

# The Industrial Union Bulletin

OFFICIAL PUBLICATION OF THE INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD

"LABOR IS ENTITLED TO ALL IT PRODUCES"

Vol. II. No. 5.

CHICAGO, MARCH 28, 1908.

50c. a Year.

## The Justification of the Strike

BY OSCAR ANERINGER

There is but one side to the labor question. Progress is only possible through an ever rising standard of living. Higher wages and lower hours mean better homes, more education, more happiness, less crime, less suicide, less prostitution.

A victory of the masters brings the whole of humanity nearer its destiny. The masters fight with their backs towards progress; they aim to turn the stream of evolution back to its source.

A victory for the masters means degradation and degeneration of the masses. Their success would be the death of civilization and their unopposed power would drive men back to the animal.

The struggle of the human race is a struggle for happiness, and happiness is the price paid out by the holders of the universe to coax his creatures along the age long path of progress.

When a race reaches a people stagnation takes its place.

Love and hunger preserve the human race; but it is discontent with the present and hope for the future that drives forward and upward. And so it follows that whoever sows discontent and preaches hope is a builder on the ruins of civilization.

To obtain more of the material things of life enables us to reach out for spiritual wealth.

Love, peace, lofty thought, art and science desert the love of the poor and the happiness of the soul can only rest on the material basis of a healthy, well-nourished body.

Therefore, knowing that the ultimate goal must justify or condemn all human action, I say that the work which results in the greatest happiness to the greatest number is good work.

No ruling class ever surrounded one iota of its power voluntarily to a submerged class.

Feudalism was abolished by force. Slavery only succumbed at the point of the bayonet.

The masters of today will not raise the standard of the workers unless forced to do so by the concentrated action of organized bodies who refuse to be swayed by the *Reds*, *Greens*, *Blacks*.

This modern weapon of the working people is called the strike.

Strikes, like every other form of war, are destructive. The stoppage of industry is a social loss that time cannot repair. For every day of labor lost the world is so much poorer, and yet it is surprising how small are really the losses caused by strikes as compared to the losses brought about by a lawless, planless, anarchistic system of production.

The eighteenth century report tells us that "slack work, closing-down of plants, are responsible for 30 per cent of unemployment, while strikes are accountable only for 2 per cent of loss of employment."

Under the capitalist system of production a monetary system will produce goods in utter disregard of how much the market can absorb. His competitors do the same, and then when the market is clogged, mills, mines and shops are shut down. The stores and warehouses are filled to overflowing, and the workers out of employment are unable to buy the products of their own labor.

This state of affairs is called by the wise men who had in its infancy the first interest with the running of this country, "overproduction."

In other words, and according to the light of the aforesaid gentlemen, we have no bread to eat because we raised too much wheat.

We go on raising because too much cotton has been planted.

Children go barefooted because too many shoes have been manufactured, and the workers eat in soup houses and sleep in box cars because we have raised too much beef and built too many houses.

We are impoverished by superfluency and made beggars by abundance.

And so overproduction has been assigned as the chief cause of paucity.

It never struck those kindly leading lights that if the workers had the money they want would they overproduce.

It never entered into their noble heads that men with money in their pockets will not go hungry or ragged, when the storehouses are filled with food and clothing.

Paucity are caused by an accumulation of profits or surplus values in the shape of goods.

Profits are the difference between the labor cost and the selling price of an article.

The workman who received two dollars in wages for the production of ten dollars' worth of goods can only buy back one dollar's worth of product.

A raise of ten per cent in wages will also increase the buying power of the masses ten per cent.

A fall of ten per cent has the opposite effect.

Large profits mean large accumulation of unsalable goods and consequently paucity.

Where wages are high and profits small, where the selling price difference exists between the cost and the selling price of commodities, there also is the most equal distribution of wealth.

Whenever a state of production and distribution is reached, where profits are eliminated entirely and where the cost of production—the pay of the workers—is equal to the selling price of his products,

overproduction and paucity will become impossible because every worker, receiving the full value of his labor, creates the purchasing power with which to buy back the value produced by him.

The struggle between the master class and the workers is a struggle for the division of labor's product.

It is the aim of the capitalist to obtain the highest possible profit, while the workers strive forever for a higher wage.

The interests of the two classes are diametrically opposed, and may be compromised, but never reconciled.

In spite of all that is said and written about the identity of interest of capital and labor, the cold, hard fact remains that the capitalist who gets the most work for the least pay is also the most successful one, and the worker who does the strongest fighting organization is also the best paid in his class.

The steel trust has succeeded in absolutely destroying unionism in its plants. The meat trust has done the same, and if one wants to see to what a hopeless depth human beings can be forced by victory and capital, let him study the life of the filthy, lousy, ignorant, degraded workers of South Chicago and Packingtown.

In this seething, boiling mass, struggling for the division of wealth; in this great war between capital and labor, profit and wages, the labor union is the only humanizing, civilizing, organized force.

The church, by preaching humility and contentment to the masses, has lost all power for good and is fast degenerating into an apologetic organ of the ruling class.

Courts and justice are only weapons of capitalists against the small offenders of the lower strata. Large criminals are above the law and immune from justice.

The great institutions of learning are enslaved by the masters, and the teachers and thinkers are paralyzed by their dependence on the Lords of Gold.

The government itself is but the willing handmaid of the ruling class.

Today, Mexico of *Escopé*, Greece, and Rome has taught us that a civilization based on a small ruling class cannot last.

When the Pharaohs became the land owners of Egypt, thus throwing the masses of the people into a hopeless state of dependence, Egypt's civilization died.

When two per cent of Rome owned all the wealth of that empire, and when out of one hundred millions of population eighty millions were slaves, the great Romans commenced their retrogressive movement that ended in the ultimate banana podder of the present time.

To save modern civilization from a similar fate is the mission of the working people.

From organizing against the degrading, dehumanizing onslaught of capitalism they have become an aggressive force that is destined to bring culture and civilization to the very mud sills of society.

Only a more equal distribution of wealth can bring about a more general diffusion of the higher attributes of man.

Art, science, culture, knowledge, love and happiness are only possible where the sordid struggle for the bare necessities of life are eliminated.

No other class in the history of mankind ever had a nobler mission or a higher ideal than the working class.

They seek not conquest to oppress or enslave another class or their former masters. They do not aim to create a new race of slaves.

Their whole movement is for equality and justice. Equality of opportunity and justice to give to every one the full product of his labor, no less and no more.

We are for the abolition of child labor in order to afford our offspring the opportunity to develop into physical and mentally well-developed men and women.

We are against woman labor to save the strength and life-giving powers of motherhood.

We demand higher wages in order to obtain the means to live the lives of human beings; to preserve our beloved ones from want and fear and to save our children from crime and prostitution.

We want shorter hours to have leisure, rest and time to cultivate our minds.

These are our demands, and for this we will starve and strike regardless of who is hurt or pained. Society assumes no responsibility for us during sickness, want or age. For what we have gained we have none to thank but ourselves.

State, church and justice gave us nothing. The strike all.

The masters stand for the degradation of the child, the maiming of the mill, the crippled miner, the worn-out worker, the painted prostitute, the slaving mother, is their work. The ill-fated man with the hoe their ideal of a toiler.

We stand for freedom, equality and justice.

We pain the few to bless the many. We endure misery to create happiness. And again our toil supports humanity, so do our battles for a higher standard of living elevate the whole of mankind to a loftier plane.

## The Flynn Lectures

Enclosed find clipping from Providence Journal giving report of Miss Elizabeth Gurley Flynn's lecture. The Providence Tribune printed her picture and a full column report of the meeting, but the editor's line Italian hand shows clearly throughout the article; it is evident that in his opinion the kind of talk dealt out by Miss Flynn is not good reading, uninteresting, for the editors of the Tribune. This was the bumper meeting of a series of lectures run every Sunday evening by Textile Union 530, I. W. W. The first one, with Organizer Thompson as speaker, drew a large audience, and it grows larger at every meeting, rain or shine. The last meeting taxed the seating capacity of the hall. The speakers are limited to an hour and a quarter, after which the floor is thrown open for questions and remarks, with a five-minute limit, and no one is given the floor twice until all who wish to speak are done. There is no doubt that it is this feature of the meetings that draws the crowd. As speakers we have had, so far, two professors from Brown University, a lawyer with "radical" ideas, a high school principal who lectures on the "Industrial Revolution," two Socialists, party men, Frank Bohm, who gave a fine lecture, "The Working Class in American History," and Miss Flynn. I understand that Organizer Thompson is on the docket for Sunday with the subject, "The Conception of History" as the subject.

The following is from the Providence Journal: "Miss Elizabeth Gurley Flynn addressed a large gathering in Textile Hall, Providence, last evening, under the auspices of Textile Union 530 and spoke on 'Industrial Unionism.' Her coming had been the topic of discussion of local textile workers for several days and the hall was filled in spite of the disagreeable weather. She was received with enthusiasm. After her address several of those present pitched her with questions and there was a long debate on the labor question.

Today Miss Flynn will start on an extensive lecture tour through the western and Pacific coast states under the auspices of the Industrial Workers of the World. As now arranged, the tour will be through Colorado, Utah, Nevada, Arizona, New Mexico, California, Oregon, Idaho, Washington, Montana and Wyoming. E. MILLER.

