

The Industrial Union Bulletin

OFFICIAL PUBLICATION OF THE INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD

"LABOR IS ENTITLED TO ALL IT PRODUCES"

Vol. L No. 41.

CHICAGO, DECEMBER 7, 1907.

50c. a Year.

NOTES FROM NEW YORK

As it is some little time since New York contributed anything to these columns, the readers of THE BULLETIN perhaps think that New York is inactive; but the conclusion would be very erroneous. New York is not dead, nor even sleeping, but has simply arrived at the conclusion that what is needed in the industrial movement is not a fiery zeal to blow your own trumpet, but a calm determination to build, and build correctly, and that the motive power of the I. W. W. is not hot air, but a clear conception of industrial organization.

We have had a lot of hot air in the past, and we have found that the hotter the air and bigger the blast of it, the weaker were the walls of the industrial structure whose foundations were laid in that heated temperature. It is realized now in this vicinity that the work that counts longest is often the longest in doing, and that an excessive multiplication of charters issued is no real criterion of the spread of industrial ideas.

Hence the notes from New York will not be a list of charters issued, but a running commentary on incidents in the fight, and will aim to keep the membership posted as to the development of things in general. Also all notices and communications to members in this district will, as time and the editor permit, be run through this column.

Of all the locals in New York perhaps Local 95 has had the best fight against pure and simple unionism, and the least about it. It is a simple member passes without seeing some of its members fired off jobs as a result of the action of the walking delegates of the pure and simple building trades. Yet they turn up at the business meeting each week, their determination to fight to the bitter end in no wise weakened. In fact, I have noticed that the men who are fired most have the biggest fight in them.

Some time ago the pure and simple in Brownsville struck against Plasterers' Branch 7 of Local 95. They called out the lathers, thus hoping to cripple our men, and when we succeeded in filling their places with lathers whom we had been negotiating with to join the I. W. W., they organized a gang of thugs to beat them up, and as a result some of the lathers were so badly injured as to be incapacitated from work for some time.

On another occasion a number of the same branch were employed in New York City, as the walking delegates notified the employer that they would not recognize our card; if our men did not leave they, the pure and simple, would strike the job. The boss sent for the I. W. W. organizer, and I went to see him and the pure and simple delegates. We had a short debate, which ended abruptly by the pure and simple curtly informing the boss that if our men were left on the job all the pure and simple would be brought in to help off it in half an hour. They had no arguments, but they had the power, and so the boss surrendered.

The members of Branch 4, who are mainly carpenters, have been fired so often they have lost count; one man has been employed on nineteen different jobs in three weeks. Yet as skilled workmen they can hold their own with any in America.

Branch 11 (Bronze Workers) had an amusing experience at their meeting on November 18th. Their meeting place was in a hall much used for a similar purpose by a number of pure and simple unionists. On the night of the meeting they were informed by the proprietor that a delegation from the other unions had waited upon him with the intimation that if he allowed our men to continue to meet in that hall, he would quit. Consequently "he was sorry to inform us, etc., etc."

Well, this was rather depressing, but when we reached the hall upstairs to hold our last meeting there a few things happened which tended to cast a little humor on the situation. We met the prime movers in the eviction. These were the secretary and delegates of the Architectural Iron Workers, House-smiths and Bronze Erectors, Local 52. After a few sotto voce remarks, which for rabid incendiarism could not be surpassed in the lowest depths of the Tenth-avenue, they inquired if they would get the floor as a deputation when they returned.

"Certainly,"

They returned, like lions, accompanied by another gentleman, a member of their General Council, or something of that nature. The two first workers got the floor and emitted a series of growls, like the utterances of a dog with the toothache, in which the only intelligible words seemed to be "dual organization," "organized by the bosses," "scabs," "join our organization," "we should stick together." In fact, at the time they seemed to urge that we should join them, at another that we were organized by the bosses to harm them and would ourselves be thrown down when we had served the turn of the capitalist enemy.

Then the new-come took the floor. He was more courteous and reasonable, admitted he knew nothing about us and would like to argue that we should work in harmony with them, made a pathetic plea for the iron workers, stated that they had helped every trade, but that when they were in a conflict nobody helped them (which is true), and wound up by asking to hear our preamble read.

