

Five New Charters were issued during the Week, making a total of 84 since the Convention.

# The Industrial Union Bulletin

OFFICIAL PUBLICATION OF THE INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD

"LABOR IS ENTITLED TO ALL IT PRODUCES"

Vol. I. No. 7.

CHICAGO, APRIL 13, 1907.

50c. a Year.

### Members of Executive Board

VINCENT ST. JOHN  
Goldfield, Nev.  
A. MAIOHELE  
Schenectady, N. Y.  
T. J. COLE  
Blue Island, Ill.  
F. W. HESLEWOOD  
Greenwood, B. O.  
EUGENE FISHER  
New York, N. Y.

### Splendid Progress at Paterson

The progress of the I. W. W. at the present time here, is very interesting and satisfactory to us.

Within the past month between 500 and 600 new members have been admitted into our organization. Two new locals were organized: one a woodworkers' industrial union, and the other in the cotton industry; and we are about to organize among the workers employed in the American Locomotive Works.

The situation in the American Locomotive Works is like this: The moulders and moulders' helpers in this large plant made a demand last week for wage increases, the moulders asking for 25 cents more per day, and the helpers asking for 2 cents more per hour. The moulders were given 15 cents increase, which they accepted; the helpers were told by the I. W. W. yesterday morning to strike and called upon us to address them. Today they were offered 1 cent per hour increase, but this offer was refused and tomorrow the strike will be on in both shops for the two cents per hour. This strike probably will not last long, as it appears that the amount involved in the demand is so small and the strike interferes so much with the operation of the company's business that the concession will doubtless be granted.

The majority of these moulders' helpers are now getting only 14 cents per hour. Our getting an organization among them seems not only to be the beginning of a large organization of laborers in the I. W. W. here but it will also probably open the door for the organization of the future of the American Locomotive Works in the I. W. W. The American Locomotive Works is making the engines for the Manchester Railway; it is the locomotive trust, having branches not only here in Paterson but also in Providence, Dunkirk, Schenectady and at other points.

The I. W. W. has been securing some good wage increases in this city. The most notable increase was an increase of \$1.00 per week to each of about 6,000 dyers. We have made great progress here among the silk weavers, organizing an increase of \$1.00 per week to each of about 1,000 workers. Henry Doherty, the Lakeview Silk Co., Kaufman Brothers, Doherty & Wadsworth, the Paragon Mill, Scofield & Becker's and a number of smaller mills. To strengthen our hold upon the situation we had organized a local among the dyers, and we have the dyers we will have an additional hold on every shop, because no shop can run with non-union weavers if the dyers won't furnish the material. The bosses noted our progress with the dyers and the growing discontent among them, so they gave them a very good progress among the dyers, which amounts to some \$6,000 per week. This was done in an attempt to pacify their employees and head off our progress before we were even ready to make our demands; but among the dyers, which is making progress, we are still making progress in new members at our meetings.

About three weeks ago we had a strike in the New Jersey Silk Company's mill for an increase of wages, and at the end of two weeks the increase was granted. Several meetings are being held every day, and new members are coming in rapidly. Some of our locals are deciding to send the Industrial Union Bulletin for a six months or a year to each new member.

The Kramer Hat Band Company also had a strike, which was won. It was intended to make the Kramer Company's place a straight I. W. W. shop. One man refused to join. They gave him four weeks' time, and then they struck. They were out one day. The man was then ready to join but they told him his application could not be passed upon until the next meeting which would be held in about two weeks, meantime he will probably have leisure both to remember the leniency and to contemplate the dignity of the I. W. W.

It is very encouraging to see the splendid stand taken by the girls and women in these mills. They grasp the situation and perform their part in a very practical and creditable manner; and it must be said further, to their credit, that when anything is suggested that savors of exploitation of the union by officers or committeemen in the pure and simple graft fashion the women point out its tendency and oppose it with an insight and honesty that it is fine to see.

Another strike that's on here now is one against the Looschen Piano Case Works. These men were getting from \$5 to \$9 per week and had to work Saturdays up to 4 or 5 p. m. They struck for \$7 more per week and Saturday half holiday. This employer seems to be about as unscrupulous a man as would ever be run up against, but yet we hope the strike will be won.

Company. Our organization obtained an increase there some time ago of 10 per cent, and everybody in the shop joined the I. W. W., not only the weavers but the twisters also—something that was never done in the pure and simple unions, where the twisters had to belong to a separate union of course. Graf, not knowing what better to do, started a practice of discrimination, laying off men, putting them upon bad work, etc. Finally he laid off four twisters on Friday and told them to come back on Saturday; but they didn't come back Saturday because they didn't want to come in for half a day—always before, work had been found for them and they had never been laid off up to the time they joined the union. When they came in Monday they were discharged. Two weavers were also laid off. Then a meeting was called and the boss was notified that discrimination would not be tolerated, and that he must take the twisters back. Graf consented to take the twisters back, but not the weavers. The matter was brought before the Industrial Union, the delegated body, and from there the demand was made upon Graf to make his mill a union shop and he was notified that the weavers must be taken back. The demand was not immediately accepted, the twisters were called, and the strikers have been instructed, after providing a committee to picket the shop that the rest of them are to find other jobs immediately. This last feature, that the strikers are to find new jobs, is troubling Graf very much, as he in addition to seeing himself confronted with a long tie-up, is very anxious about losing his good men.

Suitable to its progress in organizing here, the I. W. W. will soon have fitted up in the very center of town a very good headquarters. The committee has selected the place and the Industrial Council will doubtless take the final step tomorrow night by ordering the lease to be signed. There will be a reading room, two ante-rooms, and a large hall, with a seating capacity of about 500 or 600.

There is a great deal doing here now, and the outlook for the future is good. As I've written throughout of what we have been doing, I must now explain that, personally, I haven't had any part in it, as I'm only over here for a week, from New York.

Fraternally,  
CHARLES H. CHASE  
Paterson, N. J., April 4, 1907.