## Some of the Differences

The American Federation of Labor teaches that our present system of society is a correct system. It is a foundation principle of this system of society that the means of production shall be privately owned, and it is further a foundation principle of this system of society that the owner of the means of production has the right to control, direct and manage the institutions he owns. Pure and simple craft unionism maintains that it is proper for the capitalists to own and manage the institutions of production which we, the workers, operate, and which our lives depend upon; and yet the craft unions are forced into the inconsistent position of leaving strikes and boycotts to interfere with that management, to compel changes of wages and other conditions established by that management which those same unions approve of. The Industrial Workers of the World adopts the true and consistent position. We deny the right of private individuals either to own or to manage the means of production and transportation, and we declare that the workers, the class that have built these institutions, ought of right to be the owners of them—that these social institutions should belong to society. We hold that the workers, who carry on the business of production, ought of right to manage the means of production. We are organized to bring pressure to bear on the owners of the means of production just as far as possible for our own good under this system of capitalism; and finally to overthrow this social system and establish the collective ownership and collective control of the mills, factories, railroads and workshops of all kinds, thus finally to end forever our struggles with capital. The final purpose of the political organization of the workers will therefore be to have plain and simple laws to isolate our exploiters from their entrenchment behind the arms of government; we shall help to promote that organization of our class which will enable us to take our hold, through our economic organization that which we produce by our labor.

Today the capitalists are having experiments made constantly, perfecting new machines and new methods in order to dispose with laborers, thus saving the product of the institutions of production more and more to themselves. The employers have progressed well along that line, and craft unionism is powerless to prevent their further progress; but the Industrial Workers of the World are organizing unions which will teach the workers to handle every industry, so that—not that we may be displaced with—but that we may dispense with the capitalist class, and save all the fruits of our toil to ourselves.

The fight of labor against capital today presents a peculiar spectacle. When the workers attempt to strike and desert the shop, the capitalist class, and we may say in the way the shop is managed (for the question of management, in some of its phases, is really the only question that ever arises between capital and labor), they endeavor to prevent their further progress; but the Industrial Workers of the World are organizing unions which will teach the workers to handle every industry, so that—not that we may be displaced with—but that we may dispense with the capitalist class, and save all the fruits of our toil to ourselves.

The fight of labor against capital today presents a peculiar spectacle. When the workers attempt to strike and desert the shop, the capitalist class, and we may say in the way the shop is managed (for the question of management, in some of its phases, is really the only question that ever arises between capital and labor), they endeavor to prevent their further progress; but the Industrial Workers of the World are organizing unions which will teach the workers to handle every industry, so that—not that we may be displaced with—but that we may dispense with the capitalist class, and save all the fruits of our toil to ourselves.

## A VOICE FROM 1903

The extracts which follow are taken from an article on Industrial Unionism written by Wm. E. Cavanaugh in 1903 and printed in the Labor Day edition of the "American Labor Union Journal" of that year.

Industrialism means that all employees in a given industry must be governed by the laws of a single organization; all workers in a shop, from cellar to roof, must be members of one industrial combination of labor for protective and defensive purposes.

To give the definition clearer yet, we show the difference between craft organizations and industrial combinations by an example. In the former an engineer in a mine, for instance, would be compelled to be a member of the engineers' separated craft organization, and act independently and isolated, and if he has grievances to adjust or demands to make, the interests of the other employees in the mining industry would be of no concern to him, and vice versa. It may make demands for himself at a time when it may not be opportune for the others to help him, and may lose or win, just as chances run. Of course, when the employer gets the best of him and fills his place, the other men in the mine will work right along; they have also their separate interests, and may choose to act as they think most expedient for themselves. This explains why the labor movement in America and also England disclosed such spectacles that one branch in a given industry will be engaged in war with the employers while others are at work as members of unions, undisturbed, believing themselves to be in the right as members of a separate craft union.

What does the industrialist do? He conceals the engineer in the mine the other men in the mine, and the brewery workers control every man in the brewery, the miners have within their organizations everybody in and around the mines; the woodworking industry knows but one organization, etc. every member thereof having a common interest with all. And where, as lately occurred, an association of mechanics may prefer to start a secession and organize on craft lines, as the iron molders tried to do a year ago in Austria by forming a separate national union of iron molders, they were quickly repudiated by a congress of trades union organizations and advised that their proper affiliation was in the Amalgamated Organization of Metal Workers, an industrial organization that controls all workers in the entire metal industry.

So are the railroads, where they are organized on members of a general organization; though each branch within the industry has its own branch association, they are all combined in a powerful, united industrial organization, locally as well as nationally. All these big industrial combinations, as being conducted on democratic lines, so that nobody would dare to assume the role of dictator or usurper. These forms of organizations are the outgrowth of the changed conditions of production, and of the concentration of capital, and the Socialists, with their clear conception of the forces at work in society, are preparing them for a general overturn; the machinery of production and distribution to be managed by the producing class, organized on the most suitable basis for the general good and welfare of the whole society. Abroad, as well as here, there are Socialists who perceive that the instruments for the management of the Socialist republic, now in process of formation, must be created, and they build the labor organizations according to this need.

Who can judge how to regulate the required production of utilities in the various lines of industry in conformity with the necessities of the entire society better than those who are actually employed in a given industry? The industrial organization of clothing workers, for instance, will have charge of managing the affairs of that part of social necessity, and if in any other, will be members of an organization that has charge of the management of that specific industry. Society cannot jump from one state of society, from the capitalist mode of production, into another, the co-operative commonwealth, without having the elements ready to maintain social order in a Socialist sense. From this standpoint alone do Socialists build up the industrial unions, instead of those on craft lines, in which separate craft interests of a few may occasionally jeopardize the interests of the large bulk of workers.

Now comes the last question: Will not the industrial organizations on account of their composition lower the standard of the professional trades, the qualified mechanics and the skilled workmen—briefly, suppress individualism?

We hear as an argument against this advanced form of labor organizations the harangue that the individual energy and the aspirations of specially capable individuals would be checked, yes, suppressed, because of the alleged supposition that all workers in a given industry would be put on equal footing with the common laborer who hasn't invested so much study and care to gather experience and skill to follow a trade; that the skilled mechanic would be denied the right to elevate himself above all others; he would be retarded in his claims for more recognition on account of the knowledge acquired, as the great

(Continued on page 2)

## St. John Among the Miners

The trip of Vincent St. John through Illinois is proving fully as successful as anticipated. At Spring Valley, Scottsbluff, and other points, he was greeted by large audiences and aroused the enthusiasm of the miners for industrial unionism to a high pitch. Where it was necessary to procure contributions to the fund, the same were gladly furnished by the miners without expense. A large quantity of literature was disposed of at each meeting, subscriptions to The Bulletin and the Industrial Worker were shown in everything relating to the I. W. W. Fellow Workers Joe Corna, Sciarini and Roucetti were especially active in behalf of these meetings and rendered valuable aid in making them successful. This week St. John fills appointments at Danferfield, Hanna City, Springfield, Riverton and Tice. His present trip extends into the second week in April.

## Industrialism to the Front

The question of the Industrial Workers of the World is becoming a live one in Sydney, Australia. The following is taken from the Melbourne "Socialist": "The I. W. W. question will be brought up at the forthcoming Trades Union Congress. It appears on the agenda paper, and is bound to give rise to a lively discussion. Several unions are already arranging for Scott Bennett to speak on the subject under their joint auspices."

## Keep Away

Workmen, take notice! If you are looking for work, stay away from Flathead county, Montana. Any advertisement stating that there is work for men in Somers, Kalspell, Columbia Falls, or Eureka, Mont., is false, as there are five men in these places now for every job.

Wages have been cut several times in the woods and saw mills of this county in the last few months, until now conditions are so unbearable that no person can begin to live decently on the wages that are being paid.

Don't come here to starve, or assist the lumber association in making our condition more miserable.

Joint Executive Committee, Lumbermen's Locals, Industrial Workers of the World.

## DIS AINT NO DREAM

I heard Sam Gompers yelling, "We must arm us for the fight!"  
And Victor Berger weeping over the Federation's plight.  
The fat coyote O'Neil did likewise rant and yell.  
And through the sulphurous ether wailed John Mitchell's mournful howl.  
His highness Mister Morrison, warwhooping, took the street.  
And from the house of Belmont came a glad and strenuous bleat.  
The patriot-statesman Kemper came, the prince of booze and beer,  
And Bryan winked and winked and winked nearly scared to death!  
And there was Maxie Morris and Mister Lennon, too,  
Grand Hanrahan, great mogul Stone, and V. P. Buckalew.  
And many many others that I haven't time to name,  
Who, whoozy, wild, woolgathered, from the fortress Hotair came.  
And they were mad as hornets and lurid was their breath—  
And they were mad as hornets and lurid was their breath—  
And thus they cried and swore and shrieked, in union did bawl:  
"No political! No political in the sacred union hall!"  
"No political! No political it is neither good nor wise!"  
And Hudspeth flew to mop the tears from dear Heard's streaming eyes.  
No political! No political it is neither wise nor heed!  
And Bryan winked and winked and winked nearly scared to death!  
And there was peace in Uniondom, so Mahon wired Ted.  
The Industrialists defeated and the cause of labor dead.  
But an earthquake shook the nation, and the dreaming "leaders" woke,  
Too late to stop the rank and file from tearing off their yoke.  
And again this simple saying, friends, was proven good and true,  
No matter how long and no matter what you do:  
"You can fool all of the people some of the time, and some of the people all of the time, but you can't fool all the people all the time."  
COVINGTON HALL.

**The Industrial Union Bulletin**

PUBLISHED BY THE  
INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD

212 BUSH TEMPLE CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

Yearly subscription . . . . . 50 Cents  
Six Months . . . . . 25 Cents  
In Advance . . . . . One Dollar  
Canadian and Foreign Subscriptions (per year)

Entered as second-class matter March 1, 1907, at the postoffice at Chicago, Ill., under the act of Congress of March 3, 1879.

