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Chicago, June 1, 1907.

THE CRISIS PASSED; WE REVIEW THE FACTS

For the information of thousands of workers who have joined the Industrial Workers of the World in the past six months, and in response to requests from various parts of the country, a review of the causes that led to the so-called "split" in the convention held in this city last September is herewith submitted in part, and will be completed in next week's Bulletin. The facts will be stated in the briefest form consistent with the object in view, which is to put the truth squarely before all whom we are able to reach. At no time have we had any other object in view, except that the members of the organization and its friends should know the facts. We have never at any stage since the convention adjourned on the 2d of last October had the shadow of a doubt as to what the final outcome of the alleged "split" would be. The results at this time, when the faction headed by C. O. Sherman and C. E. Mahoney, is so thoroughly vanquished that the only matter in which they are mutually concerned relates to the payment of the debts which they have incurred, completely justify the measures resorted to for the ousting of fakery and the preservation of the organization. What the measures were we shall narrate, as we shall also show that the course pursued by the rump faction, prior to and in the convention itself, led up to necessity and with logical sequence to the fight and overthrow of those who sought for personal and mercenary ends to control the organization. Prefacing the review we are about to make are based upon facts, and that we challenge refutation from any source, a single point in this indictment, we begin with the adoption of the constitution by the convention of 1905 and the election of general executive board.

(1) The convention of 1905 elected a provisional constitution and adopted a Provisional Board of seven to conduct the affairs of this organization until the next national convention. (See stenographic report of proceedings of first convention—pages 405-512.)

(2) Among the members of the executive board upon which the convention acted as above were C. H. Moyer and C. O. Sherman. Moyer was chairman of the committee on constitution. (See page 406 of the report.)

(3) The Provisional Board of seven was instructed to submit a draft of revised constitution to the 1906 convention. (4) Instead of reporting to the board charged with this duty, the members of the Provisional Board sought to perpetuate their members in office, and C. E. Mahoney, when advised in a meeting of the board before the convention, that it was their duty to submit the draft of a constitution, openly declared that "We ain't going to do it."

(5) C. O. Sherman declared to several persons, after his return from a tour in the west and before the convention of 1906, that the Provisional Board of seven was opposed to revolutionary unionism, that its members were 95 per cent "pure and simple trades unionists," and that the "revolutionists" in the coming convention would "meet in the streets, because they would have no votes."

(6) Sherman openly bragged before the convention that the revolutionary delegates would "have no show" in the convention, because the votes of the miners would control everything. According to his theory the convention should have consisted of four delegates from the W. F. of M. and the Provisional Board of seven.

(7) The convention of 1906 was properly and legally called by the then president (Sherman) and afterwards repudiated by him when, finding that it was not going according to plans of the Provisional Board, that the miners' votes were not carried in his or Mahoney's pocket, he was taught a necessary lesson by those delegates, whom he tried to keep out of the convention.

(8) When the convention was called to order, the Provisional President, against the protests of dues-paying delegates chosen to represent their fellow-workers in the convention, insisted upon his right to appoint a prearranged and preselected committee on credentials, naming as one of that committee a member of the Provisional Board (Cronin), who, with his associates on said board, had consumed three or four days examining the credentials, but made no report of their findings to the convention.

(9) The Provisional President, now acting in a hostile way to the part of an autocrat and usurper, also appointed on the credentials committee a delegate from the so-called transportation department, whom he knew to be the tool of the alleged president of that department, Frank McCabe, the latter having been guilty of the grossest incompetency and impositions upon the general organization, with Sherman's full cognizance and support.

(10) So intolerable did the situation in the convention become that by an overwhelming majority the delegates did these things: (a) Abolished the transportation department; (b) abolished the metal and machinery department; (c)

abolished the office of president, and (d) unseated Sherman, McCabe and Kirkpatrick (all of the Provisional Board) as delegates in the convention.

This action was not hastily taken, but only after full discussion, covering many days, during which Sherman sought in every possible way to have the flagrant record he and his associates on the board had made ignored by the convention. But the facts, once out, could not be passed over; it was recognized that competency and vitality too malodorous to be endured. To condone the offenses committed against the organization would have meant its destruction, and the rump faction, every man of them, would rather have seen the I. W. W. destroyed than have the facts come out. But they were not in an A. F. of L. gathering. The delegates took matters into their own hands; they did their own thinking, formed their own conclusions, and put an end to fakery by ousting those who were responsible for it. Any honest man, desirous of seeing the movement for Industrial Unionism successful and the I. W. W. preserved, would have stood with the delegates who, in the first convention they ever had, swept fakery and reactionism on the way to that oblivion which has overtaken it. It becomes anyone unacquainted with the facts to impugn their motives or denounce their actions, when they did what they did was done to defeat the plots of incompetent and designing "leaders."

(11) The attitude of Sherman prior to and during the convention was one of hostility to those who were determined to rid the organization of fakery and grafters, and of open support of members of the Provisional Board who repudiated its principles and, without returning any equivalent service, drew salaries and commissions far in excess of their ability to earn in any other capacity.

(12) Immediately upon being deposed Sherman, still claiming to be president, notwithstanding the right of the convention to depose him, tied up the funds of the organization at the bank where they were deposited.

(13) He sent out telegrams and communications maliciously designed to injure the organization, and in all of his acts to stir up supporters and encourage by C. E. Mahoney and John McMullen.

