

The Industrial Union Bulletin



OFFICIAL PUBLICATION OF THE INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD

"LABOR IS ENTITLED TO ALL IT PRODUCES"

Vol. I. No. 24.

CHICAGO, AUGUST 10, 1907.

50c. a Year.

NEWS OF THE MOVEMENT From Far and Near

Suggestions to Convention

I wish to suggest an amendment to paragraph 2 of the preamble. To strike out "that which they produce by their labor" and insert "the means of production (land and machines)." The idea is to teach the workers that they must "take and hold" those things by which they are now exploited and on which their subsistence depends. As it now stands, the idea is not clearly expressed.

Also to recommend that members of the G. E. B. be not employed as National Organizers, for the reason they are placed in the position of sole supervision over their work, thereby putting the movement at a disadvantage.

ANNA TEWKSBURY.
Seattle, Wash., July 26, 1907.

From Local I, Schenectady

Local No. 1, Schenectady, N. Y., offers the following amendments to the constitution: To the preamble: Strike out second clause and insert the following: "Between these two classes a struggle must go on until all the toilers unite as a class into one organization, and by their own direct action on the political as well as on the industrial field, take and hold that which they produce by their labor."

To Article V: Section 4. "The initiation fee for members of Local Union shall not exceed \$2.—instead of \$1, as the constitution now states. Sec. 5. To be stricken out.

Sec. 6. Per capita collected shall not exceed 15 cents, instead of 25 cents, as the constitution now states. Sec. 7. To be stricken out as superfluous.

which all considered a fair system. "The people involved in this strike are largely of foreign birth; but they are nearly all married men and are striving to bring up families in America. Their children go to our public schools—that is, to go so until they are old enough to do to work in some of our factory kindergartens. These children are growing up with the sons and daughters of the rest of us, and will become the future citizens of the United States. How are the children going to get a chance to grow up as decent Americans if their parents are compelled to work for starvation wages? Our cost of living is increasing in his Hungarian circular, that we should aid him by our zeal and energy to make the company flourish.

"Now, friends and fellow workers everywhere, we ask you to support us financially in our struggle with this greedy concern. The insulting offer of the 'philanthropic' Mr. Wilnot to give alms to the clergy for distribution to our children, we spurn, as men should, even as the priests have already spurned it. We desire the support of all honest citizens, and will accept not only donations of foodstuffs or clothing which, if sent to the Relief Committee, Ciglar's Hall, corner Spruce street and Hancock avenue, will be duly acknowledged."

Vincent St. John, on Monday evening, July 29, at Cosmopolitan, faced the largest and most enthusiastic audience that hall ever contained. It was simply jammed; the three aisles and the corridor leading to the hall were packed with wage slaves. On every face was a smile of satisfaction, and every mind was full of but one thought, "Haywood is free."

The suspense, the uncertainty, the mental tension of four long months was over. He whom the capitalist class had selected as its victim, whose blood was to atone to that class for the temerity of the working class for even dreaming of such a thing as its economic emancipation, was acquitted, more than that, they were to hear, and see a man, a comrade, that same Bill Haywood, a fellow victim of this hellish plot of the capitalist conspirators, and with breathless attention they sat or stood, their ears drinking in every word, listening, not to an orator, but to a plain working man like themselves.

He told of the wrongs their class had suffered in the West, of the bitter fight of determined resistance that class had put up against the mine owners. He explained the new form of organization known as the I. W. W., and told them why the A. F. of L. was the willing tool of the capitalist class, not only in the West, but the North and South and East as well. He told them why the A. F. of L. was obsolete, as an agency through which the workers might better their conditions. He made plain to them the fact that the workers must unite upon both the economic and political fields if they would wrest from the capitalist class the tools of production and when he wound up by telling them that Haywood's acquittal was purely and simply a victory for every member of the working class, that great audience went wild; they cheered, and clapped and whistled, for almost five minutes, and when he had finished they stormed the stage.

If the vindictive Gooding, or the chagrined Borah, could have seen this western miner at that moment they would have ground their teeth in a mad rage, or if Teddy Roosevelt could have witnessed the sight of this "undesirable citizen," actually holding a reception, it would have seriously affected his liver.

St. John, in a plain, unassuming way, like a teacher in mathematics examining a class, spoke and spoke until about one hour and a half; all this time there was no applause, but the closest attention, and it was only when he declared that Haywood's acquittal was a personal victory for Haywood, but a victory for every member of the working class, that the storm of applause came. The capitalist press of the city had its representatives at this meeting; each representative, as it were, did look like an important affair, with the press table in front of the stage sur-

Meeting at Cleveland

The Vincent St. John meeting was a success in every way, locals here feeling satisfied that the effect on the capitalist press, and the public mind, was a most noteworthy one. The daily press promised us good notices of the meeting, but of course pursued the usual method of a small notice in an obscure corner. Despite this we had one of the largest meetings ever held in Germania hall, our advertising having had splendid effect.

St. John labored under a tremendous handicap, being so hoarse that he spoke with difficulty. Notwithstanding, he delivered a telling address for industrial unionism, scoring a number of points against the craft form of organization. A number of A. F. of L. men were present and no doubt had their eyes opened to a proper appreciation of the true worth of pure and simpledom.

Not the least pleasant part of the meeting was the greeting given the local press, and the cheering which gave him a great ovation when he stepped to the front of the platform.

St. John also made a good impression on the members of the locals, whom he met afterward. His unperturbed way and quiet, manly determination won him friends on every hand.

At the close of the meeting a resolution was handed to Chairman Paul Campbell, which was adopted unanimously by the big audience. The thunderous "aye" with which the resolution was adopted augurs well for our principles in the future. The resolution called attention to the fact that the halter had been kept from Haywood's neck by the protest of organized labor, and particularly by the agitation started and kept up by the I. W. W. It further called upon all men and women to join the I. W. W. to prevent such outrages in the future.

W. R. Fox, organizer, who leaves for Cincinnati today, preceded St. John in a short address. An appeal for funds to help defray expenses netted \$26.00. COMMITTEE.

Industrial Unionists Protest

Whereas, It is reported in the press of this city, that certain outrages have been perpetrated on the striking miners on the Iron Range of Minnesota, by forcing them through force of arms, to abandon their union meeting held in their own hall, and prevented by force of arms, from walking on the country roads, in violation of their constitutional rights, and

Whereas, A former member of the I. W. W. was brutally assaulted by a mob of business men in the town of Ely, said mob also forcing him to leave the town, and

Whereas, The business element in the Iron Range towns are demanding troops for the purpose of breaking the strike, and asserting that they are in fear of violence and destruction of property, and

Whereas, From previous experience of the W. P. of M. violence and crime began, whenever the militia were brought to striking districts, and

Whereas, The only violence on the range has been perpetrated by the business men of Ely, and

Whereas, The only outrage on the rights of private property has been committed by Wm. Hoolihan, sheriff of Itasca county, who broke up the miners' meeting in the union hall in the town of Washauk, said hall being the miners' private property, and

Whereas, Senate Document 122, Labor Disturbances in Colorado, 1880-1904, shows that the miners have been unjustly accused of destruction of property, and it was proved at the Haywood trial that these outrages were perpetrated by Pinkerton detectives in the employ of the mine owners, and

Whereas, Notwithstanding the vindictive attitude of the capitalist press, W. E. of M. from the many charges of outrage and murder which the state dragged into the trial, the press of this city, since the verdict of "Not Guilty" have been characterizing the W. P. of M. as an organization "whose existence has been a career of murder and violence," and

Whereas, The only outrage on private property rights on the Iron Range has been committed by Wm. Hoolihan, sheriff of Itasca county, supported by A. L. Thwing, county attorney, and the only violence on the range was committed by the business element of the town of Ely; therefore, be it

Resolved, That we, the members of Local 64, I. W. W., located in Minneapolis, Minn., in regular meeting assembled, demand the removal from office of Wm. Hoolihan, sheriff of Itasca county, and A. L. Thwing, county attorney, and the resignation of all officials who will allow the miners their constitutional rights and arrest the lawless element of business men, who have destroyed "law and order" and be it further

Resolved, That we condemn the local press as being prostituted to the will of the capitalist class, and be it further

East Responds to West

To the Editor of the Bulletin.— In the Bulletin of July 27 there appeared an article entitled "Marx or Reed, Which?" I agree with the position taken by Fell-w. Workman. The concluding two paragraphs are admirable; I quote them in full: "One of the curses of the labor movement is that men rush into print with articles on subjects they know nothing about, with the result that the muddled workers are muddled more."

"Economics is a science, and articles on that subject, by men who never studied it, are like articles on astronomy by men who never saw a star."

Thompson struck the nail in the proper place—in the head; but he ought to have gone for the entire lot, that preach these crazy economies. On more than one occasion have I read in the "People," organ of the S. L. P., the editor of which is supposed to be one of the best Marxian Socialists in the United States, that a general rise of wages will not benefit the workers." Reed goes further by saying "a rise in wages is virtually a cut-down."

Thompson truly asks, "Why do the capitalists oppose a rise in wages?" He might have inquired further and asked, "Why do workmen go on strike for higher wages? If any one understands what a cut in wages is it ought to be the workingman's ally."

The leading lights of the Socialist party seem to think that labor unions are no good at all, but advising them like a patent medicine fad to vote the S. P. ticket; "it is just as good if not better, and less dangerous and troublesome." Of course the S. P. professors and lecturers are old offenders. As political Socialists it suits their line of business. But what do you think of leading men in the S. P. from the editor down or up, proclaiming that a raise in wages will not do the workers any good, as prices go up accordingly? Or if the workers get a reduction in their hours of toil it does the workers no good, either, as the workers' hours are further intensified. From this latter line of reasoning labor unions would be simply mutual admiration societies and their sole reason for existence would be to pay the salaries of their officials.