Fellow Worker Pierson, secretary of the Industrial Union, read the preamble and made a vigorous speech, in which he answered the visitors according to their

own medicine; to the more ignorant grumblers he gave a few short rough raps which put them where they belonged, and the inquirer he gave information together with the proposal that the iron workers should admit one of our speakers to their meeting to explain our views, or that both parties should arrange a joint debate on the true principles of industrial organization. One of the members of Branch 11 who had been a member of the pure and simple iron workers' union gave a few interesting facts about the mutual scabbery of the various iron and bronze organizations upon each other; the secretary of the branch told some more, and I also said my little say.

Altogether it was an enjoyable evening. I often paid a quarter for less fun. The upshot of it all was that the General Council representative agreed to favor the proposal for a debate, and the deputation filed out. The two first worthies trying to look good-natured, but as it was not natural to them they only succeeded in making a grimace. But Branch 11 lost its meeting place.

But this letter is getting too long. Next week I will give more information about our skirmishes with our detractors of various trades. In the meanwhile I wish some information. I am just now getting a good reception amongst the branches of longshoremen and have received credentials from their Standing Committee, representing all the branches in this district, and I want particulars of our work and standing amongst bodies similarly employed all over the country. How many longshoremen or other waterfront employes have we organized, and where and what prospects of organizing have we? For the same reason and because of the same conditions, if any one can give me information of a branch that is organized with us it will help the good work. Send the information to 60 Cooper Square, New York.

How many tickets have you sold for our ball on December 23rd?

JAMES CONNOLLY.

The Striking Silk Workers

I am returning to Paterson to raise funds among the silk workers of New Jersey for the silk workers of Pennsylvania. In Lancaster the recently chartered local of the I. W. W. is fighting bravely against one of the most bitter enemies of organized labor, Mr. J. E. Stehl, a man who with his two sons and a brother in the Swiss Guard army, owns several large mills in Switzerland, France and Italy, besides the one owned by that family in Lancaster. The strike is now in progress four weeks and the strikers and their children are standing out firmly, although it is their first strike, their first battle. And it is a battle, indeed. On Friday they all marched out to give the last shout to one of the little comrades who died, a victim of the capitalist enemy. In order to humiliate the strikers the firm's representative superintendent, Mr. Schnabel (whom the firm imported from Switzerland), had issued the order that the strikers would be paid off at the mill, but at a small store on Grand street. Upon arriving there the strikers were not permitted to enter the store, but were paid off through the window. Here all the men as well as girls had to stand in a front yard for a long time. Mamie Farig, one of the youngest I. W. W. members, 15 years old, caught cold and died several days after, a victim of capitalist brutality. A wreath of labor's mourning for the I. W. W. emblem was laid on her grave. The local papers refused to say anything relative to this affair. When the strike was started some of the papers opened their columns to us, but soon changed their tune when they saw that we could not make political capital out of the I. W. W. They denied the publication of anything about the causes that led to the untimely death of Mamie Farig, but gave great prominence to a report that masked men had attacked and badly beaten some strike-breakers. The facts in this case were that a few boys who had been playing Halloween's so scared the scabs that they imagined they were being beaten half to death. In order to intimidate the workers warrants were sworn out; one of the strikers against whom a warrant is sworn out is a young and delicate woman, Mrs. Gallagher, and she, like the rest, is charged with assault and battery, while it is she who was assaulted by a ruffian strike-breaker.

Several A. F. of L. organizers, among them Mr. Greenwald, a cigar fakir, made their appearance on the scene also; some knocking was done, but even in the Central Labor Union the I. W. W. found men who took a friendly stand and would not permit any dirty work to be done against the strikers.

The A. F. of L. organizers made it their business to visit to the officers of the I. W. W. local, called upon the secretary, F. H. Barto, and told him that the A. F. of L. was the only organization that has brought about all the improvements in labor's condition, increased wages, reduced the hours of work, through its legislative committees had laws passed, etc.; they pleaded that after the strike is over the weavers should join the A. F. of L. Secretary Barto is well posted. When the fakirs told their story he asked them a few pertinent questions. They immediately bid him good-day.

Lancaster and the southern part of Pennsylvania has thousands of organized workers. Besides the textile industry

there are lots of others. Manufacturers here because of the opportunity to be "cheap hired." A victim in the Lancaster silk mill will break the ice in this part of the country. The A. F. of L. leaders are getting nervous about it. Help us financially if you can. Had it not been for the money panic we would have won. It may win now. If it does not, it will not be our fault.