### Portland Lines are Steady

Organizer Fred Heslewood writes from Portland in the most cheerful and confident mood regarding the present situation and outlook. Harmony and solidarity prevail throughout the ranks; employment is being found for hundreds of men; women and children are fully looked after and the contributions to the fund are generous and constant. A complete list of all receipts will shortly appear in *The Bulletin*. The work of organization is being perfected at all points on the Coast. The A. F. of L. tries to butt in, but the hitting is doing them no good. The Linemen's Electrical Union (A. F. of L.) has endorsed the strike and is entirely friendly; as a result the union has been expelled from the Building Structural Alliance. The street car men have asked for a boycott to be placed on all electrical work by A. F. of L. Union. Finnish Socialists refuse to work because the timber they are supposed to use comes from one of the saw mills; they are all I. W. W. men now. The mills are trying to run one shift, but are having a tough time with crippled and inexperienced crews. Some of the owners say they would concede our demands if they came from the A. F. of L., but as the I. W. W. wants the "mills, machinery and smokestacks" they can't see the point. In another place in this paper we print an illuminating article on the I. W. W. from the Oregon Sunday Journal.

### LATEST

A telegram received at General Headquarters, says:  
"Stop further contributions of money through *The Bulletin*. Everything going fine."  
—FRED W. HESLEWOOD.

### Denver Protest

A well attended Moyer-Haywood-Pettibone protest meeting was held March 30 in the Coliseum Hall, Denver. The meeting was held under the auspices of the S. P. A. F. of L., Bricklayers' Union, Jewish Bund, S. L. P., and I. W. W., forty-eight working men organizations in all. We did not have an overflow meeting, due no doubt, to the fact, we were compelled to hold the meeting Saturday night. A collection of \$100.00 was taken up, and after all bills are paid, we will have about \$70.00 for the Defense Fund.

J. W. HAWKINS.  
For the Resolutions Committee.

A package which the postmaster is unable to deliver remains uncalled for in the postoffice at Patrick, Wyoming. It was sent from General Headquarters and is addressed to Louis Breaman. If this notice reaches him he is requested to call for the package or send his present address to the postmaster, with request to have it forwarded.

## TO THE RESCUE

**THIS APPEAL IS ADDRESSED TO ALL INDUSTRIAL UNIONISTS AND FRIENDS OF THE ORGANIZATION**

Two members of the Local Union, No. 77, of Goldfield, Nevada, have been indicted by the grand jury on the charge of murder and conspiracy, through the perjured testimony of A. F. of L. carpenters and members of the Citizens' Alliance. A determined and dastardly effort will be made to railroad these men—W. R. Preston and Joseph Smith—to the penitentiary. Our fellow-workers have incurred the enmity of the business element by their activity as Union men.

The circumstances connected with their arrest are that Preston was picketing an unfair restaurant and the owner came out with a gun and threatened to kill Preston. Fearing that the threat would be carried out, and in self-defense, Preston shot first. (See account in last week's BULLETIN, by Vincent St. John.) Smith is charged with being accessory to the crime.

The lives and liberty of Preston and Smith are now at stake and Industrial Unionists everywhere must come to the rescue. Our Goldfield fellow-workers have always stood nobly by the organization and responded generously to its every call. We must now all stand by them. The call for financial help is made necessary because the miners are locked out. Quick action is necessary.

Funds should be sent direct to W. COPELAND, Drawer O, Goldfield, Nevada, who will serve as treasurer of the fund and receipt for contributions.

WM. E. TRAUTMANN,  
Gen. Sec'y-Treas. I. W. W.  
Chicago, April 9, 1907.

## Story of a New Labor Union

John Kenneth Taylor in Oregon Sunday Journal

Portland has just passed through her first strike conducted by the Industrial Workers of the World, a new and strange form of unionism which is taking root in every section of the United States. Especially in the West. The suddenness of the strike and the completeness of the tie-up are things quite unprecedented in this part of the country. These conditions did not merely happen—they came as direct results of the peculiar form and philosophy of the movement which brought the strike into being.

"If the street car men had been organized under our motto, together with all other A. F. of L. men, the street car strike would have lasted ten minutes," says Organizer Fred Heslewood. The boast is not an extravagant one. Whenever the Industrial Workers of the World are organized they can paralyze industry at almost the snap of a finger. It is the way they work.

### USE EMPLOYERS' PLAN.

"Well, you've tied us up. I didn't think you could do it, but you did. You're clever; I'll give you credit for that. I didn't think any union could pull this off. One of the mill owners is reported as having said to Organizer Yarrow, 'You yourself have taught us all we know,' replied Yarrow. 'We organize on the same plan as you do and we've got you.'

One peculiar feature about the great mill strike was that though more than 2,000 men were out for over three weeks, there was absolutely no violence, no law-breaking and no crying of 'scab.' Just one man was arrested, for trespassing, and he imagined that he was standing in a public street. Other strange features were the red ribbons, the daily speechmaking and the labor day shifts of organizers who received not a red cent for their services.

An old-line unionist may sometimes be starved into submission. The only way to subdue the Industrial Worker is to deport him or put him in a bull pen. The Industrial Workers of the World and the American Federation of Labor are alike in just one particular: Each is a body of wage workers banded together for the purpose of bettering their material condition—in other words, of raising their standard of living. In all other matters they are dissimilar.

Always look upward. If you are looking for a form of organization best calculated to paralyze a given industry in the briefest possible time, you should choose the Industrial Workers of the World.

I have said that the two rival labor bodies are alike in but one particular. But even in that particular they are not precisely alike. Many an A. F. of L. union is apparently content merely to maintain the standard of living of its members, while if for a single day the I. W. W. should suspend its activities looking toward raising the standard of living of its members its reason for existence would be gone.

Indeed here lies the most important difference between the A. F. of L. and the I. W. W. Before he demands a raise of pay the A. F. of L. feels that he must justify his action by proving that the cost of living has gone up. The I. W. W., on the other hand, would scorn the suggestion of an apology for his demand. When he serves notice on you that he wants more pay he tells you frankly that he is not asking for half what is justly due him and that he'll be around again soon to get the entire lot to turn you out and install himself as general manager and coupon clipper as well as continuing in his capacity as workman.

### REVOLUTIONARY UNION.

The fact is, the Industrial Workers of the World is a revolutionary labor union. The Industrial Worker is a revolutionary, and he is proud of it. That is to say, his main purpose is to effect a complete overthrow of present forms of society and to reconstruct affairs upon an entirely different basis. And his organization is the instrument whereby he proposes to bring about the change.

