

# The Working Class And The Employing Class Have Nothing In Common.

# INDUSTRIAL WORKER

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## HAIL TO THE FIRST OF MAY

The remnant of the Spokane Free Speech (Conspirators) prisoners, or guests of Spokane county, reduced to the number of three, namely: Otto Justh, Hartwell Shippey and the undersigned, desire through the "Industrial Worker" and "Solidarity" to convey to the membership of the Industrial Workers of the World, our heartiest greetings in your May day issue.

May day destined to become the working class Labor day throughout the world, comes at the season of the year when all animate life appears to take to itself a renewed lease of courageous activity. While there are no seasons when the I. W. W. cannot both sow and reap; there is a special season for sowing the seeds of industrial organization, namely; during "industrial depression." There is correspondingly a special harvesting season, namely; during "industrial activity."

During industrial depression, the prices of commodities, including labor, fall. During industrial activity, the reverse is true. The years of 1907-08 and part of 1909 was a season of industrial depression. The reaction has been taking place for about a year, prices of commodities have been soaring skyward. The newspapers and magazines are discussing the reasons for the same, and all kinds of answers are being given. May day is an appropriate time for the I. W. W. to renew its activities.

At our May day gatherings throughout the land our speakers can give a scientific explanation of advancing prices, and why there are and must be strikes, and rumors of strikes, and the reasons for the same.

To the extent, that the I. W. W. was active in sowing the seeds of industrial organization during the late industrial depression; correspondingly will be the harvest ready for reaping. The only question is, are we ready and willing for the harvest? Remember fellow workers, the workers instinctively look to organization, in the battle of raising prices.

Autonomous trade or craft organization, have been well weighed in the balance, and found wanting in efficiency, by vast numbers of wage slaves, to be followed by still greater numbers in the near future.

The I. W. W. at its May day celebrations will have an opportunity to enlighten large numbers of workers of the good that "Industrial Power" through "Industrial Organization," is the only power that will avail them ought, not only in their battle to raise the price of their commodity, approximately to correspond with the raising prices of the commodities that they produce, but also is the only power, that will eventually "when sufficient of the workers are industrially organized" enable them to change the present capitalist system of producing commodities for sale by which the capitalists saddle themselves on the workers' backs, and build up in its place a system where the workers will secure for themselves all the benefits, to be derived from the commodities produced.

When the workers get a taste of industrial power, they will want more, and in this essential, they will be like the present owners of industrial power. This desire for the same thing, will inevitably lead to conflict, and must be looked forward to, so that the workers may find the line of least resistance, and direct their efforts to the best advantage.

To the writer the present outlook for the I. W. W. appears far brighter, than at any time, since it was born. Conditions are certainly ripe for us to obtain large results, if we will only make united efforts to obtain them. Every effort possible, should be made to increase the circulation of all our papers in their respective fields, not only the Industrial Worker, and Solidarity, but our "Polish," "Solidarity," "Spanish," "The Industrial Union" and "Japanese" Proletarian, also the new literature, which we can hope, to be steadily increased from now on.

Trusting the meetings of the Rebels will prove a great success everywhere, will conclude with:

Hail to the First of May,  
Labor's international holiday.  
For men, who know that might makes right,  
And are not scared, to make a fight  
Against ignorance, that dark despair  
Of the "Prowling Terrier" in his lair.  
Break our chains, so we can stand,  
Then take command, throughout the land  
Banish poverty, and misery,  
Establish "Proletarian" sovereignty.  
Your fellow worker,  
THOS. WHITEHEAD,  
Spokane County Jail.

The reports of the shortage of labor in some of the inland cities of the States of Washington are only fakes. Let the ranchers come through with decent conditions and wages, and they will have no trouble whatever to secure all the labor they need. In the meantime let us remember the coming harvest. Start the ball rolling for better conditions of employment. Start an agitation for shorter hours and better wages, and then when the harvest is ready, give the farmer and ranchers a taste of I. W. W. tactics. Make them come through with the goods before any grain is harvested.

## THE WORKER AND THE POLITICIAN BEFORE AND AFTER ELECTION



WORKER WANTS.



POLITICIAN PROMISES.



WORKER BOOSTS.



STUNG.

## THE THING WE ARE UP AGAINST

J. MOSS IN INDUSTRIALIST, ENGLAND. In the Morning Post for February 1st, there is a statement to the effect that according to Professor Garner of Harvard University, U. S. A., that country will, in 1912 or 1913 be visited by one of the worst panics in its history. In dealing with this question it must first of all be understood that these crises are not confined to any one country. Such being the case the intention is not to deal specially with the crises predicted by the Professor, but with crises in general.

These crises, as most people know, are periodical, and are termed by the capitalist class, financial panics. To the working class socialist though, something more is conveyed by them. We term them industrial crises, and base our contention on the fact that they are caused by the production of commodities exceeding to a great extent the consumption. Or, in other words, overproduction.

To the working class these crises should be demonstrative of the fact that the tremendous increase in production which has taken place through the introduction of machine labor, has not conferred any advantage upon them. To the capitalist class they are anomalies that the majority of them do not understand; so they leave the unravelling of them to their professors who can do nothing towards preventing them, and often put forward some idiotic twaddle about faulty banking systems being the cause. I do not insinuate that that these men do not understand the real cause, nor that the professor mentioned here has made such a statement; but it has been put forward no doubt with the idea of obscuring the real cause to other than the financial wire-pullers. It should be patent to everybody that these statements are false, inasmuch as these crises obtain in every commercial country, however perfect the banking system, or however different. Although the real cause has been stated numbers of times, in the different socialist papers and pamphlets it is unfortunate that it is still not understood by the majority of the working class. As a truth cannot be repeated too many times we will go over the ground again.

In the first place it is an obvious fact that year after year the total production in any country increases considerably. It is also a fact that the proportion which is consumed by the working class grows less yearly. On the other hand although the amount consumed by the employing class grows greater yearly, yet it does not increase in the same ratio as the rate of production. It follows from this that over a period of say 10 years a considerable surplus will be accumulated. The warehouses become stocked to overflowing with goods. The working class do not receive sufficient in wages to buy back any more than about a quarter of the wealth they have produced; the capitalists cannot consume the surplus, so a considerable amount remains on their hands. Although to the capitalist class a considerable amount of stock represents so much wealth, yet it is not much use to them unless they can turn it into cash. Owing to the enormous amount of stuff on the market they are unable to do so with a good portion of it. As it applies over the whole field of production, or perhaps it would be more correct to say, distribution, credit ceases to be given. Everybody wants gold. There is a rush on the banks, and as there is only sufficient gold to pay out a small portion of their liabilities, they soon become broke. The doors of the banks are closed and financial chaos reigns supreme. Factories close down because the owners have piles of stock which they cannot sell and numbers of workers are consequently thrown out of work. Numbers of small capitalists unable to stand the crash, succumb. The whole field of production is turned upside down. The thousands of workers who are affected are reduced to almost starvation. The country in which it takes place is face to face with one of the greatest anomalies it is possible to conceive of. Although the warehouses are stocked to overflowing with those things necessary for human comfort, thousands are starving. There is an abundance of food, yet the workers who produced it are without any. They have no bread because there is too much, no boots, cloths etc., because there too many of them.

Such a state of affairs can only exist in a system of society where the people who produce the necessities of life do not own their own products, or the means whereby they are produced. Such a state of affairs could not possibly exist if things were produced to meet the needs of the producers, and not as they are now, for the profit of a comparative few individuals who have no hand in their production, yet own them when they are produced. This is the logic of the capitalist system. This is the reason why industrial crises occur.

Seeing that these crises become more terrible each time they occur, because commodities continue to be produced in even greater abundance through the introduction of better machinery and the speeding up of labor, and also that the intervals between them are growing shorter and shorter, for the reason that,

(Continued on Page Three.)

