

Ten New Charters Issued Last Week; in the Next Issue the Total for July will be Given

The Industrial Union Bulletin

OFFICIAL PUBLICATION OF THE INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD

"LABOR IS ENTITLED TO ALL IT PRODUCES"

Vol. I. No. 22.

CHICAGO, JULY 27, 1907.

50c. a Year.

Haywood Under Direct Examination

Boise, Idaho, July 15, 1907.—The following is the direct examination of Haywood. Some few questions may be omitted but the essential points will be found here. The first question was: Give us your full name please. A. William Dudley Haywood.

Q. Where were you born? A. Born in Salt Lake City, Utah.

Q. How old are you? A. 38.—born February 6th, 1869. My father was an American, born in Ohio; my mother was born in South Africa. Her father was an officer in the English army, a Scotchman, and her mother was Irish. My father was a miner in the latter days of his life. When he was a young man he was a pioneer and rode the pony express.

Q. In this western country? A. This is the only place where that ever took place—ever occurred, so it must have been.

Q. At the time of your birth he was a miner? A. Yes, sir, in the mining business.

Q. And did you become a miner? A. I did. My father died when I was three years old and my step-father was a miner and I worked with him in the mines when I was nine years old.

Q. What else have you ever worked at? A. In 1889 I was in the real estate business in Salt Lake City, and in 1890 during the panic, 1892, '93 and '94 I worked at a number of different vocations—farming, surveying—in Nevada. I was married October the 24th, 1889.

Q. You have a wife and I believe? A. Yes, sir. I have one sister and two half-brothers and one half-sister, two half-sisters.

Q. Where were you living at the time you were married? A. I was living in Utah.

Q. Where were you married. A. At Pocatello, Idaho.

Q. Were you a miner in those days? A. Yes, sir. At Bingham, Canyon, Utah. I came to Silver City (Idaho), on the 20th of October, 1895.

Q. By the way, how did you lose your eye, Mr. Haywood. A. I stuck a knife in it when I was a little boy. About seven years old.

Q. How long did you live there (Idaho, Silver City)? A. My family lived there until July 17th, 1901.

Q. How long did you work in Silver City. A. I went to work in October of the October that I arrived there and worked until May, 1907.

Q. Some six years? A. Yes, sir. I worked for the Trade Dollar Company in the Blaine mine. Yes, sir, I worked for the same company in the same mine all the time.

Q. Who was connected with that mine—who were the owners, do you know? A. James Hutchinson was the general manager and Joseph H. Hutchinson was the superintendent.

Q. Joseph H. Hutchinson after that had some position in this state did he not? A. He was Lieutenant Governor of this state under ex-Governor Steunenberg—the late Governor Steunenberg.

Q. Your wife is an invalid, I believe? A. Yes, sir.

Q. When did her health fail? A. The first half spell she had was in 1892.

Q. When did she fail completely? A. After the younger child was born.

Q. When was that? A. She is now ten years old past.

Q. She has been an invalid ever since. A. Yes, sir.

Q. Where were you living then? A. Silver City.

Q. When did you join the Western Federation of Miners, Mr. Haywood? A. August 16th, 1896.

Q. Had you ever belonged to a labor organization before? A. No, sir.

Q. And where were you when you joined? A. Silver City.

Q. Was there a local there before that time? A. Yes, sir. There was a local in 1895, one of the first unions in the west.

Q. And had you worked before where there were any unions? A. No, sir.

Q. You joined this union at the time of its organization? A. I was a charter member. The night I was elected I think there was over a hundred initiated. I was elected on the finance committee at that time and afterwards held nearly every office in the union. I was president in 1901.

Q. Did you have an office in 1899? A. In 1899 I was financial secretary, I think.

Q. Who was president that year? A. Walter Johnson. I remember correctly. He has been here in attendance at the trial.

Q. You were in Silver City in 1899 at the time of the trouble in the Coeur d'Alene, were you? A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did you ever know Governor Steunenberg in his life time? A. I never knew him personally. A. I never did.

Q. Were you in the state when he was elected. A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did you know where he lived? A. Yes, sir. He lived at Caldwell.

Q. And Caldwell was how far about from Silver City, if you know? A. Well, I should judge by stage and rail it was 70 miles—60 or 70 miles. In the usual way of travel.

Q. Were you in any way interested in the Coeur d'Alene troubles? A. Only as a member of the organization. The Miners' Magazine was established

at that time. I got acquainted with it as soon as it was started. January, 1900. I don't think I have missed a copy.

Q. Did you sign any or both of you take any part in any way in the Coeur d'Alene troubles in 1899? A. Yes, sir, the union did and I did personally.

Q. What did the union take in it? A. They took up the matter to the extent of sending a committee to the Coeur d'Alene to investigate the permit system. I think that was along in the fall of 1899 probably; I would not say positively. Martial law was then in force.

Q. Were you a member of that committee. A. No, sir.

Q. What other part did the union take in it? A. The most important part probably was to raise funds and provide for the wives and children of the men that were incarcerated in the bull pen.

Q. Did it do that? A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did you contribute? A. I did.

Q. How is that? A. I also circulated a petition among the townspeople. Q. Did you raise any money among the townspeople? A. Yes, sir. We raised close to a thousand dollars with the subscription list, aside from what was assessed on the members of the union. The purpose was to provide the necessities of life to the women and children of the miners in that district.

Q. Were any assessments made on your organization at that time—your local? A. Yes, sir. I think probably five or six, ranging from a dollar to three dollars a month.

Q. Well, were you assessed? A. I was.

Q. Did you pay it? A. I did.

Q. Did the union have anything to say about the conduct of the matter by the Governor, and the declaration of martial law and things that followed in its train? A. Yes, sir, the union communicated with the Governor and it also passed resolutions.

Q. Do you know to what extent other labor organizations passed resolutions in reference to it and took action? A. I think very generally throughout the United States.

Q. State whether that was confined to the Western Federation of Miners? A. No, sir, all kinds of labor organizations.

Q. Do you know whether or not the matter was taken up by congress? A. I know that it was. That was one of the resolutions that was passed by Silver City Miners' Union. There was a committee appointed by Congress. It never made a public report.

Q. Do you know whether evidence was taken? A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do you know whether it was printed? A. It was.

Q. Did you ever have a copy of it? A. Yes, sir, it was in Congressman Lutz's speech, if I remember correctly. He was Congressman from Ohio, and also Sultzner of New York.

Q. Did the union to which you belonged take any official action in reference to the strike, other than raising funds, that you recall? A. Nothing more than sending this committee to investigate conditions.

Q. Did they pass any resolutions? A. Yes, sir.

Q. And to what effect? Mr. Borah: Are those resolutions to be had? Mr. Darrow: I don't know, I will see.

Q. Do you know if you have a copy of them anywhere? A. I think they were published in the Miners' Magazine.

Q. You haven't them at hand have you? A. I have all the magazines.

Q. Mr. Darrow: Suppose a statement of Haywood can only be fully appreciated by those who are here to hear an indefinite sweetness and eloquence in the quality of Haywood's voice. It was the chief charm of his examination.)

Q. Was that at the time you were secretary? A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do you know where you were when you wrote it? A. I was working in the face of the Dewey tunnel—that is, it was known as the old Dewey tunnel—and I wrote while I was at work, on the bottom of a candle box.

(The relevancy of all this comes in owing to the fact that the theory of the prosecution in this trial is that the conspiracy to kill Steunenberg arose during this time among the various members of the Federation.)

what do you mean by that? A. I meant to defeat him politically. I never saw Governor Steunenberg.

Q. Did you ever have any personal quarrel or hostility or feeling toward him? A. Never. I regarded him the same as any other politician that was being swayed by capitalist interests. I left this state the last time July 17, 1901; that is the time I came up for my family.