They even try to Americanize Marx's great work, "Value, Price and Profit." They not alone rush into print and keep on repeating their blunders, but try to make Marx a sort of god, and his writings a theology, and we know that theologians rarely agree on theology. Next to the labor fakir, the intellectual Socialist is the greatest muddler of the working class, and they themselves are the most bedevilled muddlers of them all (workingmen included). Those men who would rewrite Marx are nothing but conceited braggarts and intellectual misfits. Let us hope Reed will study up Marx and not fall into any errors again. He is to be excused; it is quite possible he got his misinformation from the only English Socialist daily in the world. Fellow Worker Thompson will confer a favor on the working class by giving some of those intellectual saviors, who somehow or other fasten themselves on us, a good spanking. Yours for the revolution,

PATRIC L. QUINLAN,
New York, July 28, 1907.

The Voluntary Fund

J. H. Sanderson, of Victorville, Cal., was quick to appreciate the needs of the general office and came in with \$50.00 and a suggestion that 1,000 members pledge themselves for \$1.00 a month to meet the present emergency caused by the drain on the organization to support strikes. These suggestions show a lively interest in the organization, and we hope will be acted upon by members at once. The voluntary contributions received during the week follow:

J. H. Sanderson, Victorville, Cal.	\$50.00
Br. 4, L. U. No. 95, 1.35	1.35
W. Ballman, 1.00	1.00
Brewery Workers' Union, Lawrence, Mass.	3.00
L. U. No. 1, Schenectady, N. Y.	50.00
Miners' Union, Burke, Idaho.	25.00
O. Sewell, 1.00	1.00
L. U. No. 222, Springfield, Wash.	5.00
IW WBUL A6 13p Flynn	11
C. H. Miller	1.01
Previously acknowledged	15.01
Total	\$109.35

Tell your old false leaders to "ring off"! Tell them that craft unionism means death through continued capitalist supremacy; that Industrial Unionism means life through working-class solidarity.

Industrial Unionism will unite all the workers in the industrial field, so that when one is injured all will be injured, and an injury to one will be the concern of every other one.

Industrial Workers organize, not to conciliate capitalists, but to fight them.

Simonton Keeps Busy

I have just completed the third week of my visit here, and am just getting plans systematized whereby I can sustain myself and know how far I can go financially. Of course, I realize that my work is limited through lack of finances to reach out as fast as I desire, but the obstacles are not insurmountable. A little more time only is required to overcome them. Having come here I shall not desert the field until I have accomplished all that lies in my power to do, at the present time, and the possibilities are large.

The present week has been a busy one and the coming week will be even more so. Monday night was spent at East Pittsburg with the tile workers. Tuesday and Wednesday at Curranville with the miners. Two rousing meetings were held there, and in the near future a strong organization will be secured. Thursday night I met the tile workers again. They are getting down to business.

Friday night at Camp 15, Chicopee, I attended by invitation the local U. M. W. of A. The result was splendid and a mass meeting called for next Wednesday. We are going to redouble that meeting for charter. Tonight, Saturday, will be devoted to street speaking and Sunday afternoon an open hall meeting.

Now as to bills. My bill is too heavy to present at present. My price is the unconditional surrender of the capitalist class, and the institution of the Industrial Co-operative Commonwealth. I am as well situated as the average wage slave. As long as that damnable system must continue, I cannot speak for others, but as for myself, my place is in the depths beside them. I know my liberty cannot be attained until attained in common with my fellow workers. Believe me, comrades, I am not making a sacrifice doing this. No sacrifice is possible when liberty is at stake, and I mean to fight to the last ditch regardless of consequences to myself, until we have won the battle or until those liberties which we are fighting for are fully secured.

Were we fully equipped financially to fight that battle as an organization, I would not hesitate. Limited as we are in resources, I am only using practical business methods to promote the welfare of an institution in which, as a co-partner and stockholder, I hope to gain my liberty. If, when my labor here, for the time, is finished, you can forward me to my next field of endeavor, I will rest assured another field prepared for the revolution.

I hope to God that this organization will never impose upon us another John Mitchell or Sam Gompers, whose brains have become soiled and incapable of grasping the revolutionary reconstruction in harmony with our economic needs. Let John Mitchell go back to a wage slave's life in the gloom of a miner's cavern and Sam Gompers to a cigarmaker's bench, possibly they might be awakened to a sense of manhood. We will give them the chance to prove it, one day at a time. Autocratic leadership, living in luxury, has corrupted the trade unions until even capitalists readily recognize next day, and the two labor fakirs are kings, more damnable than capitalists.

White Goods Workers' Strike

The eighth week of the struggle against Ratter Bros. is over, with the sympathy in favor of the I. W. W. White Goods Workers. Ratter's policy of landing strikers in jail received another setback last week. At a riot last Monday evening started by his scabs and Pinkerton strikers and a stranger were arrested, Max Bernstein a Pinkerton, causing the arrest.

Next morning in Yorkville Police Court, three buses testified that the strikers were doing the fighting. Magistrate Droege handed over the two strikers and the stranger to keep peace for 6 months under bail. Our regular bailer not being at hand on that day, and Magistrate Droege going on an out-of-town political job, the next day, our bail was not accepted until Thursday morning. Pennington took the three were prisoners.

Ratter took advantage of this by sending his tools to the parents of the two girls with the story that they were sent away for six months. This brought about some very lively scenes on the part of the parents, but in the end Ratter's trick was exposed, and all in all such tricks only raise the spirit of resistance amongst these fighting girls.

The strike situation stands favorable for the strikers. Ratter is losing

business and his daily expenses for Pinkertons, special and Holmes detectives is another item that makes him desperate.

The arrangement that will consolidate the efforts of all those concerned in the victory of the strikers is the big mass meeting to be held on Tuesday, August 6th, at Manhattan Lyceum, 64-66 E. 4th street, at 8 p. m., with Vincent St. John as the principal speaker, together with other well known speakers of the East Side.

This meeting should bring out every one concerned in the progress of the working class, as Vincent St. John is well known for his fighting qualities and his stand on what is the proper organization of the working class.

The contributions towards the support of the strikers should, as in the past, be sent to A. J. Francis, 44 West 26th street, New York. The Strike Committee, Strike Headquarters: Harlem Terrace, 210 East 104th Street, New York, Aug. 5th, 1907.

Shoe Workers Near Revolt

The strike in Mapleville is a fine one. They all stand together and show no signs of weakening. The company has imported some weavers who can't weave and they are running empty looms just for a bluff, but it don't amount to '2 cents." Even if they do get real weavers to come there, the other help won't work with them. Mapleville is such an out-of-the-way place the company always had trouble in getting weavers enough, even under the one-loom system and when it comes to two they will find it impossible at this time at least. Money for the strike fund is coming in in good shape and everybody is satisfied; however, many are moving away and unless the strike is settled soon Mapleville will look like Goldsmith's Deserted Village. The open air meeting there Tuesday night was a dandy, a very big crowd being present. Many came from Pascoag and other places.

Wednesday I went to South Framingham and on Thursday night addressed a meeting of striking shoe workers. They would like to join the I. W. W., but they are very clear to do so at this time. About half of those who came out on strike have gone back to work at the command of Tobin. All the others have been fined \$100.00, and unless they pay it they will be expelled from B. & S. Workers' Union (2) and as the company will not employ them unless they line up with Tobin, they are up against it. Their charter has been taken away, but they are meeting at large and still paying dues—compelled to pay 25 cents a week in an organization that helps to hold them in slavery! They know the B. & S. Workers' Union is not a labor union and that is more than some of the freaks know who are always saying "join the union of your craft."

I went up to Lynn to-day and had a long talk with Berry. We decided to hold a meeting to try to do anything with the B. & S. Workers until after the convention in Toronto next month. If Hickey is turned down there, as he no doubt will be, he may start a revolt and then we are in for the I. W. W. Once free from Tobin the slaves should join a labor union and not line up with Hickey. A rotten egg by any other name stinks as bad.

Of course, it is important to study the situation carefully and tackle it at an opportune time. I told Berry the I. W. W. would hardly be in a position to do anything much among the B. & S. Workers until after the Chicago convention at least, and he stated that he wrote a circular on the subject, showing why they were defeated in the past, etc., and sent it to headquarters. He promised to do so and said he would take his time and get up a good one. During the coming week I will return to Pascoag, hold a meeting and get the local there in as good shape as possible, see how things are going at Mapleville and if nothing new develops go to Worcester and hold a few meetings, as I promised the boys there I would.

Strikers Issue Statement

The striking I. W. W. iron and steel workers at Bridgeport, Conn., have issued a statement to the citizens in which they say: "The employees of the A. T. & S. Co., recently joined Metal and Machinery Workers' Industrial Union, L. U. 113, I. W. W., and we hoped to gain a slight advance in wages without having to resort to a strike. The A. T. & S. Co., however, were evidently intent upon heading off any such effort, and on July 15, proceeded to attempt to play the day shift against the night shift by refusing to continue the system of alternating shifts whereby each shift worked one month days then one month nights. The company apparently hoped that the day men of that time would be treacherous enough to accept a virtual bribe of cents a day work, and refuse to stand with the night men in the demand for the alternating shifts

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Chicago, August 10, 1907.

ANTI-UNION UNIONISM

It has been necessary on more than one occasion during the past year for us to speak of the American Federation of Labor as a capitalist union, meaning thereby that while it claimed to be an organization representing the working class, or a part of the working class, the A. F. of L. was in reality an auxiliary of capitalism, since the methods of those in control of the union necessarily served the interests of the employing class better than the interests of the workers.