CHICAGO, MARCH 28, 1908

MAIN ROAD TO FREEDOM

The I. W. W. contends for the imperative necessity of that form of economic organization which unites the workers in the industrial field. Despite all criticisms, all open or covert opposition, and with a full knowledge of the immensity of the undertaking and the difficulties that must necessarily stand in the way of the accomplishment of our plans, we proclaim that THE UNITY OF THE WORKING CLASS IN THE INDUSTRIAL FIELD IS THE PRIMARILY IMPORTANT CONDITION TO FINAL SUPREMACY OF THE WORKING CLASS IN THE CLASS STRUGGLE, the abolition of capitalist exploitation and the founding of an industrial Commonwealth. Here lies the main chance of the workers of America and the world.

As the economic or industrial organization will be the motive power and controlling influence in a Socialist society, so must it become the chief agency in securing the realization of that society.

The main-travelled road to the Co-operative Commonwealth does not lead through a political defile, but along the broad highlands of industrialism. In the industrial field the workers can be united; the success of the Industrial Workers of the World demonstrates it, and if all those who are fruitlessly working for "Socialism immediately," had bent their energies to the support of a real, revolutionary working-class organization on the field of industry instead, as many have, of coquetting with the A. F. of L. and "boring from within," its success would have been greater and the unification of the working class nearer.

And right here it is necessary to explain, in order that we may be understood, that we deny the sufficiency of the ballot box as the sole means in the hands of our class to overthrow capitalist industry. We shall, doubtless, resort to all instrumentalities, including the vote, that we deem pertinent to the accomplishment of our historic mission.

Infinitely more important now than a vacillating, uncertain, now-you-see-it-and-now-you-don't, political vote, is the determination by the workers to take to the place where they are robbed, to organize for the express purpose of taking and holding the industries and operating them.

**POWER OVER THE INDUSTRIAL MACHINE IS THE NECESSARY FORERUNNER OF POWER OVER THE GOVERNMENTAL MACHINE.**

IN MIGHT THERE IS RIGHT

The plunderers say that "IN ECONOMIC AFFAIRS THE ONLY WAY TO GET A FAIR SHARE IS TO BE PREPARED ALWAYS TO FIGHT, AND WHEN NECESSARY TO FIGHT FOR IT!" What say the producers? Speaking for them, and with the warrant of a rapidly extending organization based on a true conception of the struggle, the Industrial Workers of the World says the workers cannot win out by reliance upon golden rules and books of laws that so long as they depend on Christ's ethics or march from preaching about the Rights of Man, so long will they remain the beaten straw on the threshing floor of a ravaged and exploited world; so long as our class is a dreamer of dreams and puts its faith wholly in "forceless votes," so long will they be objects of the scorn and contempt of those who wield "Cain's knotted club" and ride the "Conqueror's Car." The "advance" to a realization of the "brotherhood" is measured by the backward march from Christ to Rome; the more they are obedient to the exalted position in the nation, serves the interests of the economically strenuous by prejudicing the case of workmen in advance of public trial. And we have no business to whine about it. It is in accord with the Logic of today, the Gospel of the Strong. The tyranny of the Strong can be overcome only by the working class powerfully enough organized on the field of industry to do what the plunder-patriots have done: TAKE AND HOLD THE MEANS WHEREBY WE LIVE, which means are the work of our hands and brains supplementing the work of our class through all the bloody centuries of the past.

WHAT KIND OF A DEAL IS THIS?

An officer of a labor organization who threatens to resign his position unless a proposition which he originates is adopted by the membership to whom he submits it, puts himself in a position to deal with the membership on two or three points: first, he asks each officer the individual right to initiate a referendum? Second, is the membership bound to accept such officer's assumption that his intelligence and loyalty to labor's cause overtops that of the collectivity he addresses. Third, in submitting a referendum, admitting for the moment that he is justified in that course, has such officer the right to juggle with the situation which is supposed to deal with? If to all these questions a negative answer is given, then why does it not follow that the immediate removal of such an officer would be the very best thing that could happen in the interest of the organization concerned?

This is our answer to Mr. Chas. H. Moyer's "address" to the local unions of the Western Federation of Miners, dated February 25, in which he DEMANDS that every local union of the Federation call together their members and vote on the referendum he submits and threatens the members with his resignation if they have an opinion at variance with his own.

A prediction was made in 1900 at the Indianapolis "unity" convention that the Co-operative Commonwealth would be established within four years from that time. The "prophet," we hear, now attributes the non-fulfillment of his prophecy to the intervention of the Russo-Japanese war and the earthquake at San Francisco. It counts for nothing that both these world-jarring events transpired after the expiration of the period to which the capitalist regime was limited. The Co-operative Commonwealth will be established when the workers in the industrial field are organized for it, and all predictions that do not take into account the fitness of the workers' industrial organization to administer their own affairs where they work, is just so much hot air, a hollow cry signifying nothing.

In sentencing Harry Orchard to death in accordance with a plea of guilty, and afterwards recommending the commutation of the sentence, Judge Fremont Wood, who presided at the trials of Haywood and Pettibone, said: "I am more than satisfied that the defendant now at the bar of this court awaiting final sentence has not only acted in good faith in making the disclosures that he did, but that he also testified fully and fairly to the whole truth, withholding nothing that was in his possession, and declaring nothing which had not actually taken place."

In behalf of World H. Mills, the writer of the excellent series of articles on "Economic Determinism" now running in The Bulletin, we would like to hear from all our readers who are prepared to order in advance copies of the work in book form, with the understanding that next month the copies are \$1.25. A number have written that they desire to purchase the book as soon as ready; there should be a guaranteed sale of at least 500. Will as many respond by placing their orders in advance?

Socialism means revolution, or it has no meaning. The revolution consists in the passing of the privately owned

FALSE FREEDOM AND TRUE

There are two freedoms, the false freedom, where a man can do what he likes, and the true freedom, where he can do what he ought. But liberty is never a good in itself, and is never final, it is a means to something good, and a way to the end. It is provisionally a blessing, but it is purely provisional, it is self-limited, and is forever merging into some sort of subjection. It no sooner establishes itself than it begins to control itself. The dream of infinite and immutable liberty is the hallucination of the anarchist; that is, of the individualist group man.

The moment liberty in this meaning was selected, we should have the rule, not of the wisest, not of the best, not even of the most, but of the strongest, and no liberty at all. The anarchists, finding, from the speculating point of view, that the most agreeable of the regimes would be that which would permit the most unrestricted freedom to the blossoming of individuality, and which would have no law save the free-will of individuals, the anarchists preach its realization without troubling themselves to inquire whether the economic necessities permit of its establishment. They do not suspect the retrograde character of the extreme individualism, the unlimited autonomy, how factors of freedom are not more than any one else, but they do not perceive that they are marching backward.

True liberty is the accurate appreciation of necessity. What is the primary condition of equality? Freedom. Equality is the freedom of all. The conscious thing has, under the laws of evolution, perfected itself according to the freedom of its powers. He is a free man if he has the means of livelihood, and is assured in their possession, and is independent of others. But if he is dependent upon some other man for the means of earning a livelihood he is not free. Nevertheless, every man singly because he is a human being, has a right to the existence of a man, and not of a slave or a beast of burden.

So far as we can have any consciousness of it, liberty is merely choice. In fine, liberty, whose supreme expression is the citizenship in a free country, is the choice, the essence of choice is freedom, and in adverse conditions a man has no choice, he does this or does that, because he must, not because he likes. Liberty is not the right to be a worker that he ought to be, it is the right to others—the sovereign act of the free man.

The man who is in danger of want or even in dread of want, is not a free man, and the country which does not guard him against this danger and this dread, or does not assure him the means of livelihood, is not a free country, though it may be the freest of all the free countries. In other words, liberty and poverty are incompatible, and it is impossible to have the one without the other. Liberty when it becomes the liberty to die by starvation, is not so divine. Opportunity is one phase of liberty, safety is another. When we have liberty in the form of opportunity, we must have it in the form of safety, or we have it not at all, for there is nothing vital, nothing lasting, in opportunity. We can enjoy liberty only in its final form of safety, we cannot be safe unless we are free. The security of others is the perpetual menace of our own security.

We must be equals in opportunity and in safety or we cannot be free. This equality is the basis of liberty, liberty cannot stop short of equality, liberty cannot be economic liberty, without ceasing to be. Economic liberty, which is the keystone to the whole arch of liberty, has been rejected by the builders of the republic.

At the foundation of this republic, there were men of aristocratic tendencies, and others also who thought that the people were not as yet prepared for absolute democracy; that it could not be realized safely by degrees. As a result the government was founded on the nature of a compromise, the people were not trusted. The economic conditions—that is to say, the conditions in which wealth is produced and distributed, are the basis of our social life, and touch us at every point, and govern all the other conditions and relations of society. The political, the religious, the moral life of the community, are all controlled by the economic material conditions, every else must of necessity depend, wherefrom it results that economic dependence hinders the possession of social, political or religious freedom.

From the foregoing, we can readily understand that we cannot have liberty in its truest and best sense until we have economic freedom; that is the ownership of the means of production and distribution of the goods of the nation. In the absence of economic liberty, liberty is a sham and a delusion. All phases of social life are based upon the material conditions. What sort of society is this that at the present time that ours has, inequality and injustice for a basis? Our opponents say, "The worker is in a better condition today than in the last century." It is not better, liberty is the same, the demands, but equal position. At the present time justice is a mockery of the name, and justice means liberally righteousness. How can there be talk of justice in the midst of conditions which exist today. The present fundamental injustice of the state and society at once stamp what is called justice an injustice. Socialism insists that justice shall become righteousness, and it creates the essential preliminary con-

dition for this in the free democratic state for which it strives. On which side in the struggle is liberty, in its true, its real, its concrete sense, can no longer be doubtful to any student of economy or history. To destroy the specious counterfeit, and in its destruction to realize the true liberty—to abolish the property-holder and free the man, such is the aim, such must be the outcome of the socialist movement, and the economic aim of the I. W. W.