Q. Well, where was Governor Steunenberg at that time? A. I haven't any idea.

Q. Was he governor? A. No, sir. I was elected as a member of the executive board in 1900. Edward Boyce was president.

Q. How long did you hold that position? A. One year. I represented the district that was composed of the states of Idaho, Oregon and Washington. In the convention of May and June of 1901 I was elected secretary-treasurer. Still holds same position, was continued in office by the convention recently adjourned.

Q. What are the fees and emoluments and perquisites? A. \$150 a month.

Q. And found? A. Sir?

Q. Do you get your expenses, too? A. That includes everything.

Q. And what are the duties? A. The duties are to attend to the financial affairs of the local unions with the national organization, to keep a correct account of the funds and finances, to take care of all the papers and documents, to keep the seal of the organization, to send credentials to the local unions previous to the convention, and assist the president in maintaining and looking out for the best interests of the organization.

Q. Do you have to give a bond for the money? A. Yes, sir, \$30,000.

Q. How long had you known Boyce? A. I had known him since 1896. He was president of the organization and organized the local union at Silver City, and I afterwards met him in the convention in 1898 and got fairly well acquainted with him, and met him in the convention in 1900, and was elected on the executive board at that time and got very well acquainted with him. When I was elected as secretary from that time on we lived in the same house. (Aside from the secretary and the executive board there were no other officers.)

Q. Have any been provided for since? A. Yes, sir, Organizers. Also an editor of the Miners' Magazine. I would say that we had an attorney for some time before the Magazine was started, I think.

Q. Is your attorney an officer? A. Not an officer of the organization.

Q. Who has been your regular attorney? A. John H. Murphy. I think the first work that he done for the organization was when he carried the Eight Hour Law of Utah to the United States Supreme Court. At one time we had twenty-three attorneys on the payroll.

Q. Was that during a strike? A. Yes, a number of strikes.

Q. All of them busy? A. I think so.

Q. Well, that is, all of them said they were busy? A. Yes, sir, I believe so.

Q. Well, you had a vice-president at that time.

(Continued on Page 4)

Big Strike at Bridgeport

Bridgeport, Conn., July 18.—More than twelve hundred of the members of Metal and Machinery Workers' Industrial Union, L. U. 113, I. W. W., are now involved in the struggle against the notorious American Tube Stamping Co. We have succeeded in paralyzing all three of the company's plants and the officials of the concern are simply amazed and worried, because every day their business is stopped gives the Steel Trust a chance to undermine them.

We are now determined to show Bridgeport a lesson in industrial solidarity that will help to wake up the workers of the city. The rank and file of the I. A. M. men are standing by us and I believe will continue to do so despite any action that may be taken by their officials. It looks now as though we will have another thousand men involved in a fight with another independent company before Saturday. We will apparently have to go through an experience similar to that of Paterson, and it is up to us to put up a campaign that will inspire the working class and will also make the bosses sit up and take notice.

It is also up to all our members and sympathizers, especially in New York and New England, to back us up in every possible manner, so that we can by example show our fellowworkers, organized and unorganized, what can be done by a united working class intelligently combined to resist and abolish modern industrial slavery.

Bridgeport, Conn., July 17.—Because of the conditions in the American Tube & Stamping Company's mammoth plant here, being unbearable, and the wages being shamefully low, for the labor required, 1,200 members of the Industrial Workers of the World, about equally divided between the cold rolling mills at Hancock and Railroad avenues and the hot rolling mills at Howard avenue and Bridgeport avenue are on strike today.

Refusal of the company to alternate the night and day shifts at the middle of the month in keeping with custom, is another reason why the men have gone on strike.

Guarded by a squad of policemen, who had absolutely nothing to do, the company today made efforts to run the mills, but in the afternoon were practically at a standstill in both plants. It was said that the strike would soon extend to the billet mill in the East End.

The men have begun an intelligent and peaceful campaign for their claims. Each of the strikers wear an Industrial Workers of the World button. Local No. 113 of this organization was organized in this city by National Organizer Sam J. French four weeks ago. It now embraces practically every employe of both plants. The men were planning a peaceful settlement of their difficulties, when the unexpected turn of events of last Monday night precipitated the strike.

Forty men, a special corps of couriers, raised a short notice, spread news of the company's refusal to alternate the shifts throughout the West End, and yesterday morning at 6:30 found the cold mill surrounded by a throng of several thousand people.

Organizer French speaking for the men set forth their claims as follows: "We demand that the company should organize Local No. 113 of the Industrial Workers of the World. The organization was small at first but we held meetings in various halls throughout the West End with the four weeks ago. It now embraces almost every employe in any capacity in both shops. That is to say, it numbers about 700 men. There are two branches, the Hungarian and the English speaking. We believe that the men are entitled to better treatment than they are receiving in these shops, and we had intended to submit our demands, but the refusal of the company last night to alternate the shifts precipitated the strike.

"As soon as we learned what had happened we raised a committee of forty couriers who went through the West End spreading the news. The next morning only three men went to work during the night shift. Last night the night shift left. We have warned all our members to desist from violence and to act peacefully and intelligently. There will be no disorder if we can avert it.

"We claim that a man who works for twelve hours a day for six days a week is entitled to more than \$7. That or about that, is the weekly wage of many of the employes. Some of them receive \$1.35 a day.

"We want a general increase of 15 per cent in the wages of all men throughout the rolling mills on the day shift, and an increase of 20 per cent for the night shift. We want time and a half for any time over ten hours during the night shift. We also want the shifts regularly alternated every month.

"This morning we raised a committee of six, three of whom represented

the Hungarian and three the English speaking branches of the I. W. W. They went to the offices of the concern to submit our demands, but were told to return this afternoon when Pres. Wilmot would receive them.

"There are about 80 skilled mechanics in our ranks, and nearly 700 unskilled workmen. Our headquarters are at 477 Main street. We are determined to stand out for our rights, for we consider that we are asking for nothing more than we are absolutely entitled to obtain."

Frank A. Wilmot, president of the A. T. & S. Co., was reticent when approached on the situation. He did not care to discuss the claims of the men, and called, and couriers appointed to hurry through the Hungarian district with the announcement that a strike was deemed advisable. The men readily accepted.

Policemen hung about the works all day. This of course is the regular manner in which the bosses hope to raise a disturbance, but in spite of their efforts the men control themselves intelligently.

About 11:30 the hundreds who had been congregated all morning near the cold mills marched to Rakozy hall, 626 Postwick avenue, where a parade was formed to march to the hot mills. With an array of several hundred the parade proceeded, but the massive sliding doors kept open the year round to relieve the fearful heat had been closed. Inside the men toiled in a frightful atmosphere.

At noon most of the employes left the hot mills for dinner. Marching into the street they were met and spoken to by the strikers, with the result that in the afternoon only a few returned to the hot mills.

It is expected that the next will be made to extend the strike to the billet mills, in Stratford avenue, tomorrow. It is understood that the concern is desisted with strikers all the more certain.

S. J. F.

What the Chinese Did

The lack of an intelligent understanding of revolutionary unionism in some sections of the country is manifest in a report that comes to us from Colorado, through a former member of Local 173, I. W. W., of San Francisco. Our correspondent, carrying his paid-up I. W. W. card, is seeking employment and in his journeying always makes it a point to visit locals of the I. W. W. Recently he visited a local at Cripple Creek, where he found a handful of pure and simple miners using the old ritual and conducting a meeting with the mock solemnity of a secret order lodge. Strange to say, he was not only admitted upon showing a regular I. W. W. card, but even permitted to vote. He did what he could to open the eyes of the "belated brothers" whom he soon learned were working under the delusion that they belonged to the I. W. W. and the hope is that they will soon be out of darkness and into the light.