**EXPELLED.**  
1015 Clay St., California Hall  
Oakland, Cal., March 13, 1910.  
Whereas, communication from Local Unions No. 272, Phoenix, Arizona, Local No. 12, Los Angeles, Cal., and fellow worker, Rees, warned and tried to show that fellow worker Dick Ford, is a crook, and

Whereas, the so-called fellow worker Ford, appealed to No. 173, San Francisco, Cal., to help him to build up Local Union No. 174, of Oakland, and No. 173 did all it could to help him to build No. 174, and in spite of our help and the desire of a large number of workers to organize in Oakland, he has not built it, but on the contrary there is practically no local and scarcely any record of what he had done; but said Ford has turned the I. W. W. to his own aggrandisement and benefit, and

Whereas, many wage workers have stated that they could not join the I. W. W. until Ford is put out of the organization, and

Whereas, when we in a fellow workers' manner asked for the books in order to carry on a systematic and organizing meeting, he went as far as to draw a knife on fellow worker, Brandesteeter, and only subsided on view of greater force; therefore, be it

Resolved by Local No. 173 and No. 174 in joint meeting assembled that in order to act promptly we suspend the rules of organization and order and proceed to expel Dick Ford from Local No. 174, I. W. W. Adopted unanimously.

Moved and seconded that Dick Ford be expelled from the I. W. W. Carried; one against it.

Moved and seconded, that we send a copy of this resolution to Locals No. 272, No. 12, and to the Industrial Worker and Solidarity for publication, and also, to general headquarters; carried.  
THOS. RAYM,  
Rec. and Cor. Sec'y. Prot.  
(Seal)

**EXPELLED.**  
Spokane, Wash., April 24, 1910.  
Industrial Worker:—I have been instructed by Local 223 to notify you, that James Wilson has been expelled from that local, and to ask you to put a notice in the Worker to that effect.  
I remain, yours for the I. W. W.,  
A. E. COUSINS,  
Recording Sec'y No. 223.

Perhaps Philadelphia wasn't awake after all. The noise we heard may have been simply a snore.

## SPARKS FROM A LIVE WIRE

Walker C. Smith.

Industrial Unionism is more than a form of organization; it is a system of fighting. A partial list of the tactics of the I. W. W. would read about as follows:

- Always strike without giving notice.
- Don't worry about the bosses property.
- Always strike in the busy season.
- Accept insults when business is dull and remember them.
- Limit the output to avoid stockpiling.
- Make the employer hire extra men whenever possible.
- Always demand shorter hours as well as higher wages when you strike.
- Don't sign contracts unless forced to do so.
- Break a contract if you can get a nickle raise a day.
- Don't rely upon sympathy or public opinion.
- Don't try to fight the employing class with money.
- Make an injury to one the concern of all.
- Accept no decision as final or binding.
- Remember that strikes are war.
- Remember that war is hell.
- Remember that "All's fair in love and war."
- Remember that you have no interests in common with your masters and that you are fighting for your class as well as yourself.

In the extreme eastern part of the United States the village philosophers sit around the stove and discuss the cause of hard times. The oracle rises to the occasion and states impressively that the reason for bad conditions is, "them furrin' dagoes." Going a little further westward you can meet a similar group. This time the cause is laid at the door of "the sheenies." In the middle western wheat belt hard times are attributed to "the Dutch." In Kansas, Missouri and that section, "the farmers' sons," are said to be to blame. In Colorado the fault is placed upon the shoulders of "the lungers." In Utah it is, "the Mormons." In Texas it is, "The Greasers," and so on through the various parts until you get to California. In California we find the real danger plainly exposed. An old German in talking to a fellow-worker got at the root of the matter

when he said, "Der troubles iss dot der iss too many Yaps." That's it. Too many Yaps. For the sake of three squares a day and the Industrial Republic quit being a Yap. A Yap is no good, it matters not what may be his nationality. Join the I. W. W. Don't be a Yap.

Ours is a winning cause. We may receive an apparent defeat, our forces may be scattered for a time, but victory is perched upon our banners and we will win. Social systems have come and gone. Beneath each like beasts of burden have remained the workers, increasing in number with each change. The middle class disappears through that power of combination which forces the workers from isolated production into the modern factory system. The skilled craftsmen succumb to the onslaught of the machine and is engulfed by the ever widening sea of proletarians. Subdivision of labor simplifies the machine process and adds to the army of the unskilled. The woman comes from the home; the child deserts the schoolroom; both swelling the hosts that are marshalling for the supreme battle. The field is now cleared—the class struggle stands forth in all its hideousness—common misery has forced the wage slaves to a common understanding. Capitalism is crumbling. The worker are undermining the foundation of the present order. And within the old is springing up the new. Capitalism is dying. The future belongs to the wage-workers. Ours is a cause that calls for the best in every worker. Are you fighting the battle of your class?

On the 18th of April J. Pierpont Morgan celebrated his 73d birthday. This old pirate is in failing health and before long may be expected to go the way of his fathers. This fact is unimportant to the workers except in calling attention once more to the fact that the capitalists play no necessary part in industry. Morgan's death would not affect industry in the least and so that it may not affect the stock juggling on Wall Street there has been formed a syndicate to take immediate charge of Morgan's affairs in case of death. Dire results were predicted as the result of the death of E. H. Harriman, but it seems that the old world wags on just the same. When J. P. is under the sod the wheels of industry will turn as before. The workers are the only necessary factor in industry and it is the mission of the I. W. W. to tell them this and to organize the workers to own the machinery they now operate.

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

INDUSTRIAL WORKER

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

"This is a free country," free to choose to work for a rancher at starvation wages, or work on a rock pile with ball and chain attached.

While the advancing prosperity is being heralded in all of our daily papers, we are informed that eleven shingle mills at Ballard are about to close down for an indefinite period.

Seattle papers at the present time are containing reports of the richness of the new Iditarod strike. From the columns of the Nome Industrial Worker, we gather the information that most of the people of the north, look upon the reports as a joke, and that men who have returned from the district report the strike all a frost.

The rich are rich because the poor allow themselves to be robbed by them, of the greater share of the wealth which they produce.

From the quiet which exists in the coal fields, one would imagine that the coal miners are trying to win themselves into the graces of their masters by "good behavior."

I buy jobs because you do. Let's quit. Economic freedom is the only solution to the labor problem.

Prosperity for the capitalist class means poverty for the working class.

We have always maintained that the "Hobo" in the eyes of the plutocrats, was a working-man out of a job. To be out of work and broke is a crime in the eyes of the capitalist class, yet they furnish not the means by which he is to make a respectable living.

"Our" country. How much of it do you own Mr. Blanketstuf?

The "Hobo" is a thing of the past. He has suddenly turned into a harvest hand, and so anxious are the ranches of our inland cities to secure his services, that they have solicited the aid of the police in "rounding up" all those not at work, and having them either take the alternative of working for a rancher at starvation wages, or working on the rock piles, with ball and chain for ornaments, gratis.

As is customary every spring the Seattle papers, mouthpieces of the Guggenhelms and other interests which control Alaska, are prating about the shortage of labor in Alaska. They hold out to the workers wonderful promises of the alluring wages. Cheap labor is their demand, and in order to beat down the existing wage scales they are willing to flood the country with men. The workers should bear in mind, that only last fall, that the U. S. Revenue Cutter Bear, had to be dispatched to Nome in order to furnish passage to the hundreds of men, who did not have the price of a steamship ticket back to the States.

The Industrial Workers demand that every man, woman and child receive plenty of food, clothing and shelter. Modern industry, with the aid of new machinery and new process of manufacture, is able to supply all the members of society with all the necessities and many of the luxuries, at a medium amount of labor. As it is in the present the class that produces all, receives barely sufficient wages to keep the worker in good working condition, and to be able to reproduce his kind. All this can be changed, by the workers organizing as a class, and taking and holding that which they produce by their labor.

A man wanting to live by work, yet finding no work to do—all the dramas of the poets furnish no figure more tragic than that spectacle. Here the man is in a world, not of his own choosing—in a world where he must eat his bread. Social conditions forbid him to work, and the laws forbid him to be idle. For he is gravely told that he must not be a vagrant. He is reminded that every man must have visible means of support; otherwise the jail swallows him. It is illogical, if not grotesque, in a government to punish a vagrant, when that government has not secured to him the opportunity to make a living by work. Edwin Markham.