The American Federation of Labor, it may be said right here, is neither revolutionary in form nor in philosophy. While the preamble to its constitution contains a few words vaguely suggesting that the ultimate object of the movement is to secure for the worker the full product of his toil, nobody ever sees or hears these sentiments in any other place and the federationist who now and then gets possession of the official manual reads the radical passage wincingly, and meditating on his past experiences, lays aside the book with the impression that the revolutionary sentiments suggested are not to be realized until the worker has passed into the world beyond.

ALL ON THE LEVEL.  
On the other hand, at the end of the Industrial Worker's mental vision there

always shines bright and clear a beckoning ideal which he calls the Industrial Commonwealth. No man not both blind and deaf could belong to the Industrial Workers of the World for 30 days without being made to understand that the one raison d'être of his organization is to capture absolutely the machinery of industry and of government and to turn out the present masters and make them workers like themselves.

"Live and let live," says the pure and simple trade unionist. "The interests of employers and employe are identical; let us get together and try to arrive at a better understanding. All we want is a fair day's pay for a fair day's work." Voice one of these sentiments in a meeting of the Industrial Workers of the World and you will be hooted. No Industrial Worker wants to let any capitalist live—as a capitalist. An organizer caught with his feet under the same cable with a capitalist would be branded as a traitor. While if you use the term "a fair day's pay," the Industrial Worker will ask you how much is a fair day's pay, and will attempt to prove to you that nothing is fair short of complete ownership of the earth and the contents thereof. The "live and let live" proceeds upon the assumption that the capitalist system is the ultimate form of society. The Industrial Worker is a socialist, neither more nor less.

### SOCIALISTIC PLANS.

Being a socialist, the Industrial Worker shapes every detail of his organization with a view to attaining his ideal, the industrial commonwealth. He not only plans to whip the capitalist to the point of unconditional surrender, but he plans to use his organization to run the industries after the capitalist is whipped. Manifestly, his first thought is to organize the entire working class.

There is no workman so poor, old or unskilled but what the Industrial Worker will organize him gladly. It makes no difference if he is white, black or yellow. As long as he works for wages he will be taken in and will receive the same consideration as the strongest and most skilled. The national constitution of the International Workers of the World prohibits a local from raising the initiation fee above \$2. The general policy is to reduce this and to keep the monthly dues as low as possible. In Portland the initiation fee is nothing; the dues are 50 cents a month.

The Industrial Workers organize by industries instead of by crafts. Instead of putting the printers, the pressmen, the compositors and other branches of newspaper labor each into a separate autonomous union, the industrial workers organize all the workers of the entire plant into one union. The girl stenographers therefore have the same standing as the men who sit at the machines in the composing room and perform work that is little, if any, more skillful, but which under the craft system pays five times as much per hour.

### WHY INDUSTRY METHOD.

The purpose of organizing by industries instead of by crafts is twofold: First, to organize the whole body of the workers; and, second, to present them united front to the employers. More bitterly still does the revolutionary unionist denounce the doctrine of the identity of interests. A class war is an irrepressible conflict, which can end only when the capitalist is overthrown. It is what they teach. To them industrial peace under the present system is a misnomer, for the worker is always being exploited. They want peace in Portland today, yes.

But peace on their own terms cannot be accepted only as truce, a temporary cessation of hostilities to be taken advantage of chiefly for the purpose of marshalling their forces for another onslaught. Gompers, Mitchell and other leaders of pure and simpledom are harshly assailed for teaching the doctrine of harmony between capital and labor.

### THE WORKER'S PHILOSOPHY.

A leading socialist writer has defined Socialism as three things—a philosophy, a political movement, and an ideal. It may be said that industrial unionism is three things—a philosophy, an economic movement, and an ideal. In the two cases the philosophy and the ideal are identically the same. The third feature, the means to attain the ideal, is the only point in which the two movements differ. Read the philosophy of the class struggle, the economic interpretation of history and the theory of surplus value as expounded by Karl Marx, Frederick Engels and all the other Socialists of the scientific school who followed them, and you have the philosophy of the Industrial Workers of the World.

Economic power, they argue, is a necessary precedent to political power. When they have the economic power completely to paralyze industry, they can demand what they will, government and all. Ballots and bullets will be alike powerless against them and their ideal of collective ownership, democratic management and equal opportunity to enjoy the fruits of industrial progress will be fulfilled.

The theory of industrial unionism is a product rather of changing conditions than the creation of any special mind. Finally, he said that the new members do not seem to take fright at the revolutionary philosophy handed out to

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them in huge raw chunks. Though they may have never heard of it before, they accept it as if it were mother's milk.

A single strike of the Industrial Workers of the World, with its glowing enthusiasm, its drill in working class tactics, and its hundreds of speeches, makes more revolutionists than a whole season of agitation by the socialist party.

When the industrial workers strike no man may come near but he smelt the powder. He firmly believes there is no human agency in America which carries half the menace to existing society as does this revolutionary labor union, the Industrial Workers of the World.

### De Leon's Meetings in Nevada

Fellow Worker De Leon has come and gone, and the working class in general has greatly benefited by his lectures. They have removed the cobwebs from the brain of the miners in particular, and the working class in general, cobwebs which have been placed there by the "misleaders" of labor and their publications such as the "Miners' Magazine," "Appeal to Reason," and kindred chloroform sheets.

Due to the washout, Comrade De Leon missed the first date, as advertised, in Goldfield. He arrived in Goldfield on the morning of the 22nd but was held for that date in Tonopah. After looking over the ground he left for Tonopah in the evening and I escorted him to that place, for comrades and friends thought it to be necessary on account of prevailing conditions. Tonopah, as most of you know, has been fighting to establish a good I. W. W. local for over a year and De Leon was welcomed by all in good style.

The big hall of the Tonopah Miners' Union was filled, and all listened eagerly to the mastery way in which the I. W. W. principles were expounded to them and very much interest was shown at the end of the meeting. Several questions were asked and satisfactorily answered.

The next morning before train time we overheard some, even among the most reactionary, and one democratic politician in particular, paying their respects to the way in which the meeting was handled. Lectures like this from time to time are of the most effective means of solidifying the working class.