A few nights later he had his first introduction to a meeting of a W. F. of M. local, and this occasion will long be remembered by him. It was there that he heard the report of a delegate to the recent W. F. of M. convention at Denver, and the impression made upon him was staggering. The delegate told his wondering listeners about "the Socialist reactionists" who were in favor of "industrial graftism" and wanted the words "wage slave" in the constitution, which he claimed, was "knocked out." He said "it has been proved that we are not wage slaves, although we have to work for some one else." "All of us," continued the delegate, "are trying to get where the other fellow is." Thunderous applause greeted his remark that "Socialism was established by the Chinese 7,000 years ago"—thus putting himself in opposition to the element among the fakers who claim that its advocacy is 1,200 years ahead of the time—"and to think of it," said he, "that they are trying to impose such a thing as Socialism on the W. F. of M."

All of which goes to show that there is yet plenty of work to be done and a lot of ignorance to be dissipated.

The Vote for Delegate

Following is the result of the vote for delegate to the International Congress at Stuttgart, Germany, which opens August 18:

Vincent St. John 1089
F. W. Heslewood 813
Eugene Fischer 815
P. Veale 46
F. Wilke 38
F. Thompson 43
P. Augustin 8
Erickson 6

At New York

Arrangements for the New York meeting have been made for Saturday, August 3, at 2 p. m., in Doering's Park, southeast corner of 147th Street and Southern boulevard, Bronx. There will be music and dancing at 3 p. m.

INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD Call for Third Annual Convention

In pursuance of constitutional provisions, and in accordance with the decision of the convention of 1906, the Third Annual Convention of the Industrial Workers of the World will be held in the City of Chicago, beginning Monday, September 16th.

The hall in which the convention will assemble will be announced hereafter.

The General Secretary-Treasurer will, within the next two weeks, send to each local union affiliated with the Industrial Workers of the World credentials in duplicate for the number of delegates they are entitled to in the convention, based on the provisions of the constitution relative to the payment of national dues.

Immediately upon receipt of the said credentials local unions will proceed to choose and designate by regular election their delegates to the said convention, reporting the same to the general headquarters immediately after such choice has been made.

Local unions chartered directly by the Industrial Workers of the World shall have one delegate for two hundred members or less, and one additional delegate for each additional two hundred or major fraction thereof.

Two or more local unions in the same locality may jointly send their delegate to the convention, and the vote of said delegate in the convention shall be in accordance with the provisions of the constitution.

The expense of delegates attending the convention must be borne by their respective local organizations.

The constitution provides as follows: "Proposed amendments to the constitution shall be in the hands of the General Executive Board and printed in the official publication at least two months before the assembling of the convention; no other amendment shall be considered."

For additional provisions of the constitution relating to delegates and representation, see pages 11 to 14 of the Constitution.


Full information for delegates regarding hotel rates, etc., will be published in a later issue of the Bulletin.

Signed on behalf of the General Executive Board,
WM. E. TRAUTMANN, General Secy.-Treas.
M. P. HAGGERTY, Assistant Secy.-Treas.
Industrial Workers of the World.
Chicago, Ill., June 20, 1907.

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THE INDUSTRIAL STRUCTURE

It is assumed that you believe with us that within the present order of society there is being developed the form and embryo of the society that is to be—that the present contains the germs of the future and that the conditions that men are to establish in time to come will be fashioned very much out of the experiences men have with institutions now existing.

The assumption is based on universal experience, upon the facts of every day life, upon the necessities of application of the industry. The mechanical device that revolutionizes production comes rarely by chance or accident; it is nearly always the outcome of the accumulated knowledge of previous appliances; necessity suggests what experience and skill work out to meet requirements.

To the perfection of the steam engine as we know it, the crude ideas and experiments of the earlier inventors were all necessary and indispensable. They were an essential part of the process whereby the perfection of a Corliss engine has been attained.

A day passed in a museum inevitably links the present with the past, not alone in mechanics, but in every line of human endeavor. The evidence is universal and on every hand that the present is the progeny of the past.

There is nothing that is solely of today; all is bound up with yesterday. We ourselves are children of ancestors who, in their different ways and under other conditions struggled with the same problems that vex us. As they built for their future, so we build for ours.

But there is no future for us unless we are building for it now. We of the working class will attain our ideals tomorrow only in the degree that we lay our foundations broad and deep today.

What is the real mission of the world's workers? To be in a state of preparedness to take possession of the means of production and distribution and control and operate the same for their own benefit.

To expect that to be done without method, without organization in the slow, factory, mill, mine, or railroad and wherever labor is employed, is to look for the impossible, a reversal of all experience and a denial of our dependence upon the accumulated knowledge of the working class struggle.

To expect the working class mission to be achieved solely through political action is a fantastic notion, as impracticable as it is delusive. With politics and politicians the workers will make short shifts when they once understand clearly their economic position and relation to the wealth they produce.

The Industrial Workers of the World, based upon a recognition of the class struggle, declaring the workers' right to the undivided enjoyment of the wealth they produce, affirming that there is no identity of interest between the producing and capitalist classes, is organizing the workers under capitalism to be prepared to destroy capitalism.

Under conditions against which we revolt, we are building the form of a future industrial order. Within the shell of existing society we develop the organism of the society that is to be—the form and body of the Industrial Commonwealth.

That form and body can be developed only by the workers themselves. Their development and final liberation into the enjoyment of the full life of free men can be accomplished only through the instrumentality of an industrial organization, capable of taking hold of and continuing in systematic operation the means of employment, which are the means of life for all.

Into this Industrial structure all class-conscious workers enter. It is their only logical place. It is the embryonic structure through which their ideals can alone be attained.

WORST STATE IN UNION

A man who has lived many years in Colorado and has occupied the prominent position of judge in the city of Denver, and who, moreover, is not a member of the W. F. of M., should be content to have and to give an opinion of that state as it is. And although his reputation under republican rule and vandalism is quite well established, by reason of the high-handed course pursued against the W. F. of M., it will not be amiss to take notice of what Judge Benjamin Lindsey, of Denver, had to say while in Chicago recently. Referring to Guggenheim, the last republican senator to be elected from the state, Judge Lindsey says he has been hung for the crimes he has committed. He charges directly that Guggenheim bought his seat in the senate.

"Guggenheim," said he, "is worth \$100,000,000, and I have it from John W.

Springer of the International Trust company that Guggenheim said he got fifty-one votes in the legislature if it cost him \$1,000,000. He got 65 out of 100 votes.

"He didn't need to buy the legislators after they took their offices, for he owned them in advance. That's his modern, up to date method of buying a legislature. His agents would go to a man and say, 'Here, Bill, here's \$2,500 for your campaign expenses,' and Bill would put the money in his pocket."

"The corporation crowd has its headquarters in W. G. Evans' offices in the Majestic building. Evans is the boss of the republican party in Denver and head of the tramway system, and owns the democrats also whenever it is necessary. All the legislation is planned at his office in the Majestic building. Peyton Woolston, treasurer of the Young Men's Christian association, told me he had been invited to the office and informed that all his expenses would be paid if he'd vote for Guggenheim after they had elected Woolston state senator."

"All these arrangements were made by Dick Broad, formerly chairman of the republican state committee, who was paid a big salary by Guggenheim and by John F. Vivian, the present chairman."

The state, the judge, said, is absolutely in the grip of the money power. "It is the most hopeless state in the union; its legislature is owned body and soul by the corporations."

At the dictation of the corporations of the state former Governor Peabody, one of the largest contributors against Haywood, appointed two members of the Colorado supreme court—who are, of course, absolutely opposed to the interests of the wealth producers of the state. Although Judge Lindsey's estimate of the position of the state and the conditions which it has taken that anarchy rules in Colorado, and the anarchists are republicans.

Chicago, July 27, 1907.