It follows logically that if the A. F. of L. is trying to serve both labor and the class which employ labor, its efforts must be attended with disaster. And this is its record. An organization that declares there is no mutual interest between the employer and the exploited cannot escape the consequences of its policy, for it is not only not in the interests of the workers, but it is in the interests of the employer, and in the attempt to do so the weaker must suffer.

The fundamental misconception that a labor organization can be used to conserve the interests of the employers of labor, as well as the interests of its members, begets a condition of degeneracy and reckless disregard of the workers' interests, as we now see in the A. F. of L., to that point where it has become an anti-union, anti-strike, anti-unionism. It turns, on the one hand, to succor the master class, and on the other to rend and devour its own offspring. Unionism destroys unionists, and becomes the degenerate progeny of a union of scabs. This is the record made by the A. F. of L. To such uses has it come, at last!

From these reflections, let us turn to facts of quite recent development and confirming our repeated declaration that the A. F. of L. is an anti-union strike-breaking, scab-making aggregation, at least so far as its officers and "leaders" are concerned. The Brewery Workers of New Orleans went on strike as a result of the deliberate actions of their leaders, and no reason is apparent why they should not have received the united support of New Orleans unionists. No sooner was the strike declared than their places were filled by strike-breakers. These were not Jim Farley scabs, but strike-breakers of the Gompers A. F. of L. order. Organizer Leonard, taking the place of Jim Farley against union men who have been numbered among the most loyal and liberal supporters of the A. F. of L., in the name and in behalf of the latter, organized the strike-breakers in a union. That Leonard was commissioned to do this dastardly piece of work by Gompers is there is no doubt whatever when a protest was sent to him from New Orleans his answer was a cowardly evasion which amounted to a virtual ratification of the organization of scab unions and affiliation with the A. F. of L.

WHAT THE RECORD SHOWS

The Industrial Workers of the World is not arrogating to itself the sole credit for the splendid defense of Wm. D. Haywood in the ordeal of the Chicago trial. It is a fact that it is seeking to foist itself into an unearned reputation by unwarranted statements as to the "absolute impossibility" of securing the verdict rendered in his case without its "magnificent organization."

sion is used to make political capital and pervert facts, it becomes a fit matter for condemnation. Imagine our astonishment when we read in the Chicago Daily Socialist of July 31st, the following:

This was the Socialist party organization that formed the compact fighting body around which the forces rallied. It was from the Socialist party that the first protests went out. It was the national executive of the Socialist party that formulated plans that were carried out on a national scale. It was the thousands of locals scattered through every state of the Union that formed centers of activity and agitation in places that could not have been reached in no other way.

No division of the working class which was aroused into activity in behalf of the Western Federation should be denied its just share of credit—if it is to be claimed or allowed. But any division that seeks to force a recognition of its spurious "claims" is deserving of no credit whatever.

While this work was in progress Eugene V. Debs, happening to be in Chicago on that day, was invited to the Chicago conference and there and there arrangements were made for the first conference held anywhere outside the city of Denver. It was held in a room at a downtown hotel, from 7:30 to midnight, February 19, 1906. The persons present at that conference were Eugene V. Debs, Wm. E. Trautman, John Riordan, A. S. Edwards, P. F. Lawson and the editor of the Daily Socialist, A. M. Simmons. With one exception, all were members of the I. W. W. That exception was the person last named, and he at that time was believed, at least by some, to be entirely friendly to the organization, by reason of having been a delegate in the convention of 1905 and publicly declaring his belief in and support of the organization at various times and places. The conference was one of I. W. W. men and had it been known then that Simmons' professions of support of the organization were of the customary "air" brand he would have been excluded.

The immediate result of the conference was the writing of an appeal to the working class of America, to unite for the defense of Moyer, West and Pettibone. It specifically called upon the workers to organize public demonstrations and start forth with a defense fund. It was actually put in circulation through the mails on the following day, February 20, and before the close of the week reached headquarters of the I. W. W. The first defense conferences in all large industrial centers were organized by the Industrial Workers of the World, and of the truth of this statement there is an abundance of documentary evidence in the form of which it staggers belief that any person or party would attempt, for political purposes, to deny it.

Months before the Socialist party organization really got into action for the defense of the I. W. W., had forwarded thousands of dollars to the Denver office of the Western Federation. In the meantime scores of conferences for defense were organized by I. W. W. members in all parts of the country.

So reluctant was the "Socialist party organization" to get into action for the defense, that the record shows some considerable section of it—Wiseconsin S. D. P.—sought for some weeks to evad it altogether, and its spokesman in a contemptuous screed said: "The Moyer-Haywood episode is merely a border feud, and ought not to be magnified into the semblance of a struggle between capitalists and workmen."

It hurts to have these things recalled, does it? Then let us have the truth according to the record, there will then be no necessity for telling them.

The fact is that a large number, probably thousands, of Socialist party members who, at the time of the arrests were and now are members of the I. W. W., were active for the defense of the S. P. organization, months before the S. P. organization ventured to lend a helping hand. The first defense conference organized in Chicago was made up principally of I. W. W. men, and this was affected within thirty days after the arrests, also long before the S. P. organization had made a move.

about the "willingness of the Socialist party to sink its identity!" And now, the trial of Haywood over, it seeks to make political capital out of its part, magnified beyond all possibility of recognition by those acquainted with the truth, in the hope of receiving compensation for "sinking its identity."

The defensive activities were organized and the bulk of the defense fund raised by the economic organizations of the working class. That's the record, and we challenge refutation of any material point.

Shall We Wait for Human Nature to Change?

What is human nature? Some would answer this question by saying that it is human nature to try to get the best of other people, or to get from others what belongs to them. But it would be more nearly the truth to say that this is hog nature, and that a fierce competitive system breeds the hog nature rather than the human. An honest man in a competitive system, is an exception and not the rule, and carried far enough, these exceptions would in time disappear, so that there would be no honest men left on earth. Man is simply a collection of social conditions. And social conditions make the environments, and the environments make a man what he is. How human nature expresses, depends entirely on how it is environed. If you make it impossible for men to live easily and enjoy life by honest toil, and possible for them to steal and enjoy life to a greater degree, many will be found who will make stealing their life profession. And the thieves will grow in number as the life of the toilers grows harder. And to make the reader understand fully the problem before us, let me point a fresh illustration: As I write these lines, a wageworker is carried past my cabin on a stretcher, thought to be in dying condition; he has been for days, weeks and months, sawing out profits for an idle employer, and about one hour ago a four-foot redwood log rolled over his body, grinding it almost to a pulp from head to foot. And this employer, not any other employer, shares any of the dangers to which the wageworker is continually subjected, but stands at a safe distance, and he gets five dollars out of your work where you get one.

Now then, does it surprise you that men do not take kindly to work where their income would not be for profit, and not for use? Under the co-operative system, where production is carried on for use, and not for profit, the life and health of the worker would be valued far above the value of the product, and in case of any accident, the worker must get in and die, that a big profit may pile up for his employer, for if he does not "hustle," that big profit may pile up for his employer, there are those ready to put his head under the guillotine to make a dollar, even if five times as many go to the employer, who is always at a safe distance from danger, and who throes the care of the maimed and injured onto the tender mercies of the state.

Under present conditions the same public nature will express in exactly the same way. It is human nature to seek to draw from life the greatest degree of happiness, with as small a measure of bitterness as possible. And you have said this, you have told the whole story of human nature. It is man's nature to seek happiness, and he will move along the lines of least resistance to obtain this happiness. He may sink deeper into misery, in his efforts to obtain happiness, but this was unforeseen, and is incidental to his main purpose, that of seeking happiness. Make it unprofitable for men to steal, and thieves will disappear. To hear some men talk, one might suppose that hell-fire, and its restraints would be removed, and men invited to wade in and do their worst. The truth is, that under Socialism men will be forced to keep in their own orbits, and it is only those who do not like the idea of remaining in their orbits, who bitterly oppose this more perfect order of things. But the better day draws nigh, regardless of what evil minded men desire.

Eureka, Cal. Frank Reed.

Attention is called to the report, in this issue, of the I. W. W. to the International Labor and Socialist Congress at Stuttgart, Germany, which opens August 24th and 25th. It is an anti-poison to purge the Congress of the poison injected into it by a report sent in over the names of Mahlon Barnes and Morris Hillquit concerning the I. W. W.

The Chicago Daily Socialist takes the money of the I. W. W. for advertising Vincent St. John's meeting in this city, but has not a line of reference to the meeting in its "news" columns. That's the sort of treatment the straight capitalist newspapers hand out to the workers.

Vincent St. John's meetings in the East have been uniformly successful, large audiences turning out at every point. Facing this public rebuke, Vincent St. John has gained in the school of hard knocks, he has everywhere made a favorable impression.

FRENCH LEAFLETS.

The "Address to Wage Workers" has been translated and printed in French and is ready for delivery. It is an excellent leaflet or propaganda among French workers. Sent to any address, express paid, at \$1.00 a thousand.

Canadian and foreign subscriptions to The Bulletin, One Dollar a year.

WORKING CLASS ECONOMICS

Conducted by James P. Thompson

LESSON X.—CONCLUDED.

Note.—Marx looked upon the social movement as a process of natural history, and shows "that each special mode of production and the social relations corresponding to it, in short, that the economic structure of society is the real basis on which the judicial and political superstructure is raised, and to which definite social forms of thought correspond; that the mode of production determines the character of the social, political and intellectual life generally."

This method is not only different from Hegelian, but its direct opposite. To Hegel the life-process of the human brain—i. e., the process of thinking, which, under the name of the Idea, he even transforms into an independent subject—is the demiurgos of the real world, and the real world is only the external, phenomenal form of the Idea. With Marx, on the contrary, the Idea is nothing else than the material world reflected by the human mind, and translated into forms of thought."