RUDOLPH KATZ.

Greenwood Miners' Resolutions

Whereas, The fifteenth annual convention of the Western Federation of Miners has refused to alter the constitution to take in any other than those working in and around the mines, mills and smelters; and

Whereas, Acting President Mahoney has in his official capacity (by using the stationery of the W. F. M. under the name of the "Mining Department of the convention and according to the wishes of the lumbermen of Montana to believe that they would be chartered in the near future by the W. F. M., and advising them to belong to some new state lumbermen's organization; and

Whereas, In view of the fact that our acting president has heretofore been a staunch supporter of Sherman, having bolted the second annual convention of the I. W. W. when that unworthy was discharged, and since has assisted him with \$500 from the treasury of the W. F. M., is now positive proof to us that when he advises lumbermen to organize themselves other than with Sherman, when there is no more Sherman organization, we refer to him.

Resolved, By Greenwood Miners' Union No. 22, in regular session assembled, that we condemn the actions of Acting President Mahoney as being contrary to the acts of the fifteenth annual convention and unbecoming an officer of the W. F. M.; and be it further

Resolved, That we appeal to the lumbermen of the state of Montana to take their proper place and organize in the "Industrial Workers of the World" and to assist the organizers in that organization to make the Wood Working Department what it ought to be, and not be led further astray by men who would use their official position in trying to keep the workers divided so that their own personal enmity may be satisfied; and be it still further

Resolved, That this local, No. 22, extend its congratulations to the noble and brave men who have so far succeeded in driving the last vestige of fakery from their ranks, and who have had the courage for the past year, in the face of so many obstacles, in building up their organization, at the same time fighting and overcoming the enemies of labor fakery and labor skinners; and be it further

Resolved, That we adopt the Tonopah resolution in re I. W. W., and call on all workers who love fair play, and a noble body of fighting men to do likewise and further the cause of Industrial Unionism for economic power; and that a copy of these resolutions be sent to the Nevada Workman, The Industrial Bulletin and "Miners' Magazine" for publication.

Greenwood Miners' Union No. 22, W. F. M.

Thos. J. Gould,
R. A. Meisner,
Committee.

Industrial Workers of the World

FOR ORGANIZATION

Voluntary Contribution

To aid in maintaining the work of organizing the working class in the I. W. W., and disseminating its principles, I hereby pledge One-Half of One per cent of my wages per month for a period of 3 months beginning with

and will remit the amount to General Headquarters, 210 Bush Temple, Chicago, on or about the 1st of each succeeding month.

Name

Street No.

Postoffice

State

Voluntary Contributions

P. Hartly... Anaconda, Mont.	50
A. Schey, " " "	50
Jno. Lund, " " "	25
Thos. Ditch, " " "	25
Chas. Stanton, " " "	50
F. Johnson, " " "	25
J. H. Schmidt, " " "	1.00
G. Gilbert, " " "	50
E. Powell, " " "	25
J. U. Grassenbach, " " "	50
Chas. Early, Fall River, Mass.	50
Jas. Walsh, " " "	1.00
Dan. Murphy, " " "	50
C. C. McHugh, " " "	1.00
Vancouver, L. U. No. 44....	50
G. H. Hill, Sacramento, Cal.	50
F. Elmgreen, Minneapolis.	1.00
Minn.....	50
Total	9.50
Previously acknowledged.....	\$1,035.86
Total to date.....	\$1,045.36

An error occurred in acknowledging receipt of contribution by Geo. D. Fenton, Paraiso, Panama, to the voluntary fund, November 2. The amount, \$5.00, was a misprint and should have read \$5.

Cloak Makers Strike

I am instructed by our General Committee to inform you officially that about 150 members of Branch 111, Cloak Makers, were locked out by Morris Werba, manufacturer of ladies' cloaks, of 65 Green street, on Friday, Nov. 8, afternoon.

The strike is in charge of Branch 111, Cloak Makers, and is being conducted by a committee of our Local on Nov. 18th.

For the Gen'l Committee, C. W. I. U., Local 59, I. W. W.