HESELEWOOD FOR DELEGATE

We regret to announce that owing to developments in connection with the charge pending against Vincent St. John at Goldfield, he will not be able to go to the Stuttgart congress as expected. Up to last Sunday he fully intended to carry out, and the general office accordingly planned speaking engagements at various points on the way to New York. Monday, July 22, the following dispatch was received:

"W. E. Trautmann,
 "310 Bush Temple, Chicago.
 "Late advice from attorney makes it impossible for me to leave this country on account of bonds. Send alternate a delegate to congress. I think this imperative."
 "V. ST. JOHN."
 In a dispatch received July 13, Fellow Worker St. John notified the general office that he would leave Goldfield for the east on Sunday, July 20. He had previously accepted the nomination and our arrangements for him were made accordingly.

F. W. Heselwood, receiving the next highest number of votes, was appointed to communicate with and arrange for him to go to Stuttgart as delegate.

At the same time word has been wired to St. John that it is imperative that he keep the appointments made for him in Chicago, Cincinnati, Cleveland, Pittsburgh and other places east to New York.

Marx or Reed, Which?

In *The Bulletin* of June 15th under the heading: "The Union and Socialism" the "consumer" Frank Reed says: "A forced rise in wages means increased cost of living" and adds: "By forced rise of wages I mean where men organize and force the employer to pay more for their labor than was being added to the value of the product." Reed says he has to pay for his men in a free labor market.

One of the great errors of Reed's is that he determines by the price of labor-power, was exploited by the Marx man, and Reed says that they produce, affirming that there is no identity of interest between the producing and capitalist classes, is organizing the workers under capitalism to be prepared to destroy capitalism.

Under conditions against which we revolt, we are building the form of a future industrial order. Within the shell of existing society we develop the organism of the society that is to be—the form and body of the Industrial Commonwealth.

That form and body can be developed only by the workers themselves. Their development and final liberation into the enjoyment of the full life of free men can be accomplished only through the instrumentality of an industrial organization, capable of taking hold of and continuing in systematic operation the means of employment, which are the means of life for all.

Into this Industrial structure all class-conscious workers enter. It is their only logical place. It is the embryonic structure through which their ideals can alone be attained.

Until we get down to science and teach it, and cut out all "hot air" and antiquated theories, we will never get anywhere.

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 have not studied it, are like articles on astronomy by men who never saw a star.

JAMES P. THOMPSON.

Japanese Going to Manchuria

A young Japanese industrial unionist who has for some time been traveling in this country in the capacity of valet, writes us an interesting letter from New York, telling of his efforts in behalf of the organization of which he takes pride in being a member. He says:

"Since I last had a chat with you at

headquarters I have travelled much in the glorious country of the golden west, from Denver to El Paso, from Los Angeles to Vancouver, B. C., from Edmonton to Winnipeg. When I went to California I thought I would stay there and do the work which I ought to do as a member of the I. W. W. among my pitiful countrymen. But after I had studied the conditions in which the Japanese are placed I found that at present it is impossible to get any successful results.

The thought of the Japanese proletariat drifting in confused ways towards the big land on Eastern edge of Asia. They say "this America is not for us; it is a colony of Europeans; we better go to the great field of Manchuria, where we can have the more liberty than in this country."

So the great steamships that start for the Orient from the wharf of San Francisco carry off a hundred Japanese. They are tired of the patriotic anti-Japanese sentiment spread by the "yellow journal" and do not intend to make home here.

While in San Francisco I walked up and down the bloody hillside streets, and so not to be a scab on the striking street car workers, and I visited the local headquarters where I had once hearted talk with the comrades. With my best regards I wish you well."

International Socialist Congress

The Executive Committee of the International Socialist Bureau has issued an announcement of arrangements for the International Socialist Congress at Stuttgart, August 18-24, 1907.

The International Socialist Bureau will hold a meeting for completion of preliminary arrangements for the Congress, on August 17, 11 a. m., the Inter-parliamentary Commission, consisting of Socialist legislators from various countries will meet.

The Congress will be held in the Lederhale, the opening session being on Sunday, August 18, 11 a. m. Speeches of welcome will be given and the order of the day drawn up. In the afternoon the public meetings will be held in the Volkshaus, near King Charles Bridge, on the Neckar. In the evening a concert to the delegates will be given in the great hall of the Lederhale.

The various national sections will meet Monday, August 19, to verify credentials of their delegates and prepare to submit the lists to the Bureau, and to pass upon the several points in the order of the day. The representatives of Socialist parties will meet on Tuesday to discuss the acceleration of Socialist correspondence between the papers of the different parties and eventually to create an international information office.

The Bureau at its session on June 9 last decided to submit to the Congress the following procedure and order of the day:

a) The Congress, assembled to approve the divers resolutions by the Bureau of the International Socialist Bureau, to gain time, and because these resolutions are the work of the authorized delegates of all the affiliated parties.

b) For identical reasons, the Congress would adopt as a whole the resolutions of the Italian Socialist Bureau and of the Inter-parliamentary Commission.

c) The Bureau proposes to reject an amendment of the Independent Labor Union of Great Britain tending to not requiring that the bona fide trade unions, invited to the International Congress, be formally based on the principle of the struggle of the classes.

d) The Bureau proposes to reject the proposition of the Italian Socialist Party in Switzerland, tending to create an identical member-card for all organizations affiliated with the Bureau.

e) The Bureau proposes to transmit to the Inter-parliamentary Commission the proposition of the Socialist Democratic Federation of Great Britain, asking that the Socialist members of all parliaments should agree to present at the same time, in every parliament, the project of labor legislation relating to the same object.

f) The Bureau proposes to reject the question as being yet insufficiently mature, the proposition of the Transvaal Union of Great Britain tending to the choice of an international language.

g) The Bureau proposes not to discuss the proposition of the Socialist Democratic Women of Germany, relative to the democratization of suffrage, but to refer it to the International Socialist Democratic Women of Austria for the insertion in the agenda of the right of suffrage for women.

h) The Bureau lastly proposes to draw up as follows the order of the day:

1. Militarism and international conflict;
2. The relations between the Socialist political parties and the trade union movement;
3. The colonial question;
4. The emigration and immigration of working people;
5. Women suffrage.

Each national section will have the right to admit groups from its respective country, but not affiliated with the section, but non-affiliated groups will have the right of appeal to the Congress.

Besides other features of interest there will be an exhibition of Socialist literature in all languages. Arrangements have been made by the local committee of Stuttgart for lodging the delegates and visitors. After an exciting farling such should be addressed to H. Dietz, 12 Furthbachtstrasse, Stuttgart.

Without the workers at work society perishes. Yet the workers work and perish while the capitalist appropriates and society crucifies its preserver.

When the workers use their brains in their own interests, the capitalists will not use the workers' bodies and brains in their interests.

The end of the sixth week of the strike against the firm of Ratner Bros. of New York, leaves the striking I. W. W. White Goods Makers in a position which promises victory in the near future.

This week Ratner hired a brand new gang of thugs from down town. His reasons for firing the former gang, he said, are that they "were regular suckers." They promised him to land lots of strikers in jail, but although his cash went, practically no "goods" were delivered.

It spends most of his time traveling with his "scabs" to different police courts and taking out summonses for the strikers. Out of fifteen summonses his tools only succeeded in serving five. In one instance the special detective broke into the bedroom of one of the striking girls to make service. Talk about outrage! And the only thing that saves those special and regular police thugs from disagreeable consequences on account of their brutality, is that the strikers, with very few exceptions, are unable to speak the English language.

The five cases were continued until Monday afternoon in Essex Market Police Court. Ratner had also a warrant and six months' prison ready for a member of the strikers, and in Harlem Police Court Judge Whitman tried his best to oblige him, but consented finally to be satisfied with a fine of \$10.