Q. What is the religious world the reflex of?

A. "The real world." Q. For a society based upon the production of commodities, in which the producers in general enter into social relations with one another by treating their products as commodities and values, whereby they reduce their individual private labor to the standard of homogeneous human labor—for such a society what is the most fitting form of religion?

A. "Christianity, with its cultus of abstract man, more especially in its bourgeois developments, Protestantism, Deism, etc."

Note.—In the ancient Asiatic and other ancient modes of production we find that the conversion of products into commodities, and therefore the conversion of men into producers of commodities, holds a subordinate place, which, however, increases in importance as the primitive communities approach nearer and nearer to their dissolution."

Q. Did trading nations, properly so called, exist in the ancient world?

A. "Only in its interstices, like the gods of Epicurus, in the Intermundia, or like Jews in the pores of Polish society."

Q. How are those ancient social organisms of production as compared with bourgeois society?

A. "Extremely simple and transparent."

Q. On what are they founded?

A. "Either on the immature development of man individually, who has not yet severed the umbilical cord that unites him with his fellow men in a primitive relation of dependence, or upon direct relations of servitude."

Q. When only can they rise and exist?

A. "Only when the development of the productive power of labor has not risen beyond the local stage, and the sphere of the social relations within the sphere of material life between man and man, and between man and Nature, are correspondingly narrow."

Q. In what is this narrowness reflected?

A. "In the ancient worship of Nature, and in the other elements of the popular religions."

Q. When can the religious reflex of the real world finally vanish?

A. "Only when the practical relations of everyday life offer to man none but perfectly intelligible and reasonable relations with regard to his fellow men and to Nature."

Q. When does the life-process of society, which is the process of the material production, strip off its mystical veil?

A. "Only when it is treated as production by freely associated men, and is consciously regulated by them in accordance with a social plan."

Q. What does this, however, demand for society?

A. "A certain material groundwork or set of conditions of existence, which in their turn are the spontaneous product of a long and painful process of development."

Q. As regards value in general, what is the weak point of the classical school of political economy?

A. "That it never, expressly and with full consciousness, distinguishes between labor as it appears in the value of a product and the same labor as it appears in the use-value of that product."

Note.—Destutt says "that on the one hand all things which constitute wealth represent the labor that creates them, but that, on the other hand, they acquire their 'two different values' (use-value and exchange-value) from the value of labor." He thus falls into the commonplace error of the vulgar economists, who assume the value of one commodity (in this case labor) in order to determine the values of the rest."

Q. What is one of the chief failings of classical economy?

A. "That it has never succeeded, by means of its analysis of commodities, and, in particular, of their value, in discovering that form under which value becomes exchange-value."

Marx vs. Ashplant, Which?

Editor Bulletin:—

In your issue of this date under the heading "Marx or Reed, which?" James P. Thompson says, "This theory, that the price of commodities is determined by the price of labor power, was exploded by Marx many years ago," and after criticizing the error of Frank Reed, concludes without giving a concise statement (for the benefit of muddled readers) explaining the position of Karl Marx, showing how in his view the price of commodities A. R. E. determined. Permit me to submit that the position of Karl Marx, as I understand it, is as follows:

1. Commodities exchange on the basis of equal values (on the average) in the world market; prices merely expressing variations in the weight of gold metal any article will exchange for.

2. Money (gold) is itself a commodity, chosen from the general group of commodities to act as a medium of exchange, because it (gold) is more convenient in bulk and has more utilitarian value for this purpose than other commodities, not because it has great exchange value.

3. Gold, as money, in circulation exchanges value for value with any other, and with all other kinds of commodities; the basis of value being average labor time wrapped up in each commodity exchanged, less gold for less of anything else, and more gold for more of anything else. For illustration, while in the present system variations in price occur through conditions not normal, the tendency even under capitalism is, according to Karl Marx, for a ton of coal to represent the same volume of labor time (social labor) as the small amount of gold in \$600 (or) will represent. The variations of price, with variations in supply or quantity of products, actually proves the fact that labor time is the determining factor, because 50 bushels of wheat, or 50 tons of coal, appearing on the market as the product of a given amount of toil, that formerly yielded 25 bushels, or 25 tons, the price (or quantity of gold) it exchanges for is dropped because each unit bushel or ton represents less labor time expended in (or wrapped up in) its production. The drop in price follows a drop in the labor time consumed, per unit commodity, under normal conditions, for value, in exchange it represents less gold, because in 1 hour less gold is mined than in 2 hours, and vice versa.

4. The prices of natural products such as wheat, vegetables, etc., vary more, in accord with nature's variations in volume of supply per season's yield to labor time, than will commodities of artificial or factory manufactured character. Owing to scientific discoveries and inventions applied to factory products, the normal tendency is to drop steadily in price, because less and less time per unit commodity is required to produce less and less gold in produced in the shorter time measure; international dealers in gold follow the law of labor-time values with great sensitiveness in the exchange for other goods that never give as much gold for goods that can be produced in less time than before. Monopoly and trust prices are not normal; they actually, however, prove the rule.

5. Given an equal unit of social labor time for an illustration—as, say, 12 hours; if (a) 1 man labors on a farm and nature responds with 10 bushels of corn; and (b) 1 other man labors at gold mining and brings out 10 ounces of gold; if one ounce of gold is called in commercial practice one dollar (\$100) then the price per unit bushel is determined by the simple laws of arithmetical ratio, viz.: Supply, 10 bushels; demand, 10 dollars; price, 1 dollar, one ounce of

gold for one bushel of wheat, the units of both commodities exchanging as EQUAL to each other. For a universal exchange medium in commercial practice it is easy to see that gold is more likely than iron, coal, or wheat to survive as a convenient medium for daily exchanges, not because it is WORTH MORE in exchange value, but more in utility.

6. Wages are determined by the usual and immoral standard of the sum of products necessary to keep the worker in daily working condition, without regard to his product. A day's product may on the market realize \$5 dollars in gold exchange value; but \$1.25 may keep the laborer in working condition; hence the difference between \$1.25 and \$5.00 represents the margin that may go to Profit, Rent, and Interest, without making any difference to the market price, which latter is determined by the ratio between supply of commodities and supply (or demand) of gold per season of labor time. If \$5.00 will buy fifty bushels of wheat, and the worker gets only \$1.25, then the person who gets the \$3.75 can consume fifteen-twentieths, while the worker only gets five-twentieths of the 50 bushels.

7. If \$5.00 in market value is the product of a man's toil who receives only \$1.25 determined by competition at the starvation point, it is easy to see that the profit fund of \$3.75 will vary in exactly inverse ratio to a change in the wage item. Hence it is quite intelligent that perpetual conflict results from a system which has \$200 for its motive rather than a more ideal—ideal—rather wages of \$2.00 you drop dividends to \$3.00 without any necessary change in market price. Also by dropping wages to \$1.00 you can raise dividends to \$4.00.

8. Cost of production may vary from \$1.25 to my point above \$5.00 without necessarily affecting general market price; cost of production will affect PROFITS more than price.

9. A large relative increase in the world's gold supply will, above law tend to raise prices, because more gold is supplied per unit of labor time than before. Labor time is absolutely the DOMINANT factor in prices.

10. With higher prices the wage fund is seriously impaired, while PROFITS increase in inverse ratio; that is the present infamous position FOR STARVED MEN IN COMMON WITH THE WAGE-WORKER.

The writer respectfully submits the above as a fair presentation of Marx's position on VALUE, PRICE and PROFIT; if an incorrect statement, I will greatly appreciate a discussion of disputed points with James P. Thompson.

I may say that I am engaged in preparation of a little work on economics which I trust may be of assistance to Socialists when complete. Personally I do not agree with much that I read in Socialists journals regarding prices. I find many statements in regard to the worker being robbed as a producer, and not as a consumer, that are wholly wrong and confusing, as they do not square with the facts.

I do not know what a publication of Marx's complete original work may reveal, but "Capital" as published to date is in my opinion faulty on a very important point.

If Mr. Thompson is open for a little controversy I will dispute the claim that commodities exchange at their value in the market, and I claim also that the worker is robbed and always has been as a consumer. What will James P. Thompson say to that from a Marxian standpoint? Yours fraternally,

Montreal, July 27, 1907. HENRY B. ASHPLEANT.

that economists, who are thoroughly agreed as to labor-time being the measure of the magnitude of value, have the most strange and contradictory ideas of money, the perfected form of the general equivalent. This is seen in a striking manner in the treatment of banking, where the commonplace definition of money no longer holds water. This led to the rise of a restored mercantile system (Gantt, etc.) which sees in value nothing but a social form, rather an unsubstantial ghost of that form. Once for all, I may here state that by classical political economy I understand that economy which, since the time of W. Petty, has investigated the real relations of production in bourgeois society in contradistinction to vulgar economy, which deals with appearances only, ruminates without ceasing on the materials long since provided by scientific economy; and there seeks plausible explanations of the most obtrusive phenomena for bourgeois daily use, but for the rest confines itself to systematizing in a pedantic way, and proclaiming for everlasting truths, the ideas held by the self-complacent bourgeoisie with regard to their own world, to them the best possible of worlds."

Q. Has political economy ever asked the question why labor is represented by the value of its product and labor-time by the magnitude of that value?

A. "No."

Q. What do these formulae bear stamped upon them in unmistakable letters?

A. "That they belong to a state of society in which the process of production has the mastery over man, instead of being controlled by him."

Q. How do such formulae appear to the bourgeois intellect?

A. "To be as much a self-evident necessity imposed by Nature as productive labor itself."

Q. How are forms of social production that preceded the bourgeois form treated by the bourgeois?

A. "In most of the same way as the fathers of the church treated pre-Christian religions."

Note.—"To what extent some economists are misled by the fetishism inherent in commodities, or by the objective appearance of the social characteristics of labor, is shown, among other ways, by the dull and tedious quarrels over the part played by Nature in the formation of exchange value. Since exchange value is a definite social manner of expressing the amount of labor bestowed upon an object, Nature has no more to do with it than with fixing the course of exchange value."