Don't use stink-um-sweet to kill the odor of perspiration but organize in the I. W. W. for less sweat and more grub.

MAY DAY.

The International Socialist Congress, held in Paris, France, in 1889, adopted a resolution, presented by the American delegation, to set aside the First of May for the purpose of inaugurating a universal eight-hour movement. The following year, and ever since, that day has been celebrated as the International Labor Day; not as a concession granted by the grace of a capitalist parliament, as was the "Labor Day of America" in 1893, but declared and enforced by the workers themselves.

While this day was to mark the beginning of an agitation for a shorter workday, it soon assumed a new character. Today it is observed for the purpose of demonstrating the solidarity of the class-conscious workmen, to arouse the indifferent masses from their lethargy and to encourage self-reliance amongst the members of the working class; to propound the principles of a unionism that will educate and organize the workers of the world to strive for a goal that makes the eight-hour day only a mile-post in the onward march of labor to its complete emancipation from the thralldom of wage slavery.

With fire, determination and enthusiasm did the organized workers of all nations respond to the call. Extensive preparations were made; every progressive labor organization united its forces in its particular locality, so as to make a demonstration that would show the labor skinners of every clime that the working class was awakening; that it had confidence in its own intelligence and was able to organize its economic forces; a sign which would send the cold shivers down the backs of the ruling class and their servile tools.

The employers of labor took notice even before this demonstration occurred. "Prevent it if possible! Stop, or at least curb it, at the slightest provocation," was the cue given to the executioners of their will.

If the working class of the entire world, want to gain better conditions and freedom, it must do as the master class, unite its forces whenever opposing the capitalist class; and that is all the time and everywhere. What is considered at times peace is only a truce during which the workers should double their efforts in organizing themselves in the mill, mine and field, so to be prepared in resisting efforts at a lower standard of living; or as soon as conditions are favorable, for a successful battle for better conditions, and then play the aggressor.

Workmen of America, in the land where raw-boned capitalism is reaching its zenith, stand up and learn about your abject dependency upon the will and whim of a master or his slave-driver.

Are you willing to remain slaves forever, satisfied with crumbs thrown to you like to a dog from your master's table, which you alone had made and decked? Are you forever going to petition and beg for the return of a small portion of wealth which in its fullness you alone have produced? Are you forever going to wait for a great leader? Do you belong to that class who stood behind the soldiers watching their fellow workers marching by, or are you willing to fall in line, keep step with your shopmates and join the ranks of those who have come to the conclusion that labor will never achieve but what it can force the capitalist class to give up through an industrial organization like the Industrial Workers of the World? Those questions have been answered by hundreds of thousands, with an emphatic "we will not." Millions of leaflets and thousands of pamphlets have found their way into the hands of you workmen. Now is the time for all of you who have answered "No" to join the I. W. W. locals in your locality; to get out from behind the soldier and take your place in the ranks, or at the front. If you do this and work, not with a spontaneous enthusiasm, but with an earnest determination, the day will not be distant that will find the workers of America ready to take and hold that which they produce, by an economic organization of the working class.—A Workingman.

DIRECT ACTION.

With this number we begin the publication of a pamphlet on "Direct Action," by Arnold Roller, a German revolutionary author of a most advanced type, of wide knowledge and of a proletarian spirit. Most of the readers of the "Industrial Worker" have probably already made acquaintance with an earlier work of his, called "The Social General Strike," issued by the Freiheit Publishing Company of New York. The translation of "Direct Action" has been made, by John Sandgren, who came to this country a few months ago as a delegate from workers out on general strike in Sweden.

The work, which will probably be issued in pamphlet form in a short time, should be carefully studied by every worker, as it gives a splendid flashlight on the modern working class movement and especially on the most highly developed forms of tactics.

NOTICE TO CONTRIBUTORS.

The Industrial Worker needs write-ups and contributions from every part of the country upon matters of general interest. Contributors should write as briefly as possible—the space of the paper is limited—and as carefully as they know how, trying at the same time to make the matter as interesting as possible. Should your write-ups fail to appear it is because they have been crowded out by other matter.

We also expect reports from our readers on conditions in the place where they work, for the benefit of those who are looking for a job. Such information will be published under the head "Labor Exchange News Items."

THE SLAVE MARKETS OF LOS ANGELES

In the year of 1860, the master bought the slave. In the year 1910, the slave buys his master. In 1860 whenever a slave attempted to escape from his master, bloodhounds were put upon his trail, and he was captured and returned to his master against his will. But, Oh! how things have changed. When one walks along East Second street in the city of Los Angeles, (better known to the parasites as the city of the angels) and sees the slaves hungry, gaunt and homeless gazing at the job-signs, looking for a master, one would come to the conclusion that there any chance for the slave to secure a master by having a bloodhound placed upon his trail, there would be a rush to the kennels and the price of sausages would go soaring. As there are 23 slave markets here the slave is kept busy going from one S-H-A-R-K to another to dodge the police for fear of getting on the chain gang. The chain gang is a peach, they have a ball and chain fastened upon their legs for fear that they may escape, but it is not necessary to go to that trouble, for the slave is so submissive that he would not become rebellious under any circumstances. The reason they do not place the chain upon their arms is for the following reasons. As Los Angeles has 5000 real estate sharks, and as the highways must be improved to catch eastern suckers so that these sharks can have the good things of life; therefore by placing the chains upon their arms, they, the slave would be greatly hampered with their work in getting these highways in shape before another bunch of eastern suckers arrive. They also have a free employment office here that is run by the city. It would make a mule laugh to see the fallacy of it. 23 employment sharks having been given license by the city to fleece the slave and getting all the jobs, for the sharks' windows are plastered with job signs from top to bottom, while the FREE EMPLOYMENT OFFICE run by the city of the "angels" has never a job to give away, for the jobs to be gotten there are as scarce as hen teeth. In spite of all this handicap, the I. U. of L. A. are running a free employment office and getting quite a number of jobs much to the discomfiture of the sharks. Such are the conditions of the employment sharks in the glorious city of the angels. WM. R. SUTTON.

THINGS IN COMMON.

It has been said we have nothing in common with the employing class. Now, let us see if this is true. We work twelve to fourteen hours per day; for what? Because we have things in common. No! We do these things because we have nothing in common with our masters. We are so damn independent that we slave twelve to fourteen hours per day by this common method. We make bums, tramps, etc., out of ourselves and multi-millionaires of our masters. We dwell in bunk houses, barns, chicken coops, etc. The master lives in a mansion. We are kept in poverty—our master revels in luxury. Now, Mr. Slave, what are you going to do about it? Just talk, or act? It is up to you. Do you really think you can be considered a man, when you do not show one spark of manhood? When you let your master dictate all things to you; where you shall sleep; where you shall eat and what you shall eat and wear; how hard you shall work and how long. If you want those things changed you must do something to change them. Quitting the job and looking for one worse didn't do it; so what must we do? Organize of course. How? Industrially. Why? Because this is an industrial system of combined trusts, each trust backing the other in its industrial activity. Note the Phila. strike. Everything is in a trust except labor power and that is the cheapest commodity on the market. The I. W. W. is a labor power trust; are you going to get into this trust and help raise our commodity (labor power) to its full value, price, viz: the full product of our toil? Or are you going to keep on scabbing on your own conscience and fellow men? Be men not dumb driven cattle. get in this gigantic movement with its mottoes: "An injury to one is an injury to all." "Labor is entitled to all it produces." Recognizing only one union, one label and one enemy—the capitalist class. Its slogan, "Workers of the world unite, we have nothing to lose but our chains and a world to gain."

P. S. For arguments sake I will admit the workers have some things in common with the Palouse Farmer hogs, and that is the straw piles. E. COLLINS.

The master minds of all nations, in all ages, have sprung into affluent multitude from the mass of the nation, and from the mass of the nation only—not from its privileged classes; and so no matter what the nation's intellectual grade was, whether high or low, the bulk of its ability was in the long rank of its nameless and its poor, and so it never saw the day that it had not the material in abundance whereby to govern itself. Mark Twain.