The situation stands well. The striking girls will hold out until Ratner is willing to make a settlement. Ratner is giving out stories to any one that is willing to listen, that if he settles with the strikers, the I. W. W. will compel him to join the union and he runs chance to be elected president, to which he objects.

The new scheme of getting finances in operation, and the results are encouraging. Still, let those members and sympathizers of the I. W. W. who have so far failed to do their duty, remember that this fight is their fight.

A victory of the striking girls will help along greatly in the struggle for labor's emancipation. What's more, you may be on strike next, and you will surely expect support, so don't tarry, but hurry in sending your contribution to the I. W. W. of America, 44 West Twenty-sixth street, New York, treasurer of strike committee, and also ask for subscription lists in order to get others' monies to help the financial part of the fight.

We have the arms—good strikers. Give us the powder—plain cash! The Strike Committee.
 Strike headquarters, Harlem Terrace Hall, 210 East One Hundred and Fourth street.

Strike of White Goods Workers

The Tacoma Smeltermen's Union, of Tacoma, Wash., through Frank Ewing, acknowledges the following contributions for the strike fund:

100	I. W. W., Chicago, Ill.	5.00
125	I. U. of U. B. W. of Dunmore.	6.00
150	I. W. W. New Bedford, Mass.	6.00
175	I. W. W., Minneapolis, Minn.	4.25
200	I. W. W. of Rochester, N. Y.	10.00
250	I. W. W., Spokane, Wash.	5.00
500	I. U. of U. B. M. G. 73, Baltimore.	50.00
1000	E. B. (Industrious) of Baltimore.	25.00
1000	J. M. of Baltimore.	1.00
1000	I. W. W. No. 383, San Francisco.	10.00
1000	I. W. W. No. 225, Sacramento, Cal.	17.75
1000	I. W. W. of M. No. 127, Chinese Camp, Cal.	2.00
1000	I. W. W. of M. No. 127, Chinese Camp, Cal.	2.00
1000	I. W. W. of M. No. 10, Burke, Idaho.	50.00

Three grocery stores have refused to sell goods to the working-class men, and one boarding house after another is compelling the men to move. The company is making a bluff at operating its furnaces, but one furnace has been blown out on account of shortage of fuel, and the company's reports show that it is doing as not justified by the facts.

Help for Smeltermen

The dynamite most needed in the labor movement of America is common sense and ideas. The strongest weapon labor has in its armory is the clear brain, the mind saturated with revolutionary principles, that knows no compromise, that CONCEIVES THE REVOLUTION AS A COMPLETE TRANSFORMATION FROM PRIVATE TO SOCIAL OWNERSHIP OF ALL THE ESSENTIAL MEANS OF LIFE.

With that conception, clear and definitely fixed in the working-class mind, the revolution is seen to be DEPENDENT FOR ITS COMPLETE ACCOMPLISHMENT, IN THE INTEREST OF THE WORKING CLASS, UPON THE REVOLUTION OF THE WORKING CLASS. The revolution means, for us, education, organization, discipline—in a word, PREPARATION.

That "Voice of Labour" of London, England, has again broke out, this time quite discordingly. It says the I. W. W. "is one of the most corrupt political machines capitalism has begotten." Then it wants to arrange a debate with that same "corrupt political machine" as to the merits of the I. W. W. and the I. U. D. A.—whatever that may be. Really, we shall have to decline to debate with one displaying such utter disregard for accurate statement.

Don't attempt to run a capitalist's mill or factory according to the idea of industrial unionism now; it can't be done now; get the organization first by getting your fellow-workers into the organization. Let him run his factory according to his own ideas; in the meanwhile you get ready to run it according to yours—according to the ideas of your class. Ours is the duty to get ready.

An organization of laboring men offered by members of the Civic Federation is not a laboring men's organization. It is a sham and an imposture upon national militia with a rank and file offered by bourgeois tradesmen and capitalist funkies in a similar outfit. Neither of them will ever bring freedom to the working class.

WORKING CLASS ECONOMICS
 Conducted by James P. Thompson

LESSON X.

Note: "Let us now transport ourselves from Robinson's island, bathed in light, to the European middle ages, shrouded in darkness."

Q. Here, instead of the independent man, what do we find?
 A. "Every one dependent—serfs and lords, vassals and suzerains, layman and clergy."

Q. Does personal dependence here characterize the social relations of production just as much as it does the other spheres of life organized on the basis of that production?
 A. "Yes."
 Note: "But, for the very reason that personal dependence forms the groundwork of society, there is no necessity for labor and its products to assume a fantastic form different from their reality."
 Q. What shape do they take, in the transactions of society?
 A. "That of services in kind and payments in kind."
 Note: "Here the particular and natural form of labor, and not, as in a society that on production of commodities, its general abstract form is the immediate social form of labor."
 Q. Is compulsory labor just as properly measured by time as commodity-producing labor?
 A. "Yes."
 Q. But every serf knows that what he expends in the service of his lord is a definite quantity of his own personal labor-power?
 A. "Yes."
 Q. The title to be rendered to the priest is more matter of fact than his blessing?
 A. "Yes."
 Q. No matter, then, what we may think of the parts played by the different classes of people themselves in this society, the social relations between individuals in the performance of their labor appear, at all events, as—what?
 A. "As their own mutual personal relations, and are not disguised under the shape of social relations between the products of labor."
 Q. For an example of labor in common or directly associated labor, is it necessary to go back to that spontaneously-developed form which we find on the threshold of the history of all civilized races?
 A. "No."
 Q. "Because we have one close at hand in the patriarchal industries of a peasant family, that produces corn, cattle, linen, yarn and clothing for home use."
 Q. These different articles are, as regards the family, so many products of their labor, but as between themselves are they commodities?
 A. "No."
 Q. Are there different kinds of labor, such as tillage, carding, spinning, weaving, and making clothes, which are used in the various products, in themselves, and such as they are, direct social functions?
 A. "Yes."
 Q. "Because functions of the family, which, just as much as a society based on the production of commodities, possesses a spontaneously-developed system of division of labor."
 Q. Does the distribution of the work within the family, and the regulation of the labor-time of the several members, depend entirely upon natural conditions varying with the seasons?
 A. "No; it depends as well upon differences of age and sex."
 Q. How does the labor-power of each individual, by its very nature, operate in this case?
 A. "Merely as a definite portion of the whole labor-power of the family."
 Q. And therefore the measure of the expenditure of individual labor-power by its duration appears here, by its very nature, as—what?
 A. "A social character of their labor."
 Note: "Let us now picture to ourselves, by way of change, a community of free individuals, carrying on their work with the means of production in common, in which the labor-power of all the different individuals is consciously applied as the combined labor-power of the community."
 Q. All the characteristics of Robinson's labor are here repeated, but with what difference?
 A. "That they are social instead of individual."
 Q. Everything produced by him was exclusively the result of his own personal labor, and therefore simply an object of use for himself?
 A. "Yes."
 Q. What is the total product of our community?
 A. "A social product."
 Q. One portion serves as a fresh means of production and remains social?
 A. "Yes."
 Q. What becomes of the other portion?
 A. "It is consumed by the members as means of subsistence."
 Q. A distribution of this portion among them is consequently necessary?
 A. "Yes."
 Q. With what will the mode of this distribution vary?
 A. "With the productive organization of the community, and the degree of historical development attained by the producers."
 Note: "We will assume, but merely for the sake of a parallel with the production of commodities, that the share of each individual producer in the means of subsistence is determined by his labors."
 Q. Would labor-time in that case play a double part?
 A. "Yes."
 Q. Why?
 A. "Because its appropriation in accordance with a definite social plan maintains the proper proportion between the different kinds of work to be done and the various wants of the community. On the other hand, it also serves as a measure of the portion of the common labor borne by each individual, and of

his share in the part of the social product destined for individual consumption.