The political and the industrial movement are one, he who separates them distorts the social movement. In 1905 in Chicago there was born a Union Movement of momentous significance organized industrially, based upon economic freedom and to bring about liberty, equality and fraternity. Its birth cannot be recalled without the back of the pure and simple unionism from which they never will diverge. The Industrial Workers of the World, the intrepid leaders of the proletariat of the world felt assured that when the time came for action, they would have a shakable scientific foundation on which they built to which indeed each year has added another of solid theory and fact combined. Confident in their cause, neither more nor less. That being so, the industrial worker shapes every detail of his organization with a view to attain his ideal, the Industrial Commonwealth. In order to accomplish our mission we must have an organization, there can be no efficient propaganda or action without organization. United organization is the accumulation of strength, its gathering into a focus. Isolation makes us powerless, divided strength is no strength. Liberty is not only a right to strength but multiplies it many fold. Struggle in the right spirit under this new banner of the indomitable I. W. W. Sustain it, mindful of the lofty duties that attend the growth of the organization, fully and full of energy go on, fight fearlessly for the new economic dispensation. The I. W. W. promises to be the glory of the United States. The

best, give us more! A time like this demands strong minds, great hearts, true faith and ready hands.

Men who have honor—men who will not let men who can stand before the world.

And stand his treacherous flatterer without shame.

Tell me, sun-crowned, who live above the fog of public duty and in private thinking.

Pittsburg, Pa. W. H. Peak.

Denounces the President

Before a mass meeting of 2000 persons at Toledo, O., March 21, Congressman Isaac Sherwood made the following address to the President's action in the Goldfield strike:

"I did not claim that President Roosevelt was responsible for the financial panic, as was charged, but I did and do denounce him for using government employees to break the strike, and for the conditions in Goldfield, Nevada's Governor, while intoxicated, had been led to call on President Roosevelt for troops to quell the alleged strike disturbance.

"The President received the private report of the strike leaders, that he had made a mistake in sending troops to the scene. I did not condemn him for sending troops at the call of the Governor, but I did condemn him when, after learning by the private report that the troops were needed, he had not only failed to make the report public, but also failed to rectify his mistake by withdrawing the soldiers from Goldfield."

Importance of Manual Labor

Man is made to work with his hands. This is a fact which cannot be got over. From this central fact he cannot travel far. I don't care whether it is an individual or a class, the life which is far removed from this becomes corrupt, shriveled, and diseased. You may explain it how you like, but it is so. Administrative work has to be done in a nation as well as productive work; but it must be done by men accustomed to manual labor, who have the healthy decision and primitive authentic judgment which comes of that, else it cannot be done well. In the new form of society which is slowly advancing upon us, this will be left to men who have the position of trust a man occupies, the more will it be thought important that, at some period of his life, he should have been thoroughly inured to manual work, so that he need not be ignorant of the physical and mental health implied by it, but equally because it will be seen to be impossible for anyone, without this experience of what is the very flesh and blood of national life, to promote the good health of the nation, or to understand the conditions under which the people live whom he has to serve.—The Craftsman.

Wouldn't Give Their Names

If I were to give the names of the fifteen or twenty celebrated Americans I asked to tell the people something about honesty of purpose, and who refused, it would constitute the most interesting part of this article. But they have escaped, whether by collusion or not, only the White House knows. The men who consented to convey the conscience of their experience in widely different public careers, seem, therefore, to pay tribute to their self-respect in so doing.

A former candidate for presidential nomination patted me soothingly on the shoulders, and said: "My boy, really I can't be bothered with this matter; but I should like to visit with you."

A notorious gambler smiled grimly, and said: "I guess I'll pass. I'm a few chips shy on a subject like that."

A head of a world known detective agency said: "We never talk or write for publication. We had to make this rule, because we found our men in Chicago were writing too many magazine articles. A good detective hasn't time to go in for literature."

THE NEW DIALECTICS

By J. Ebert, Brooklyn, N. Y.

Prof. Morgan-Marx reincarnate Once did hasten to enumerate The catmarks by which sophistical brinks Could be hurled at doubters of his dialectics. Said he: "Thinks you follow the political should the economic reflect— Watch him! He's a criminal suspect!"

"What! Dare he say the economic should be first— Spew him out! He's a Pinkerton, or worse!"

"When he claims the cart should not precede the horse— Beware! He's an anarchist, and favors physical force!"

"If to reincarnate sophistries and deceit he doth not incline— Mark you! The working class he'd scorneth he the snarling and crafty 'refutator'— Be sure on it! He's a working class traitor!"

All of which causes the initiated to observe:

"The Professor argues with his usual nerve."

"Twas of his dupes the poet must have said:

"O Reason to brutish beasts thou hast fled."

sional horseman, and scarcely ever an among men.

"And a prison term makes them homes?"

"The born criminal never reforms. The chance to the honest is always waiting for those who want to take it." On the whole, a term in prison had its good effect upon delinquents in law; but then, there were the parasites to consider.

The sheriff of a jail in Iowa, finding himself overstocked with petty offenders, left the doors of his penal hospital open for two days. "Let them walk out, I'm tired of feeding them. They're not very criminal anyhow," he said.

At the end of two days an inventory showed more prisoners than he had before. The parasites had walked in, for bread and lodging; but no one had left.

The specific truth, as I was able to unravel it from an industrious pilgrim among men who had distinguished themselves from the unimportant, is that we've got honesty in a straight jacket and dishonesty is now adjudged sane, normal, useful.—W. De Wagstaff.

Take Notice

The workers of Spokane, Washington, are making a desperate effort to build up a strong organization in that city, and establish two lecture routes.

Route No. 1 will be from Spokane one on the N. P. R. to Sandpoint, R. R. then on to Bonanza Ferry, Whitefish, Columbia Falls, Kalispell, Somers; thence west to Rexford Junction and north to Fernie, B. C., Michel, Colman, Frank, Balmore; then west on C. P. R. to Burke, Warden, Harrison, Roundhook, Moyie, Nelson, Rosland, Phoenix, Greenwood; then down to Orient and Northport, Washington, and into Spokane.

Route No. 2 will be from Spokane one on the N. P. R. to Sandpoint, Trout Creek, Thompson Falls, Plumas, Missoula, Bonner; then west over the Coeur d'Alene branch of the N. P. R. to Frontenau, Iron Mountain, St. Regis, Siltcoy, Mullen, Gem, Wallace, Burke, Warden, Harrison, Coeur d'Alene, Spokane.

The above are the principal places on the proposed lecture routes to start off this systematic educational work, and all other smaller places will be added to the itinerary as the lecture course work develops.

All Socialists, I. W. W. and W. F. of M. workers who are familiar with these routes, and who are interested in active course work, should immediately correspond with:

J. H. WALSH,  
National Organizer I. W. W.,  
534 Washington St., Spokane, Wash.  
P. S.—Developments so far on this R. R. work have been so good that we have covered for a cost of about \$7 per lecture, and several good speakers can be secured and routed at once. Write to Fellow Worker Walsh immediately. Push this lecture course work.

SONG OF THE TRUSTS

There's a flour trust and a meat trust,  
A trust in beer and malt;  
A cracker trust and a sugar trust,  
A trust in lead and salt,  
There's an oil trust, an ice trust,  
A trust in lard and soap;  
A starch trust and coffee trust,  
A trust in twine and rope.

There's a cotton trust and cuff trust,  
A trust in collar bands,  
A silk trust and a milk trust;  
A trust in screws and nails,  
There's a woolen trust, a worsted trust,  
A trust in coke and gas;  
A thread trust and a pun trust,  
A trust in zinc and brass.

There's a leather trust, a lumber trust,  
A trust in printers' type;  
An iron trust and a steel trust,  
A trust in sewage pipe,  
There's a copper trust, a coal trust,  
A trust in brick and bridges;  
A school book and a coffin trust,  
And a trust in cartridges.

There's a scissors and shears trust,  
A trust in chewing gum,  
A saw trust and a stove trust,  
A trust in petroleum,  
There's a match and a watch trust,  
A trust in ammunition;  
And the trusty friend of all trusts  
Is the trust politician. —A. S. E.

The call for the convention of textile workers to be held in May at Paterson, N. J., printed in English, German, Italian and French, is ready for delivery.

A Voice from 1903

[Continued from page 1]

nass would force him to submit to their dictation. This may sound nice enough in the ears of men with interests conflicting with those of the entire working class, and truly they are the ones mostly opposed to industrialism. Yet they fail to perceive that their own standard of social value cannot be raised higher except those of the class they belong to are elevated. The enlightened working people realize the fact that the capitalist has no more love for the more skilled mechanic than for the common laborer, and when he can use the latter against the former, as was done quite frequently, he will unscrupulously do it; he will put low paid labor to take the place of higher paid ones if his profit interest were endangered. How many workers can today guarantee that their specific craft will not disappear on account of new inventions, making the skilled mechanic superfluous? What caused the formation of industrial organizations but this very fact that the subdivision of labor, the invention and introduction of new machinery and more perfected tools of production displaced one mechanic after another, made man a mere part of the machine, which has his skill formerly required embodied in its component parts? Go to the industries and you will find proofs of this fact, and this evolution is still going on every day, incessantly, in nearly all industries. In some lines of trade, especially in the building industry, several industries may be able to postpone the day of doom and maintain their separation and isolation, but in factories and mills the handicraft skill is gradually cast aside. Assuming that all labor leaders are honest, though they are not, they have excuse for their persistency in holding on to old notions is that the processes of their minds have not kept pace with those wrought in the industrial field; they have retained feudal ideas in a completely modernized society. The aristocrat of labor, whilst gradually forced to admit his ignorance, may look down upon the unskilled worker or those displaced by machinery and modern methods of production as being of an inferior sort, but he will soon disappear too, and in many cases only the comparative property has permitted to maintain the power and integrity that some of the craft organizations still wield.