What sort of society is this that has, to the extent that ours has, inequality and injustice for its basis? Such a society is fit only to be kicked out through the windows—its banquet tables, its orgies, its debaucheries, its scoundrelisms, together with all those who are seated leaning on the backs of others whom they keep down on all fours. The hell of the poor is the paradise the rich love to solace themselves in. Victor Hugo.

DIRECTORY I. W. W. LOCAL UNIONS

The following is a directory of the Industrial Unions and Branches of Industrial Unions of the Industrial Workers of the World in the United States and Canada. Secretaries of Unions are requested to notify the editor of any changes desired in this list. The General Officers of the I. W. W. are as follows:

General Secretary-Treasurer—Vincent St. John, 518 Cambridge Building, 55 Fifth Avenue, Chicago, Ill. General Organizer—Wm. E. Trautman, 518 Cambridge Building, 55 Fifth Avenue, Chicago, Ill. General Executive Board—Joseph J. Ettor, 100 Charters Avenue, McKees Rocks, Pa.; Elizabeth Gurly Flynn, Box 1600, Spokane, Wash.; Francis Miller, 17 Rosemont Terrace, Lymanville, R. I.; George Speed, 909 Howard Street, San Francisco, Cal.; T. J. Cole, 609 Anne street, Blue Island, Ill.

ARIZONA. Secretary, Town Address. 272—F. Velarde, Phoenix, 944 E. Van Buren St. 273—W. Welch, Globe, Box 1851. BRITISH COLUMBIA. 44—Alice Harding, Victoria, 1630 Pembroke street. 45—H. S. Cafferty, Vancouver, Room 3, 61 W. Cordova Street. 155—Bob Clark, Phoenix, Gen. Del. 322—W. B. Smith, Vancouver, Room 3, 61 W. Cordova Street. 326—A. E. Grant, Prince Rupert, Box 711. 525—A. L. Elliott, Nelson, Box 653.

CALIFORNIA. 1—George Paff, Los Angeles, 243 East Second street. 12—Wm. Allen, Los Angeles, 243 East Second street. 13—Benson Jaynes, San Diego, 960 India St. 18—W. R. Sautter, Los Angeles, 243 East Second street. 63—Wm. Erickson, Los Angeles, 243 East Second street. 66—W. F. Little, Fresno, 1114 Federal Alley. 173—J. Lebon, San Francisco, 909 Howard St. 174—A. Grädförter, Oakland, Gen. Del. 245—Chas. Miller, San Pedro, 212 Fourth St. 419—R. Vere, Redlands, Box 357. 437—Branch 4: James Carriges, Imperial, Box 267. 437—Peter LeBlanc, Holtville, Box 42. 437—Branch 2: J. H. Sanderson, Brawley, Box 485.

COLORADO. 26—Harry Weinstein, Denver, 124 14th Ave. ILLINOIS. 302—Car Builders, Hegewisch. 85—Branch 1: R. Stromberg, Chicago, 110 W. Elm Street. Branch 2: K. Rathje, Chicago, 935 Wells Street. Branch 3: E. Janicki, Chicago, 7 Emma St. 167—A. Simpson, Chicago, 1811 Oakdale avenue. 500—W. D. Berger, Pullman, 20 E. 103rd St.

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FROM LEWISTON, IDAHO. Industrial Worker: Conditions around here are as follows: wages \$2.25 up to \$3.00, 8, 10 and 12 hours per day. Board \$4.50, \$5.00 and \$6.00 per week, according to the wages paid. If \$2.25 per day is the wage scale, board is \$4.50 per week. The Lewiston Land & Water Co pay their slaves \$2.25 per day and charge \$4.50 per week for board, \$4.00 poll and road taxes. Conditions like this, 12 to 14 hours per day, sleep in tent on old musty straw four years old; poor board; a genuine slave driving plantation. This firm needs a touch of I. W. W. tactics to bring these grafters to their senses. When we landed on the job we lasted one day. We took a half a bale of good timothy hay to make a bed. Oh my! What a crime—hay \$24.00 per ton. Fired us without delay; sent the corral dog in to get the hay out of the bunk, told us we imagined we wanted a spring bed and mattress to sleep on. (We didn't imagine no such thing, we knew it.) We are about to launch a local hire of I. W. W.; got 14 charter members so far. Holding meeting this afternoon to complete the rest. Then watch our smoke. All I. W. W. members will find us when they come to Lewiston by dropping a card in P. O. to J. J. Mabbott. Del. organizer for I. W. W. in Lewiston, Idaho.

P. S. We pledge ourselves to this extent, that these are the actual facts in the above article. ED. COLLINS, KARL SCHEIDT, THOS LOFTUS, J. J. MABBOTT. WHAT THE SLAVES ARE DOING. You build the palaces; you make the furniture; you raise the wheat; you thresh the wheat; you grind the grain; you bake the bread; you cut the logs; you saw the lumber; you build the railroads; you tamp the ties; you run the trains; you dig the coal; you act on the police force; you man the army; you operate the guns in the navy; you provide well for the master; you do many things that you should not do and neglect precisely what you should do. Why don't you organize? The Industrial Workers of the World is the union that organizes all slaves in one union. If you want the good things of life—get busy. Do your part, and the work will be easy. The means of life lie before you; there is no reason why you should starve. Think it over. Which side are you going to take? Decide at once. It is your move. C. H. AXELSON. Minneapolis, Minn.



# ORGANIZE FOR REAL FREEDOM

Joseph S. Blessey.

I was buttonholed by a lean and shabby working man.

His clothes bore the stamp WAGE SLAVE and there seemed to be a strong attachment existing between the front of his stomach and the back bone—they were so close together.

"We Americans do not realize how well off we are," he said. "Look what they are doing to the Jews in Russia! I'm thankful that we live in a free country."

"Oh, h—!" I muttered as I pulled loose. Free country. The land of liberty.

Great snakes, will the slaves never learn? How proud we are of the freedom to beg and grovel before a corpulent boss for a chance to create wealth for him and earn the price of coffee and—

How we do love the freedom of the chain gang, with the 20-pound ball as an ornament whenever we are caught out of a job and broke.

How proudly we sing patriotic songs to the tune of clanking chains.

How much we appreciate the lonely life of carrying our homes on our backs, wandering about vainly hunting for a master to exploit us when we haven't the price of a job at the Employment Shark's.

How we do love to live in the glorious bunk houses in which the boss would be a fool to stable his poorest horse.

How pleasant it is to ask, in an organized way, for a better chance to live and get as an answer the swing of the policeman's club or the bullet from the gun of the thug hired by the master.

We appreciate the cosy bull pens and rotten jails, that are built for our special convenience.

Such pleasure; to be hunted down often with hounds, manacled, starved, sweated, beaten and often murdered—such delightful freedom.

We like it. We have not the heart to kick against such a fine arrangement.

We listen to the sage's advice and get married, hoping to live up to the standard and have a big family.

The wife may soon be forced to get out and help earn bread for the little ones when Tom has lost his job, which he never owned even if he did buy it.

The wife must ask to be exploited—she too is free.

To oblige her, poor soul, the good capitalist puts the woman to work and sees to it that she does not have to kick about getting enough work out in the long weary day—he sees to that.

Did she not want work? Is she not getting more than she can do?

That her thoughts are on the babies at home does not matter—she is free.

Tom in the meantime is dodging the officers, along the road, who get a bounty for landing him in jail for being out of work. That he is frantically hunting for work does not matter at all. He is free and has a chance of having his freedom confined somewhat, if caught broke.

He may get killed in a wreck or under the wheels. He has a right to do so. His name is not even mentioned in the daily and the

struggling little woman knows nothing about it.

She struggles on, hoping that Tom will soon send her money to satisfy the landlord and grocer. But no news from Tom.

Finally she and the children are evicted and the furniture seized. She loses her job when the new machine is installed and the child is put to work in her place at less pay. She can wander the streets hopelessly looking for some way out of the chasm that the modern system of freedom has plunged her.