(14) The convention elected as members of the new general executive board, Vincent St. John, A. Michele, F. W. Heselwood, E. J. Cole and Eugene Fischer, and appointed for general secretary, W. E. Trautmann, who has since been elected by an overwhelming majority vote.

(15) The convention adjourned on October 2d, and when, on the morning following, St. John Heselwood and Fischer called to the general office to attend a called meeting of the board they were set upon by hired slugs, engaged through a detective agency and under the control of Sherman and his associates, who proceeded to strike St. John and Heselwood with slung-shots and with other forcible methods prevented them from entering the office.

(16) Sherman gave "certificates of good character" to his hired ruffians, and by a subsequent recommendation urged them to others who might be in need of their valuable services, and some of them are now in the west bearing "credentials" signed by Sherman as president of the Industrial Workers of the World, and a facsimile copy of such a "credential," dated June 5, 1907, is in our possession.

(17) Sherman, aided and abetted by Mahoney and McMullen, and surrounded by a band of armed detourists, seized the position of office and property of the organization, compelling the General Executive Board to seek the court's intervention. This resulted in the issuance of an injunction restraining Sherman and all his associates from exercising the functions of the positions they claimed to hold. Many months of litigation followed, which could not be avoided and would have been started by the factionists, and in the end the court held that W. E. Trautmann was the duly qualified and legal general secretary-treasurer of the organization, but declined to interfere in other matters, which were left to the members themselves to settle.

(18) In the many hearings of the case before a Master in Chancery and Judge Honore, several incidents occurred which have been recorded in the occasional bulletins issued from this office, only one or two of which need be repeated here. It is here, as was recently claimed by Sherman's attorney (Stedman) that the entire Western Federation of Miners was in his hands; they even made affidavits to this; in spite of the known falsity of the claim it was reiterated and reiterated for the express purpose of deceiving the master and the court. As a matter of fact the attitude of the W. F. of M. was unknown until the board of that organization, when it was decided by a close vote in the board itself to pay no per capita tax either to the rump faction, headed by Sherman, or to the I. W. W. Even after this action it was contended that Sherman had "hacked" of the W. F. of M. But this "hacking" was not of the membership, but of Mahoney and Kirwan and consisted at all times only of funds to enable Sherman to continue a disgraceful and futile opposition to the I. W. W. The same lawyer (Stedman) throughout the case suffering from "brainstorms" and constantly jeopardizing his veracity, attempted to bias the master by telling him that on one occasion when he went to Denver he was out there on business for the W. F. of M. His exact language was: "That the W. F. of M. is the organization I went to Denver for. As a matter of fact he went there for the Socialist party. This was a fair sample of the falsehood and deception resorted to by the reactionaries and their lawyer throughout the case."

(19) It was contended that the con-

vention was "controlled" by the S. L. P. This charge has been so completely refuted that only a brief reference to it is required. There were 94 delegates in the convention. Thirty-three of these were, in the political preferences, members of the S. L. P., while 61 were members of the Socialist party. The delegates who happened to be members of the S. L. P. had just 56 votes in a total of 654. Yet those who secretly deride the working class as a principle of democracy in working class organization, kept up the idiotic clamor that the convention was "controlled" by the S. L. P. The truth is that the convention was at all times controlled by the votes of delegates from the W. F. of M., and it is to the everlasting credit of two of the delegates that they used their votes to put down fakery and graft, and depose Sherman and his gang and preserve the I. W. W. from the fate which befell the organization of the I. W. W. if Sherman, Mahoney and McMullen had prevailed in that convention.

(20) The editor of the Miners' Magazine insolently contributed to the cause of pure-fid-impediment and disruption by the delegates, and by his own billingsgate as "the proletarian rabble," "a bunch of tramps," "a mob," "the doughnut brigade," and belittled and ridiculed the revolutionary aims of the working class. He earned the reward of W. F. of M. keep him, as he said, if he will live to see it handed to him.

(21) But the last spikes are being driven in the slugs' coffin. They can't pay their rent; they can't organize; they give it out that the W. F. of M. will put up all debts at the Denver convention. All their boastful claims have gone ballooning. The M. and M. "department" has been dissolved by its own members. Hanemann, selected as secretary for Sherman, because he was believed to have in him the making of a pliant tool (wise choice), openly says that if the W. F. of M. don't stand by them the end is near and they can do nothing. What will be the answer of Industrial Unionists in the W. F. of M. to this frank admission of utter failure?

(22) Sherman has changed his "Fraternality Supply Co." to the "Empire Novelty Co." and is still trying to "make the I. W. W. of M. keep him," as he said, by selling them buttons and badges at exorbitant prices. He has denied his connection with this business, but the fact is that he was connected with it at the time he was elected president of the I. W. W. in 1905, and still is. On the first of May, 1907, he wrote the following letter to Mr. A. G. Bagley, Lewiston, Idaho, and the original copy is in our possession, typewritten on the old I. W. W. letterhead:

"Dear Sir: Yours of the 25th ult., to hand and contents noted. In reply, will say that I remember meeting you in Butte, but I don't remember the circumstances. "I am glad to learn that you have been able to get out of the wage system and engage in business for yourself and I sincerely hope that you will be successful in your undertaking. "Relative to the proposition of my giving you a card for a sample company, it was probably the card of the Fraternality Supply Co., a firm at that time doing business in Chicago, but since that time they have changed the name of their company and if you will address a letter to the Fraternality Supply Co., you can get samples and prices on the badge that you desire. "However, I will give you a pointer. The different styles of ribbons and badges are so numerous that it will be almost impossible for them to furnish

you with a line, unless you give them a little outline as to about what would fill the bill and also about what amount could be paid for the badges. In this way they can give you a variety that would come within the limit both of your pocket and of your time. Ribbon badges can be made for 7 cents up to \$1, according to their decorations or size, any color ribbon or size; so if you would give them a little detail as to about what you want and about what you can put into a badge, they can give you rock-bottom prices, and I know it will be appreciated by them. They being friends of mine, I naturally would assist them wherever I could."