"But upon the shoulder of those whose former handicraft has been displaced by the progress of inventive genius; and of those who never had a chance to advance in any particular calling, rests the heavy burden of capitalist exploitation, and they are rightly beginning to look for means of protection. Capitalism is the admirable equalizer of mankind, and has provided and is still providing for social elements that will detract the remaining aristocrats of labor. When capital wants to teach them that exclusiveness on account of craft affiliation does not go in a capitalist system, he will be supported from those who are being looked upon by them as inferior, and only when the more qualified worker shall understand that he has the same easy, common right every worker on the globe, irrespective whether more or less skilled in a trade, those at present standing at a lower ladder of society will not have reasons to become antagonistic to the mechanics, and while the former expect to have the latter aid in elevating themselves, and better their conditions as far as possible in this present society, the laborers will have no ground to oppose the few mechanics in maintaining their own standard of working conditions and livelihood."

Taft, the man chosen to succeed Roosevelt in the presidency, says the organization of capital into corporations made it absolutely necessary for labor to unite to maintain itself. But he makes it clear enough that labor should unite to put an end to the profit system and enjoy the results of its toil.

You can't get the Co-operative Commonwealth without organization, and the organization must be one that works consciously for Socialism in the mine, factory or wherever labor is employed.

Although a large number of expired subscriptions were dropped from the list on March 1st, the circulation of The Bulletin has entirely recovered from that loss during the month and is still going up.

Stuttgart Congress

ALMOST  
on I. W. W. Ground

Extracts from Resolutions adopted by the Congress of the I. W. W. and the Economic Organisation to the Political Party.

"To enfranchise the proletariat completely from the hands of Interlocking Economic and Political Power, and the Economic Struggle are equally necessary."

BUT  
"The Unions will not fully perform their duty in the struggle for the emancipation of the workers, unless they have a Socialist spirit inspiring their work."

ADD TO THE ABOVE  
That the INDUSTRIAL UNION, the Economic Organisation of the Working Class, is of primary importance and precedes the formation of the World Movement for Socialism in the United States and INDUSTRIAL UNIONS THROUGHOUT.

VIITORUL SOCIAL  
Romanian Socialist Monthly  
SUBSCRIPTION PRICE  
FOR AMERICA  
\$2.50

ADDRESS  
JAN 1908 : 21 St. I. Teodor St  
JAGOV, ROUMANIA

ECONOMIC DETERMINISM

How Social Institutions Came Into Existence Through Changing Methods of Production

FROM THE PAST TO THE FUTURE

BY WORD H. MILLS

CHAPTER XXI. The trade union is the expression of labor's resistance to the purely economic field to the increasing power of capitalist exploitation.

The initial step in this direction results in a union of the workers of the same trade, and this is naturally followed by an alliance of the various trades.

It is not necessary to here review the history in detail of modern trade unionism, the development of which is now in evidence on the economic field demands our attention.

We have presented today two forms of economic labor organization, each fundamentally different from the other in their respective ideas, ideals and tactical methods.

The autonomous craft system developed in the guild system of the middle ages, and in the eighteenth century, and thence was imported into Germany, France and the United States and America.

The economic genesis of the industry of the craft union system of labor organization at the present time is discovered in the facts and tendencies which I shall try to briefly elucidate.

In the development of latter-day capitalism, by which I mean since power-driven machinery was introduced, there are two distinct periods with an intermediate third one. They are the period of competition and the period of concentration.

While these conditions prevailed there was no great army of unemployed people, hence no intense competition among the workers for the privilege of serving an economic master, and the rate of wages was determined in each country by the traditional standard of living among the workers.

of individuals into private firms, and the coalescence of interests of the private firms, and these associations of capitalists into corporations and the corporations into trusts.

Contrary to the process the tendency to material concentration is clearly perceptible. In proportion as the period of transition progressed the labor displaced by machinery and the economies resultant could no longer find re-employment to the same extent as before.

The rate of wages—the price of labor power—thus came to be more and more determined by the minimum price which the workers would consent to accept to take the place of the ones employed, and therefore also, to a great extent, by the magnitude and strength of labor organizations.

Then came the period of which we now speak, the period of the concentration of the conditions of the eighteenth century to modern methods of manufacture, transportation and distribution is nearly complete.

The labor which this machinery displaced under conditions of an eighteenth century and the machinery of civilization has but just commenced.

Moreover, it is not employed until the general rate of wages has been sufficiently forced down to permit of making the necessary reduction in prices without reducing the profits of the trusts, for the trusts would not seek for new markets abroad if they could not thereby add to the profits which they are making on their domestic markets.

Mark also, that the machinery formerly more advanced in one country than another, is now equally effective in all industrially developed countries.

While it lasts the rate of wages, which previously depended in each country upon the competition between its own unemployed workers, has come to depend everywhere upon the competition between the unemployed of the whole world. A fall at one point is immediately felt over frontiers and across oceans—throughout the industrial universe.

tionary factor of even greater power interposes to prevent such a consummation. The "pure and simple" craft unions have demonstrated their utter inability to even a resistant factor.

Contrary to the craft union method of labor organization, industrial unionism is based on the principle of the industrial union which constitutes the economic reflex of the proletarian organization temporarily on the political field, and its members will be drilled and trained to hold possession of the plants of industry and control and operate them for the workers' benefit.

At this point an analysis of the fundamentals and the structure of the industrial union is opportune in order to indicate its inability to cope with present conditions and the approaching crisis, in contrast to the industrial form, which shall presently have our attention.

In presenting this subject I shall aim at a deliberate statement of cold facts, uninfluenced by personal prejudice.

The craft union system of organization is based on the principle of the mutual interests as between the capitalist and the workers.

One of the oldest written records we have, the Bible, states an axiom that is the basis of the industrial union: "No man can serve two masters." Neither can one economic class serve the interests of two classes whose material interests are diametrically antagonistic as are those of the working class and the capitalist class.

The same objection as it promotes its own efficiency as a factor in behalf of its own membership. It arrogates its professed purpose and finally develops to a point where it becomes a hindrance to the very thing which it professes to protect and conserve.

The very assumption of abstinence from politics in the craft union amounts to the implication that politics is a neutral ground, a neutral territory, a neutral field, a neutral arena, a neutral ground, a neutral territory, a neutral field, a neutral arena, a neutral ground, a neutral territory, a neutral field, a neutral arena.

The significance of craft autonomy is working class division against itself. It means the very antithesis of the principle that "an injury to one worker is the concern of all workers"; that an injury to one division of workers is the concern of all other divisions of workers.

Craft autonomy is based on the right of each craft to govern its own affairs in the making of contracts with employers. At this stage of capitalist concentration the plant of industry owned by an individual or a corporation or a trust, is no longer a factor in the determination of wages.

their condition. They are locked out. Then "union" members in other trades in the same industry, in the same shop, factory, building or railway service, remain at work as usual.

Growing out of craft autonomy the history of the modern labor movement, in relation to craft unions, records a vast crop of political and economic failures, failures that can have no existence in the proper sort of a labor union.

Under modern conditions of capitalist concentration and industrial development the craft system of organization has been a great detriment, and is already in process of disintegration.

CORRESPONDENCE

Differs with Williams

Editor Industrial Union Bulletin: I have read your interesting article in the Bulletin relative to the proposition of solidifying the employees of all the railroads of this continent into one great union, and am heartily in accord with the enterprise.

Williams holds that "The I. W. W. may from time to time seize hold of a municipal government here and there for the purpose of protecting its economic organization."

Williams knows that the capitalist class is organized and operates nationally and internationally; and if the I. W. W. protect its economic organization, there is no reason why its very existence, by setting up a political organization, it will discover what common sense ought to make plain to all.

It would be absurd to think that a body existing nationally could reflect a municipal shadow. No, the shadow will be, in its boundaries, coextensive with the economic body casting the shadow.

Under modern conditions of capitalist concentration and industrial development the craft system of organization has been a great detriment, and is already in process of disintegration.

Williams holds that "The I. W. W. may from time to time seize hold of a municipal government here and there for the purpose of protecting its economic organization."

Williams knows that the capitalist class is organized and operates nationally and internationally; and if the I. W. W. protect its economic organization, there is no reason why its very existence, by setting up a political organization, it will discover what common sense ought to make plain to all.

It would be absurd to think that a body existing nationally could reflect a municipal shadow. No, the shadow will be, in its boundaries, coextensive with the economic body casting the shadow.

Under modern conditions of capitalist concentration and industrial development the craft system of organization has been a great detriment, and is already in process of disintegration.

Williams holds that "The I. W. W. may from time to time seize hold of a municipal government here and there for the purpose of protecting its economic organization."

Williams knows that the capitalist class is organized and operates nationally and internationally; and if the I. W. W. protect its economic organization, there is no reason why its very existence, by setting up a political organization, it will discover what common sense ought to make plain to all.

throw away one of their two powerful and equally necessary weapons. To advise a retreat from any field of action where the interests of the workers may be legally and effectively advocated and defended in my opinion amounts to cowardice and should not be tolerated now, nor in the future by the I. W. W.

Williams holds that "The I. W. W. may from time to time seize hold of a municipal government here and there for the purpose of protecting its economic organization."

Williams knows that the capitalist class is organized and operates nationally and internationally; and if the I. W. W. protect its economic organization, there is no reason why its very existence, by setting up a political organization, it will discover what common sense ought to make plain to all.

It would be absurd to think that a body existing nationally could reflect a municipal shadow. No, the shadow will be, in its boundaries, coextensive with the economic body casting the shadow.

Under modern conditions of capitalist concentration and industrial development the craft system of organization has been a great detriment, and is already in process of disintegration.

Engineer Responds

I have read your Industrial Union Bulletin relative to the proposition of solidifying the employees of all the railroads of this continent into one great union, and am heartily in accord with the enterprise.