A. J. Francis, Sec'y.

Kalispell Lumbermen Get Right

After a thorough investigation the big

local union of lumbermen at Kalispell, Mont., has just chased a will-o'-the-wisp, and at a regular meeting held November 23, adopted the following resolutions:

Whereas, After a thorough investigation and inquiry, we, the members of Local Union No. 411, in regular session assembled, have arrived at the following decision in regard to the future welfare and organization of the lumber workers of Montana:

1. That at all times since the adjournment of the Western Federation of Miners' convention, held in Denver, in June, 1907, we were eligible to join the Montana state union with the same rights and privileges as the Western Federation locals in Montana, provision having been made at the convention for the same.

2. We have no faith in any more proposed conventions being held for the purpose of forming a new Industrial Workers of the World, as the Miner's stenographic report shows that the idea of forming a new Industrial Union was looked upon with grave doubts by the delegates to their fifteenth annual convention.

3. We do not believe that any officers of the Western Federation of Miners have power to issue charters to the lumber workers in Montana, in view of the fact that the fifteenth annual convention of the Western Federation of Miners decided not to alter their constitution to take in others than men around the mines, mills and smelters.

4. We do not believe there is such a thing in existence, at the present time, as a Sherman organization, as his own letters to this union show that he is thousands of dollars in debt and unable to issue the monthly paper, and his only organizer, T. P. Wilburn, is hundreds of dollars behind in wages.

5. We find that we were deceived into joining the Sherman faction last April, being led to believe that we were joining

Kunkle Vindicated

I just began to realize what an immense wrong was done to me by the I. W. W. district when I left there. At the next meeting of the local they are going to elect a corresponding secretary to get in touch with all the outlying districts and try to work up the field for future organizing work.

I was at Monaca last Sunday, before I left for Virginia, and acted as judge in the controversy between the two elements there. We took up the resolution regarding Moffett and Kunkle, published in the Bulletin some time ago, and went over it carefully. The fact was brought out that the local of Steel Workers No. 101 was organized in a slipshod manner in the first place. Former Organizer H. J. Clarke had been elected to hold regular meeting nights were fixed, the local was supposed to meet on call of the president. The officers were refused instructions in regard to the conduct of their office and keeping their books; and this notwithstanding the material was for the most part utterly new to unionism. Shortly after the formation the financial secretary and the recording secretary left town, and President Moffett neglected to use his best efforts to get the local together and attend to business. The result was it virtually died a-borning, and now has to be placed on a footing.

The decision on account of these conditions that Fellow Workers McCarthy and Richardson and other members of Local No. 106, the mixed local, took a hand in the affairs of Local No. 101, with no other motive, as far as I could see, except the good of the organization, but with a reprehensible lack of tact in dealing with the situation. A joint meeting of the two Monaca locals was called by the mixed local, and at this meeting, attended by a few members of each local, it was voted to comb the steel workers with the mixed local, and McCarthy secured the books and supplies of the steel workers. Moffett refused to abide by the decision of the joint meeting, which he knew nothing about, and demanded that McCarthy return the supplies of No. 101, which was done. The decision of the joint meeting, held August 10th, was not carried out, and on September 1st, four months after its formation, the steel workers' local began holding regular meetings. Meanwhile the membership has become discouraged and it is difficult to get them out to meetings.

Sunday afternoon was to continue with the steel workers' local and try to get it on its feet again. The whole affair at Monaca, Pa., is a "horrible example" of how slipshod work of organizers tends to confusion and disruption.

As regards the expulsion of Kunkle from the mixed local of Monaca, the fact developed that this was done without regard to ordinary procedure in such cases. In the first place, the charges against Kunkle, as published in the resolution in The Bulletin, were not carefully investigated, but were taken largely on hearsay, and could not be sustained, especially the most serious one, that Kunkle had been an officer of a pure-and-simple union and had not resigned, as he promised to, on becoming a member of the I. W. W. Kunkle produced a certified statement from the secretary of the First Glass Workers' Union showing that Kunkle had fulfilled his promise to the I. W. W. Further-

a powerful organization with lots of backing. The fact that there was two factions was never mentioned to us.