We may read of an insane woman killing her children and committing suicide and the "good" people will hold up their hands in holy horror at such wickedness. But usually we read nothing about her. The woman goaded on by the plaintive cry of the little ones is forced to take a different step.

She meets with insinuating remarks, being still fair looking, and often gets a hint directing her to follow another mode of living.

The idea is too horrible, too repugnant for a woman—a mother. Her tears do not satisfy the hunger of the little ones and the mouth of the mother begins to take on a fierce determination as she sits and broods.

"What does it matter anyway?" she asks herself. "I do not count for much in this great free country. Even if I do burn in hell after I'm dead, I can not let the little ones suffer hell on earth. It's the only way left."

We do not read of this in the great daily, that praises our freedom to the sky. We may read of how a fallen woman was brought up in the police court and fined. We may become indignant that such a creature should have children and resist when the officers deprive her of them, to put them in some home to be farmed off to strangers.

She is bad. You know it because we have a free country.

She has become so bad that she does not care that her exploiters the "good" people who own the room, she occupies and charge her \$2 and \$3 a day rent and look down upon her; and their "virtuous" females draw their shirts clear lest they be contaminated by her touch—their victim.

"She is bad, very bad," you might say. Her parents did not take the trouble to instill the proper morals.

Look out, that those dependent upon you are not forced to the same level despite themoralizing. The machine is grinding along the same lines and may grasp your daughter and leave her as low as a woman can get in the present social system.

Many girls pass through the same experience and sink to a lower plane than the animals, becoming a sacrifice to the present system that holds them in bondage and traffics in her virtues.

A free country. How fine the words sound. A "free" man who can work when he must live though the ox has no such difficulty.

A "free" man who often has nothing to eat when working and generally when out of work no roof over his head. The poor-mule has both food and shelter, work or no work.

A "free" country where we think it horrible to beat a horse, but do not complain when our own skulls are cracked.

A "free" country where the colt is not allowed to work and pull heavy loads. We would complain for the poor misused colt, but the fact that our children are harnessed to the machine from the very cradle is unimportant.

A "free" country where the mare is turned into the pasture and carefully cared for before and after foaling a colt but our wives often give birth to children while harnessed to the machine and we have nothing to say. When an ante room is built to the shop that employs women so they can give birth to children in privacy, we applaud that as a sign of progress; but how we would all kick if the mare was treated in a similar manner.

A "free" country where men are maimed and killed for dollars and cents; where to protest against the oppressive evils is a crime that even the suffering slaves will condemn; where women are forced to work in shops and used often by overseers to gratify their passions; where the bodies of the little children are deformed, maimed and their very bones ground into profits; and where young girls, our daughters and sweethearts and sometimes widows are driven below the deadline to sell their bodies for bread.

Those who are satisfied with this form of freedom are consistent in sticking to it; but they have no right to force the rest of the working class to accept such freedom. They have no right to place those who are dependent upon them; whether a wife who may be forced to toil in the shop; or a son who must get into the factory when he should be in school or on the playground; or the daughter who may be forced into a life of a living hell; all through the ignorance of the father or husband who does not care to investigate and organize for something better.

He claims to be free. He supports all this. Its a damnable kind of freedom and we only stand for it through ignorance.

Get wise and organize and reach out for some real FREEDOM.

UNCALLED FOR LETTERS. F. Hetland, R. D. Ferguson, Fred Herrmann, John McClellan and Emil Christian, can obtain letters addressed them and which are at present at the San Francisco headquarters of the I. W. W., by addressing the undersigned.

J. LEBON, Fin.-Sec'y, L. U. No. 173, 909 Howard St., San Francisco, Cal.

F. P. Lillie, a letter addressed to you will be mailed to your present address, upon receipt of notice by the undersigned. AIGGO FRAHE, Rec.-Sec'y, No. 245, 312 Fourth St., San Pedro, Cal.

# CHARTERED SINCE LAST CONVENTION

|   |  |
|---|--|
| No.   |  |
| 1   | Los Angeles, Cal., Oct. 26, 1909, Metal and Machinery Workers. |
| 2   | Muncie, Ind., March 15, 1910, Metal and Machinery Workers.     |
| 13  | San Diego, Cal., Dec. 27, 1909, Mixed Local.                   |
| 18  | Los Angeles, Cal., Sept. 26, 1909, Building Workers.           |
| 26  | Denver, Colo., July 27, 1909, Mixed Local.                     |
| 27  | Wagoner, Okla., Feb. 24, 1910, Mixed Local.                    |
| 33  | Darby, Mont., Nov. 3, 1908, Lumber Workers.                    |
| 34  | Potomac, Mont., Dec. 5, 1908, Lumber Workers.                  |
| 35  | St. Regis, Mont., Nov. 23, 1908, Lumber Workers.               |
| 36  | Deer Lodge, Mont., Dec. 5, 1908, Mixed Local.                  |
| 39  | Billings, Mont., Aug. 4, 1909, Mixed Local.                    |
| 40  | Misoula, Mont., June 12, 1909, Lumber Workers.                 |
| 41  | Great Falls, Mont., Aug. 19, 1909, Mixed Local.                |
| 45  | Vancouver, B. C., Dec. 29, 1909, Lumber Workers.               |
| 63  | Los Angeles, Cal., Oct. 27, 1909, Public Service Workers.      |
| 65  | Negaunee, Mich., Aug. 30, 1909, Public Service Workers.        |
| 66  | Fresno, Calif., Oct. 27, 1909, Mixed Local.                    |
| 75  | Lorain, Ohio, Dec. 4, 1909, Mixed Local.                       |
| 93  | Portland, Ore., Aug. 11, 1909, Lumber Workers.                 |
| 99  | Woonsocket, R. I., Dec. 8, 1908, Mixed Local.                  |
| 131   | Seattle, Wash., Jan. 11, 1909, Hotel and Restaurant Workers.   |
| 132   | Spokane, Wash., Feb. 6, 1909, Hotel and Restaurant Workers.    |
| 137   | Minneapolis, Minn., Oct. 26, 1909, Building Workers.           |
| 138   | Laurium, Mich., June 23, 1909, Building Workers.               |
| 139   | Sioux City, Ia., May 10, 1909, Building Workers.               |
| 140   | Cheyenne, Wyo., Jan. 30, 1909, Building Workers.               |
| 143   | Pittsburg, Pa., Nov. 23, 1909, Packing House Workers.          |
| 144   | Chicago, Ill., March 1, 1910, Packing House Workers.           |
| 151   | Providence, R. I., March 11, 1910, Garment Workers.            |
| 174   | Oakland, Cal., Dec. 7, 1909, Mixed Local.                      |
| 200   | Muncie, Ind., Nov. 23, 1909, Glass Workers.                    |
| 201   | Anderson, Ind., Jan. 25, 1910, Metal and Machinery Workers.    |
| 223   | Spokane, Wash., Oct. 5, 1909, Building Workers.                |
| 237   | Helper, Utah, Feb. 28, 1910, Coal Miners.                      |
| 245   | San Pedro, Cal., Jan. 24, 1910, Harbor Workers.                |
| 291   | Scho-Pittsburg, Pa., Jan. 24, 1910, Pipe Mill Workers.         |
| 292   | Woods Run, Pa., Jan. 27, 1910, Car Builders.                   |
| 293   | S. Pittsburg, Pa., Nov. 30, 1909, Steel Workers.               |
| 294   | Martins Ferry, O., Nov. 15, 1909, Mixed Local.                 |
| 295   | Massillon, O., Oct. 19, 1909, Tin Plate Workers.               |
| 296   | McKees Rocks, Pa., Sept. 2, 1909, Car Builders.                |
| 297   | New Castle, Pa., July 31, 1909, Mixed Local.                   |
| 298   | New Castle, Pa., Aug. 2, 1909, Tin Mill Workers.               |
| 299   | Lyndora, Pa., Aug. 4, 1909, Car Builders.                      |
| 300   | Kalspell, Mont., March 23, 1909, Transportation Workers.       |
| 301   | Hammond, Ind., Dec. 29, 1909, Car Builders.                    |
| 302   | Hegewisch, Ill., Feb. 5, 1910, Car Builders.                   |
| 303   | So. Chicago, Ill., Jan. 8, 1910, Steel Workers.                |
| 316   | Anacortes, Wash., Oct. 30, 1909, Wood Workers.                 |
| 326   | Prince Rupert, B. C., April 7, 1909, Mixed Local.              |
| 337   | Bellingham, Wash., Nov. 30, 1909, Mixed Local.                 |
| 354   | Aberdeen, Wash., Jan. 31, 1910, Mixed Local.                   |
| 363   | Highland Falls, N. Y., March 23, 1909, Building Workers.       |
| 391   | Donora, Pa., June 4, 1909, Coal Miners.                        |
| 392   | McDonald, Pa., Aug. 31, 1909, Coal Miners.                     |
| 393   | Monongahela Cy, Pa., Sept. 23, 1909, Coal Miners.              |
| 400   | Bedford, Ind., Nov. 8, 1909, Quarry Workers.                   |
| 405   | Butte, Mont., March 2, 1910, Bakery Workers.                   |
| 424   | Deer River, Minn., July 17, 1909, Lumber Workers.              |
| 515   | Pittsburg, Pa., Dec. 28, 1908, Coal Miners.                    |
| 516   | Parsons, Pa., Jan. 20, 1909, Coal Miners.                      |
| 518   | Jessup, Pa., Jan. 31, 1909, Coal Miners.                       |
| 524   | Scranton, Pa., Feb. 10, 1909, Building Workers.                |
| Locals directly affiliated                        | 63   |
| Locals in the Textile Industry                    | 3  |
| Total   | 66   |
| Number of Charters issued in Different Industries |  |
| Quarry Workers                                    | 1  |
| Bakery Workers                                    | 1  |
| Metal and Machinery Workers                       | 3  |
| Mixed Locals                                      | 15   |
| Building Workers                                  | 8  |
| Lumber Workers                                    | 7  |
| Public Service Workers                            | 2  |
| Hotel Workers                                     | 2  |