Williams holds that "The I. W. W. may from time to time seize hold of a municipal government here and there for the purpose of protecting its economic organization."

Williams knows that the capitalist class is organized and operates nationally and internationally; and if the I. W. W. protect its economic organization, there is no reason why its very existence, by setting up a political organization, it will discover what common sense ought to make plain to all.

It would be absurd to think that a body existing nationally could reflect a municipal shadow. No, the shadow will be, in its boundaries, coextensive with the economic body casting the shadow.

Under modern conditions of capitalist concentration and industrial development the craft system of organization has been a great detriment, and is already in process of disintegration.

Williams holds that "The I. W. W. may from time to time seize hold of a municipal government here and there for the purpose of protecting its economic organization."

Williams knows that the capitalist class is organized and operates nationally and internationally; and if the I. W. W. protect its economic organization, there is no reason why its very existence, by setting up a political organization, it will discover what common sense ought to make plain to all.

It would be absurd to think that a body existing nationally could reflect a municipal shadow. No, the shadow will be, in its boundaries, coextensive with the economic body casting the shadow.

Under modern conditions of capitalist concentration and industrial development the craft system of organization has been a great detriment, and is already in process of disintegration.

Williams holds that "The I. W. W. may from time to time seize hold of a municipal government here and there for the purpose of protecting its economic organization."

Williams knows that the capitalist class is organized and operates nationally and internationally; and if the I. W. W. protect its economic organization, there is no reason why its very existence, by setting up a political organization, it will discover what common sense ought to make plain to all.

way and some day. Scatter the organizers to the four winds of heaven and let them work from city to city and town to town until they get all the ground covered and get the unions strong enough to withstand the onslaught of the craft manipulators and railway magnates and officials.

Child Slaves in Southern Mills

Morrice, Mich., March 4.—Rev. James Maxwell Dallas, who went from here to Ware Shoals, South Carolina, last June, to take up work in the ministry there, will return to the Presbyterian church at this place this spring.

Ware Shoals is a cotton mill town, and the minister is sick at heart over the down-trodden condition of the hundreds of little children employed there.

"We toil from five to seven years of age are placed at work by their parents, who are the poor white trash of the south," Rev. and Mrs. Dallas write. "We hardly have time to eat on our knees, and the parents would take nourishment in one hand and out Bible in the other when we visit them. The mortality is great here."

"The children marry at the early age of 15 years, and bring large families of sickly children into the world. When the babies are old enough so their little fingers can be guided they are set to work. When enough of them are earning wages, the parents do no more work."

Rev. Dallas is working hard to raise the age limit of the little ones to 12 years, so the children may have a little schooling and childhood before entering the mills. There are no schools here now. Rev. and Mrs. Dallas have had to send their three children to another town for schooling.

There was an appalling amount of work to be done to gain the mill owners' consent to try and raise the age limit, as they contended if they did not employ the little ones the parents would move to towns where all could have employment, as the parents would not work. Rev. Dallas believes he will succeed in raising the age limit, however. If so, he will feel as if his time there had not been thrown away.—The Wage Slave.

Scolded Her Misery

A crowd gathered about Anna Price, fourteen years old, 2438 Whipple Street, last night at Madison and Dearborn streets, where she sat on the sidewalk crying. No one offered to assist her until Sergeant T. F. Mahoney and Dr. Ray H. Cox, ambulance physician at the Chicago Avenue Station, appeared.

They carried the girl to a drug store and she was later taken to her home by the police. Dr. Cox found that the girl was suffering from illness caused by overwork. Many persons in the crowd remarked that the girl who was crying hysterically from pain was slapping and that she was trying to "kick" them for street car fare. The girl heard all these taunts, but was unable to reply on account of the pain she was suffering.—Chicago Newspaper.

I. W. W. PUBLICATIONS

- Leaflets in English, per 1,000— Address to Wage Workers, \$1.50 The Textile Industry..... 1.50 Food Staff Industry..... 1.50 Metal and Machinery Industry..... 1.50 Story of a New Labor Union..... 1.50 Leaflets in Italian..... 3.00 " " Swedish..... 3.00 " " Polish..... 3.00 " " Finnish..... 3.00 " " German..... 4.00 " " Yiddish..... 3.00 " " Rumanian..... 4.00

Japanese, Address to Wage Earners... 10.00

- I. W. W. CONSTITUTION English, (per 100).... 5.00 Italian, " "..... 5.00 French, " "..... 5.00 German, " "..... 5.00 Polish, " "..... 5.00 Hungarian, " "..... 5.00 Spanish, " "..... 10.00

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

W. E. TRAUTMANN

Room 212 Bush Temple CHICAGO ILLINOIS

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

Being Broke

Clarence L. Cullen, in the "Sunday Magazine."

To begin with, it's "broke" not "broken." Broken may be the better grammar; it may suit the purists and the stylists; but it doesn't suit the "broke" man, because it doesn't chime with the facts. A "broke" man isn't necessarily a "broken" man—not by a long way. "Broken," when used in the sense of "broke," is priggish. The "broke" man who nancysibly says that he is "broken" deserves to be "broke." Moreover, probably he always will be "broke."

Hair splitters are not game to cope with a contingency so stressful and momentous as being "broke" comes to. The man who acknowledges that he is "broke" always has an odds-on chance of winning out. But the chap who whimpers that he is "broken" is liable to be apattered with opportunity, as he is with words, so that when the wind of chance blows up before his eyes, he will be too busy with his reppinings and his self sympathy to see it. A whole world of meaning gulfs between "broke" and "broken." The man who is merely "broke" is in a temporary state of being "broke." He is simply in a momentary disfavor with that whimsical and mundane divinity, the Lady Fortune. His non-affluence is one of the points of the game, a thing to be overcome like a handicap in a foot race or a penalty in golf. But the man who confesses himself to be "broken" belongs to another species. "Broken" denotes the state of being shattered. It is translatable into "down" and "out." "Broken" depicts a crumpled or atrophied nerve. It spells an all but irremediable impotence. It implies a flaccidity beyond repair. The "broke" man is "all in." He has behind the curtain in gray. Having shot his bolt and missed the fire, he flattens out; goes to the mat for the count; lies prostrate and inept in the trough of a fair sea that whimples invitation to another effort gun-spiked, sails flapping drearily, a derelict in the everlasting doldrums.

Never believe for a minute that the chasm which yawns between "broke" and "broken" is either in fact or fancy, as bridgeable as the little, immaterial stretch of "speckled" and "two-colored" and "two-colored."

NO HUMOR IN IT. Not, however, that there is anything essentially jaunty, engaging, or humorous in the state of being "broke." Nothing whatso-ever. Far from it. Being "broke" is one of those things that are best in retrospect. The drifting years around the "broke" period or periods with a certain glamour, suffuse the memory of it. It may be that this is because a man often goes "broke" when he is young. Youth is the chap who recklessly essays to stem the tide of chance. And so, remembering his "broke" period, he is a sedate and cautious years, the man munching upon such memories associates them and unconsciously jumbles them with the less rigorous passages of his wisely remembered youth. In retrospect, the rocky, uneven, and treacherous road seems yielding and turklike. The roughness of the path is retrospectively glossed over until it becomes in time an asphalted starry lane. The hard knocks of the gone time become, in the reveries of the serene and mayhap smugger years, the merest little flurried hand taps from the fan in the white hands of Destiny's ladylove.

Why, most men even like to hark back to the time or times when they were "broke," particularly if it's a far cry. Mayhap you've heard deep sea skippers brag of the storms they have weathered. They expand almost to the yawning point of affectionateness in their recollections of the coming typhoons and tropical hurricanes through which, back yonder in the neck of Time's filter funnel, they safely rode. They rarely or never undertake any ascription of credit to themselves in relating these adventures of their harder years. It is not that they seek to wring glory from their wriggles out of the clutch of hull-down troubles. It is that the memory of the struggle and the "action" of the troubled times glows resolutely and tenderly in the mind of the man who, after having "been through things," glides into the calmer waters.

We all like to think that, at some time or other, we've been "broke" up against it. To have been up against it denotes that we've had "action," anyway; that we've had "a run for our money"; that even if we did not take all or many of the pious degrees, we at least once were more or less assisting in the shifting army of picaroons. No man likes to confess to his children or to his grandchildren that his life has been adventures.

THE SKIPPER HARKS BACK. The bearded and bronzed captain of the luxurious ocean liner, incessantly navigating an ocean path that he knows as well as a New Yorker knows his Broadway, reveals out of his instinctive and acquired taciturnity at times at the thought of the comparative unbroken ease and evenness of his steamer commanding existence. And in these moments of revolt he likes to glance back at the time when he was a bucko, dicking up and down all the Seven Seas, ignoring the keel worn ocean lanes, a sweetheart in every port from Tahiti to Tangier, the certain sort of easily wielded marlinpike to his expert yet careless hand. "Action" in those days, mates! Action and danger, warfare with men and the elements, every day a kaleidoscope of chance, even money as to whether you'd win or lose, and Davy Jones a-holding the stakes! Thus the skipper of the steam propelled Leviathan, momentarily impitting of the luxuriosities of his setting in the windings, and slipping back to his time of battle and of youth.