Q. Are the social relations of the individual producer with regard both to their labor and to its products, in this case perfectly simple and intelligible?
 A. "Yes."
 Q. And this is true with regard not only to production, but also to distribution?
 A. "Yes."
 To be continued.

Mill Slaves Respond

The meeting Tuesday night on the square in Pasco was a dandy, a very large crowd being present. We collected considerable money for the Mapleville strikers and secured 26 more names for a charter, making a total of 51 to date. We would have gotten more names if the superintendent of one of the big mills had not been there. However, many promised to sign later. One young woman took a list and said she would go through the mill which she worked and make every slave sign it. A policeman, who had been a weaver and a union man for years, said every textile worker should join the I. W. W. and that he would do everything he could to get them to join. When we left he was getting names right and left. Isn't that a hot one? The Providence and Woonsocket papers printed a good report of the meeting. The circuit court explaining the Mapleville strike and calling for the "Woonsocket Call" two days in succession. We have arranged for a meeting in a hall at Pasco July 16. I went with a striker to Central Village Wednesday. I talked with Mr. Moussoff and found that the local there had gone to pieces some time ago. We got the "cold shoulder" from nearly every one in town. They made us feel we were indeed "undesirable citizens." We distributed hundreds of circulars at the mill gates and also advertised a meeting on the square for Thursday night. When it came time for the meeting no one would give us a box, but we finally found one in a barn. There was a big crowd present. This is the first meeting which published a fair report of the meeting, said there was a hundred present, but there were more than that. Some of the workers here are men who have scabbed in other strikes. Just before the meeting I went out through the crowd distributing I. W. W. leaflets, none of them spoke to me, but most of them took the leaflet; however, some even refused to do that. Those who refused did not speak but only stared at me and refused to put out their hands. When I saw the temper of the crowd I decided to speak first. I talked about an hour and when I saw the crowd was worked up to the point where they would not let me go, I went to roam the cabs and "cock-roach" business men. I told the men who worked in Fletcher's mill that I felt that owing to their craft training they did not know it, but that by working for a big crowd of men, they were just as much strike-breakers as those who went to Mapleville and took the places of the strikers there, and that if they allowed the two-loom system to be forced upon the mill, they would be reduced to the level of the strike-breakers by forcing three-loom upon their children. At this the crowd broke into wild applause and from that on it was clear sailing. When I finished I introduced the meeting next week and spoke about fifteen minutes and was very well received. The effect of the meeting was remarkable. That bugaboos, "public opinion" had turned a somersault and the mill workers had "shoulders" we got the "cold hand." The same man who refused us a box before the meeting, gave us ten cent cigars after it was over! Several members of the old local there gathered around after the meeting next week and held another meeting and attempt to revive the local. They said they were willing to pay up their back dues and thought others would do the same. I told them that if they would arrange a meeting for the next week, I would write and let me know the date, I would be there. They promised to do so.
JAMES P. THOMPSON.

Nearing the End
(Special Dispatch to The Bulletin)
 Boise, Idaho, July 23, 1907.—Montav and Tuesday Richardson argued the case for the defense and Darrow will argue Wednesday and Thursday. Borah will close arguments, after which the judge will read long list of instructions, following which the jury will retire to deliberate on verdict.

Richardson's closing Tuesday night was masterly and nothing but prosecution's story utterly torn to shreds. Portions made to appear silly, and other parts ridiculous and laughable. Pinkertons were exposed and capitalist pilloried. Richardson's closing hour and a half stirred the hearts of hearers and prominent Boise citizens shed tears. Not a person left the room. Orchard was depicted the lowest of the low, yet companionable to Gooding. Borah and Hawley, Orchard had been treated as a guest of Idaho, eating food from the wardens's table. Conviction is impossible, hung jury probable, yet acquittal quite possible.

Doctor Magee, charged with perjury, was acquitted today, committing magistrate failing to find sufficient evidence to hold Magee to district court. Peter Breen conducted Orchard's cross-examination in Magee's case. Miller cross-examined state's witness Mosher, the Denver hotel man appearing as rebuttal witness against Magee in Haywood's case, wherein he testified Orchard stopped at his hotel in Denver in 1904. Mosher admitted today being Pinkerton detective.

WADE R. PARKS.

F. W. Heselwood, organizer for the I. W. W. in receiving congratulations on his marriage to Miss Myrtle Hull, which occurred July 15 at Northport, Wash. The headquarters staff extends to Fred and his bride sincere good wishes for their future welfare.

There is one thing on which the I. W. W. can be most sincerely congratulated, and that is that it is not supported by the confirmed journalistic prostitute, the "New York Volkszeitung"—"die bekannte Pressur."

The Past, Present and Future of the Brewery Workers—Whither Are You Drifting?

There isn't one solitary organization of laboring people in America in which one does not observe the constant grappling of a few honest ones against the influences brought to bear by the capitalist class through their agents on the conduct of affairs in such associations...

LOCAL EXECUTIVE BOARD

MINUTES OF THE LOCAL ADVISORY BOARD. July 12th, 1907.

Present: P. F. Lawson, E. S. Payment, B. Stone, A. Simpson, T. J. Cole. The following applications for charter were received: Letish, Ind. Union, Boston, Mass.; Textile Workers Union, Mapleville, K. I.; Ind. Union Machine Builders, New York City, N. Y.

grades of wages—\$16.00, \$14.00 and \$12.00. The local asked if the demands were satisfactory, and the general secretary was instructed to reply that the demands were reasonable.

THE FOLLOWING BILLS WERE APPROVED:

Table with 2 columns: No. and Voucher. Lists various financial entries and amounts.

THE PURPOSE OF BUTTE INDUSTRIAL EDUCATIONAL CLUB

We read the past year or two a great deal about the Industrial and the Political organizations and the relation of the two. You will allow us the space we would like to explain our views.

them, this is termed the capitalist class. We see that they live in luxury yet do not any useful work. By investigation we see their luxury consists of what the workers have turned over to them in the form of profit.

I. W. W. LEAFLETS

- Leaflets in English, per 1,000—Address to Wage Workers... 1.50 The Textile Industry... 1.50 Food Stuff 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

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.

Handbook of Industrial Unionism, 5c Constitution of the I. W. W., 5c Report of Secretary Trautmann, 5c 'Industrial Unionism,' 2c 'Burning Question of Trades Unionism,' 5c 'Address on I. W. W. Preamble,' 5c

Industrial Union Handbook

Give 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.

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.

It cannot protect its members against 'Blacklist' or 'Blue card.' It cannot enforce the employer to give better conditions or shorten the hours, in fact nothing until the political office is captured. However it holds a check over the officer is elected, forces him to do his duty to the extent the political office is in his hands.

This will be done in the following manner: The proletariat or working class already has all the tools of production in its hands, also all the product except a very small amount which the capitalist has on his person. The worker-pieks, guns, hales, and transports the cotton to the factory, operates the loom, weaves the cloth, or other article; again transports to the store where it makes the clothing or other wage-slaves. The capitalist has never touched it, or seen it, or even learned its name; it is in his hands, it is in his pocket, it is in his hand, it is in his hand.