|                        |    |
|------------------------|----|
| Packing House Workers  | 2  |
| Garment Workers        | 1  |
| Class Workers          | 1  |
| Coal Miners            | 7  |
| Harbor Workers         | 1  |
| Steel Workers          | 5  |
| Car Builders           | 5  |
| Transportation Workers | 1  |
| Wood Workers           | 1  |
| Textile Workers        | 2  |
|                        | 66 |

## THE THING WE ARE UP AGAINST.

(Continued from Page One.)

owing to quicker production, the warehouses are stocked in a shorter time, it becomes no wonder that the capitalist class are at their wits end to know how to deal with them. They form trusts, to try and regulate the supply to the demand but it is obvious that they have failed to have the desired effect, because America, the home of the trust has as bad, if not worse, crises than any other country. It is true that one or two of the largest capitalists are able to take advantage of these panics and enhance their power as for instance Pierpont Morgan in the last one in America, but they hit very hard at the greater number of the smaller capitalists. It is the working class though, who suffer the most. They have absolutely nothing to fall back on. Their scanty wages are swallowed up each week in the attempt to live. When the crash comes, thousands have to give up the attempt.

The capitalist class find the forcing of a war a very efficient way of getting rid of a good portion of the surplus products, and incidentally some of the surplus workers. Also for the purpose of opening up new markets upon which to dump them. This was no doubt one of the main reasons why the biggest portion of the capitalists went so hysterical over the South African War. To use an aphorism, "there was a method in their madness."

It might be interesting to point out as a proof of our contention that during the time Roosevelt was President of the United States, his private secretary said: "Unless we have a war there must come a commercial crisis." He did not say so but the inference was that they wanted a war badly. From this, one can understand why the workers are lashed into a frenzy of patriotism. Why racial hatred, blood lust, and the war spirit is instilled into them from birth? It shows fairly clearly that the patriotism of the capitalist class extends just as far as their economic interests. It is the workers all the time who are the victims of their dastardly methods.

It might be asked, how do we propose to deal with these crises? We do not propose to deal with them at all, as such. What we propose to do is to deal with the cause, the capitalist systems. We are out to organize might, if they were to force the employing class to surrender to them some of the wealth that they (the workers) produce, and at the same time prevent the employers from speeding them up, succeed in reducing their extent, but they could not completely prevent them, except by abolishing their cause, the present system. The organizing of the workers on the industrial field is the key to the situation. We call upon the workers to come in and organize for the purpose of putting an end to this sort of thing. However much the evolutionary socialist may argue that as a consequence of these crises capitalism is killing itself, it is not the point. It may or may not be true, but for our part we are not so much concerned about whether capitalism is killing itself, as with what is going to supersede it. It is by no means certain that if such a thing were to take place, what would follow would be advantageous to the working class, that is if we were to sit tight and wait for it to happen. It is purely fatalistic doctrine, and one which is not in accordance with a scientific conception of things. I say this in passing, because the question has been dealt with a number of times. Industrial Unionism places the workers in a position to be able to take full advantage of the fact of capitalism destroying itself and constitutes the framework of the new society.

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.

## NEW HEADQUARTERS

The Spokane Locals of the I. W. W., Nos. 132, 222, 223 and 434 have established new headquarters at 616 Front Avenue, near Wall Street. All those wishing to pay dues will find the Secretary at this location.

MEETING NIGHTS.  
Local 434—Monday evening, 7:30 p. m.  
Local 223—Wednesday evening, 7:30 p. m.  
Local 222—Monday evening, 7:30 p. m.  
Local 132—Wednesday evening, 7:30 p. m.

T. H. DIXON, Sec'y Executive Com.

HEADQUARTERS OF THE INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD.  
1524 Fifth Avenue, Seattle, Wash.  
Reading room open from 8 a. m. to 10 p. m.  
Library contains a long list of books dealing with the labor problem.  
Pamphlets on Industrial Unionism for sale at the following prices:  
Industrial Unionism ..... 5c  
Eleven Blind Leaders ..... 5c  
Social General Strike ..... 5c  
I. W. W. Song Books ..... 10c  
Industrial Worker, single copy ..... 5c  
Solidarity ..... 5c  
Propaganda meetings held every Sunday at 8 p. m.  
CHAS. F. WILLIAMS, Sec'y Propaganda Committee.

# A FUTURE FIRST OF MAY

The agricultural workers are moving early towards the centre of festivities. Let us accompany them. The commodious aeroplane or monorail speed through pleasant surroundings.

We note intensity of cultivation. The soil has at last become completely subservient to the benefit of humanity. Useless weeds have vanished. The dwellings are adorned by beautiful vegetation. Our fellow workers are engaged in much general conversation and witty repartee. Let us turn our attention to them. There is absence of formality. The prevailing spirit is pure democracy. All address each other without restraint as men and women of common interests and intentions.

And their appearance? The faces free from the sad degeneracy so prevalent in late capitalism; free from suffering, free from the care-worn lines. Their physique bears signs of abundant health. Science has conquered disease. The blood courses pure and strong. They are goodly to look upon.

We are carrying flowers, for on this the happiest day of the year, our first duty is to remember those who have made it so. We have passed the industrial residential outskirts, passed the factories silent for the day. Great crowds already concentrate upon the cemetery, children and all bearing flowers, whose perfection is the pride of many Burbanks.

Labor has made this ground equal to any on the continent. Certain agreements have similarized a few features in America. All have central replica of the Altir monument. In burnished gold are the words: The day will come when our silence shall be mightier than the voices you strangle today. The obscure pioneers are not forgotten. The orators have spoken appropriate words. The concourse awaits the most impressive event.

Every fellow worker in the northern continent. The few who have duties have ceased from labor. All at attention. At the same instant from every spire and dome and peak, the crimson emblem unfurls. Every voice throughout the land takes up the sacred song. From sea to sea the synchronized melody seems to embody the sorrows and aspirations of the past. We now follow the pleasure seekers through the thoroughfares.