Thus, in much the same way, the grizzled man of every day life whose eyes flim over a bit dreamily and into whose tones a certain note of vocal witfulness slips when, employing some current incident for a text, he begins to recount little incidents "beerin' on or appertainin'" to those times when he was "broke" rocks in the lap of quietude. "Broke" easy," safe harbored in the laconic of success, riding securely at permanent anchor in the cove of

Prosperity, he nevertheless reverts, with a curious opacity that is expressed in his eyes of reminiscence, to the esurient days when he was "broke and up against it good and hard." You've heard him, a grizzled man's testimony. "Well, sir," he says, "all a-quiver with the joy of the recollection, 'when I got to Chicago that time I had only three cents in my pocket, and it was as cold as the dickens and shoving hard and I was on the point of pawing my overcoat, when—"

Or, "Hungry! Was I hungry? Why, I could have eaten a burro stuffed with freetrackers and not a job did I have in sight, no, anything that made an noise like a prospective job! And so there I was, baking another notch reef in my scruple every time meal time came around when—"

"Gentle-meen, but that was a raw deal, that time I got into St. Louis right in the middle of summer, with not a thing doing in my line, and no copper in my chest, and my trunk under lock and key in the boarding house where I'd had to leave it in Cincinnati! And I tell you what, if you fellows think it's any fun to trudge and trapse around the streets of a strange town all night, with no place to go to, and nary the price of a sandwich, why, you ought to go through something like that once, that's all I'm a-saying! And it sure looked as if there wasn't going to be any win-out for me when—"

Thus the grizzled old boys maunder delightfully and enjoyably on, descending titillatingly and with a wealth of minute detail on the periods when their bustling appears to be beyond the possibility of redemption, "when—" You will have observed that we have stopped them each time upon their arrival at that "when." The "when" is the window, all the color faded from their whilome azureness of their skies, blown upon by all of the cutting mistral of Mischance, shuffled hither and yon in the hopper of Hafz Knocks, at length they gain the path of their own, the regions of memory "when," and whence they finally pass through the portal of Win-out.

REMINISCENCE REQUIRES A MEAL. So much for "broke" reminiscence. The actual state of being "broke" is different. It isn't any fun while it's happening. The "broke" man can't see anything comic or glamorous about it. For one thing, if they are square-jawed and mean to win out, they haven't the time. Reminiscence is a chap who refuses to work without a good meal under his belt and a satisfying smoke to follow.

Square-jawed men—employing the phrase in its figurative sense—are the kind of men I mean in these considerations of the state of being "broke." I am not referring to the chronically "broke," the "broke" to whom being "broke" is a habit, not to any Jack-loudness type of holoes, to whom a state of non-"broke" would seem a suspicious miracle; nor to men congenitally shiftless, and therefore perennially and permanently "broke." For one thing, if they are square-jawed and mean to win out, they haven't the time. Reminiscence is a chap who refuses to work without a good meal under his belt and a satisfying smoke to follow.

I am writing of men, mayhap weak of flesh, but strong in spirit, to whom being "broke" is an occasional and a passing incident. It makes no difference that their going "broke" is their own fault. It generally is a strong-spirited man's own fault when he goes "broke." Men who have gone "broke" frankly admit this, and they ought to know. A man can go "broke" through a thousand and one causes. The speering habit may "break" him—most men candidly attribute their lustedness to speering. Gambling can and often does do it. Sleight of hand, or the art of the "broke" through bad tempers. Oodles of men go "broke" because they lack that phenological quality called stickativeness. And heaps and stacks of hullly good fellows "broke" through poor, insistent and incessant hard luck.

So that it would be vain to attempt to differentiate didactically between the "broke" ones. Being "broke," they're all in the same boat, all on the same plane, with little time or inclination to contemplate their virtues or their defects. The thing is to win out. When they determinedly and busily address themselves to the business of winning out of their "broke"ness, there isn't any time left for them to dwell on their merits or their infirmities. And so, if they can afford to forget that part of it while they are hustling to get four-square with the world once more, we can.

NOT SO BAD IN HIS HOME TOWN. Now, the man who goes "broke" in his own neck of the woods—in the town, say, where he was born and reared—isn't "in so bad," comparatively speaking. He has some friends—a bit aloof from him, maybe, but friends. If the "broke" one has been misbehaving in his home place, he can, when he goes "broke," "take a brace," show the folks that he means it, and gradually nudge out of the "broke" trouble. He must, of course, keep up his front as best he can. This is often difficult; but the difficulties are rarely insuperable. The faded rim of the hat may be inked, you know—I've known plenty of renowned men who had their hat making periods their boisterous earlier years. The suit can be brushed, and maybe even pressed. The shoes can be polished, even if the dim, slaty-gray stove polish has to be requisitioned for the purpose. The clear shirt and collar can be hustled for, even if they have to be "maced" from the well disposed one-time pal in the room down the street whose neck also is sixteen inches round.

Shelby Industrial Union No. 421, due stamps... 15.00  
J. S. Mangus, subscription... 50  
L. Vasilio, dues member at large 50c, assessment 30c... 80  
Roster Industrial Union No. 51, subscription 50c, literature \$1... 1.50  
J. W. Stewart, subscription 50c, contribution \$1.50... 2.00  
Branch subscription... 1.00  
R. O. Orton, subscription... 1.25  
F. Holmes, subscription... 50  
H. Bamford, subscription... 50

But the fellow in a strange place. It is all very different, though, when a fellow finds himself "broke" in a distant city, say, Oh, very different! Unimaginably different! Everything in the distant city has a forbidding sort of animately cruel, aggressive, expect-something hard, oppressive, gut-punching quality. The wallowing, hunted eye of the "broke" one rests on nothing familiarly heartening, nothing to fan the slumbering spark of hope, nothing to suggest an eventual climb-out. Even the faces of the passers-by are in a way of speaking, stony. Worse than that, the passers-by appear to the "broke" one to be arrogantly, aggressively well cared for and prosperous looking. The men are shaved, groomed, some kind of homes, where the women are flaunting of their finery. Why even the teamsters are whistling airily as they swing by in their trucks—whistling out of a sort of intended bravado, of course, because they've got the money, and they're not afraid of anyone, anyhow—to go to, and meals all a-smoke on the table when they knock off work and get home.

He may accumulate a stack of intimate obligations, burdensome to the spirit when he gets "right" again, that it will take him some years to erase. "Dear horse" financial and other, was ever the aftermath of the "broke" period.

BUT THE FELLOW IN A STRANGE PLACE. It is all very different, though, when a fellow finds himself "broke" in a distant city, say, Oh, very different! Unimaginably different! Everything in the distant city has a forbidding sort of animately cruel, aggressive, expect-something hard, oppressive, gut-punching quality. The wallowing, hunted eye of the "broke" one rests on nothing familiarly heartening, nothing to fan the slumbering spark of hope, nothing to suggest an eventual climb-out. Even the faces of the passers-by are in a way of speaking, stony. Worse than that, the passers-by appear to the "broke" one to be arrogantly, aggressively well cared for and prosperous looking. The men are shaved, groomed, some kind of homes, where the women are flaunting of their finery. Why even the teamsters are whistling airily as they swing by in their trucks—whistling out of a sort of intended bravado, of course, because they've got the money, and they're not afraid of anyone, anyhow—to go to, and meals all a-smoke on the table when they knock off work and get home.

The mist wreaths stealing up along toward nightfall from the street by the faded, hazy, mist wreaths of the "broke" one finds himself—the mist wreaths are cold, clammy, searching. Little derisive gusts of raw wind come rolling round the corners, whooping ribaldly at the "broke" one, and they're not afraid of anyone, anyhow—to go to, and meals all a-smoke on the table when they knock off work and get home.

Oh, yes, the showy, showy restaurants! Men who find themselves "broke" in a distant city in the mist wreaths of the "broke" one finds himself—the mist wreaths are cold, clammy, searching. Little derisive gusts of raw wind come rolling round the corners, whooping ribaldly at the "broke" one, and they're not afraid of anyone, anyhow—to go to, and meals all a-smoke on the table when they knock off work and get home.

Whereupon, squaring his shoulders, and with a sort of flourish meant to impress, and successful in impressing, the blazing restaurant—grantly, not being too busy to notice the "broke" one's presence. He didn't have a copper (and they don't use coppers in San Francisco, anyhow). But how this "broke" one did eat! What a marvel the dinner he ordered was! He got a roast, even the price of the Galle water, and such waters are not prone to momentary enthusiasm. It was a very pearl of a dinner. Warmly by the generous wines, and smoking a three-for-a-dollar cigar while he ate, he was even more enthusiastic. From tobacco during three wretched days, the "broke" one leaned back in his chair and gazed blandly at the painted Cupids and Psyche and such mythological personage gawking gracefully on the ceiling.

"It's all right," he said to himself. "They can go as far as they like. This I suppose, being grand leary, means 'Let Rome in Tiber melt, and so forth! I've done it now!'"

Then, just when the "broke" but fed one was in the act of announcing to the groveling Galle waiter that he wouldn't be able to "come through" for the price of his four-course dinner and seven-fifty-cent dinner, to have the waiter summon the manager, who would in turn summon the constable on the beat—just at that beatitudinous juncture a prosperous-looking fellow, who had been eyeing the "broke" one's table, and said to him, "Hello, Bill! I haven't seen you for four years. How are you, and how is the world handling you?"

Two minutes later the prosperous looking one was sucking a crackling one hundred-dollar note from his ample roll and slipping it to the "broke" one. The prosperous-looking fellow borrowed the hundred from the "broke" one four years before, at so distant city as Buffalo, New York, the prosperous one himself having been "broke" at that time. Miracles? It may have been. But miracles may happen even to "broke" persons. Miracle or no, it was gorgeously opportune. Let any reader of this who has been "broke" once in a way pronounce as to its opportuneness.