The Goldfield meetings were also a huge success. The workers of this community turned out by the hundreds, and the Miners' Union Hall, capable of seating approximately two people, was jammed to the doors. Scores of men anxious to hear the clear exposition of industrial unionism they knew would be forthcoming, unable to obtain standing room in the hall were obliged to turn away disappointed. The two lectures held were most timely as there has been much discord in the rank and file of the miners on the part of the less clear and weak-kneed ones and the mental hammering administered to them by De Leon, has done much to clear the atmosphere and bring forward into a starker and stronger light the principles that are destined to lead the working class to ultimate victory—those of industrial unionism. The literature sale was enormous. On the whole the meetings will be long remembered by those present as among the most successful ever held in Goldfield.

On Monday morning we left for Rhyolite, where De Leon was to speak that night. On the train a certain individual kept close to us. At first I thought nothing of him and I don't believe Daniel De Leon does yet. At one station several workmen got on the train, among them Comrade Clark from Arizona. We had a little discussion on the labor movement but nothing of any note. The individual mentioned entered into the discussion as an advocate of arbitration, but I took no further notice of him at the time. After changing, he maneuvered to get into the same stage as we did but left it at Reatty. At Reatty we were met by the secretary of the Miners' Union, Fellow Worker Kunst, who wanted Comrade De Leon to address the workmen of Reatty, and he consented to do so for a short while before train-time, and we then proceeded to Rhyolite, where some comrades were awaiting us.

I went to the Miners' Union Hall and there was insulted by Secretary McHugh and President Kelly of that local and told to get out. These two worthies did and had done everything in their power to quere the meeting, but we got a great crowd of over two hundred workmen in spite of them. At the close of the meeting I told the audience how I had been insulted by the officers of my sister organization and he consented to do so for a short while before train-time, and we then proceeded to Rhyolite, where some comrades were awaiting us.

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(Continued on 4th page.)

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Chicago, April 13, 1907.

EVENTS JUSTIFY US

There is deep and profound gloom in Socialist circles in Chicago. That drop in the vote on the second of April shows the wisdom of the I. W. W. position towards immediate political action and existing political parties.

appear in court and stand trial for their lives, yet the "chief magistrate" of the nation...

The facts are these: The president addressed a letter to Congressmen James S. Sherman in which certain matters in dispute between himself and the railway magnate, E. H. Harriman...

LET US GET THE POWER

A noted railway president contributed a notable article to last Sunday's press entitled, "No Brotherly Love in Business," from which we quote a few passages:

In these latter days, as in all the ages which have passed, there are people who believe that the rewards of industry could be divided more equitably by brotherly love or by legislation.

Here we have, briefly set forth, the Logic of today, the Gospel of Capitalism—that is to say, the Gospel of the Strong. There is scarce a man, I doubt that it is accepted and acted upon by the class throughout the world that is enriched by surplus-value...

IS THIS A "SQUARE DEAL"?

Nothing has happened in Theodore Roosevelt's career as president of the United States that so entirely discredits his fitness for that position as the recent reference by Miss G. Deary, Moyer and Haywood, as being "undesirable citizens."

Do they look towards the church? Its heart is dead.

The knotted club is the scepter still; it is the club of those who control and exploit the productive and distributive agencies of the civilization we have made and maintain.

They shall take who have the power and they shall keep who can. The power to take can be generated in the Industrial form of working class organization.

It was long since well known that the Social Democratic Herald is both tricky and dishonest. The last proof of it is found in the reproduction of an item, credited to the "Labor News," to the effect that the Western Federation of Miners has "withdrawn from the I. W. W."

From a statement written by Thomas Duffy, secretary of Local No. 205, International Union of Steam Engineers, we learn that the expense of that organization in 1907 was \$11,130.00, as against \$18,138.81 in 1906.

Nina E. Wood, local organizer for the I. W. W. at Portland, Oregon, points out that there is nothing more important than what is termed a "general average of wages."

It has been decided by the Allied Printing Trades Council that the label buttons commonly used in political campaigns and on the part of the union, must bear the union label of three different organizations—the printers, the novelty workers, and the metal trades.

Previously acknowledged: \$11,489.00 P. A. Kirby, Chicago, 5.00 Frank Anderson, for Lone Star Mine, Danville, Wash., 16.00 R. Gallera, for Italian Socialists of Haverhill, Mass., 21.00 W. E. Mitchell, for Michigan, 1.00 Geo. Anderson, Salinas, Cal., 1.00 Iron Molders' Union No. 4, Providence, R. I., 10.00

Of the above total \$9,488.00 has been forwarded to James Kirwan, acting secretary of the W. F. of M., at Denver.

Upon What Ground Do These Workers Demand a Raise

It is an old and well approved rule with jurists, when considering the conduct of a person charged with a crime not only to enquire into the facts, as to whether or not the deed was done, but to ascertain also whether or not it was done with criminal intent.

Contrariwise in the labor movement, when workers attempt to enforce shorter hours, an increase of wages, or other improvement of their conditions, it is highly important, in order to determine what amount of credit is due those workers for the stand they take, for us to know what their intent is, upon what grounds they feel themselves justified in making these demands upon their employer.

Suppose the contention of the workers is merely that the cost of meat has risen, the cost of clothes is now high, and the rent is more than it used to be, and that therefore they must raise the price of their labor power.

Very important now it is for us of the I. W. W. to see that our organizations are imbued with the revolutionary conception, just as far as possible. Today our organization is growing; growing rapidly in some places.

The conference between the striking silk workers of the I. W. W. at Skowhegan, Maine, and the company, resulted in the latter conceding every point.

I therefore believe that the I. W. W. purpose "to take and hold" should be pronounced at every meeting of every local union of the I. W. W.

Good Wishes From Japanese

To The Industrial Union Bulletin: I received the package yesterday which you sent to me for us, and from the first I read your paper with a great interest.

WORKING CLASS ECONOMICS

Conducted by James P. Thompson

Lesson II (Concluded)

Q. How does skilled labor count? A. "As simple labor intensified, or, rather as multiplied simple labor, a given quantity of skilled being considered equal to a greater quantity of simple labor."