We have studied the official organ of the Industrial Workers of the World, The Weekly Bulletin, and find that their organization is progressive and aggressive in fighting for the rights of the workers. That they have at all times maintained a staff of paid organizers, have steadily grown in members, and have kept up a continual fight for over a year for the betterment of their members; and we further believe that their organization is based on sound principles and is living up strictly to the manifesto and preamble of their organization. Therefore be it

Resolved, That Local Union 411 of the wood working industry heretofore pay our per capita tax to Wm. E. Frahmman, 212 Bush Temple, and hereby instruct our secretary to purchase such supplies, charter, stamps, etc., as is necessary to carry on our organization, and be it further

Resolved, That we pledge our undivided support to the organizers of the Industrial Workers of the World, so that the lumber workers may be thoroughly organized in the same manner that we call upon all locals of the Montana Lumbermen's Union and unorganized workers to act in conjunction with us, so that we may in the near future have a great international wood working department of the Industrial Workers of the World, and be an economic power against the international capitalist organizations of America, something that cannot be accomplished by state unions. And be it further

Resolved, That copies of these resolutions be sent to the Industrial Weekly Bulletin and the Nevada Workman.

Moved by F. A. Verhage, seconded by W. A. Beyer, and carried unanimously at regular meeting of Local No. 411, Saturday, November 23, 1907, Kalispell, Montana.

Edward Bond,
Sec'y No. 411, I. W. W.

more, it was shown that when Kunkle was expelled he was informed that a meeting was to be held, but was not told that he was under charges, and being sick at the time, as he alleges, was unable to appear in his own defense; yet was summarily expelled without a trial. In view of these facts, the decision was that Kunkle should be restored to membership in No. 106.

B. H. Williams.

Cashiers Checks Refused

The Mine Owners' Association of Goldfield, Nev., sought to compel the miners and other workers in the community to accept for wages cashier's checks "payable in exchange." The union of miners (No. 220) met to discuss the situation. A committee was chosen to urge upon the mine owners the guaranteeing of the payment of cash checks in full and also requiring that a time limit be fixed for the payment in cash. In their answer the mine owners evaded the points raised by the miners, with the rest of the law decided to refuse to work for cashier's checks, and issued an announcement that "Goldfield Miners' Union No. 220 has declared all employers of labor not paying cash, or a satisfactory guaranteeing their paper, to be unfair," also warning all men not to work for such employers on and after November 27th.

"During the discussion," says the Nevada Workman, "it developed that the cashier's checks were not worth 100 cents on the dollar; at least, that had been the experience of many of the union men who had received their wages in that form of currency. The argument was made, and applauded, that a stamp which is supposed to produce over \$100,000 in gold bullion per month should not be forced to do business on a basis of cashier's checks of dubious value."

How He "Made Good"

The following is the speech made by V. L. Berger in supporting Gompers for president of the A. F. of L. at the Norfolk convention. It is reproduced here for future reference:

"Mr. Chairman and Fellow Delegates: I am here to make good. I am here to second the nomination of President Gompers, and I never thought I'd live to see this day. I've voted against him for years, keeping his nomination from being unanimous.

"But while I have been the editor of a socialist daily paper for years, I have never for an instant doubted the honesty, the integrity and the faithfulness of Samuel Gompers, or of any of the members of the executive council of the American Federation of Labor.

"I still continue in my opposition to the policy which the foregoing gentlemen pursue, in the administration of the affairs of this body.

"But when labor is attacked, every one of us is attacked, thereby united; and together we will stand in the great cause and against a common enemy.

"This is not the time for any of us to settle our differences. We must forestall the attacks of our common enemy—a certain capitalist ring.

"Therefore, I second the motion that Samuel Gompers be re-elected president of the Federation, and more to make his selection unanimous on the part of this convention."

NEWS FROM VANCOUVER

It may be of interest to the membership generally to hear from this corner of the woods relative to the progress and general condition of the Industrial Workers of the World, and believing such to be of interest, I prepare this short article for that purpose.

I arrived here the middle of October to assist the Lumber Handlers of Local 526 in their lock-out. In addition to the work for the I. W. W. we have held many street meetings and several hall meetings. About a year ago there were four struggling revolutionists in Vancouver. After several weeks of persistent, systematic agitation the mixed local had grown to 88.

During the past year the work has been carried on with unrelenting energy, and as a result the Lumber Handlers have been organized, and also an Italian Branch, both of which contain some excellent material.

Since the organization of the Lumber Handlers they have won two strikes and lost one lock-out, but in the lock-out have retained their scale of wages. We have except so far as overtime is concerned.

