsters in human form, gave them the wealth to live in wild orgies and appalling debaucheries.

And when at last a horrified world learned the truth, the monsters sent their emissaries everywhere to deny, to bribe, to corrupt, to falsify, in their efforts to cover up the shame of "Dark Africa."

Of little avail. Pictures of the brutal, horrifying scenes, and of the leading brutes in the historic tragedies belied the paid-for false reports of the tyrants and their agents.

The world now knows what the Congo suffered, all about its shame and ill-fame. The land, perhaps, would hardly be known were it not for its records in blood, in barbarities, in crimes that at last aroused and staggered all humanity.

Spokane is not in the jungles of dark Africa. It's supposed to be in the U. S. A. Its city officials are supposed to be upholders of the constitutional rights of all the people.

But Spokane, like the Congo, has had the reputation of being a good slave mart. Guggenheim and the other thieves of lumber, coal, and mine land must have cheap, submissive, cowed down labor, like the monsters of Belgium found in the jungles of Congo.

The slaves rebelled at last. They protested, they raised their voices in the streets, in the halls, against the fraud practiced upon them. The army of unemployed brought to the slave mart by fraudulent advertisements of these sharks (see as sample the "Spokane Chronicle," January 28), the agents of Guggenheim and others of the public land robbers, these thousands had to organize themselves for protection against this swindle, these frauds, these grafts.

They did not want to fall victims to charitable institutions administered by another set of pliant tools of the corporations, who though claiming to be the city officials for all the people in that city of ill-fame, Spokane, in the U. S. A.

The voice of outraged workers was heard! All over the country others of their class learned of the shameful fraud practiced in Spokane, of a criminal system backed up by the policeman's club and the vagaries of a pliant tool "Mayor" of the corporations.

Then came the command of the corporation kings: Gng them, beat them, torture them, strangle these voices behind walls and prison bars. If that won't silence them apply torture, the lash, the club, the whipping post, the chain and ball, if need be, let them die—but strangle their voice at any cost.

Four hundred and forty-two men were thrown into jail for telling the truth, without warrant of law. Filthy dungeons, brutal treatment marked the beginning. The policeman's club and torture was the next—as the result 334 of these prisoners were confined to hospitals, where many of them are still laid up.

Even the Spokesman-Review, well known supporter of the corporations in their reign of violence and crime, admits these facts in an issue of January 3rd, 1910.

Moreover, on the rock pile, with iron ball

Description: Height, 6 ft. 7 or 8 inches; complexion, medium; color of eyes, blue; hair, rather brownish-blond, mixed with a little gray, and curly; can not look you in the eye while conversing. His index finger on his right hand is stiff. Age about 52 years.

V. V. OHAIR, W. S. GEORGE, J. H. CAREY, Committee.

Winthrop M. & S. Union 167, W. F. M.

CAMP 9, U. S. R. S.

Prosser, Wash., Feb. 21, 1910.

Editor Industrial Worker:

Fellow-Worker.—When I wrote you about conditions on the Sunnyside irrigation canal I gave the number of men employed between Wapato and Prosser as three hundred, which is correct. I notice in the worker where it reads twelve hundred men employed (Worker, dated Feb. 19). A mistake of nine hundred. Please correct, or the workers will think I am lying.

Yours for the I. W. W.

JOHN MONTGOMERY, Local No. 92.

NEWS FROM GRAYS HARBOR.

It is kind of slack here at Grays Harbor at present. All the mills are running at the present time, but the wages which the men receive are very low. Only a very small number of them receive over two dollars per day. Some of the mills work their employes as high as 12 1/2 hours per day, and strange to say, some of the men seem to like it. They argue this way: The more hours we work, the more money we will receive.

Talk Industrialism to some of these men—tell them that "labor is entitled to all it produces," and they will probably spring the old gag of the "identity of interest" between the master and the worker. A fine example of "identity of interest" where men are compelled to work 12 1/2 hours in order to make a living, and a poor one at that.