(Lesson XI next week.)

Constitution in Spanish

The I. W. W. Constitution in Spanish is the latest addition to supplies at the general headquarters. It was printed to supply a demand South and West and will be furnished at 10 cents a copy.

THE PINKERTON LABOR SPY

This remarkable expose of the nefarious work of Pinkertons in labor organizations by Morris Friedman, reveals the real "inner circle" and should be read by every workman. Orders filled from this office. Price, 25 cents.

To anyone sending in ten yearly subscriptions, with \$5.00, for the Industrial Union Bulletin, we will send postpaid a copy of the Official Stenographic Report of the Industrial Workers of the World Convention of 1906. It is a book of 630 pages, and should be read by every member of the I. W. W. The price of the book is \$1.00 to any address.

REPORT OF THE I. W. W. TO THE INTERNATIONAL LABOR CONGRESS AT STUTTGART

TO THE DELEGATES TO THE INTERNATIONAL LABOR AND SOCIALIST CONGRESS:

Only the economic organization is capable of setting on foot a true political party of Labor, and thus raise a bulwark against the power of Capital. MARX

Comrades and Fellow Workers:-

Strange, we presume, will it appear to you as presenting apparently powerful economic and political organizations of the working class of the European continent; to you who have looked upon the New World as not counting at all in the war between the master and the servant class...

This prediction may sound bombastic. The backwardness of the American working class movement often furnished reasons for adverse comment among the proletarians, who had been kept in darkness as to the real conditions prevailing in this country.

There are many, looking to Germany as the classic land of socialism, who aver that the revolutionary propaganda must follow the lines of countries industrially less developed than the United States and Canada...

You men and women, delegates to this congress, again will have to hear the declaration that each land has to cope with its own industrial conditions, and that the workers of the northern part of the American continent have worked out the plans, fully consistent with conditions for the battle for economic freedom.

The idea of an international labor day on May first was born in America, the International Labor Congress held in Paris in the year 1889 enthusiastically heralded the thought throughout the civilized world...

The American Federation of Labor was born under a fire of attack. Open unions were its component parts or supposed to be. When organized twenty-seven years ago in the City of Pittsburgh, Pa., the capitalist press was unanimous in condemnation of the "Un-American invasion," and the fact that many of the first delegates to the first convention were foreign born, served as a subterfuge to assail the new organization and its pronounced principles.

But immediately after its formation the grappling between the progressive and conservative elements began, the capitalists again succeeding in getting their agents dominant in shaping the policies of the organization. The American Federation of Labor did not evolve into a real labor organization. It did not accommodate itself in forms to the ever-changing structure of capitalist society; it did not grasp the higher, most important mission of a trade-union movement.

Socialists of European countries, who are prone to measure the strength of working class solidarity by the number of votes cast on every recurring election day, would ridicule the idea that in a country with universal suffrage for all male citizens the ballot should not be regarded as a criterion of work done and advances made in the incessant propaganda for socialist aims and ends.

No organization of laboring people can be recognized as a working class institution except its motive force is the desire to reach the complete emancipation of the working class; benefiting from the lessons presented in the evolutionary process in the modes of production and the shifting change in the ownership of the implements for the creation of marketable wealth, such organizations must continually press on towards the consummation of the Socialist program.

Incumbent upon all such organizations of labor, on the political as well as on the economic field, that they constitute fighting, militant organizations, organized for the every day experiences and the final conflict with the master class.

If these premises are not correct, why then did the International Socialist Bureau, in mapping out the program for this congress, refuse to strike out from the qualifications of representatives the words "such trades unions organized on the recognition of the class struggle." Consistent with Socialist principles as this decision is, it becomes more significant, supremely important, for the formulation of workers an international program of action for the preparation of the workers of their historic mission.

Under this construction, laid down by many of the International Congresses of Labor, any one pretending to speak and to work for the emancipation of labor from the bondage of wage slavery, who defends, promotes and supports such trades unions as are founded on the false theory of harmonizing interests between the capitalist and the wage slave class, may not lay claim to the right to call himself a revolutionary socialist, and if he speaks in behalf of a political party reflecting the misleading and corrupting doctrines of such capitalist unionism, he most assuredly attempts to conceal the fact that the capitalist class in all countries when revolutionary propaganda began to circulate its life blood, protected itself behind a wall of sham field also.

Socialist propaganda, thus temporarily thwarting the efforts of those who are striving and laboring at the undermining of all capitalist class institutions and the construction of real working class organizations, on the economic as the most essential field, and the political as the true expression of revolutionary thought and activity.

You in European countries have had your experience in the stormy days of the movement with the manifold fake socialist organizations, devised and called into being by agents of the employing class; you have felt how those who advocate no compromise, no political bargaining, were persecuted and vilified, haunted and slandered by all the pseudo-socialist professors, lawyers, clergymen and yellow-back unionists.

Look backward, now, recall those days of bitter conflict and heroic sacrifice, and you will no longer wonder, when weighing cause and effect, that the same unscrupulous capitalist class element makes history on the same lines in a land where the proletarians are now beginning to see the truth of socialist teachings, and are raising the banner of working class revolt against the master class and the manifold institutions organized for the protection of capitalist interests.

The proletarians of European countries, who in the first place are entitled to learn about the true conditions of affairs, will therefore not be surprised to hear and see representatives of reactionary, capitalist unionism, although sallying under the name of political party Socialists, assail the Industrial Workers of the World at this congress. But you will not permit, when reviewing the past of the movement in your native countries, that misrepresentation and falsehood presented in print by emissaries of a corrupted, decaying pure and simple union movement of America, and its political reflex, be used to separate you from the struggling, vilified and persecuted Socialist Industrial Unionists of the United States and Canada.

Two-fold are our reasons for being represented at this congress: First: To destroy the erroneous delusion that the forces making for the industrial revolution in the northern part of the American continent have not produced sufficiently strong material and organized efforts to accomplish the change in the ownership of the means of production and distribution. Second: To establish the necessary international relations with the workers of Europe, Asia and other continents, when ready, so that they cease to be the supply houses of human labor for the American capitalists, through which the latter are able to use worker against worker, the emigrant against the natives and settled proletarians, and to turn them into supply houses of emigrant soldiers for the social revolution upon the American continent.

With the advent of capitalist production in the States and recently in Canada, American working class resistance manifested itself in typical American style. The Knights of Labor organization was the result. Conspiracy to "do the weaker" was the bourgeois class maxim; conspiracy to work secretly against the evil influences of capitalist class supremacy, in all states of social and industrial activity, was the key to the quick-fire of the Knights of Labor. The conspiracy features of the organization caused its downfall; the employees got their own conspirators into the secret chambers, and they worked the plans for the destruction of the once powerful organization. The Knights of Labor, once 1,000,000 strong, are lost and forgotten.

The American Federation of Labor was born under a fire of attack. Open unions were its component parts or supposed to be. When organized twenty-seven years ago in the City of Pittsburgh, Pa., the capitalist press was unanimous in condemnation of the "Un-American invasion," and the fact that many of the first delegates to the first convention were foreign born, served as a subterfuge to assail the new organization and its pronounced principles.

But immediately after its formation the grappling between the progressive and conservative elements began, the capitalists again succeeding in getting their agents dominant in shaping the policies of the organization.

The American Federation of Labor did not evolve into a real labor organization. It did not accommodate itself in forms to the ever-changing structure of capitalist society; it did not grasp the higher, most important mission of a trade-union movement. The agents of the capitalist class, in gaining accession and obtaining control in the shaping of the affairs and mapping out of the policies and tactics of the organization, prostituted that organization and transformed it, as it is today, into an auxiliary to the capitalist class, inasmuch that the Wall Street Journal, mouthpiece of the corporation magnates, defiantly could proclaim "That the American Federation of Labor is to-day the strongest bulwark against the dangerous tide of socialism."

The arbitrary defining of demarcation lines between trades that industrial evolution had really eliminated, marked the beginning of a bitter warfare of craft unions against other craft unions; the struggle for the keeping of the job at the expense of universal working class interests became the supreme issue; much to the rejoicing of the employing class, and at their behest. Strike breaking, under the subterfuge of "jurisdiction rights," became a rule, not an exception. There is not one solitary trades union that can vindicate itself against the charge of strike breaking; based of workers against workers was the charge of strike breaking; based of workers against workers was the charge of strike breaking; based of workers against workers was the charge of strike breaking.

Washington, D. C., in 1904, in substance as follows: "That these jurisdiction conflicts tend to increase the efficiency of the trade unionist at his work, because of the competition among the various craft unions to gain control over a particular craft in an industry." Efficiency at work for the benefit of the capitalist is the motto in this maxim is embodied the whole functionary program of such organizations upon the American continent as are connected with either the American Federation of Labor or the seven different Brotherhoods of Railway Employees.

Higher efficiency of the workers for the benefit of the exploiter and the perpetuation of the capitalist system of society! Actuated by such principles, it is small wonder that the two millions of craft unionists constitute rather a protection than a menace to the prevailing order of things.

A National Civic Federation, with an educational bureau attached, could only exist with the consent of an organized part of the working class, if that part is accessible to the preachings dealt out by the supporters of capitalism. With but two exceptions, the trades union official journals are parts of that Educational Bureau and the workers are thus made to believe that their station in life as exploited wage slaves is justified by eternal laws, formulated by the defenders of capitalism society.