The italics are ours. Mr. Bagley says he never met Sherman and never was in Butte, where Sherman "remembers" that he met him. In further corroboration of our declaration that Sherman was in the "Empire Novelty Co." we reproduce two advertisements appearing in the Miners' Magazine for March 28 and April 11 respectively, and call attention to the identical wording of each, except as to name of company and location. Notice the location in the "Empire" ad. The business has been for a month and is now conducted from the very room which Sherman formerly occupied as "president of the I. W. W.," the rent of which he expects the W. F. of M. to pay:

Miners Magazine, March 28

BADGES

WE MAKE THEM FOR ALL SPECIAL OCCASIONS AND SUPPLY YOUR WANTS ALL THE YEAR ROUND. IF YOUR LOCAL IS NOT EQUIPPED SEND FOR SAMPLES OF THE OFFICIAL I. W. W. BADGE. YOURS FOR THE ASKING.

FRATERNAL SUPPLY CO., MADISON AND UNION STS. CHICAGO, ILL.

Miners Magazine, April 11

BADGES

WE MAKE THEM FOR ALL SPECIAL OCCASIONS AND SUPPLY YOUR WANTS ALL THE YEAR ROUND. IF YOUR LOCAL IS NOT EQUIPPED SEND FOR SAMPLES OF THE OFFICIAL I. W. W. BADGE. YOURS FOR THE ASKING.

EMPIRE NOVELTY CO., 18 WEST MADISON ST. CHICAGO, ILL.

We challenge the Miners Magazine to prove to the satisfaction of the W. F. of M. that the change of organizations was not ordered by C. O. Sherman personally or for him by John F. Brady, until recently in his employ.

Next week we shall publish more facts in confirmation of the failure of the Sherman-Mahoney-McMullen moneyless, debt-burdened faction, and the utter collapse of their designs, together with the fullest information of the splendid success, present prospects, numerical and financial strength of the Industrial Workers of the World.

lagnan of free trade, such as Bastiat. The mercantilists lay special stress on the qualitative aspect of the expression of value, and consequently on the equivalent form of commodities, which attains its full perfection in money. The modern hawker of free trade, who must get rid of his article at any price, on the other hand, lays most stress on the quantitative aspect of the relative form of value. For them there consequently exists neither value nor magnitude of value anywhere except in its expression by means of the exchange relation of commodities in the money market, and in the money market the prices current. MacLeod, who has taken upon himself to dress up the confused ideas of Lombard street in the most learned finery, is a successful cross between the superstitious mercantilist and the enlightened free trade hawker.

Q. A close scrutiny of the expression of the value of A in terms of B, contained in the equation expressing the value relation of A to B, has shown us what?

A. "That, within that relation, the bodily form of A figures only as a use-value, the bodily form of B only as the form or aspect of value."

Q. The opposition or contrast existing between the two commodities, between use-value and value is, therefore, made evident externally by what?

A. "By two commodities being placed in such relation to each other that the commodity whose value it is sought to express figures directly as a mere use-value, while the commodity in which that value is to be expressed figures directly as mere exchange value."

Q. Hence the elementary form of value of a commodity is the elementary form in which the content contained in that commodity, between use-value and value, becomes apparent?

A. "Yes."

Q. Is every product of labor, in all states of society, a use-value?

A. "Yes."

Q. It is only at a definite historical epoch in a society's development that such a product becomes a commodity?

A. "Yes."

Q. At what epoch is that?

A. "At the epoch when the labor spent on the production of a useful article becomes expressed as one of the objective qualities of that article; i. e., as its value."

Q. It therefore follows that the elementary value form is also the primitive form under which a product of labor appears historically as a commodity, and that the gradual transformation of such products into commodities proceeds pari passu with the development of the value form?

A. "Yes."

Note.—We perceive, at first sight, the deficiencies of the elementary form of

value; it is a mere germ, which must undergo a series of metamorphoses before it can ripen into the price-form. "The expression of the value of commodity A in terms of another commodity B merely distinguishes the value from the use-value of A, and therefore places A merely in a relation of exchange with a single different commodity, B; but it is still far from expressing A's qualitative equality, and quantitative proportionality to all commodities."

Q. To the elementary relative value-form of commodity there corresponds what?

A. "The single equivalent form of one other commodity."

Q. Thus, in the relative expression of value of one line, the coat assumes the form of equivalent, or being directly exchangeable, only in relation to a single commodity, the linen?

A. "Yes."

Q. Nevertheless, the elementary form of value passes by an easy transition, into a more complete form, the form of value, by means of the elementary form, the value of a commodity A becomes expressed in terms of one, and only one, other commodity. But that one may be a commodity of any kind—coat, iron, corn, or anything else?

A. "Yes."

Q. Therefore, according as A is placed in relation with one or the other, we get what?

A. "For one and the same commodity different elementary expressions of value."

Q. By what are the number of such possible expressions limited?

A. "Only by the number of the different kinds of commodities distinct from it."

Q. The isolated expression of A's value is, therefore, convertible into a different elementary expressions of that value?