The Russian Branch has also been organized in the past week with 16 charter members. This branch promises to be a progressive local, as every member is a Socialist. The president talks nine languages and the financial secretary six, while we have one signer for the charter who was formerly a member of the Russian Douma.

In accordance with the suggestions from headquarters relative to organizing an executive committee, the same has been carried out, and the four locals elected two delegates each. The committee held its first session the 17th.

The several unions here have a fine headquarters now under the direction of the executive committee. The headquarters contains one nice meeting hall, a large reading room, a "rag-chewing" room and a large reading room, where no smoking, talking or loafing is allowed. This should certainly be interesting to all locals. It is without doubt part of the best work of organizing. This is not only organizing, but it

is systematizing and disciplining, and we all know too well that an organization without system and discipline is not worth keeping in existence.

The partition between the hall and reading room is movable, and Sunday nights the same is taken out and the two rooms made into one large propaganda hall. Last Sunday night it was filled and over a hundred turned away. During the propaganda meetings on Sunday nights the smoking and "rag-chewing" room is closed and every one is listening to the speaker of the evening. A small library has been started and nearly every Socialist and revolutionary paper of the world can be found on file in the reading room.

During the past six weeks that I have been here I have held 36 meetings, either union or propaganda meetings on the streets or in the hall. We sold literature to the amount of \$42 and other supplies, such as buttons, to bring the receipts up to \$85.45. This is not counting the contributions sent to the Lumber Handlers, which will total about \$125. We have taken into the several unions 58 new members.

Each union is square with headquarters, and has plenty of money to square up. The Vancouver local unions of the I. W. W. made every trip of the national organizers into their vicinity pay themselves and headquarters also. The above receipts are more than the total expenses of headquarters.

H. WATSON, National Organizer, Vancouver, B. C.

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ECONOMIC DETERMINISM

How Social Institutions Came into Existence Through Changing Methods of Production

FROM THE PAST TO THE FUTURE

BY WORD H. MILLS

AN EXPLANATION.—I had not been apprised of the purpose of The Industrial Union Bulletin to publish this essay, which is now running serially in "American Manhood," a small socialist weekly published at Texarkana, Tex., until I noticed the appearance of the initial chapters. Had I known this paper cared to use the matter, I would have given it the revision it so badly needs. As it appears it is in apparently crude form, being merely the materials thrown together needed for use in preparing the work proper. Six chapters were in the hands of the printer before I became aware that it was obtaining a wide publicity and before scientifically critical readers. With the succeeding chapters I shall exercise more care in their preparation.

Further than this, by way of preface to the subject matter and its treatment, I would call attention to some facts to be considered. Scientific method in investigation involves and is gradually bringing to pass a re-statement, a palinogenesis. Former conceptions that had their origin in medieval scholasticism, involving the claims of accredited tradition concerning the cosmogony and the origin, the history and destiny of humanity, have given place to newer ones based on scientific discovery. A rational method of interpretation of the phenomena of human activities has been ushered in. The field of objective investigation has been made to yield a fruitful harvest for use in the workshop of the student of subjective science. Geology has yielded its product to be worked over by the ethnologist, the ethnographer and paleontologist. These in turn have furnished the sociologist with abundant material.

The facts of human experience with relation to their order of sequence and constituting the content of all history, it has been discovered, are subject to and governed by a fundamental law which interprets their significance. This law is known as economic determinism, or the materialistic interpretation of history. The events of history interpreted with an understanding of how this law operates, enables the student to forecast the probable events of the future in advance of the present, by reason of the fact that the history of the race is one in source, one in experience and one in progress.

Modern social life is dominated by industrial activity, so organized as to have become the apotheosis of injustice. The purpose of this work is, to first briefly review the history of the changing forms of human institutions as cast from their respective economic modes, from the period of early man to the present. This, in order to lay the foundation for a logical treatment of the institutions of civilization in the capitalist era, and afterward to point out the necessity of being successful in an industrial era in all affairs shall be administered as to constitute it the apotheosis of justice—the era of socialism.