Financial Statement FOR FEBRUARY

(Concluded from last week)
28 P. May, subscriptions \$1.25, loan certificate \$1, literature 50c, contribution Preston Smith fund 25c... 3.00
28 St. Louis Industrial Union No. 421, dues stamps... 70
28 H. Loebel, subscription cards... 1.75
28 F. W. Bosshard, subscription... 50
28 Shelby Industrial Union No. 421, due stamps... 15.00
29 J. S. Mangus, subscription... 50
29 L. Vasilio, dues member at large 50c, assessment 30c... 80
29 Roster Industrial Union No. 51, subscription 50c, literature \$1... 1.50
29 J. W. Stewart, subscription 50c, contribution \$1.50... 2.00
29 Branch subscription... 1.00
29 R. O. Orton, subscription... 1.25
29 F. Holmes, subscription... 50
29 H. Bamford, subscription... 50
Total... \$221.87

Expenditures for February.
1 American Express Co., for week ending Feb. 1st... 66.83
1 F. W. Heslewood, organizer, on account... 32.50
1 D. R. Ginsburg, stenographer, for week ending Jan. 25... 15.00
1 A. J. Francis, expense, for mass meeting Jan. 11th... 17.20
1 O. Justh, for week ending Dec. 28th... 15.00
3 A. S. Edwards, for week ending Nov. 30th... 22.00
3 Office expense for week ending Feb. 1st, mileage \$1.25, books 30c, expressage 45c, postage \$24.80, telephone and telegraph 65c... 27.45
4 Jas. P. Thompson, organizer, on account... 45.00
5 E. Y. Holder, supplies... 2.67
5 Chicago Telephone Co. for January... 2.28
5 Ida Mfg. Co., on account... 10.00
5 M. J. Tracey, mileage and expense... 8.00
6 A. W. Jefferis & Co., for note due Kerwin Bros... 50.83
6 D. A. Campbell, for week ending Feb. 1st... 15.00
7 B. H. Williams, on account... 5.00
7 American Express Co., for week ending Feb. 7th... 6.99
8 Labor News Co., on account... 20.00
8 V. St. John, on account... 15.00
8 O. Justh, for week ending Jan. 4th... 15.00
8 C. Jacobson, for week ending Jan. 4th... 15.00
8 Office expense for week ending Feb. 8th, supplies \$2.50, carfare 20c, post age \$11.55, printing \$2.50, telephone 25c... 17.00
10 C. H. Spurgeon, for rent and light for Feb... 106.00
11 Continental Bank of Chicago, for note due cigar workers... 50.00
11 A. S. Edwards, for week ending Dec. 7th... 22.00
12 Chicago Typesetting Co., for weeks ending Jan. 29th and Feb. 5th... 55.17
13 D. A. Campbell, postmaster, deposit on expense for D. B. note Kerwin Bros... 9.07
13 A. W. Jefferis, on account note Kerwin Bros... 50.83
13 J. P. Thompson, on account... 45.00
13 E. Y. Holder, on account supplies... 2.70
13 American Express Co., for week ending Feb. 14th... 4.59
14 D. R. Ginsburg, for week ending Feb. 8th... 15.00
14 C. Jacobson, for weeks ending Jan. 25th and Feb. 1st... 30.00
14 H. W. Williams, on account... 15.00
14 J. H. Walsh, on account expenses for January... 239.75
14 W. E. Trautmann, on account... 20.00
15 R. Koepffel, for translation... 12.00
15 V. St. John, on account salary... 20.00
15 J. J. Eitor, organizer, from Nov. 16th to Jan. 25th... 110.10
15 Labor News Co., on account... 10.00
15 O. Justh, for week ending Jan. 11th... 15.00
15 Cosmopolitan Printing Co., for labels... 15.00
15 Office expense for week ending Feb. 15th, supplies \$3.43, carfare 60c, expressage \$1, postage \$15.90, telephone 35c... 20.85
15 V. St. John, mileage himself and Edwards to Milwaukee and return... 7.10
15 W. E. Trautmann, on account salary... 25.00
15 J. Cox, composition of bulletin... 50.00
15 D. Mathews, on account printing... 50.00
17 A. F. Wanner & Co., on account printing... 25.00
17 F. Koettgen, on account... 50.00
17 E. W. Heslewood, on account... 15.00
20 A. W. Jefferis, on account for note to Kerwin Bros. for printing... 50.83
20 D. A. Campbell, postmaster, deposit mailing I. U. B... 8.00
20 A. S. Edwards, editor, for week ending Dec. 14th... 22.00
21 D. R. Ginsburg, for week ending Feb. 15th... 15.00
21 C. Jacobson, for week ending Feb. 8th... 15.00
22 O. Justh, for week ending Jan. 18th... 15.00
22 Office expense for week ending Feb. 22d, supplies \$1.25, mileage 85c, postage \$19.01, telephone 55c... 21.66
22 T. Weilding, amount returned in excess of bill... 1.50
22 V. St. John, on account salary... 25.00
22 W. E. Trautmann, on account... 25.00
24 Continental Bank of Chicago, on account loan returned... 50.00
24 American Express Co., for week ending Feb. 22d... 22.54
25 A. J. Francis, hall rent mass meeting... 5.00
25 P. J. Thompson, on account... 20.00
25 P. Thompson, on account... 12.00
27 A. W. Jefferis & Co., on account note to Kerwin Bros... 50.83
27 D. A. Campbell, postmaster, deposit on I. U. B... 6.33
27 Labor News Co., on account... 10.00
27 A. S. Edwards, editor, for week ending Dec. 21st... 22.00
27 Kerwin Bros., on account for printing... 50.00
28 D. R. Ginsburg, stenographer, for week ending Feb. 22d... 15.00
29 F. W. Heslewood, on account... 15.00
29 Ida Mfg. Co., on account... 12.75
29 W. R. Fox, on account salary as organizer... 31.00
29 C. Jacobson, for week ending Feb. 15th... 15.00
29 V. St. John, on account salary... 15.00
29 W. E. Trautmann, on account salary... 15.00
29 Office expense for week ending Feb. 29th, supplies 45c, mileage 85c, expressage 60c, postage \$15.15, telephone 40c... 17.45
29 O. Justh, for week ending Jan. 25th... 15.00
Total... \$2,182.20

PREAMBLE OF THE I. W. W.
The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of working people and the few, who make up the employing class, have all the good things of life.
Between these two classes a struggle must go on until all the toilers come together on the political, as well as on the industrial field, and take and hold that which they produce by their labor through an economic organization of the working class, without affiliation with any political party.
The rapid gathering of wealth and the centering of the management of industries into fewer and fewer hands make the trades union unable to cope with the ever-growing power of the employing class, because the trade unions foster a state of things which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping to defeat one another in wage wars. The trade unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the working class have interests in common with their employers.
These sad conditions can be changed and the interests of the working class upheld only by an organization formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries, if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making injury to one an injury to all.
Therefore, without endorsing or desiring endorsement of any political party, we unite under the following constitution.
(Copy of Constitution Sent on Application)

Price List of Supplies:
Constitutions, in English, per 100... \$5 00
Constitutions, in other languages, per 100... 7 00
Local Letterheads, per 100... 50
Envelopes, per 100... 50
Withdrawal Cards, per 10... 10
Application blanks, per 100... 60
Arrears notices, per 100... 60
Warrant Book, each... 80
Receipt Book, each... 30
Ledger, 100 pages... 1 28
Ledger, 200 pages... 2 00
Ledger, 300 pages... 3 00
Ledger, 400 pages... 3 50
Ledger, 500 pages... 5 00
Day Book, 100 pages... 1 00
Treasurer's Cash Book... 75
Minute Book... 80
Rubber Stamps and Pad... 60
Seal for the Union... 1 00
Buttons, cheap grade, each... 10
Buttons, better grade, each... 85

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

LET THE LIGHT IN
YOU WILL NEVER LEARN anything about the INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD by absorbing the dope its enemies hand to you; a good antidote for their lies is the TRUTH. Get the TRUTH by reading what the I. W. W. SAYS FOR ITSELF. Here is a good combination for \$1.00
"Handbook of Industrial Unionism" 5c
Constitution of the I. W. W. 5c
Report of Second Convention 50c
Third Convention 50c
Year's Subscription to BULLETIN 80c
Assessment of Leaflets 5c
ALL FOR ONE DOLLAR.
212 Bush Temple, Chicago

Order for Subscription Cards
Wm. E. Trautmann, G. S. T. Industrial Workers of the World:
I am interested in extending the circulation of The Industrial Union Bulletin and wish you would send me...
Subscription Cards as follows:
Cards for One Year...
Cards for Six Months...
I agree to sell the cards at 50 cents and 25 cents each, and forward to you all money received at least once a month.
Name...
Street No...
Postoffice...
State...
Member of Local... I. W. W.
The Cards are put up in tabs of Ten, Half Year, 50c; Full Year, 100c; and must be ordered accordingly.

To know what Industrial Unionism is you must read what is said about it by its friends and what it says for itself; only in that way can its present aims and ultimate purposes be understood. The following are recommended to workmen who desire to learn what Industrial Unionism is:
Handbook of Industrial Unionism, 5c
Constitution of the I. W. W., 5c
Report of Secretary Trautmann, 5c
"Industrial Unionism," E. V. Daz, 5c
"Burning Question of Trades Unionism," by A. De Lom, 5c
"Address on I. W. W. Preamble," by A. De Lom, 5c
Sent to any address, prepaid, for 25c
WM. E. TRAUTMANN
212 BUSH TEMPLE CHICAGO - ILLINOIS

"The Harp"
A Literary Journal of the Irish Working Class
The Working Class is the only secure foundation on which a Free Ireland can be raised.
Published: 212 Bush Temple, New York City

Industrial Workers of the World
GENERAL EXECUTIVE BOARD
F. W. Heslewood, Greenwood, B.C.
T. J. Cole... Blue Island, Ill.
Rudolph Katz... Paterson, N. J.
B. H. Williams... Eureka, Cal.
Wm. Yates... New Bedford, Mass.
Wm. E. Trautmann, Gen. Sec'y-Treas.
Vincent St. John, Ass't Sec. & Gen. Org.
GENERAL HEADQUARTERS
212 BUSH TEMPLE, CHICAGO

Industrial Union HANDBOOK
ITALIAN OR POLISH EDITION
\$5.00 a hundred prepaid
SEND ORDERS TO
212 Bush Temple, Chicago