A. "Yes." (Lesson VII, Next Week)

How New York is Run

In the Broadway Magazine, Frederick Upham Adams has a remarkable article showing that New York is a bankrupt city, while bankers fatten on the municipality. From the article the following is taken:

If an intelligent and honest man—and there are such—were to be asked to name one city which should not be in debt he would select New York. It is one of the oldest cities in the country, it is by far the most populous, it contains more personal wealth than any ten other cities combined, it is estimated that more than 150,000 visitors are within its borders each day in the year—and yet it stands forth before all the world a self-declared insolvent to the extent of \$500,000,000!

A private corporation or an individual had duplicated the New York record since 1900, some creditor would at once apply for and obtain a receiver. Here is how the largest and most wealthy city in America has progressed backward in recent years:

Table with 2 columns: Year, Total Debt. 1900: \$45,847,072; 1901: \$96,320,000; 1902: \$16,266,200; 1903: \$27,054,786; 1904: \$31,507,081; 1905: \$40,474,103; 1906: \$90,123,874

This means that a city with five thousand millionaires had to go to one of them and borrow enough money to hire carriages and give a banquet to representatives of our sister republic—which nation, by the way, does not transact business on such a system.

"For the purchase of roll-top desks for office of register—\$50, at 3 per cent interest."

"This is a typical 'revenue bond' and it may run one year or longer, depending on when the money is needed for the purpose. Here is another and by no means uninteresting one:

"For the purpose of celebrating by appropriate ceremonies the commencement of the twentieth century—\$2,500 in bonds, at 3 per cent interest."

"I wonder if it will be necessary to borrow money from Wall street with which to celebrate the commencement of the twenty-first century?"

A BOND FOR M'KINLEY OBSEQUES.

Here is a pathetic one: "For payment of expenses of draping the city hall and Brooklyn Borough hall while participating in the obsequies of the late President of the United States—\$2,500 in bonds, at 3 per cent interest."

The Imperial City of New York could not honor the memory of the martyred McKinley without issuing a bond with which to meet the expenses! Not a dollar in the city treasury, but bankers eager for a chance to extract interest on the money advanced to drap the black official buildings. I would not care to hold such bonds!

The list might be continued indefinitely. Hundreds of millions of bonds are issued for schools, engine-houses, armories, parks, piers, bridges, street paving and sweeping, police-stations, police salaries, experiments, surveys and for every service and improvement which can be imagined.

Challenge to Debate

The following challenge to public debate has been issued to Arthur Morrow Lewis by a committee in behalf of Local No. 1, W. W., Chicago:

"CHICAGO, May 21, 1907.

"Mr. ARTHUR MORROW LEWIS,

"Norwood Park, Ill.

"Dear Sir:—Local No. 85 of the Industrial Workers of the World maintain that the emancipation of the wage workers can be attained only by an organization of the wage workers on the economic field, and we hereby challenge you to debate the following question:

"Resolved, That the emancipation of the wage working class cannot be attained by parliamentary action."

"LOQUIST,

"MORE,

"MACINTOSH,

"SABER,

"Committee."

Industrial Unionists in Buffalo, N. Y., for distributing copies of the Bulletin were arrested and taken before the police captain, who, failing to find any ordinance upon which they could be convicted, had to let them go free. Some of the police are disgusted with the work they have to do to keep workmen from organizing and the International Street Railway Company is putting up a big kick with the police department.

Language Leaflets

General headquarters is prepared to furnish I. W. W. constitutions in the French, Italian and German languages at the rate of \$7.00 per hundred. All three are ready for delivery.

A SPY ARRESTED

(Special Dispatch to The Bulletin)

Boise, Idaho, May 28.—C. H. Duncan arrested here tonight. Was disguised and carrying automatic colts, dagger, knuckles and "dope," also postal card and letter purporting to have been written by me from here. It is a lie. I never wrote Duncan. It is undoubtedly a diabolical scheme to keep me from Hayward trial. Duncan threatened to follow me from Seattle to Boise.

WADE R. PARKS.

Father Knickerbocker. He is the "softest" of all "marks," but his credit is still good despite the fact that he owes them half a billion. They charge him \$17,000,000 interest on the old account, and the process of taking his money for all the money he requires from time to time. They see to it that he drops behind each year as much as the law will permit.

The experts employed by Father Knickerbocker have reduced this bond business to a science. They can design a bond to raise \$400,000 for a new subway for August Belmont, or they can issue some real cute little ones to defray the purchase of those hosiery which to sprinkle the city hall lawn.

When the city builds a new school house, opens a new park, purchases land for a Carnegie library, paves a new street, or performs almost any service save the payment of salaries, such items are added to the permanent debt of the city. For instance, it is decided to build a new high school. The land and the building cost \$300,000. How much do you suppose that high school will cost the City of New York? The citizens acquire property worth \$300,000, but in order to do it the comptroller issues \$500,000 of forty-year bonds which draw 3 per cent interest. This means that the banks will get \$300,000 out of this job, and that the high school will cost New York \$600,000. The extra graft will probably amount to \$500,000. Under this system the more the graft the faster the bond presses have to revolve.

BUOYING DEBTS.

The comptroller's annual reports make interesting reading to those who understand such matters, and can keep their wits about them. Here are a few of the purposes for which bonds have been issued:

"For payment of expenses incurred on the occasion of the visit to the City of New York of the representatives of the French republic—\$2,500 in bonds at 3 per cent interest."