Q. On what is the efficacy of any special productive activity during a given time, dependent? A. "On its productivity."

Q. Does any change in this productivity affect the labor represented by value? A. "Yes, more if the productive power rise; fewer if it falls."

Q. On the other hand, all labor is, speaking physiologically, an expenditure of human labor-power in its character of identical abstract human labor it creates and forms—what? A. "The value of commodities."

Q. On the other hand, all labor is the expenditure of human labor-power in a special form and with a definite aim; in this, the character of concrete useful labor, it produces—what? A. "Use-values."

Q. Does the labor embodied in these values count by virtue of its productive relation to cloth and yarn? A. "No, only as being expenditure of human labor-power."

Q. With reference to use-value, how does the labor contained in a commodity count? A. "Only qualitatively."

Q. With reference to value how does it count? A. "Only quantitatively."

Q. And to what must it first be reduced? A. "To human labor, pure and simple."

Q. If the productive power of all the different sorts of useful labor required for the production of a coat remains unchanged, the sum of the values of the coat produced increase with—what? A. "The number of coats."

Q. In what respect has the labor spent on its production altered? A. "In quantity."

Q. Is an increase in the quantity of use-values an increase of material wealth? A. "Yes."

Q. With two coats two men can be clothed; with one coat, only one man? A. "Yes."

three coats could be produced in 8 hours we would then have an increased quantity of material wealth with a decrease in the magnitude of its value.

Q. In what does this antagonistic movement have its origin? A. "In the two-fold character of labor."

Q. Productive power has reference only to what form of labor? A. "Some useful concrete form."

Q. On what is the efficacy of any special productive activity during a given time, dependent? A. "On its productivity."

Q. Does any change in this productivity affect the labor represented by value? A. "Yes, more if the productive power rise; fewer if it falls."

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A FORGOTTEN "TRAMP"

BY ROBERT RIVES LA MONTE

Back in the middle of the last century there was wandering up and down over the face of Europe a hobo organizer and tramp agitator. He was a sheeny Dutchman, by name, Karl Marx.

Marx was incorrigible. The lawyers and editors who have labored so strenuously and so successfully to make Socialism respectable in America could have done nothing with such a fellow, but there is this comfort—if Marx were living he would give them no trouble—he would recognize that they were too respectable for him and would keep in his place—with the RABBLE.

"As soon, therefore, as the laborers learn the secret, how come to pass that in the same measure they work more, as they produce more wealth for others, and as the productive power of their labor increases, so in the same measure even their function as a means of the self-expansion of capital becomes more and more precarious in order to destroy or to weaken the ruinous effects of this natural law of capitalistic production on their class, so soon capital and its sycophant, political economy, cry out at the infringement of the 'eternal' and so to say 'sacred' law of supply and demand. Every combination of employed and unemployed disturbs the 'harmonious' action of this law."

What demoralizing nonsense! This old tramp actually taught that the rowdy rabble—the unemployed—ought to be within the fold of the unions! Fortunately, no respectable labor leader in America countenances such rant as this; they leave such revolutionary rot to common tramps like Trautmann, Vincent St. John and Hestlewood.

During the early part of the nineteenth century England laid tariff duties on the importation of grain and breadstuffs; this compelled the poor workers of England to pay high prices for bread and food. The noble hearts of the intellectual freaks and friends of labor bled with pity at this robbery of the workers in consumption—at the store-counter. The intellectual freaks in our day still have the same kind of noble hearts. The great heart of the Holy Heron in 1904 shed copious streams of pity up and down the land over the robbery of the working class by the extortionate prices of the wicked trusts, and even the scientific proletarian heart of Ernest Untermann, overworked as it is pumping blood up to that Titanic brain that works overtime amplifying untold volumes of Capital to infinitude was still able to bleed with pity for the poor workers—the victims of heartless double robbery—robbed by their bosses at the factory-door, and robbed by the trusts at the store-counter.

The intellectual freaks of England agitated against this horrible robbery for twenty years and financially got Sir Robert Peel to come to the rescue and put an end to the robbery of the workers in consumption by repealing the

English Corn Laws and so giving the English workers the blessing of cheap bread. Great was the rejoicing among the friends of labor all over Europe. About this time the old Jew tramp, Marx, dropped into a meeting of the rabble in one of the cities of Continental Europe. Some hobo asked him what he thought of the great reform that had just been accomplished. Old Marx did not know any better than to get up and make a speech and thus make a public display of his cocksure ignorance. What do you think the old tramp told them? Why, he said that the former high prices had not robbed the workers, and that the low prices would be of no benefit to them—that in fact they would be worse off than ever, but that he was glad the change had been made because it would bring out into bolder relief the conflict between the workers and the capitalists, and so would hasten that horrible cataclysm, the Social Revolution. Don't be too hard on the ignorant old tramp! It was not his fault he did not know better. He had not had the privilege that I had of presiding at a Socialist (f) meeting where Herron talked for two hours about the poor workers being robbed coming and going. He never had a chance to read Ernest Untermann's learned and immortal articles (in the Chicago Socialist in the Spring of 1905) on the Second, Third, Fourth and I don't know how many more volumes of Capital. If he had, he would not have exposed his cocksure ignorance so recklessly.

The Apostles of Sweetness and Light who graciously guide the destinies of the Socialist movement in America have been very tender of the memory of poor old Marx; they have illustrated their conception of "proletarian ethics" by allowing this speech to lie buried in merciful oblivion. They were unwilling to expose his ignorance to the vulgar mob. But I, being a plain, coarse person, devoid of the finer feelings, am not going to be held down by any old "proletarian ethics"; I am going to show this old chap, Marx, up in his true character. Space will not permit me to translate his whole speech, but here are a few of the things he said to his fellow-workers of the rabble:

"In all countries where manufacturers talk of free trade, they have chiefly in view free trade in grains and raw materials in general. To levy protective duties on foreign grains is infamous, it is to speculate on the hunger of the people. Cheap bread, high wages, that is the single aim for which the free-traders in England have expended millions, and already their enthusiasm has reached out to their brothers of the Continent. In general, if one wishes free trade, it is in order to relieve the condition of the working-class."