Haywood Under Direct Examination

(Continued from page 1)
some time, did you, later? A. Oh, we had a vice-president all the time.
Q. A salaried officer? A. No, sir.
Q. Organizers—salaried officers? A. They are now; that is, the executive board acts as organizers and are salaried. Each member of the executive board acts as an organizer and is paid for the work in his district.
Q. And are special organizers appointed? A. Yes, sir. By the president. Yes, the president with the sanction of the executive board.
Q. How many members about did you have when you went into this organization as secretary-treasurer? A. About 17,000. It has been increasing all the time with the possible exception of one year during the Cripple Creek strike, when about 3,000 men lapsed in dues—between three and four thousand, but that was only temporary. They were scattered all over the country.
Q. Had they come from any special section? A. Yes, the Cripple Creek district. The aims and purposes of the organization are fairly set forth in the preamble as read this morning to the jury. In addition to that I would say it is the purpose of the organization to organize its members industrially and unite them politically.
Q. Has the organization adopted any policy, whether by resolution or otherwise, practically of taking an interest in political matters? A. Yes, sir.
Q. Taking an interest in electing or defeating various candidates for office? A. Yes, sir. More particularly electing.
Q. That sometimes includes defeating them, does it not? A. As a matter of course. I don't think there is any particular class of officials that have been segregated; it is the general plan of the organization to elect its friends and defeat its enemies.
Q. That is what I was trying to get at without asking a leading question. Have you also taken any interest in political measures and industrial measures? A. Yes, sir; we have taken an active interest in all labor measures, or measures that would tend to benefit the working people generally, whether they were members of the organization or not. The anti-child labor law, bi-monthly pay day law, the ventilation law, and laws to provide for appliances for the safety of life and limb; for the eight hour law for an adult law—I would say that that is for the purpose of providing more than one outlet to the mines in case of fire or any other trouble that the entrance would be closed up. In every state where the Western Federation of Miners is organized and also in the provinces of British Columbia. We have made fair progress in British Columbia; an eight hour day has been secured for miners and millmen, also in Montana, Idaho, Colorado, Missouri and Kansas. In the state of Idaho it became necessary to amend the constitution; in the state of Colorado the constitution was amended; in the state of Montana the constitution was amended; after the law was passed I would say that in connection with the eight hour bill we have been compelled to carry that measure to the United States Supreme Court on more than one occasion. Mr. Murphy has represented us in the United States Supreme Court at each time it has been there, and also in the Supreme Court of several states. The local unions of the Western Federation of Miners have in a number of states established hospitals. The Goldfield miners' union has only recently completed a hospital containing sixty-two rooms, or room for sixty-two patients, at a cost of \$35,000. The Telluride miners' union had a hospital—as a building—as was in the state of Idaho, at about a similar cost. A number of unions in British Columbia have hospitals in different parts of the jurisdiction; it is very general in the local unions to establish a library. I don't think there is a local union but what provides a sick and funeral benefit, and also in extreme cases they always provide for the widow and orphans, and they care for the sick and bury the dead.
Q. Well, now coming down to Colorado, was there any political movement that was participated in by your organization in reference to an eight hour law in Colorado? A. In the election of 1899 the miners were very active in passing—or in endeavoring to elect a legislature that would pass—an eight hour law.
Q. Was one passed? A. It was.
Q. In 1899? A. At the meeting of the legislature that followed. It was declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court of the state.
Q. What was done next in the way of an eight hour law, in a political way? A. The next endeavor was to amend the constitution.
Q. What was done—was that submitted to the people of Colorado—an amendment? A. It was. In 1902 at the November election. It carried by a majority of 47,724 votes.
Q. What proportion of the vote did that mean? A. That was about six to one. The next legislature convened in 1903. There was an effort made by the organization (the W. F. M.), that is by the representatives of the organization, to have the legislature carry out the mandate of the people.
Q. Was it resisted? A. That law was not passed.
Q. Was the effort to have a law enacted—was that resisted—was there any force pitted against it? A. Yes, all of the forces; that is, the American Smelting and Refining Company, the Colorado Fuel & Iron Company, the United States Refining & Reduction Company, the Mine Owners' Association and railroad interests attacked that measure.
Q. Were you personally present before any committee in the advocacy of this law? A. I met other members representing organized labor in the assembly hall before the committee on mines and mining, and also in the senate chamber before the same committee.
Q. Was there anybody present in opposition? The several companies who were directly opposed to an eight

hour law were represented by their head officials and also by their attorneys. The Colorado Fuel & Iron Company was represented by Mr. Hearne—Frank J. Hearne—and Gass Herrington, their attorney; the American Smelting & Refining Company was represented by ex-Governor James B. Grant and General Manager Gutterman; the Victor Fuel Company was represented by their attorney, Mr. Seaman, and Mr. Chappelle. I would say that the C. F. & I. also was represented by John C. Osgood.
Q. Well, did the legislature pass a law? A. No, sir. Why, no, I don't remember the date when it (the legislature) adjourned—in the due course of procedure.
Q. Well, this legislature was in the winter and spring of 1903, was it not? A. Yes, sir, that was the time that Governor Peabody was inaugurated.
Q. In 1903? A. Yes, sir.
Q. Following the adjournment of the legislature did any strike result on account of an eight hour day? A. The first strike that was strictly attributable to the eight hour legislation, or rather the lack of it, was the Denver Mill & Smelter strike on July 1, 1903. Well, they did not make a demand, but they requested the officials of the company to comply with the spirit of the law, at least, as voted on by the people.
Q. Well, the request evidently did not go, did it? A. No, it did not go.
Q. Well, what did they do? A. They went on strike. The first strike in Colorado City was February, the 14th, 1903.
Q. And what was that for—what was the trouble, without going into the details? A. Discrimination against members of the union.
Q. What do you mean by discrimination? A. The union had been organized there some months before and the company were opposed to it and discharged a number of men from one time to the other, and I think on February the 12th they discharged forty-five men; these were all employed men who had been in the employ of the company from two to eight years, and they were discharged and told so because they belonged to the union. The militia was called in on the 3d of March following.
Q. You were in touch with the situation down there at that time? A. Yes, I had been to Colorado City—I knew the officials of the union.
Q. Was there any protest against calling the militia at the time? A. There was a very general protest of the officers of the town and also by the people of the town.
Q. Was that difficulty patched up for any time at all? A. No, not at that time; there was—
Q. Was it later? A. On March the 14th the representatives of the companies, Mr. Moyer and myself in company with an attorney whom we had engaged for that purpose, called on Mr. Harvey Kiddle, had a conference in the governor's office, and effected a settlement with the Portland Gold Mining and Milling Company, and a temporary—least a temporary settlement with the Telluride Company, but we could do nothing with the United States Refining & Reduction Works.
Q. To whom did these companies belong that you could not effect a settlement with? A. Well, it was generally understood that they belonged to the American Smelting and Refining Company. The strike went on in that place and was followed by a strike in the Cripple Creek district on the 17th of March.
Q. And what was the connection between the Cripple Creek district and that one? A. The mills there were handling the ore of the Cripple Creek district.
Q. How was it, whether your men in the Cripple Creek district and the men in the mills were affiliated? A. They belonged to the same organization and to the same district union.
Q. What was included in that district organization? A. The miners' unions of the Cripple Creek district—the engineers' unions of the Cripple Creek district and the unions at Colorado City, and I think the union at Florence.
Q. Now, were you down—did you go into the Cripple Creek district after the strike was declared? A. Yes, a few days—no, not at that time; that is, the strike that was called on March the 17th—I was not in the Cripple Creek district at that time.
Q. Well, we will get past that. The Cripple Creek strike was called when, and you mean the first one called in the Cripple Creek district? A. Yes, the one that was called in Cripple Creek at the time the strikes were on in Colorado City.
Q. Was that patched up for awhile in any way? A. It was, on the 30th of March. There was a temporary settlement arrived at, to hold good until the 18th of May, when the executive board would meet.
Q. Well, were your difficulties fixed up then, or did you fail to fix them that? A. No, they were not fixed up at that time, neither by the executive board nor by the convention.
Q. Was there any effort made by your organization to get a settlement or arbitration at that time? A. Yes, we made every effort that was possible to the United States Refining & Reduction Company. We offered to allow the company to select one member, or the governor to select one member for them, and we elect one, and they two select a third, and we would abide by the decision of that committee. It was refused.
Q. Were you able to make any settlement or adjustment at all? No, there was not a chance at that time.
Q. And when did the next strike occur? A. In the Cripple Creek district? Q. Yes, in the Cripple Creek district? A. August the 10th, 1903.
Q. How was that settlement prevented, if you know?
Mr. Borah: That is this settlement you have just been talking about?
Mr. Darrow: Yes.
Q. What was done about that? A. I would say there was an effort made to secure an arbitration committee, which was refused by the company, and also an advisory board to be appointed by the governor, and they in their report said that they believed Mr. McNeal, the manager of the company, would abide by the terms we suggested,