"This means that a city with five thousand millionaires had to go to one of them and borrow enough money to hire carriages and give a banquet to representatives of our sister republic—which nation, by the way, does not transact business on such a system."

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WORKING CLASS ECONOMICS Conducted by James P. Thompson

PINKERTONISM

Continued from First Page

to state that James McParland worked among the Molly Maguires for three or four years before he secured the evidence which resulted in conviction. It will be for us to remember this fact, as well as the fact that when Mr. McParland worked on this case he was young and vigorous, and free from the hallucinations sure to plague a conscience so dreadfully outraged as his has been, in the many years that he has served the Pinkerton Agency. We must also bear in mind that Mr. McParland was in a peculiar position to obtain information and evidence, as for over three years he was himself a Molly Maguire and a leader among them at that.

It may not perhaps be very decent, even for detectives, to keep on pointing to the gibbets which they erected thirty years ago; but it is certainly good business policy to do so when those gibbets have nothing else to point to. For this reason the Molly Maguires are still being tried and hanged, and the horrible tragedy is kept fresh in the memory of the many who are still alive, and that which occurs, it is at once compared in one way or another with that long-dead case. The Pinkerton Agency harps on ancient success and carefully conceals modern failure.

A man may be good in his youth and drift into bad habits in later years. And so it was with the National Detective Agency, the Molly Maguire operation, and the work of Manager James McParland. He admitted, for the sake of argument, that the Molly Maguires were a gang of cut-throats, assassins and dynamiters. He also admitted that James McParland was chiefly instrumental in ridding the community of this band of desperadoes, and that he generously and possibly risked his life in the performance of his duty. Let us freely grant that his work against the Molly Maguires was such a high deed, and that he and the Agency deserved the lavish praise which was so freely upon them, and that in general the work of the Agency in this case was SO VERY GOOD, that they were fairly entitled to the enviable reputation for detective ability resulting therefrom.

There was once a soldier in the American Revolution. He materially assisted in the capture of Fort Mifflin on September 26, 1777. He was severely wounded and gallantly led an assault on the fortifications of Quebec, in 1776. He fought with such dare-devil bravery in the battle of Saratoga, in 1778, that no small portion of the credit for this important victory belongs to him. For more than five years he underwent all the hardships and privations of active field duty. During five years his gallant conduct endeared him to his brothers-in-arms and the country at large. In his many fights he was killed, wounded, and captured, and he was betrayed by his country; and, his brilliant record notwithstanding, he is execrated by everyone to this day as "Benedict Arnold the Traitor."

It must be apparent to every intelligent person, that the record of Benedict Arnold, prior to his treason, is a chronicle so full of martial daring and brilliant achievements, that it is almost sacrilege to compare it with the puny and insignificant record of James McParland. Nevertheless, as an aid to establishing the truth, we will stretch a few points. Arnold became a traitor, and took the path leading to eternal infamy. James McParland, by virtue of his and the Pinkerton Agency's reputation, boldly marched along the road leading to affluence and fame, and for many years has assisted his Agency in committing a treason against their countrymen, which, in our opinion, is fully as black, damnable and dangerous, if not more so, than the treason which cost Benedict Arnold so dearly, but which, in the case of James McParland and Pinkerton's National Detective Agency, has yielded them both, name, fame, wealth and power.

And as James McParland and the Messrs. Pinkerton would undoubtedly feel hurt to hear such things as we have charged, without corroborative data, we shall proceed to complete the comparison between Benedict Arnold and the pack of heartless, conscienceless knaves who, in our day, under the title of Pinkerton's Agency, outrival in lawless acts and treacherous deeds against the people, the ill-starred traitor of the Revolution.

Manager McParland, as everyone knows, is the backbone of the prosecution in the Moyer-Haywood-Pettibone case; it would appear that he is solely dependent on the State for his position. He has been enabled to make a confession from one Harry Orchard, in which confession Orchard charges himself with the assassination of ex-Governor Steiensenberg, at the instigation and solicitation of Messrs. Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone of the Western Federation of Miners. In this confession Orchard also accuses Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone of a large number of other crimes.

Under the laws of Idaho, a person found guilty of being accessory to a murder is sentenced to death. That Manager James McParland knew of this law and was more than anxious to avail himself of it, can be gathered from the following statement which he gave out to the press a few days after Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone had been arrested:

"The entire Western Federation of Miners, and those of the executive board, who are implicated in the secret designs of the leaders, will never leave Idaho alive. Although they will not leave Idaho, I have information and proof of their connection with a dozen atrocious murders in Colorado that would hang them if they did."

"I would single-handed in the Molly Maguire case, and single-handed in this, and I know the ins and outs of both gangs. And let me tell you that the most thorough work that I have ever done was in the Molly Maguire case. The jobs handled by the officers of the Western Federation of Miners and carried into effect by their tools."

"I felt that the Western Federation of Colorado, to outwit this gang, and as such I undertook the work. These fellows thought that it was so long ago that I had broken up the Molly Maguires that I must now be a child, only compared to a well as that upon which the Western Federation was founded, and that weak point."

"It will cost Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone, and as many more their lives." Since Manager McParland felt so very positive that he had discovered the weak spot of the Western Federation of Miners, and that the confession of Harry Orchard was so very sure to send Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone to the gallows, WE ARE REALLY AT A LOSS TO UNDERSTAND WHY MR. McPARLAND DELIBERATELY BROKE THE LAW IN ARRESTING THESE MEN.