"But behold an astonishing thing! The people for whom it is desired to procure cheap bread at all costs, is very ungrateful. Cheap bread is in equally bad odor in England as cheap government is in France. The people see in the men of devotion, in a Bowring, a Bright and their colleagues, its greatest enemies and most treacherous hypocrites. Every one knows that the struggle between the Liberals and the democrats is called, in England, the struggle between the free-traders and the Chartists. Let us see now how the English free-traders have pitched their trade in the good sentiments which actuate them."

"Here is what they said to the factory workers: 'The duty levied on grains is a tax on wages, this tax, you pay it to the territorial landlords, to those aristocrats of the Middle Ages; if you position it as a warable, it is an account of the dearth of provisions of the first necessity. The workers demanded in their turn of the manufacturers: 'How does it happen that during the last thirty years in which our industry has had its greatest development, our wages have fallen much faster than the price of grains has risen?'"

"And then in 1834, when bread was very cheap and business went swimmingly, what did you say to us? If you are miserable, it is because you make too many children, and your marriage is more productive than our industry!"

"Doctor Bowring has given to all these arguments a religious consecration by proclaiming in a public meeting: 'Jesus Christ, he is free-trade; free-trade, it is Jesus Christ. (Sounds like a Socialist meeting in Kansas, doesn't it?)"

"One understands that all this hypocrisy was not adapted to make the workers enjoy cheap bread."

"Besides how could the workers understand the sudden philanthropy of the even yet occupied in fighting the ten-hour bill, by which it was proposed to reduce the day of the factory worker from twelve hours to ten hours."

"To give you an idea of the philanthropy of the manufacturers, I will recall to you gentlemen, the regulations established in all the factories."

"Each manufacturer has for his own use a watch-dog which there are fines fixed for all faults voluntary or involuntary. For instance, the worker shall pay so much, if he has the misfortune to sit down on a chair, if he whistles, talks, laughs, if he arrives a few minutes too late, if a part of the machine breaks, if he does not turn out objects of a desired quality, etc. etc. The fines are always greater than the real damage caused by the worker. And in order to give the worker every facility for incurring penalties, the factory clock is set ahead, bad raw materials are furnished so that the worker shall make many breakages. Dismissal awaits the overseer who is not sufficiently skillful to multiply the cases for fines."

"You see, gentlemen, this domestic legislation is made in order to give birth to finable offences, and violations which are the more numerous the more the manufacturer. Thus the manufacturer employs all means to reduce the nominal wage and to exploit even the accidents over which the worker has no control."

"These manufacturers, they are the same philanthropists who have wished to make the workers believe that they were capable of making enormous expenditures solely to ameliorate their lot."

"Thus, on the one hand, they pare down the wage of the worker by the regulation of his factory in the most niggardly manner, and on the other, they impose upon themselves the greatest sacrifices in order to cause the wage to rise again by the Anti-corn-law league."

"They build at great cost a palace where the league establishes in some sort its official dwelling; they send out missionaries to every part of England to preach the religion of free-trade; they have printed and distribute free thousands of pamphlets to enlighten the worker on his own interests; they expend enormous sums to render the great favorable to their cause; they organize a vast administration to direct the free-trade movements, and they display all the riches of their eloquence in public meetings. It was in one of these meetings that a workingman said to me: 'If the landed proprietors should sell our bones, you others, manufacturers, you would be the first to buy them to throw them into a steam mill and grind them into flour.'"

"The English workers have understood very clearly the significance of the struggle between the landed proprietors and the industrial capitalists. They knew very well that it was desired to lower the price of bread in order to lower wages that industrial profits would be increased in the same ratio that rent would be diminished."

"Ricardo, the Apostle of the English free-traders, the most distinguished economist of our century, is on this point in perfect agreement with the workers. He says in his celebrated work on political economy: 'If, instead of harvesting wheat at home, we were to discover a new market where we could procure for ourselves these objects cheaper, in that case wages would have to fall and profits rise. The great capitalists, the owners of agriculture, reduce the wages not only of the workers employed in the tillage of the soil, but also of all those who work in manufactures or who are employed in commerce.'"

"And do you gentlemen, that it is a thing altogether different for the worker that he receives now only four francs, wheat being cheaper, when before he received five francs."

"Have not his wages none-the-less fallen relatively to profit? And is it not clear that in spite of that they have combined with them against the landed proprietors, it was in order to destroy the last relics of the feudal system so that for the future they would have to face only a single enemy. The workers have not deceived themselves in their calculations, for the landed proprietors, to avenge themselves on the manufacturers, have made common cause with the workers to effect the passage of the ten-hour bill, which the workers had vainly demanded for thirty years, and which passed immediately after the abolition of the duties on grains."

"If in the Congress of Economists Doctor Bowring has drawn from his pocket a long list in order to show the quantities of beef, ham, bacon, chickens, etc., etc., which had been imported into England, to be consumed there, as he said, by the workers, he has unfortunately forgotten to tell you that at that very instant the workers of Manchester and of the other manufacturing towns found themselves thrown out upon the pavement by the crisis which was commencing."

"As a matter of principle in political economy it does not do to take the figures of a single year in order to deduce from them general laws. It is necessary always to take the average term of six to seven years—space of time during which modern industry passes through the different phases of prosperity, of over-production, of stagnation, of crisis, and finishes its fatal cycle."

"Without doubt, if the price of all commodities falls, and that is the necessary consequence of free-trade, it will be able to procure itself for a franc many more things than before. And the franc of the workman is worth as much as any other franc. Then free-trade will be very advantageous to the workman. There is only one slight difficulty in this reasoning—that if the worker before exchanging his franc for other commodities, had, to begin with, to exchange his labor for capital. If in this exchange he received always for the same labor the franc in question, and the price of all other commodities, he would always be always in this bargain. There is no difficulty about proving that, assuming a general fall in the price of

commodities, I would have more commodities for the same money."

It will be observed that poor, ignorant old Marx did not always at this period make in words the distinction between labor and labor-power. He learned better in time and from 1859 on he was always careful to make this distinction. In this speech when he speaks of selling labor, he means labor-power, and he had the distinction in mind, for I have on my desk now a book that Marx wrote the year before he made this speech, and in it in one passage where he speaks of selling labor he puts in parenthesis 'labor-power.' But I am not denying his ignorance. There can be no doubt that when he made this speech he—in words that Untermann once applied to me—"knew nothing about the circulation of labor-power."