but would not enter into an agreement, and we desired to be as good as he was and declared the strike off temporarily and gave him an opportunity to reinstate those men that had been discharged.
Q. Were they reinstated? A. They were not.
Q. Who was the manager of that company? A. Charles McNeal.
Q. Then you say the strike was called in the Cripple Creek district? A. On the 10th of August.
Q. How general was that? A. That was—it included every mine in the district, with the possible exception of the Portland.
Q. Was there an agreement reached with the Portland mine? A. Yes, sir.
Q. And how long did that run—did it run with union men? A. Yes, sir.
Q. When did you visit the district after the strike was called? A. I visited the district on the occasion of a picnic at Pinnacle Park. At a picnic I spoke at that time, yes, sir. Mr. Moyer and the officers of the district also spoke.
Q. What was the tenor of the speeches so far as you and Mr. Moyer were concerned? Well, we reviewed the reason for the strike; we urged the men to stand together; we counseled them against any violence, and said it would be charged to the organization; it would result in the militia being sent into the Cripple Creek district, having in mind that it did not take much to have the governor send the militia, as he did in Colorado City, so we urged them to stand together and conduct the strike. The militia was called into the district on the 4th of September.
Q. Had a commission been down there before that? A. There was a commission representing the governor sent out there on the 9:30 train, I believe, and left there some time in the morning.
Q. You mean arrived there at 9:30 at night? A. I think so, some time late in the night, and left very early in the morning.
Q. And was it on the report of the commission that the troops were sent down?
Mr. Borah: Wait a moment. That must be hearsay.
Q. Was there a report made by the commission?
Mr. Borah: We object to that. That is hearsay also.
Q. Then, do you know who was on the commission? A. As far as I can recall only recall one member of that commission, and that was the attorney general, N. C. Miller. The attorney general of the state of Colorado at that time.
Q. And when was the militia called out in reference to that investigation by the commission? A. Almost immediately. I don't recall having been in the district after that time.
Q. Now, generally speaking, what was the one—what did the office of the secretary require as to where you should be most of the time? A. At headquarters.
Q. And the visiting and the outside work—was that done? A. Yes, sir, president and the members of the executive board.
Q. From the time you took this position up to the time you came to Idaho, about how much of the time did you spend at your office, but were you there during your office hours? A. In the early part of January, 1905, I was in Chicago for a few days. In May of the same year I was in Salt Lake at a meeting of a convention, and in June and July I was in Chicago, and previous to that time the only occasion of my being absent or away from the office was for a short stay in the county jail in Denver.
Q. You were not far away then? A. No, I conducted the business, or partially so, from the jail.
Q. Do you know whether you was in the Cripple Creek district during the strike? A. Yes, sir, I was there at Pinnacle Park. I believe I was, but I don't recall the occasion.
Q. At least, you don't recall anything that happened especially that you care to call attention to? A. No, sir.
Q. Did you hear of an attempt, or an attempted attempt, to wreck the Florence & Cripple Creek train? A. Yes, sir. I think it was about the middle of November or probably a little later than that, that I recall the date of the attempted spike cutting. There were a number of our members charged with that.
Q. Did you ever have any information concerning it before it happened? A. Never.
Q. Do you recall that there was an explosion in the Vindicator mine down there? A. Yes, sir.
Q. Do you recall the time? A. About the time, I have heard it testified here to until I know the date exactly; it was on the 21st of November.
Q. I don't want to lead you on that date.
Mr. Borah: I would hate to see you do that.
Q. The 21st of November, 1903, you mean? A. Yes, sir.
Q. When did you first hear of it and how—in what way did you first hear of it? A. I think through the papers—possibly, Mr. Darrow, by a telephonic communication from the district, where a number of our members charged with that.
Q. When did you first meet, as far as you can recall, a gentleman named Harry Orchard? A. I first met Mr. Orchard at a mass convention that was called by Mr. John C. Sullivan, president of the Colorado State Federation of Labor, on January 2d, 3d and 4th, 1904. The convention was for the purpose of uniting the labor forces of the state politically as against the Peabody administration.
Q. Where did you see Harry Orchard? A. Now, there are only two places that I could have seen him, and I don't remember of having any conversation with him, and one of those (two possible places of possibly meeting him) was at the general meeting, which was held in the club building, and the other was at the caucus of the delegates representing the different unions of the Western Federation of Miners at the headquarters.
Q. Do you know that you met him at all at that time? A. I know he was there at that convention, as I afterwards saw his name among the members of the ways and means committee.
Q. Now, before that time, some time

in November, did Harry Orchard come into your room—or in December, "the first time you have ever seen him," and introduce himself and say his name was Harry Orchard and he had blown up the Vindicator mine and killed two men, Beck and McCormick, and had been promised \$300, or some other fabulous sum—\$500—and did you tell him it was a good job and you were glad of it, or any conversation like that? A. I never saw Harry Orchard previous to the time I tell you, and I never had any such conversation with him in our office.
Q. Did you ever have any any—any such conversation as that? A. No such conversation as that anywhere or at any time.
Q. Did you have any conversation with him in your office where Mr. Moyer was present, where any such thing happened as I am speaking of? A. No, sir.
Q. Did you have any conversation with him when Billy Easterly was present in which he said anything about having blown up any part of the Vindicator mine or committing any crime and wanting any money on account of it from you? A. He never spoke to me at any time or at any place about the Vindicator, and he never at any time received any money.
Q. Now, you say the first time you had any conversation with him, as described; do you know whether you saw him more than once when he was there at that time? A. If I did, I don't remember it.
Q. Do you remember whether you had any conversation with him? A. I don't think I did.
Q. Would you be sure that you recall him excepting as you saw his name connected with it—how is that? A. That is the only remembrance that I have of him being at that convention at all. I don't remember of seeing the individual. The next time I saw him was when he and Mr. Moyer were preparing to go to Ouray. I think on the 22d of March, 1904. He was in Moyer's office at headquarters.
Q. How long did you see him at that time? A. Only a few minutes.
Q. Did you have any conversation with reference to where he was going, or learn where he was going? A. Yes, I knew where they were preparing to go.
Q. Did you hear anything said by Mr. Moyer or Orchard as to how they should go? A. Yes, I heard them speaking about making some preparations to defend themselves.
Q. For what reason? A. Well, because the members of the United Mine Workers, who were representing Mr. Mitchell in the southern coal fields, had been beaten up, three of them.
Q. How was this as to the place they were going—as relating to the vicinity of the place where Mitchell's men had been beaten up? Now, there is a question that is not leading. A. Well, it was in the same general direction.
Mr. Borah: I am permitting the leading questions in the interest of time. I would rather you would be sworn, though.
Mr. Darrow: And also save a chance of the witness not understanding it.
Q. As a matter of fact, up to that time had there been any reports—news-paper or otherwise—in reference to any disturbance in the southern coal fields? A. Oh, yes, there was a strike in the southern coal fields under the United Mine Workers of America.
Q. Had there been anything in reference to any acts of violence down there? A. No, there had not been any acts of violence other than those committed by reputed authorities.
Q. These are the ones I am trying to get at. Had those matters been spoken of in the papers? A. Yes, sir.
Q. Now, do you know whether Mr. Moyer went? A. I know he went to Ouray.
(To be continued.)
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