In this essay I wish it to be understood that I am not working for a literary reputation, neither do I wish to be charged with plagiarism by critical readers. My purpose is to get facts and ideas before the greatest possible number of people, regardless of whence they or the manner of stating them originate. I do not draw freely on the scientific works of any writers whose literature is adapted to the purpose in view. If the mode of expression of Morgan in the domain of ethnography, or of Engels and Rebel in sociology, or any other writer whose works I have access to, gives more force to a statement than my own limited education can furnish, I shall use it as occasion requires, blending with my own language or for what I deem the best elucidation of the subject in hand.

The closing chapters will be devoted more especially to tactical methods necessary for the transformation of capitalist society into socialist society. In this I shall speak pronouncedly, without fear or favor. Word H. Mills, Dallas, Tex., Nov. 27, 1907.

CHAPTER IV.

We have seen that under the advancing method of production there was a proportionate increase in the amount of wealth, and the larger share of it fell to the man. In consequence of this the man's position in the family became more and more important. It became superior to that of the woman in the measure that his flocks and herds increased. The economic status of the woman was still limited to control over the purely domestic utensils. But, how the rich man might become, at his death his children were disinherited, and like the household utensils, went with their mother to her own gens. His wealth went to the people of his own gens as has been explained.

But the newly born sense of private ownership was not compatible with the traditional law of inheritance. With the developing idea of individual property rights arose in the man's mind a plan for their conservation and perpetuation. This plan took form in utilizing his new power and importance in effecting the overthrow of the traditional law of inheritance in favor of his own gens. This was not possible as long as maternal law remained valid. Maternal law had to go, and it was abolished.

The step required for the abolition of maternal law and the tracing of descent by female lineage was a simple one, to-wit: the resolution that henceforth the offspring of the male members should belong to the gens, while the children of the female members should be gra-

influence over the manners and even the politics of the state. That it was necessary to become a hetero-erotic one could be a woman constitutes the severest denunciation of the Athenian family.

Such was the origin of the monogamous family—the form of the family characteristic of civilization in the most highly developed nation of antiquity. Marriage was a mere matter of convention, by no means a fruit of individual sex-love. Monogamy was the first form of the family not founded on natural, but on economic causes. It was the victory of private property over primitive and natural collectivism.

Monogamy, then, enters history, not as the highest form of marriage, but as the subjugation of one sex by the other, as the proclamation of an antagonism between the sexes unknown in preceding history. Monogamy, however, is a great advance. "But by the side of slavery and private property it marks at the same time that epoch which, reaching down to our days, takes with all progress a step backward, and relieves itself of the property in the welfare and advancement of one by the woe and submission of the other. It is the cellular form of civilized society which enables us to study the nature of its now fully developed contradictions. The old conjugal bond and the old relative freedom of sexual intercourse by no means disappeared with the victory of the pairing or even of the monogamous family. Says Morgan: "The old conjugal system no longer had narrow limits by the gradual disappearance of the pumalun groups, still envolved the advancing family which it was to follow to the verge of civilization. . . . It finally disappeared in the form of heterism, which still follows mankind in civilization as a dark shadow upon the family."

By "heterism" Morgan designates the relations of men with women developed on the side of the monogamous family, flourishing during the whole period of civilization in numerous forms ever tending in the direction of open prostitution. This heterism is directly derived from the surrender of women for the purpose of obtaining the right to chastity. The surrender for money was at first a simple exchange, in which freedom permitted to girls before marriage—also a survival of group marriage, transmitted by another route. In the higher stage of barbarism, consonant with the rise of different nations, the surrender of women for money was a religious act. Among some nations it was invested with a sacred character, and the surrender of women for money was a religious act. Among some nations it was invested with a sacred character, and the surrender of women for money was a religious act.