"Economists always take the price of labor at the moment when it is exchanged for other commodities. But they leave altogether out of consideration the moment when labor exchanges itself for capital."

"Whenever less expense shall be needed to set in motion the machine that produces commodities, the things necessary to support that machine which goes by the name of the laborer will likewise cost less dear. If all commodities are cheaper, labor, which is also a commodity, will likewise fall in price, and as we shall see later, the labor commodity will fall proportionally much more than the other commodities. The laborer, cherishing always the argument of the economists, will find that his franc has melted in his pocket and that he has only five sous left."

"Thereupon the economists will say to you: Very well, we admit that competition among the workers, which certainly will not be diminished under the regime of free-trade, will not take long in bringing wages into harmony with the low price of commodities. But from another point of view the low price of commodities will increase consumption; the greater consumption will require a greater production, which will be followed by a stronger demand for hands which will follow in order a rise in wages."

"All this argument amounts to this: Free-trade will increase the productive powers. If industry goes on growing, if wealth, if productive power, if, in a word, productive capacities increase, the demand for labor, the price of labor, and consequently wages likewise rise. The best condition for the worker is (the condition that accompanies) the increase of capital. And this must be admitted. If capital remains stationary, industry will only remain stationary, but it will decline, and in that case the worker will be its first victim. He will perish before the capitalist. And in the case where capital goes on increasing in that state of things which we have said is the best for the worker, what will be his work? The greater the production, the greater the accumulation and concentration of capitals. The centralization of capitals brings in its wake a greater division of labor and a greater application of machinery. The greater division of labor destroys the specialization of labor, destroys the special skill of the laborer, and by putting in the place of this specialized labor a labor which anyone can do, it increases the competition between the workers."

"This competition becomes so much the stronger as the division of labor gives to the worker the means of doing by himself the work that it formerly took three to do. 'Machines produce the same result on a much greater scale. The increase of productive capital, by forcing the industrial capitalists to work with constantly growing means (of production), ruins the petty manufacturers and hurls them into the ranks of the proletariat. Then, the rate of interest diminishing in proportion as capitals accumulate, the small investors who can no longer live on their incomes will be forced to embark in industry, and thus in the end to swell the number of the proletarians."

"Finally, the more productive capital increases, the more it is compelled to produce for a market of unknown requirements, the more production goes in advance of consumption, the more supply strives to force demand, and consequently crises increase in intensity and frequency. By every crisis in its turn accelerates the centralization of capitals and swells the proletariat."

"Thus, as productive capital increases, competition between the workers in the market increases much more rapidly. The recompense of labor diminishes for all, and the burden of labor increases for a few."

"In 1830, there were at Manchester 1,088 spinners employed in 36 factories. In 1841, there were only 448 of them left, and these workers attended to 53,333 more spindles than the 1,088 workers of 1830. If the ratio of manual labor had increased proportionally to the production, the number of workers ought to have reached the figure of 1848, so that the improvements made in mechanics have deprived of labor 1,100 workers."

"We know in advance the reply of the economists. These men deprived of work, they say, will find some other employment for their hands. Doctor Bowring has not failed to reproduce this argument at the Congress of the Economists, but neither has he failed to refute himself."

"What an ornament to a Civic Federation banquet would the noble hearted Doctor Bowring be, seated between Sammy Gompers and Bishop Potter!"

"In 1831, Doctor Bowring delivered a speech in the House of Commons on the subject of the 30,000 London weavers who had been for a long time dying of starvation without being able to find that new occupation which the free-traders had pointed out to them in the distance."

ing passages of this speech of Doctor Bowring: 'The misery of the hand-weavers, he said, is the inevitable fate of every species of labor which is learned easily and which is susceptible of being replaced at any instant by less costly methods. As in this case the competition between the workers is extremely great, the least relaxation in demand brings about a crisis. The hand-weavers find themselves as it were placed on the limits of human existence. One step more and their existence becomes impossible. The smallest shock is enough to throw them upon the road to destruction. Progress in mechanics, by suppressing manual labor more and more, causes infallibly during the period of transition many temporary sufferings. National prosperity can be brought only at the price of some individual ills. Advance in industry is made only at the expense of the lagards."

"Bowring speaks of 'some individual ills,' and says at the same time that these individual ills cause entire classes to perish; he speaks of the passing sufferings in times of transition, and at the very time that he speaks of them, he does not dissimulate that these passing sufferings have been for the majority the passing from life to death, and for the rest the movement of transition into a lower condition than that in which they were placed before. If he says further that the misfortunes of these workers are inseparable from the progress of industry, and necessary to a national prosperity, he says simply that the prosperity of the bourgeoisie class has for its necessary condition the misery of the working-class."

"All the consolation that Bowring lavishes upon the workers who perish, and, in general, all the doctrine of compensation that the free-traders maintain, amounts to this: 'You other thousands of workers who perish, do not vex your souls. You can die in all tranquillity. Your class will not perish. It will always be sufficiently numerous so that capital can decimate it without having any fear of annihilating it. Moreover, how could you expect capital to find itself useful employing you, did it not take pains always to husband its exploitable material, laborers, in order to exploit them anew?'"