High initiation fees, up to \$500.00, rigid examination of "undesirables," excessive fines, check-off systems, are only the results of such false forms and systems of unionism. Division upon the political field is not even the worst feature of the evil results of such unionism; in attempts, often successful, to distract the attention from the burning issue, the workers are told that unity on election day alone would suffice to banish the evil; workers divided and in each others' hair during 364 days of the year are reminded that the coming together on one day would eliminate all the disputes resulting from false teachings, and that the triumph on the political arena would lead to unite the workers on the economic field also.

Under this construction, laid down by many of the International Congresses of Labor, any one pretending to speak and to work for the emancipation of labor from the bondage of wage slavery, who defends, promotes and supports such trades unions as are founded on the false theory of harmonizing interests between the capitalist and the wage slave class, may not lay claim to the right to call himself a revolutionary socialist, and if he speaks in behalf of a political party reflecting the misleading and corrupting doctrines of such capitalist unionism, he most assuredly attempts to conceal the fact that the capitalist class in all countries when revolutionary propaganda began to circulate its life blood, protected itself behind a wall of sham field also.

False as are the conclusions, they are nevertheless in accord with the premises from which they flow.

Unity on the political field, as an expression of the will power and the concomitant might organized in preparation for coming events, can only be achieved and demonstrated when the solidarity on the economic battle ground is assured. A united political party of the working class of the United States and Canada must find its base and support from a working class organized on the industrial field, in such an organization that will not barter or compromise with the enemies of the working class. Political action is not a revolution, but only a measure in a slight degree to determine when the final act should be inaugurated.

THE INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD.

This conception of a true working class organization prompted the calling of a preliminary conference of a few men, in January, 1905. The opening arguments presented by the callers emphasized the necessity of establishing a common ground for the bringing together of the workers on the industrial as well as on the political field. We see that such eminent gentlemen as Mr. Mahlon Barnes and Lawyer Morris Hillquit, have embodied in their report to this congress the manifesto, issued in January, 1905. But the Socialist Party for which these two gentlemen speak was not invited, nor was the Socialist Labor Party. True to the Karl Marx saying quoted at the head of this report, it was conceived that the economic organization founded on the recognition of socialist principles had to be formed before a political reflex of the augmented strength of working class unity could be expected. The American Labor Union, the Western Federation of Miners, and the Socialist Trades and Labor Alliance were represented in that conference. The Socialist Trades and Labor Alliance had preceded, but had nearly succumbed under the fierce fire centered on it by the capitalist class and their labor lieutenants. By reason of the fact that the Alliance was considered an attachment to a specific socialist political party it could not enlist the support of those workmen who admitted the correctness of the position of the Alliance as an economic organization, yet knew that the policy of the organization was dependent on the mandates of that particular party. The American Labor Union had repeatedly endorsed the Socialist Party, but that endorsement in no way made the organization map out its policy in accordance with socialist principles. This was brought out in that conference. The Western Federation of Miners, however, was gradually and against huge obstacles, both from within and without, clearing the road for an industrial progressive unionism, all these elements brought together recognized the fact that American industrial conditions demanded an organization that would be able to cope with them, and reassure the workers whose courage had been broken and hopes shattered by the many defeats and betrayals in the past.

The program promulgated in the Manifesto aroused the workers. However, advocates of purely political action, under the pretext of being promoters of the program outlined, had gained admission to the meetings of that conference. It developed later that the ambition of these intruders was the possible prevention of what the conference had principally been called for. Working class unity on the economic and also on the political field, meant death to the political schemes of parliamentarians. Neither Mr. Mahlon Barnes, nor Mr. Morris Hillquit, both submitting to this congress a report filled with pervasions of truth, and vilification of individuals who alone have a right to speak for the Industrial Workers of the World, have knowledge of the underlying forces making the formation of the organization essential in the battle of the working class for a higher form of civilization. Neither of them knows of the gigantic struggles the I. W. W. had to go through in the endeavor to carry out the program agreed upon in the January preliminary conference.

Profiting from evil experiences in all preceding organizations, it was to be the mission of the Industrial Workers of the World to prepare the workers of Northern America through the dissemination of sound literature for the work of construction. Never was it intended to cater for the support of large bodies organized in trades unions to increase the number of enlisted workers at the cost of abandoning the basic principles and blurring the lines of the class struggle. Clear and distinct as was the program promulgated, it precluded the chances of the agents of the master class from holding on to their jobs of prey upon the working class. This was the reason that the many delegates attending the first convention as representatives of already organized bodies of workers, immediately discouraged the workers from connecting themselves in large numbers with the newly formed body.

The danger of having the organization swamped by the enlistment of large bodies, with all the elements of corruption and decay inherent in them, was thus averted, temporarily at least. As a result of this the workers of North America gained new confidence, because they found that the Industrial Workers of the World with its program was repulsive to the labor leaders of the craft union movement; the newly formed body was, therefore, able to make great headway immediately after its formation. Such was the interest shown in the movement among the working class that the capitalists got alarmed. They had succeeded in thwarting the efforts of the proletarians before, by getting their plant tools to work, and on the same plan they thought to either get control of the organization and thus stifle its activity, or destroy it in its infancy. Those who had surveyed the field and had learned from the object lessons of the past, could see the cunning work of the master class at every turn of affairs.

The coming events enacted at the second convention of the I. W. W. cast their shadows several months before. The capitalist press, supported by a parasitic press owned by individuals whose connection with the socialist movement emanates from selfish motives, announced four months in advance of the convention that the dominating influence of the "Revolutionary Socialists" in the I. W. W. would be broken in the second convention and the Industrial Workers of the World would then have the good will of some employers of labor and grow rapidly in numbers. The capitalist agents tried their best to carry out the wishes of their silent instructors. But for the first time in the history of the American labor movement did the proletarians destroy the plans of the capitalist class. The supporters of capitalist unionism were thrown out; for their last resort of delivering the goods to their masters they used the brutal force of hired assassins to slug and if possible murder those who stood loyal to the working class. Supported also by such elements as are characterized in the report of Barnes and Lawyer Hillquit to this congress, the capitalists and their tools thought that vilifications, slander and abuse against a few in the movement would accomplish what by other methods they were unable to see consummated.

You will be told that there are two factions now; the one repudiated by the intelligent working class is not founded and conducted in its work by Socialist principles, and no real workmen are connected with it; the other, however, has grown strong and powerful under the fierce fire of persecution and attack from the fortress of capitalism and the outposts protecting capitalist class institutions and interests. Starting out with only 2,000 members in 1905, the Western Federation of Miners not included, the organization has now 302 industrial unions and branches organized in 27 States of the Union and three Provinces of Canada; individual members will be found already in Central and South America; the propaganda with literature and lectures by fifteen organizers, all well trained and equipped intellectually, may give a scant idea to our comrades in other parts of the world what great work for the dissemination of socialist ideas is being performed and constructive propaganda carried on.

The capitalist class and its servants were defeated in the second convention and that alone serves as a measure in some degree showing (CONCLUDED ON FOURTH PAGE)

I. W. W. LEAFLETS. Leaflets in English, per 1,000 - Address to Wage Workers, \$1.50. The Textile Industry, 1.50. Food Staff 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. L. W. W. CONSTITUTION. English, (per 100) 5.00. Italian, 5.00. French, 5.00. German, 5.00.

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 workmen 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," E. F. Sz., 5c. "Burning" Question of Trades Unionism," By R. B. Lee, 5c. "Address on I. W. W. Preamble," By R. B. Lee, 5c. Sent to any address, prepaid, for 25c. WM. E. TRAUTMANN 310 BUSH TEMPLE CHICAGO - ILLINOIS

Industrial Union HANDBOOK. Gives an outline of the Structure of Industrial Unionism and Analysis of the Preamble. Very useful in arriving at an understanding of the form of organization of the Industrial Workers of the World. Price, postpaid, 10 cts. Special rates on large orders.

The Industrial Workers of the World has but one general office in Chicago, located in the Bush Temple, North Clark Street; It has no connection with any claimants to the name and repudiates any and all claims made by them.

LOCAL EXECUTIVE BOARD

MINUTES OF LOCAL ADVISORY BOARD, FRIDAY, JULY 26TH, 1907.

Present: B. Stone, A. Simpson and E. S. Payment.

Telegram was read from Vincent St. John, dated July 21st, containing statement that it would be impossible for him to leave the country on account of bonds. The secretary reported that he immediately wired Heslewood, and received a reply that he would immediately proceed to Chicago, and to the East, to take a steamer to Europe as delegate, but owing to the fact that the cancelling of dates would create confusion and distrust, the secretary thought it imperative that all dates of Vincent St. John should be filled by him and so wired him, and received reply that he would fill all the dates in the East as speaker in mass meetings.

On motion of Payment, seconded by Simpson, the action of the secretary was approved.

Owing to the big strike in Bridgeport and the strikes in other places, which required that all finances and all energies be centered on the strike situation, it was resolved that all organizers be recalled temporarily, except those who are conducting the strike.

Letter read from Fellow Worker Johnson of Bridgeport, Conn., giving an account of the strike situation in that place. He reported that more speakers were needed and Organizer French had to secure two speakers from Newark to help him handle the campaign. The action of Organizer French was approved.

Letter read from Fellow Worker P. Bohm, a very active member of the Garment Workers' Union of Chicago, who reported that he has a chance to organize the Hungarian and Slavonian workers in the East Chicago Steel Works, in conjunction with Fellow Worker Rothfischer. The secretary reported that arrangements will be made for meetings for the purpose of starting a propaganda among the large factories in the five suburban towns of Chicago.

Charter applications received from J. J. Etor from an Italian mixed local of Vancouver, B. C. Upon motion the charter was granted.

Charter application received from Organizer Cox for a mixed local of St. Joseph, Mo., and also a report about the concern of Ill., asking for organizers, in order to continue the great work carried on among the coal miners, as they are now ripe for the I. W. U., and in order to complete the work, it will be necessary to have permanent organizers sent immediately into that state.