The shingle weavers are still out on strike. A couple of the small mills are operating with non-union crews. Several of the larger mills have also attempted to resume operations, but so far without success. Several of the would-be-to-be shingle weavers are in the hospital, and they will have a hard time growing new fingers.

At the present time we are carrying on an agitation among the marine transportation workers, which is in the process of formation. Will soon hear more of the progress being made in the Grays Harbor district.

LOCAL NO. 354, I. W. W.

WANTED.

Mike Finnagan, W. M. Jones and P. G. McCaffery, to communicate with the secretary of Local No. 437, Holtville, Cal. Address Theo. Ryan, Box 42, Holtville, Cal.

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OPEN LETTER TO REV. HINDLEY

(Continued from Page Three.)

more comfortable to look in on the suffering of the poor; to misrepresent these poor, and to denounce them for things of which they have never been guilty.

I shall expect to hear that you have rushed to the defense of the courts, for they are much in need of defense, and I presume that you will do anything that you are paid to do. This inference seems to be justified by what you have already done.

But I cannot believe that anything that you do, can be of any consequence, for it is very easy to see through your specious pleas. The masters will have to secure the services of some one who is more oily, more skilled in the arts of deception—not that you are unwilling, but that you lack the talent. Nature did not endow you with such talents as are now most in demand. That is not your fault, but from your point of view this is a great misfortune.

If you ever find it desirable and profitable to misrepresent the working class again, I hope that you will call to your assistance some one knows more of the art, the beautiful art of simulation. Your work is too coarse to attract much attention from any but the most vulgar of your class.

Now, Reverend, good-bye, and may we never meet.

D. BURGESS.

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN.

Spokane, Wash., Feb. 10, 1910.

We, the undersigned members of the auditing committee appointed by the C. E. C. of the Spokane Local of the I. W. W., having audited the books of E. O. Chinn, financial secretary, during his term of office, Feb. 9 to May 7, 1909, find as follows:

Table with columns: Receipts, Cash on hand Feb. 9, 1909, Initiations—Local No. 434, Local No. 223, Local No. 223, Local No. 132, Local No. 434, Branch 1, Local No. 434, Branch 2, Dues Stamps Sold—Local No. 434, Local No. 222, Local No. 223, Local No. 130, Local No. 434, Branch 1, Local No. 434, Branch 2, Hospital stamps sold, Collections, donations, Industrial Worker, etc., Bittons—594 at 25c, Grand total receipts, Feb. 9 to May 7, 1909, Grand total expenditure, Feb. 9, May 7, 1909.

Balance carried \$ 746.89

According to the present auditing of the books, Fellow-Worker S. O. Chinn should have been required to turn over to the organization the above amount (\$746.89) instead of the amount of \$775.04. Therefore there stands to his credit on the books the sum of \$28.15, and the rumor to the effect that he was short in his accounts is unfounded and an injustice to the said S. O. Chinn. Signed:

CHAS. BROWN, E. PORTER, D. G. GILLESPIE, A. A. SPAULDING, GEO. ADKINS.

(Seal)

STAY AWAY.

Clayton, Wash.

Lafayette Sawmill: The men employed in this have gone on strike for their pay. We have been waiting some time for the money which is due us; apparently there is no money at hand. Another case of the big fellow gobbling up the little ones.

The company is making efforts to secure men from the Spokane employment sharks. All men stay away until present difficulty is settled. Mill is thirty-five miles away from Spokane. CHAS. DUNPHY, Local No. 222.

THE I. W. W. PREAMBLE.

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

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

We find that the centering of the management of industries into fewer and fewer hands makes the trades unions unable to cope with the every-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 has interests in common with their employers.

These conditions can be changed and the interest of the working class upheld only by an organization formed in such a way that all industries if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or a 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 capitalism, 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.

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

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O. K. LOAN OFFICE 220 N. Stevens Street Tailor Made Suits, value \$15.00, at \$4.00 and up. Overcoats, value \$8.00, at 75c and up. Give us a trial. Strictly Second Hand. We've got the goods.

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