"But also, what reason is there for continuing to formulate as a problem to be solved, the influence that the attainment of free trade will exercise on the situation of the working-class? All the laws that the economists have expounded from Quesnay down to Ricardo are based on the assumption that the shackles which still fetter commercial liberty no longer exist. These laws assert themselves in the measure that free-trade becomes actual. 'The first of these laws is that competition reduces the price of every commodity to the minimum cost of production. Thus the minimum wage is the natural price of labor. And what is the minimum wage? It is simply all that is necessary to accomplish the production of the objects indispensable for the sustenance of the laborer from life to death, and for him to nourish himself however badly and to propagate feebly his race. 'Let us not believe on that account that the worker will have only this minimum wage; nor must we believe that he will have this minimum wage always. 'No, according to this law, the working class will sometimes be more fortunate. It will have at times more than the minimum; but this surplus will be only the supplement of the reduction below the minimum it will be forced to accept in times of industrial stagnation. This is equivalent to saying that in a certain lapse of time which is always periodical, in that circle which industry makes, in passing through the vicissitudes of prosperity, of over-production, of stagnation, of crisis, in taking into consideration all that the working-class will have received above or below the minimum—it is equivalent to saying that the working-class will be preferred as a class only to the extent that it will be left on the field of industrial battle. But what does it matter? The class exists always, and better than that, it multiplies itself. 'This is not all. The progress of industry produces a compensative means of existence. It is thus that whiskey has replaced beer, that cotton has replaced wool and linen, and that the potato has taken the place of bread. 'Thus, as there are ever being found means of feeding labor with things less dear and more miserable, the wage minimum goes on ever diminishing. If this wage has begun by making man labor in order to live, it ends by making man labor for the life of a machine. His existence has no other value than that of a simple productive power, and the capitalist treats him accordingly. 'This law of the labor commodity, of the minimum wage, will verify itself in the measure that the assumption of the economists, free-trade, shall become a fact, a reality. Thus, of two alternatives one must be taken: either one must deny the whole political economy based on the assumption that the workers will be exposed to all the rigor of the laws of political economy under free-trade. 'To sum up: In the present state of society what then is free-trade? It is liberty for capital. When you have a free nation, the few nations that still fetter the march of capital, you will simply have completely freed its action. SO LONG AS YOU ALLOW THE RELATION OF WAGE-LABOR TO CAPITAL TO EXIST, THROUGH THE EXCHANGE OF COMMODITIES BETWEEN THEM SHALL TAKE PLACE UNDER THE MOST FAVORABLE CONDITIONS. THERE WILL ALWAYS BE ONE CLASS THAT WILL BE OPPRESSED, AND ANOTHER CLASS WHICH WILL BE EXPLOITED. It is truly difficult to understand the pretension of the free-traders who imagine that

the most advantageous employment of capital will dissipate the antagonism between the industrial capitalists and the wage laborers. Entirely to the contrary, the whole result will be that the opposition between these two classes will stand out more clearly than ever. 'Grant for an instant that there are no more grain laws, no more customs, no more city-tolls, in short, that all the accidental circumstances, on which the worker can still put the blame as being the causes of his miserable situation, have entirely disappeared, and you will have torn aside so many veils which conceal from his eyes his true enemy. 'He will see that capital become free does not render him less a slave than capital harassed by customs. 'Gentlemen, do not permit yourselves to be imposed upon by the abstract word liberty. Whose liberty? It is not the liberty of a simple individual face to face with another individual. It is the liberty which capital has to crush the workman. 'But in general in our days the system of free-trade is destructive. It dissolves the old nationalities and develops to the uttermost the antagonism between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. In a word, the system of commercial liberty hastens the Social Revolution. It is only in this revolutionary sense, gentlemen, that I vote in favor of free-trade."

"Poor old Marx! Let the mantle of charity be thrown over his short-comings! It was not his fault he did not know more. He never had a chance to read 'The Struggle for Existence' by Walter Thomas Mills, or Frank Bohn's Introduction to 'Value, Price and Profit.' If he had had, it might not have become the painful duty of one of the most eminently respectable of American Socialists to write of him in the pages of the International Socialist Review that he 'has been outgrown in Europe' and 'must become an historical reminiscence in the United States.'"

"Jesus anith unto them. Did ye never read in the scriptures, The stone which the builders rejected, the same is become the head of the corner?"

Robert Rives La Monte.

Local Executive Board

MINUTES OF THE SESSION OF THE LOCAL ADVISORY BOARD, HELD AT BUSH TEMPLE, APRIL 6TH, 1907. PRESENT: E. P. LAWRENCE, PRESIDENT. PAYMENT B. STONE, J. PLUMMER, A. SIMPSON.

A letter was read from L. M. Gordon, applying for a charter for an I. W. U. union in Hamilton, Canada, which was organized with the assistance of Organizer Roadhouse. The General Secretary was instructed to forward the charter and supplies.

A letter was read from Organizer Thompson. He organized a local of furniture workers, with 64 charter members. The General Secretary was instructed to forward charter and supplies. A letter was read from Organizer Walsh, in which he reported that a local had been organized in Beatty, Nevada, and that the Secretary of the Rhyolite Local would send on the charter fee and additional money for full equipment (\$41.00). He also suggested that he will make a propaganda tour from the southern part of California up to Seattle, and address meetings and organize on the way up there. Secretary Trautmann was instructed to forward charter and supplies to the new local, and the line of action as mapped out by the general Secretary was approved by the Advisory Board.

A charter application was received from Organizer Katz of Paterson, New Jersey, for a Wood Workers' Industrial Union of that locality. He gave due credit to Fellow-worker Guballo for assisting him in the work; he recommended that some compensation should be given him. Motion made by Stone, seconded by Plummer, that the amount of \$5.00 be allowed for the assistance given by Fellow-worker Guballo for lost time. Organizer Katz further stated that an industrial district union has been organized in Newark, New Jersey. He also stated that Eugene Fischer be sent immediately to Allentown, Pa. Secretary Trautmann was instructed to forward the charter and supplies to the new local, and the instructions given to Fischer were concurred in.

A letter was read from Fellow-worker Yanniello, stating that Organizer Woznak from Buffalo had been engaged by the local as organizer, at a salary of \$18.00 per week and his railway fare, and also stating that the time would be extended to two weeks or more, provided the headquarters could see fit to pay half of the expense. Secretary Trautmann stated that there was an excellent opportunity in that section, as he had learned from two correspondents for organizing work to be done. Motion made by Stone and seconded by Plummer, that half of the expense of Organizer Woznak be paid from general headquarters and the local of Old Forge, Pa. be notified to that effect.

A letter was read from a shoe worker in the east, giving details of the conditions of the shoe workers there and their necessity for an industrial organization. Secretary Trautmann was instructed to communicate with Organizer Thompson, and get him in touch with the sympathizer who had given the information, with a view of commencing propaganda among the shoe workers in Massachusetts at an early date.

A letter was read from Fellow-worker Arnold of Louisville, Ky., giving information regarding the recent street car strike in that city, and stating that there was a fine opportunity for an organizer of the I. W. U. He also stated that while Organizer Fox was in Janesville (Continued on 6th page)