On Friday, February 16th, 1906, three deputy sheriffs arrived in Denver from Boise City with extradition papers for Messrs. Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone. They called on Governor McDonald on Saturday, and the successor Governor Peabody, but A SUBSEQUENT DATE REFUSED TO EXTRADITE A NEGRO WHO WAS WANTED IN MISSISSIPPI FOR ASSAULT AND MURDER UNLESS MISSISSIPPI WOULD GUARANTEE THAT NEGRO A FAIR TRIAL, HAD NO HESITANCY IN SIGNING AWAY THE LIBERTY OF THREE PROMINENT LABOR LEADERS, AND TURNING THEM OVER BOUND HAND AND FOOT, AND WITH A GANG IN THEIR HANDS, TO THEIR MOST INVETERATE ENEMIES, THE PINKERTON DETECTIVE AGENCY.

The Idaho detectives, acting under the orders of Manager McParland, waited until late Saturday night, and at about the hour of midnight the men were seized and placed in the county jail. They were denied permission to notify friends or counsel of their arrest; in fact, it is but a sorry time to communicate with people after midnight. But, while the faithful friends of these men slept, the detectives, whose motto is they never sleep, arranged with the Union Pacific Railroad Company for a special train, and at 5 o'clock Sunday morning, February 18th, 1906, Messrs. Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone were on board this train and were en route toward Idaho. The special which carried these men had the right of way over every train on the road, the Limited Pacific trains, even, not excepted.

When the prisoners arrived in Idaho they were at once taken to the State penitentiary and not permitted to see anyone, nor was anyone permitted to see them.

The labor world was fairly staggered at the arrest of Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone, and a mighty cry went up from all parts of the country, protesting against the KIDNAPPING of these men, for the only reason that they were leaders of a labor movement.

Governor McDonald of Colorado defended himself by saying that the extradition of these men was demanded by Governor Gooding of Idaho, and as the evidence against them seemed very strong, he signed the papers. It was not his business to make public of the proposed extradition, and he therefore kept the matter to himself.

The officials of the Denver County Jail claimed that the prisoners were given every opportunity to notify their friends of their arrest, but we need not stop to prove the falsity of this statement. The lie is apparent at one glance. We have already told what James McParland had to say about the arrest of these men; namely, that they would hang.

Not one person connected with the prosecution would admit that Messrs. Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone had been kidnapped, as KIDNAPPING is a CRIME against both the spirit and letter of the law.

Any citizen who is seized by superior force and restrained of his liberty without the process of law, and deprived of other States or countries against his will and without a chance to appeal to a court of law for a hearing, is KIDNAPPED, and the persons committing the deed are unquestionably KIDNAPPERS. Consequently, every person participating, either directly or indirectly, in the unlawful seizure and deportation of Messrs. Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone is a KIDNAPPER, and an abettor, on account of the success of the venture, to prison or to membership in any of the robber bands that abound in Greece and Turkey.

We charge that the arrest of Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone was the result of a conspiracy between Governors Gooding of Idaho, and McDonald of Colorado. We also charge that the methods employed in ridding the State of these men were in flagrant violation of the law and justice. We further charge that Colorado was in flagrant violation of the law and justice. We further charge that Colorado was in flagrant violation of the law and justice. We further charge that Colorado was in flagrant violation of the law and justice.

We do not stop to mention the fact that Mr. McParland of having engineered the abduction of the union leaders, for the mere sake of being rude or unkind. Far from guessing, we base our charges on a similar attempt by the Pinkertons to railroad a man out of Colorado in the year 1903; and for the edification of the reader, we will briefly describe the attempt in question.

Proposed Changes in Preamble

TO THE GENERAL EXECUTIVE BOARD: Local No. 85, of Chicago, Ill., in their regular meeting on May 27, 1907, passed a resolution that the preamble of the Industrial Workers of the World be amended as follows:

"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 the millions of wage workers, 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 toilers come together on the industrial field, and take and hold that which they produce by their labor through an economic organization of the working class."

"The rapid gathering of wealth and the centering of the management of industries into fewer and fewer hands make the trades union unable to cope with the ever-growing power of the employing class, because the trades union is a state of things which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping defeat one another in wage wars. The trade unions foster a state of things which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping defeat one another in wage wars. The trade unions foster a state of things which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping defeat one another in wage wars."

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

"Therefore, we unite under the following constitution:"

"Our reasons for changing the Preamble are as follows: In the first paragraph the words 'the working class' are substituted for the words 'working people,' because the words are indefinite and may include individuals whose interests are not the same as those of the wage working class. In the second paragraph is stricken out because the resolution can be accomplished, as all prior resolutions have been, by an intelligent minority."

"The words 'political as well as on the' are left out because this organization is, in its essence, strictly an economic, and not a parliamentary organization, and the word 'political' conveys to the great mass of the working class the idea that we are interested in parliamentary tactics, when the fact is that the working class cannot be benefited by parliamentary action. And if the word political, as used in the Preamble, conveys any other idea it is superfluous, because the word 'industrial field' fully covers every other point."

"Without affiliation with any political party it is useless because we have no affiliation with any political party, and therefore it is unnecessary to deny it in our preamble."

"In the last paragraph the words 'endorse or desiring the endorsement of any political party' are useless because we deny that anything can be gained by parliamentary action, and therefore it is unnecessary for us to endorse or be endorsed by any political party."

LOCAL NO. 85, CHICAGO, ILL. I. M. SANGER, W. E. LOYD, A. L. MCINTOSH, F. W. KNOCKE, R. B. THOMAS, G. W. REEDER, F. G. MOORE, Committee.