The secretary reported that he had written to Fellow Worker Veal, outlining the program that has been adopted by the general executive board for the near future in the coal mining districts of Illinois.

Letter read from Organizer Fischer, giving many suggestions how organizing should be conducted. On motion board adjourned.

THE FOLLOWING BILLS WERE APPROVED:

- July 26, O. Juth, assistant for week ending July 6th, \$15.00
July 26, W. P. Thompson, organizer for week ending July 6th, \$15.00
July 26, F. Woznak, organizer for week ending July 6th, \$15.00
July 26, A. Kulechinsky, organizer for week ending July 6th, \$15.00
July 26, A. S. Edwards, organizer for week ending July 6th, \$15.00
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July 26, F. Woznak, organizer for week ending August 3rd, \$15.00
July 26, A. S. Edwards, organizer for week ending August 3rd, \$15.00

The secretary reported that he had given all the instructions necessary and will remain in touch with that fellow worker. The action of the secretary was approved.

Charter application received from Fellow Worker Simonton, for a smeltermen's union at Pittsburg, Kan., which was accompanied by the necessary charter fee. The general secretary reported that charter and supplies had been forwarded. His action was approved.

Letter received from Organizer Simonton showing what splendid work he is doing in that district, and also letters corroborative of this were received from the secretaries of the locals in that district.

Letter received from Secretary Howard of Kansas City, stating that the American Federation of Labor is again trying to organize the stock yards workers, and the I. W. U. men had also succeeded in getting a

propaganda started, but a paid organizer would be needed to finish the work, otherwise all efforts would be lost.

The secretary was instructed to reply and explain the situation throughout the country and the financial condition of headquarters.

Letter read from Organizer Thompson from Providence, R. I., giving a report of the work being done in Pascoag and Mapleville and surrounding towns, part of which was ordered to be published in the Bulletin.

Letter read from Vincent St. John from Goldfield, giving an account of his proposed trip and that he will fill all dates.

Letter read from Organizer Forberg from St. Paul, giving report of the work being done in St. Paul.

Letter read from Organizer Etor, giving a report of the work being done in Vancouver. He had collected \$700 for subscriptions and sold literature to the amount of \$14.25. He also reported that the field in Vancouver is excellent and the organizations there are composed of very good material, which gave him the very best of co-operation in his work.

The secretary reported that Etor is practically self-sustaining through the sale of literature and the collection of subscriptions.

Letter read from Organizer French, giving an account of the strike situation in Bridgeport, which will be published in the Bulletin.

Letter was read from the secretary of Local No. 12, Los Angeles, Cal., signed by a protest of the local against a committee, against the recent instructions given to organizers, and asking that the protest be published in the Bulletin. The secretary instructed that it be published as a special rule that they be permitted to charge an initiation fee of \$2.00 for new members, as conditions in Alaska warrant such a fee. On motion the request was complied with.

Letter read from Fellow Worker P. Veal, representing the coal miners' union, in order to continue the great work carried on among the coal miners, as they are now ripe for the I. W. U., and in order to complete the work, it will be necessary to have permanent organizers sent immediately into that state.

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Mr. Borah: In Pettibone's store. The Witness: No, I didn't say Pettibone's store.

Mr. Darrow: It was in May in Pettibone's store. The Witness: It was the first part of May, I think it was, there.

Mr. Darrow: Before he went to the convention. Q. Now you say you saw him again you think some time in the month of July? A. I think so, or the first part of August.

Q. Do you remember one time when you and Pettibone and Moyer and Orchard were out on a Sunday afternoon in Pettibone's back yard, two or three o'clock in the afternoon, and had a conversation about killing Governor Steinhilber? Did you have any such conversation with him out in the back yard? A. I never had any such conversation in the back yard; but, Mr. Darrow, that is not the way he testified to it.

Q. Well, did you have any conversation with him on a Sunday, in reference to killing any body, out in Pettibone's back yard? A. No, never. I never saw him, no sir. I lived right opposite Mr. Pettibone's house. We first lived next door to him for a short time and we have lived immediately opposite ever since I have been in the city of Denver—that is, the folks have moved there since I have been there. Yes, that is a populous neighborhood.

Q. What is there next to Mr. Pettibone's house on the south side? A. On the north side is a vacant 25-foot lot and a flat; on the south side is a house right close up to his. Solomon lived there after we moved.

Q. Did Solomon have any children? A. He had two boys, one named Harry and one named Tom. Q. About how wide is Mr. Pettibone's yard? A. Twenty-five foot lot. Q. Were you ever in his back yard? A. Yes, sir.

Q. Discussing murder? A. No; no sir, not discussing murder. I have been in Mr. Pettibone's back yard a number of times.

Q. Well, did you ever have any conversation either there or anywhere else with Mr. Orchard, in reference to that back yard? A. Never at any time.

Q. Do you know about Mr. Orchard being up at Pettibone's house for any length of time along in August or July, or any time in 1905? A. Yes, he was in the house at Pettibone's house in August. I think she (Mrs. Pettibone) was visiting her relatives in Illinois.

Q. You heard a Denver policeman testify, didn't you, here about seeing you on the front porch? A. Yes, sir. Q. Do you know whether you were on the front porch at any time with Mr. Pettibone and Mr. Orchard, that is, the front porch of Mr. Pettibone's house, in the evening? A. I don't remember the instance.

Q. Could you say it was not true or was? A. No, I wouldn't say that it wasn't true, because I was over to Mr. Pettibone's house.

Q. Were you over to Mr. Pettibone's house at any time when Harry Orchard was there in August? A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do you recall any specific time or any thing that you were doing at that time, when you were there? A. I remember one instance. Mr. Orchard and I were in the kitchen, that is, they had two kitchens, this was the inside one near the sink, and we had been discussing the excitement that was on in Alaska at Fairbanks or Fairfeld, as nearly as I can recall the name, and Mr. Orchard remarked that he was going up there he thought. And I said to him, "What are you going to do with your family?" "Well," he said, "I ain't going back."

I said, "Are you not going to take care of them?" He said, "There is two boys, two or three, I think he said two, and he said, "they don't belong to me and I don't feel free providing for some other man's children." And he looked at him and said, "the little woman married you in good faith." "Yes," he said, and hung his head, "but I ain't going to provide for another man's children." That is one of the conversations that I remember that occurred of those times that I was in. Another time was Pettibone had received a letter from a man by the name of Arthur Parker, who was located up somewhere near Seattle, if I remember rightly, on Horseshoe Bay, and this Parker had written Pettibone quite a letter descriptive of his place and said it was the first time that he ever felt like a free man in his life, that he had been offered three dollars a day—

Mr. Borah: You haven't got that letter, have you?

Mr. Darrow: No, you haven't got that letter, have you?

The Witness: No, I haven't got the letter, but I heard Mr. Pettibone read it.

Mr. Borah: Who did you say this letter was from?

The Witness: Arthur Parker.

Mr. Borah: We will not object.

The Witness: (Continuing.) He said it was the first time that he felt like a free man; that he had been offered \$3.00 a day to go to Alaska, and he turned it down. He had eleven acres of land and Bill Bert and Al Jenks, two other Cripple Creek miners, had locations in the immediate vicinity. He went on describing the scenery and the timber, the berries that grew there, and one thing and another. I don't remember, Mr. Darrow, of any particular conversation.

Q. Was Mr. Orchard ever in your house? A. Yes, sir. I don't know whether he was ever in my house after the first of August or not. I rather think not, though he had been there previous to that.

Q. When did you learn that he had left? Had left Denver? A. I came home one night and my wife said "I guess she called him Orchard," I remember right, "has gone." I saw him and Mr. Pettibone putting their valises in the buggy." That was some time I think the latter part of August.

Q. Do you know when you had seen him in reference to that time? A. I don't just recall, but I think it was probably a week or ten days previous to that. He did not come to our office at the time he went away. He came there some time previous to that.

Q. How long had it been since you had seen him? A. It seems to me it was a week or ten days.

Q. Had he told you anything further about where he was going than you have related? A. No, sir. I haven't seen him again until I saw him here on the witness stand.

Q. And when is the next time you

heard anything about him? A. When he was arrested or shortly after.

Q. Shortly after he was arrested in Caldwell? A. Yes, sir.

Q. Where is there down the hall? A. A toilet on the right hand side of the hall. . . . Right at the end, a little hall turning to the right.

Q. Another matter which I overlooked: You heard Orchard's testimony in reference to a horse, didn't you? A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did you ever have anything to do, or form any plans, or have any conversation with Harry Orchard or anybody else with reference to buying a horse and a buggy for Harry Orchard to go out on killing expeditions against Governor Peabody, Sherman Bell, or anybody else? A. No, sir. . . . No, I never had anything to do with buying a horse and buggy for him.

Q. Did you ever see him when he had a horse and buggy? A. Yes, sir. Q. Go along with him anywhere? A. I did. . . . He brought the horse and buggy down to the headquarters of the Western Federation of Miners.

Q. Anybody else with him but the horse and buggy? A. The colored man that was here on the stand. . . . I saw him down—well, he came up in the office and used in a wood, come down and see my rig." I went down. He said, "George wants to know if you will trade the gray mare for this horse and buggy."

I got in the buggy—that is the colored man got out and got in and we drove one block west on Larimer street, passed the city hall, police station, fire department, onto the 14th street viaduct, and I told him in—the course of the conversation I told him no, I wouldn't trade the gray mare, that I didn't want to split that team, and that this rig wasn't worth a hundred dollars; that we had been offered \$250.00 for the span of mares, could sell them in Cripple Creek for \$275.00, that I wouldn't split the team under any circumstances. Pettibone wanted to get the gray mare then out of a team that we had brought down from Cripple Creek.