Electricity plays an important part but there are no overhead wires to mar the harmony of architecture. Heavy cables are underground. Indeed, the ether pulsates for us.

There are no police. There are no locked doors. There is wine for all but there are no drunkards. Articles of great value lay in museums and public places, but no one steals their common property. The dining halls are communal today and such varieties of wholesome foods. Fruits and vegetables fresh from the South. Wines from Rhine and Burgundy. We have attended the meetings where we see the workers of other countries upon screens and hear their voices. The night has come. The halls of song and dance are lighted by ethereal lanterns. Never were such merry-makers.

A May day in Civilization has gone.

J. FLOYD.

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**"SOLIDARITY"**

**LABOR EXCHANGE NEWS ITEMS**



All members of the I. W. W., especially those employed in the camps, should send in reports to this labor exchange column, so that the membership may be kept posted on the conditions existing in said camps or places of employment. What we want is good, reliable information. In sending in reports do not exaggerate the faults or poor conditions existing at such places of employment. We know that as a rule the conditions under which we are forced to labor are bad enough, but the thing is not to make them appear any worse than they are. We want information that can be relied upon. When the boss hires men from the employment sharks state the name of your local union or the city where the men are shipped from. Job cards on which to make out the reports can be had for the asking, either from the secretary of your local union or by writing to this paper. In going out to camp do not fail to take one or more of these along and to make the same out and mail to the paper before leaving.

**IONE, WASH.**

**Panhandle Lbr Co.**  
Building a saw mill at the present time. Common labor \$2.50 per day. Good accommodations. Bosses alright. I. W. W. men can catch on. I. & W. N. grade here wants men at every camp. Wages \$2.50 to \$2.75, clearing right-of-way. Tunnel heading \$3.00.

W. McDUGOLD.

**BREMERTON, WASH.**

**Kent Lbr. Co.**  
Wages \$2.50 to \$4.00. Board is fair. Sleep in bunkhouse—four in a room. There are no top bunks. Company furnishes springs and mattresses. Hire men from Pacific Coast Employment Agency at Seattle. A person can get work here most any time without going to the employment sharks.

MEMBER LOCAL NO. 432.

**GLENDAVE, MONT.**

There are two camps about a mile west of Glendave. One is a bridge gang and the other a grading camp. Wages are \$2.25 per day providing you stay a month. If you do not stay a month you are paid off at \$2.00 per day. Hospital fee \$1.00. The grub is the poorest ever, and the camps are generally filthy. In Glendave a man by the name of Berry is building a hotel. Until lately he has been paying \$1.25 per day and board, but is now paying .50 per day. There are no other fees. He appears to be a little leary of keeping any one over a few days, especially revolutionists, because of the last encounter. He also has a ranch outside the town near the N. P. Railroad. The bunkhouses are filthy and the grub the poorest. He has a hotel rented on the corner and the workers eat the trimmings, which are left over.

JOHN FUHRMANN.

**SNOQUALMIE, WASH.**

**Industrial Worker:**  
I have none of those blank information cards, describing the condition in camps, no kind of an information card would be suitable to describe the conditions anyway. To describe them as fierce is certainly not severe enough. This is a tunnel camp and is much dirtier than the usual tunnel camp, which are most always, even dirtier than logging camps. Of course the food in most camps is poor, but the food here is poorer than the rest. Dining room not clean. For instance; cream pitchers were probably not washed since the camps started, dishes generally greasy. All due no doubt to the kitchen force being overworked. Wages are \$2.50 to \$4.00. Underground work is 8 hours per day and outside ten. Anyone can get on who has a strong back. No weaklings need apply. Three shifts working and you are lucky if you obtain 4 to 5 hours sleep. You may get around that, though by taking your blankets under your arm and making for the woods, sleeping out on the ground.  
Yours for the Beefsteak Revolution.  
F. J. McDONALD.

**DIRECT ACTION**

(Revolutionary Labor Union Tactics.)

By **ARNOLD ROLLER,**  
(Author of "The Social General Strike.")  
Translated from the German by **John Sandgren.**

(Continued from last issue.)

In the United States, in that country of a most brutal and raw capitalistic despotism and undisguised trustocracy, which counts about 2,000,000 of organized workers, the trade unions have already become submissive tools in the interests of the capitalists and are based on the principle of common interests between capital and labor, on harmony between the exploited and the most brutal of exploiters that the world ever saw, the American trust magnates and billionaires. As if to symbolize this principle, Samuel Gompers, all-powerful and vested with almost autocratic authority, president of the American Federation of Labor, functions as the vice-president of the notorious "Civic Federation," a class conscious organization of capitalist magnates and millionaires, an organization which has for its acknowledged aim to steer America towards imperialism and to make labor as submissive as possible to capital. It is under the guidance of such leaders that the American labor unions during late years have been compelled to accept wage reductions as fast as the employers have seen fit to order them, while in the meantime the corporations have been paying their shareholders dividends of as much as 75-80 per cent. Nearly all strikes have been lost over there, for often enough it has happened, as f. i., when in the mine workers' strike at the moment it began to become dangerous to the capitalists, the Mitchells and the Gompers ordered their disciplined and peacefully striking obedient trade unionists to return to work, on the ground that otherwise the supply of coal would soon give out and that under any circumstances it would not do to leave the country without coal; that they must not extend their strike so far that they thereby would injure the industry and commerce of the country, and so on!

While in Europe the near-at-hand comparison has often been made that workmen, when, by compulsion they must march as soldiers against other working men, they are the watchdogs of capital, consequently their own watchdogs against themselves—what is to be said about the American labor unions, whose members in great numbers voluntarily belong to the militia, by which body they at any moment, particularly during a strike, may be called out for the purpose of "maintaining order" against their own fellow workers on strike!

Solidarity in the trade union movement is equal to zero. During the great strike of the miners in Colorado in 1904 Gompers sent out a circular to all unions prohibiting them from in any manner supporting the strikers of the "Western Federation of Miners," because, during their strike, they had not cared to endure all the brutalities of the capitalist magnates and their police in passive submission and stolid peacefulness.

During this strike organized locomotive engineers carried the coal mined by the strike breakers and ran the trains in which the strikers were deported by the hundreds to the desolate sagebrush country of New Mexico and Kansas.

This passiveness, this spirit of "legality" in the American working class is to a great extent responsible for the fact that today capitalist highhandedness in America is most shameless, the power of the trusts unlimited, and for the fact that the working class is evermore sinking down to the level of slaves without any rights. While all the great strikes in America during the last years have been miserably lost, while the defeated strikers have humbly begged to be put back to work again, and all the time have had to put up with wage reductions, the most of living has risen about 30 per cent in five years. And all this is taking place while the capitalists are taking possession of an ever larger, ever increasing per cent of the constantly growing product of labor and the national wealth.

After every wage reduction the trust people have still been raising the price of their goods. The following statistical figures (which are every year becoming more glaring—Transl.) show conclusively absolute decline in the living conditions of the American proletariat.

In 1890 the total value of production was 46 billion dollars; in 1900 it was 65 billions, consequently an increase in production of 41 per cent.

In 1890 the sum total of wages paid was 11 billions; in 1900 it was 13 billions. The sum total of the wages consequently increased only 19 per cent.

Accordingly the working class of America received in 1890 24 per cent., or about 1-4 of the total value of production, the result of its own toil, while in 1900 the workers received only

20 per cent., or 1-5 of what they produced with their labor.

This terribly depressing result for the American labor movement, this disregard for the proletariat we find notwithstanding their exceedingly severe, two million strong organization and their so well-filled treasuries. It would be more correct to say, on account of these circumstances; for in peaceful waiting during the strikes, the striking workers have put their faith solely in their organization and their treasuries and their morbidly sacred respect for the laws—the laws of, by and for the capitalists and their property—they never for a moment consider that courage, determination, energy and revolutionary quick action, as in every other struggle, determines the outcome of the struggle even in wage conflicts, and that the most effective solidarity is not manifested through money but through strikes in other occupations—sympathetic strikes. In every battle it is not so much a question of the number of fighters and the war funds, as rather of the spirit of the combatants.