LOCAL EXECUTIVE BOARD

MINUTES OF THE GENERAL ADVISORY BOARD, HELD AT BUSH TEMPLE, MAY 18, 1907. PRES. ENT: J. PLUMMER, B. STONE, A. SIMPSON, P. F. LAWSON.

A letter was read from Organizer Fox, from Columbus, Ohio, stating that he was leaving for Portsmouth the following day, and from Portsmouth he would proceed to Buffalo, N. Y., as desired, at a later date. From what he could learn from Portsmouth, it was an auspicious time to begin active I. W. W. agitation, and he considered that the request for an organizer to be sent there was well founded.

A letter was read from Organizer Fischer, stating that the strike of the sugar workers had ended in a compromise, as the A. F. of L. had scabbed against the longshoremen's strike which was still on, and the A. F. of L. organizations were forbidden to strike in sympathy. Many were seeing the wisdom of the I. W. W. tactics, and recognized that had the strike in New York City been held for more than forty-eight hours, a desperate effort was being made by the Manufacturing Association towards breaking up the I. W. W. spirit. On Tuesday, the 21st, the headquarters of the I. W. W. in New York City will be opened, and Organizer Fischer was elected secretary of the council. It is understood that all contributions to their organization expenses deducted from his wages as organizer.

Another letter was read from Organizer Fischer, stating that at the meeting of the Newark Council, Fellow-Worker Woodhouse of Local No. 67 was elected organizer for the council with a salary. He also stated that he had prepared to make the suggestion that headquarters should pay also a monthly amount until the council could foot the bill, but it was necessary to keep Organizer Woodhouse in the field, who suggested the Advisory Board the advisability of paying \$25 or \$30 per month to the Newark Council for organization expenses, being sure that it would be from the account of the organization, and a profitable investment. Moved by Plummer, seconded by Simpson, that an organizer's credential be given to Fellow-Worker Woodhouse, and that the sum of \$25 a month be paid to the Newark Council for their organization expenses.

A letter was read from Fellow-Worker Woodhouse, stating the action of the Newark Council, and asked for the credential which had been suggested by Organizer Fischer. He also asked for the credential which had been suggested by Organizer Fischer. He also asked for the credential which had been suggested by Organizer Fischer.

A letter was read from Organizer Wash, of Seattle, Wash., in which he enclosed an article from the Bulletin regarding conditions in Seattle. He stated that it was absolutely necessary that a man should be sent to Alaska.

A letter was read from Fellow-Worker Meikle, of Goldfield, Nev., giving an account of the situation there, and stating that they had hopes that St. John and the other fellow-workers would be released from jail shortly.

A letter was read from Vincent St. John, from Esmeralda County Jail, Goldfield, Nev., in which he made several suggestions regarding organizers, and stating that he would write up a more detailed account of the situation in Goldfield for the Bulletin.

A letter was read from Fellow-Worker Schable, secretary of Local No. 222, of Spokane, Wash., stating that in reply to the request regarding information about Fellow-Worker Huxtable's ability as an organizer, they did not consider it advisable for the organization to grant him the credentials.

A letter was read from Fellow-Worker Pryor, of Bridgeport, Conn., stating that there was dissatisfaction among the workers in all the factories of that city, and suggesting that an organizer should visit Bridgeport immediately.

A letter was read from Fellow-Worker Frary, secretary of Local No. 125, Denver, Col., stating that the local had instructed him to write and urge strongly the necessity of placing an organizer permanently in Denver and vicinity. The General Secretary reported that he had written to Fellow-Worker Frary, stating that a new route for organizers was being mapped out, and that probably in about two weeks from the present time one of our regular organizers would be in Denver, and would make a stay of several weeks. The action of the General Secretary was approved.

The following resolution was read from General Secretary Trautmann, and the programme outlined therein, was unanimously approved by the Advisory Board:

"As the preparatory work for the program of industrial unionism has been sufficiently done, so that results in constructive work can be commenced with in various districts without fear of having the organization swamped by an influx of untrained workers, it deem my duty to lay before you, for careful consideration the following outline of work for the immediate future:

"In the city of Chicago and vicinity the propaganda work was apparently neglected, yet there were valid reasons

A letter was read from Fellow-Worker Axelson, of Minneapolis, Minn., replying to the request that he go into the Hibbing district as organizer, and he stated that he did not consider that he was thoroughly competent for such a position, but suggested that should another organizer of more experience be in that vicinity he should like to accompany him and get familiar with the work of organizing; after that his services would be at the disposal of the organization, did they consider him capable.

A letter was read from Fellow-Worker Parks, who is acting as secretary of the Industrial Union Bulletin during the Moyer-Haywood trial at Boise City. He enclosed statement of his expenses and receipts. He mentioned in his letter that there was no fear that he will take any part in any plot or become implicated in any schemes hatched out by individuals.

A letter was read from Local No. 533, of San Pedro, Cal., stating that in the city of the local member, Fellow-Worker Holmes or Hartung should be granted organizers' credentials, advancing reasons for the suggestion.

A letter was read from Fellow-Worker Shaw, of San Diego, Nev., stating conditions in that camp and showing how advisable it would be to have organizers visit there regularly, as the I. W. W. men are having a hard fight against the combined efforts of the numerous enemies.