This team was one of a number of spans of horses that we used in the Cripple Creek district at the time that we were running the stores there and had been sent for by me through Mr. Harper, I believe. He was manager of the Victor store and had his seat up into the district to settle up accounts, to pay the debts we owed, and if I remember correctly, Mr. Harper wrote to Tommy Haine, who had been one of his drivers, and told him in regard to buying the horses, waggons and harness.

Q. How many horses did you have at that time? A. I think there were nineteen head.

Q. How many did you have in Denver? A. He started with three, that is, with a saddle horse and this span of mares. Roper asked me what kind of horses we had. I told him that we would bring down a span and he could see them. We did, and he said he would send a man up to look over the team back to Cripple Creek and we disposed of them there.

Q. Is there anything more in this horse story that you know of with reference to buying any horse for Orchard? A. I think I have told you all in connection with that story, more than Mr. Pettibone was anxious to get this gray mare to work in one of his waggons, and I wouldn't split the team for him. Now I might say in connection with that, that we had an opportunity to sell that team to a man by the name of Joe O'Brien.

In Denver—a member of our organization.

Q. You needn't go into that. Mr. Haywood, did you ever have any conversation or arrangement or negotiation of any sort with Orchard to hire him, employ him, or combine with him to kid Governor Peabody or Sherman Bell or Moffatt or any judge of the Supreme Court or James F. Hearne or anybody else in Denver? A. No, sir.

Q. Or anywhere else? A. I did not.

Q. Did you ever know of any conversation or any plan in reference to that until you heard it after your arrest? A. That was the first knowledge that I ever had of such a conversation. . . . I first saw Steve Adams in the spring of 1903.

(Continued next week.)

Price List of Supplies:

- Constitutions, in English, per 100, \$5 00
Constitutions, in other languages, per 100, \$7 00
Local Letterheads, per 100, \$5 00
Envelopes, per 100, \$5 00
Withdrawal Cards, per for 10, \$10 00
Application blanks, per 100, \$5 00
Arrangements notices, per 100, \$5 00
Warrant Book, each, \$80 00
Receipt Book, each, \$30 00
Ledger, 100 pages, \$3 00
Ledger, 200 pages, \$5 00
Ledger, 300 pages, \$8 00
Ledger, 400 pages, \$10 00
Ledger, 500 pages, \$15 00
Day Book, 100 pages, \$1 00
Treasurer's Cash Book, \$75 00
Minute Book, \$90 00
Rubber Stamps and Pad, \$50 00
Seal for the Union, \$1 00
Buttons, cheap grade, per 100, \$10 00
Buttons, better grade, \$25 00

Local Union Announcements

Local (Mixed) Union No. 67, Jersey City, meets every first and third Thursday in the month at Freling's, corner Bascom and Center streets. For full particulars address W. Woodhouse, 71 Summit avenue, Jersey City, N. J.

Report to International Congress

ing how deeply socialist thought and consequent action is rooted among the proletarians of the United States and Canada.

The Industrial Workers of the World is proud of the fact that the most advanced workers for the socialist cause are members of the organization, and most active in the propaganda for the principles espoused, working incessantly and without regard to slander and vilification for the purification of the working class on the industrial and political field, and for action as dictated by American conditions and social and industrial developments.

The organization embraces now 28,000 militant workers, and although the Western Federation of Miners, at the last convention could not as yet rid itself completely from the withering hands of the capitalist agents, and is not now a part of the I. W. U., the majority of the members of that organization virtually support and stand together with the Industrial Workers of the World in the battle for industrial freedom.

The organization has established its own weekly journal, "The Industrial Union Bulletin," which has since May 1, 1907, attained a paid circulation of 7,000 copies; its official literature has been translated in seven languages and many of these documents have, since the 1906 convention, circulated to the extent of hundreds of thousands.

Such is the fear of the capitalists against the growing power of the organization that they openly invited at different occasions the American Federation of Labor and other organizations to help them in the war of extermination, but to the eternal credit of the workers of America be it said that more and more of them refuse to do the bidding of the capitalists and the unscrupulous labor fakirs any longer.

The onslaught in Goldfield, Nev., which caused even the intervention of the President of the United States in ordering the discharging of a lady Postmaster because she was a member of the I. W. U., whilst if she would have joined the American Federation of Labor she would have retained her position, shows clearly that the capitalist masters and their emissaries on the political field look with alarm upon the growing influence of the principles advocated by the Industrial Workers of the World, and it is safe to predict that they will make use of all powers at their command to fight an unrelenting war against this socialist economic organization, because they know that the organization will measure swords also on the political arena, as soon as a true political feeling of working class solidarity on the industrial field is established.

It was the Industrial Workers of the World that raised the first voice when Haywood, one of its founders, was arrested on February 17th, 1906; when Moyer and Pettibone were kidnapped together with the former, it was this organization, the I. W. U., that issued the first call, "Shall Our Brothers be Murdered?" on February 19th, 1906; it was the Industrial Workers of the World that, after appealing to the various working class associations to "bury the hatchet" and combine in strength for the one purpose of securing liberty for the persecuted spokesman, found that the proletariat was ready to respond, while self-styled leaders everywhere blocked the efforts at unity of action in the crucial epoch. Yet, undisturbed by all these obstacles, the organization is marching on, is at work preparing the necessary groundwork upon which will be built a true political expression of the aims, aspirations and wishes of the working class, and through which capitalist government will pass out of existence and the workers' republic be established.

With the passing of the capitalist government, a medium for the protection of class rule, and private ownership of all implements of production and distribution will be ushered in, the industrial government prepared and organized within the capitalist structure of society, founded on pillars erected before the old are razed, will stand as a lasting monument of the final triumph of the organized proletariat of the world.

We want the workers of Europe to hear of the gigantic strides made, we want them to join hands with us, so that the emigrant workers will know that there is organized a union upon the American continent that will really unite them with their fellow workers in the various industries; we want them to be our comrades in the fight for industrial freedom, and our purpose in being represented in this International Congress is to emphasize our declaration that with the co-operation of the working class the world over, the proletariat of North America will soon be ready to carry out successfully, by the use of all civilized methods, the historic mission of the working class in this part of the globe.

The bulwark against the power of capital has been raised, industrial solidarity of the working class will beget solidarity on all other lines of action, the Co-operative Commonwealth on our day will mark the hour of triumph and of victory gained by the wealth producers united on the industrial and political field.

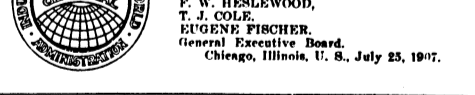
It is necessary for the enlightenment of the delegates and the workers of other lands to refute false statements made in the report submitted by a certain Morris Hillquit, agent the affairs in the Industrial Workers of the World. It is not true that the so-called "Sherman faction" has the bulk of membership—in fact, that fragment of a thing which was expected to do the stifling act, has virtually passed out of existence; its convention was not held, and whoever pretends to represent that nonentity surely does it for some ulterior motive.

Mr. Hillquit perverts the truth again when he says that the actions of the second convention were not submitted to the membership for approval, the report sheets of the referendum taken is attached as evidence of the falsity of Mr. Hillquit's statements, together with other information relating to the I. W. U. Either Mr. Hillquit deliberately falsifies or reports concerning matters of which he is deplorably ignorant. But as he and those for whom he speaks reflect only capitalist unionism, you are to judge on the question of veracity between us.

Submitted, with international greetings, by order of the General Executive Board.

WM. E. TRAUTMANN, M. P. HAGGERTY, General Secretaries.

VINCENT ST. JOHN, A. MIACHELE, F. W. HESLEWOOD, T. J. COLE, EUGENE FISCHER, General Executive Board, Chicago, Illinois, U. S., July 25, 1907.



Haywood's Direct Examination

Continued from last week

Q. Do you know what time in May (that you met him in Pettibone's store)? A. Well, it was previous to our leaving for the meeting of the executive board, which took place prior to the convention at Salt Lake City. We convened on the third or fourth Monday in May.

Q. And did you go to that convention? A. Yes, sir.

Q. And did Mr. Pettibone go to the convention? A. Yes, sir.

Q. And what was your business at his store at that time, if you had any? A. Well, I had no particular business, but I think I dropped in to urge him to go to the convention if he could. It wasn't far out of my way going home. As I entered the store Mr. Orchard was standing at the railing in front of Mr. Pettibone's desk, and there was another man there by the name of Johnny Van Wourmer. I remember this instance because both of them immediately on my coming in the store, almost before I had time to say "How do you do?" they accosted me with the proposition of taking some life insurance. They were both representing the Mutual Life Insurance Company.

Q. Did you know Van Wourmer? A. I knew him, yes.

Q. Did you have any further conversation with Orchard then? A. No, sir.

I think the next time I saw him was in July, after I returned from Chicago. I might say, Mr. Darrow, in connection with that, we went from Denver to Salt Lake, attended the meeting of the executive board and the convention, and was elected to a convention that was to be held in Chicago.

Q. Now what time did you leave Denver for Salt Lake? A. If I remember correctly it was on the 9th of May. (Returned.) On the 20th of June, I think it was the 20th, I may have been a day or two earlier than that. I left for Chicago on the 22nd of June.

Q. When did you get back? A. Some time after the middle of July; I am not positive as to that, because the Chicago convention I went to Louisville and visited there a day or two and then returned to Denver.

Q. So from the 9th of May until the middle of July you were not in Denver excepting those two days you speak of? A. I think that was two days that I was in Denver—well, it may have been more, it may have been three or four days; but that is the only time I was in Denver until I returned from Chicago.

Q. And where did you see Orchard in July if you recall?

Mr. Borah: He just testified to that? Mr. Darrow: Did he testify to that?