Of fighting for a higher ideal, such as a socialist society, there can be absolutely no question as far as the American and the English workers are concerned, for they recognize the necessity of continued wage slavery and capitalism.

\*Translator's Note: (While the author's analysis of American labor union conditions is strikingly correct, it is to be noted that it applies only to the American Federation of Labor and similar unions. The Industrial Workers of the World is an organization whose principles and policies more coincides with the opinions of the author.)

In Europe it does not look any better where the unions are filled with the same peaceable, legal and timid spirit. Of England we have spoken above and we shall now see how economic and social conditions have developed in Germany during late years.

Especially the two last years have been very instructive. Who could ever forget the notable weavers' strike of Crinitzschau? The defeat alone of this strike furnished the proof that the waiting tactics hitherto used by labor unions are destined to remain unsuccessful. For months the attention and the sympathy of the whole German social democracy was directed upon these weavers of Sachsen, "the red monarchy," these workers who were struggling for an existence a little more worthy of human beings. Support was flowing in bountifully from all sides, the strike treasuries were full, strike benefits were assured for many months forward—after the end of the strike there still remained a surplus of 77,000 marks—but in spite of all this the workers were beaten and had to meekly submit to numberless annoying rules and regulations. Like an obedient herd of sheep, the workers went back under the yoke, when the main leaders of the German labor movement ordered them to do so, while the foremost papers of the movement defended such action with the hope that the workers would be more patriotic than the capitalists and not by prolonging the strike, destroy a flourishing community, the industry, the commerce and the well-being of the Bourgeoisie of Crinitzschau!

\*Translator's Note: (Just as these lines are being written the news arrives that German social-democracy in order to reform suffrage in Prussia, has been compelled to resort to direct action—mass demonstration, etc. At the same time they threaten with a general strike—all for a political reform. For those who have a sense of humor, this is certainly a gem.) This is the same kind of action, the same sort of reasoning as that of Gompers and Mitchell.

This strike at Crinitzschau has its importance for the reason that it is a boundary stone in the history of Germany's economic battles. With this strike begins the unbroken series of defeats for the workers in all strikes, and begins the time from which the victorious capitalists ever more take to the offensive and the wage conflicts become ever more extensive.

But it is also from this time on that in Germany and Austria isolated voices, even though far apart, began to loudly proclaim that it could not possibly be allowed to go on in this way any longer; from this time on the conception finally began to arise that the millions and the billions of the capitalists cannot be overcome with the strikers' pennies, that the mere existence of an organization and a strike fund cause the capitalists no fear and never can force them to concessions.

As if to prove this truth there came in rapid succession similar, terrible lessons. The giant strike of the mine workers in the Ruhr district, in which 200,000 workers took part, could not but be lost. Not only was, as always, quiet, peaceful waiting preached, but they even went so far as to create a social democratic police force of their own. Guards with a band around their arm who were to prevent the capital of the exploiters, the mines, from being injured, or any strikebreaker from being roughly handled—in short who were to prevent the capitalists from being in any manner seriously threatened, so that it would not by any means come to real and direct struggle against those who were using starvation as their weapon. They limited themselves to an attempt to give the strike the character of a sort of peaceful, waiting demonstration with the purpose of perhaps in this way getting concessions granted as a recognition of "good behavior."

The similarly organized mine workers in other districts such as Sachsen, Bavaria, etc., showed their solidarity on the one hand by strike contributions, but on the other hand in this peculiar manner that they during the strike worked overtime and mined thousands of carloads more coal, which was sent out to be used in the various industries during the strike, that is in the service of the capitalists.

It was easy for these well organized, disciplined workers to show a solidarity consisting in collecting 5 marks in wages for mining strike breakers coal, and sent 5 pennies out of this as strike help. While the workers in the Ruhr district were striking and starving, their political representatives were parlaying in the parlaments and really succeeded in obtaining some promises of improvements in the law.

Self-evidently the thought never occurred to the German labor leaders to exert a really strong pressure on all employers by extending the strike to the whole coal industry. That could have caused hardships to the whole industrial life, but this the labor leaders did not want to do, although this undoubtedly would have been a much more energetic measure than limiting the strike to one district.

From the employers themselves not the slightest promise was obtained, but the workers put their faith in the indirect effect of the ordinances and laws of the state in their favor. Naturally the miners' laws which after the end of the strike were adopted by the Prussian parliament were of such a nature that they created still more unfavorable conditions for the workers than those existing before the strike.

Still the social-democratic party declared the outcome of the strike to be a "moral victory," while the bourgeois and reactionary press of Germany expressed "public praise to the strikers for their quiet behavior. (Vorwärts, Feb. 2, 1905.)

Wonderful rebels in truth, these slaves who pride themselves upon the fact that their lords and exploiters give them praise for their good and harmless conduct.

The social-democratic papers drew from this strike the lesson, which they announced to their credulous readers, that the workers "must still more strengthen their organization and fill their strike treasuries, for in the modern battle it is the treasury that turns the scale," which in other words means that the workers were promised victory when the treasury of the workers turns the scale over the capitalist treasury, consequently when the workers shall have more money than the capitalists. And this incredible absurdity still is believed by many workers.

Wait, wait until the labor unions have more money than the millionaires and the trusts. Well, in this case the millionaires would perhaps be compelled to strike, and as the workers already are richer than the capitalists they have brought socialism about by "saving" and buying and need not struggle to gain it through a social revolution.

Unfortunately this is neither a joke nor an exaggeration. In February, 1903 "Metallarbeiter-Zeitung," (Berlin) in an article on the idea of the general strike was deriding the French workers because they still prefer to give their blood to giving their money for their emancipation.

The strike of the metal-workers in Berlin in the same year, which strike lasted 21 weeks and at the back of which stood the 200,000 strong federation of German metal-workers, was animated by the same spirit and was, of course, lost.

The strike of the Berlin electricians, in which conflict the employers were the aggressors and in modern Anglo-American style locked out 40,000 men, also naturally ended with complete defeat for the workers, who contented themselves with the old method of waiting, perhaps in the hopes of forcing the shareholders to surrender through starvation, these shareholders of companies which have a capital of two hundred millions each.

Translators note: What the author in the foregoing pages has said about labor union tactics in Europe is so strikingly similar, to what has happened and is happening continually in the United States that we only have to admire ourselves in his mirror. The only difference is that while in Europe these events are so comparatively uncommon as to attract a startled attention and cause caustic comment here in America they are the order of day and scarcely worth noticing. What startles the labor world in the United States is when something different happens. However, this work is not intended to give the history of the 40 years aimless wandering in the desert of the American labor movement. A work of this kind would require a much larger volume, than the present for this reason the American workers are referred to their daily press and their already voluminous labor literature for comparison.

(To Be Continued.)

**NOTES.**

Aug. Waigust informs us that Local No. 380, Harbor Workers at Tacoma, Wash., is again on the map, and preparing to carry on an active campaign to recruit new members. He reports that prospects are very promising at the present time, and that with the active efforts of the present membership, the local can build up a good membership.

Fellow Worker Bert Clark, of Phoenix, B. C., writes to the paper in relation to bundle order of the Industrial Worker and requests that the Local there, which has been reorganized be placed in the directory "for we are going to do business."

He reports that the Mother Load Mine and the smelter at Greenwood are out on strike. The miners were called out, owing to a grievance over the electrical workers and four scabs. Over 400 miners are out, the W. F. M. claiming jurisdiction over all the craft unions. The fight promises to be a severe one, the mine owners having stated that they are going to bust up the W. F. M.

In many states in this country a person is taxed if he owns more than \$200 worth of property. The majority of the wage-slaves don't come within \$198 of being affected by this law.

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Give us a trial. Strictly Second Hand. We've got the goods.

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OUR COFFEE CAN'T BE BEAT

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The only 25-cent Meal House in Missoula, Mont.  
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308 WASHINGTON STREET  
GROSS & CAROTHERS PROPRIETORS.  
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We Feed More Workingmen Than Any Place in Town  
OUR "COFFEE AND" IS KNOWN  
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