A letter was read from Fellow-Worker Maley, of Youngstown, Ohio, stating that in a regular meeting of their local he had been instructed to take up the matter of having an organizer there. The General Secretary reported that he had replied to Fellow-Worker Maley, stating that other districts had been neglected while we had for a while organizers there and around Pittsburgh also, and realizing that much expense had been put into the field, with little result, and that the time had come when the I. W. W. had to be very careful in the selection of organizers, and that no more would be engaged until the financial conditions allowed permanent engagement of those who are now working for the I. W. W. Moved by Stone, seconded by Lawson, the action of the General Secretary be approved. Carried.

A letter was read from T. W. Delaney, of Buffalo, N. Y., containing interesting information regarding the street car trouble there and the prospects of a spontaneous strike on the part of the unionized against the conditions. He and Fellow-Worker Brooks were devoting their time towards keeping up the propaganda, and he suggested that the organization should bear the expense of sending in a lot of literature. Moved by Lawson, seconded by Plummer, the General Secretary be approved. Carried.

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"In the city of Chicago and vicinity the propaganda work was apparently neglected, yet there were valid reasons

for not pushing the work as effectively as would be expected by members and supporters of the I. W. W., however, are not acquainted with the situation.

"Since the close of the convention up to this time, the movement in Chicago was retarded because of the fact that Chas. O. Sherman, manufacturer, and his body of detectives, were supported openly by a political, so-called 'socialist' organization. A certain J. E. Morgan, a deputy sent by C. E. Mahoney to Chicago, under the pretense of arousing interest in the defense fund, which includes the Daily Socialist, against the organization, it was necessary to hide the time until the wage workers themselves would for themselves decide the issue."

"Due to a constant propaganda everywhere, matters commence to shape themselves in a different manner. Chicago workers, in fact, throughout the state of Illinois, are beginning to see that cleaning out of factories could only be done by an organization comprised of men who have the determination to make the I. W. W. such an organization it was intended to be when formed in 1905. As a result thereof there are calls constantly coming in for speakers. All requests were complied with through the assistance of volunteers, and now the organizing work begins to show results. The Ladies Tailors Union, 300 members strong, has decided to join the I. W. W., and it became necessary to ascertain whether the members of that organization, its system and work were fully in accord with the fundamental rules of the I. W. W. It is a conference, which Fellow-Worker Lawson attended also, the committee showed that that local is in every respect an industrial progressive union. It was also ascertained that within three or four months through the aid of and cooperation with that union, approximately 1,000 more workers in that branch of industry could be organized, and as most of them work in department stores, the propaganda among the members of workers in those distribution agencies could be commenced with."

"Responding to invitations, I had conferences this week with committees of workers from different industries; as a result, the Chandler Manufacturing Company started an organization, and will apply for a charter next week. The material of which that local will be composed has gone through the bitter school of craft-union experience, and it will, in the course of about three months, have about 500 members."

"The propaganda among the 17,000 steel workers in South Chicago must continue, as the interest grows with every meeting; the workers begin to discuss industrial unionism and are ready for the organization. Preparations are made to awaken interest among the 25,000 workers in the packing industry, who are today without any organization, and will never again organize under the A. F. of L."

A letter was read from Butte, Mont., asking that arrangements be made to release the amount of \$500, which the I. W. W. had received from Mill and Smeltermen's Union No. 10 prior to the last convention of the I. W. W. The General Secretary reported that immediately upon receipt of that letter he consulted the attorney, and propositions were made to release the amount of \$500 from the bank by a joint agreement, to be returned to the said union; and also the amount of \$500, which had been contributed to the Moyer-Haywood Defense Fund prior to the convention of the I. W. W., which amount is also included in the sum of money which has been tied up. The amount of \$2,200 that had been in the bank, under the name of the metal and machinery department, has been already drawn and used up by the few remnants of the former metal and machinery department, and very likely, according to the statement of the attorney, the amount stipulated for the defense fund, as well as the loan of \$500, will be released by order of the court, and forwarded to the proper parties. The action of the General Secretary was approved.

I. W. W. LEAFLETS

Leaflets in English, per 1,000 - Address to Wage Workers, \$1.50 The Textile Industry, 1.50 Food Store Industry, 1.50 Metal and Machinery Industry, 1.50 Story of a New Labor Union 1.50

Leaflets in Italian, 3.00 " Swedish, 3.00 " Polish, 3.00 " Finnish, 3.00 " Slavonian, 3.00 " Croatian-Dalmatian, 4.00 " German, 4.00 Japanese, Address to Wage Earners, 10.00

I. W. W. CONSTITUTION English, (per 100) 5.00 Italian, 5.00 French, 5.00 German, 5.00

NOTE - The requisite amount of cash must accompany each order. All supplies sent by the General Office have the postage of express charges paid in advance.

W. E. TRAUTMANN Room 310 Bush Temple CHICAGO - ILLINOIS

General Headquarters of the Industrial Workers of the World at 310 Bush Temple, Chicago, Ill.

LEARN WHAT IT IS

To know what Industrial Unionism is you must read what is said about it by its friends and what it says for itself; only in that way can its present aims and ultimate purposes be understood. The following are recommended to workingmen who desire to learn what Industrial Unionism is:

- Handbook of Industrial Unionism, 5c
Constitution of the I. W. W., 5c
Report of Secretary Trautmann, 5c
Industrial Unionism, address by W. E. Trautmann, 5c
Burning Question of Trades Unionism, by D. De Loon, 5c
Address on I. W. W. Preamble, by D. De Loon, 5c

Send to any address, prepaid, for 25c
W. E. TRAUTMANN 310 BUSH TEMPLE CHICAGO - ILLINOIS

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