With the patriarchal family begins the domain of written history, a study of which in the field of comparative law indicates that it played an important role among the civilized and some other nations in the transition from the matriarchy to the patriarchy. The monogamous family developed from the pairing family during the transition from the middle to the higher stages of barbarism. It is the herald of approaching civilization. It is founded on male heterism, for the pronounced purpose of breeding children of indisputable paternal lineage in order that these children may later on inherit the fortune of their father. It is distinguished from the pairing family by its greater durability of the conjugal tie which can no longer be dissolved at the pleasure of either party. As a rule it is the man only who has the privilege to dissolve it and "put away" the woman in a severe, cruelly punished if, remembering its ancient sexual practices, she attempts to revive them. The Greek classics furnish a picture of the social structure in this epoch of the earlier period of the time of the heroes, woman had already been degraded. The Odyssey relates how Telemachus reproves his mother; the Cypriote young woman, according to Homer, are delivered to their wives by their rang select the most beautiful captives. The Iliad tells only the story of the quarrel between Agamemnon and Achilles about a captive woman. The capture of the Trojan Greeks are cubine at will, and wids the author whose language is used "it is the practice of slavery by the side of monogamy; the existence of young and beautiful female slaves belonging without any restriction to their masters, which is the very beginning given to monogamy the specific character of being monogamy for women only, but not for men. And this character remains to this day." Among the Ionian Greeks the women of a household were regarded by eunuchs in a manner similar to that which obtains in the houses of wealthy men in Turkey today. In the writings of Euripides woman is given the name of Olytrena, a neuter noun signifying "a thing for house-keeping," and beside the business of breeding children she served to her Athenian lord for nothing but his own amusement. The man has his female slaves, and other things to engage his time and cater to his pleasure. Besides, at the most flourishing period of Ionic history, there prevailed an extensive prostitution, maintained by the state. From the latter arose and developed that unique type of Ionic women, the heterae. This was the most important class of women in Greece. They were the kept women and lived in the best parts of the city and exercised great

a date as possible. Yours fraternally, "John H. Gilbert, No. 220, "Care Box 242, Goldfield, Nev., "Goldfield, Nev., Nov. 1907. "Mr. John M. O'Neil, Editor Miners' Magazine, "Denver, Colo.

"Dear Sir and Brother:—Some little time ago we were called upon to vote on a number of amendments passed by the fifteenth annual convention of the I. W. W. . . .

"At the time said amendments were submitted I was rather puzzled to know how to interpret classes wherein the I. W. W. was mentioned. Today I am more of a quantity than ever. I read your article on the notice from No. 121 and notice in particular your closing remark: "The I. W. W. is but a reminiscence. It is dead, and the sooner we forget the stench the better."

"If the above is the true standing of the I. W. W., will you please explain the various positions of the I. W. W. constitution, which I enclose? Yours for enlightenment, "C. H. McKinnon."

The constitution of the Western Federation of Miners, as it appeared in both of the above letters being marked in several places for the purpose of calling the attention of the editor to the various sections of the constitution, in which appear the following: "Aims and Purposes of the Industrial Workers of the World," and "Western Federation of Miners, Mining Department of the I. W. W." There was a time when the Western Federation of Miners would present a claim establishing the fact that it was an industrial department of the Industrial Workers of the World.

That claim was valid until after the second annual convention of the I. W. W. But when the delegates in the second annual convention of the I. W. W. declared the delegates in convention assembled to be the supreme legislative body, and arrogated to themselves the right to sweep aside the provisions of a constitution that had been established by a referendum vote that moment precedent was established which made it impossible for any bona fide labor organization to remain a part of a combination that clothed itself with the despotism of an autocrat.

At the second annual convention of the I. W. W. the organization was rent in twain and each faction for more than eighteen months has been using all its powers of eloquence and persuasion to prove to the working class that the I. W. W. was wrong and the other was right. When the membership of the local unions of the Western Federation of Miners became somewhat acquainted with the facts of the war in that connection, the members of the Western Federation of Miners were notified by a vast number of the local unions to pay no more per capita tax to the I. W. W. The I. W. W. looked into and the responsible place where it belonged. There being two factions of the I. W. W., and each faction claiming recognition as the only genuine brand of industrial unionism, the membership of the Western Federation of Miners in a state of uncertainty.

At the recent convention of the Western Federation of Miners the I. W. W. controversy was surveyed, and after a discussion lasting almost a week the convention refused to recognize either faction of the Industrial Workers of the World.

But the W. F. M. convention did not delegate a committee to investigate representatives to meet in a conference in Chicago with the representatives of other aggressive labor organizations, in the hope that a solid foundation could be laid upon which may be built the superstructure of an industrial organization. When the Western Federation of Miners refused to send per capita tax to either faction of the I. W. W. it ceased to be a part of either faction of the Industrial Workers of the World.

As to why there appears in the constitution of the Western Federation of Miners, "Mining Department of the I. W. W." is to some extent an enigma to the editor of the Miners' Magazine. The question must be answered by the delegates of the fifteenth annual convention. It is, however, the presumption of the editor that the words, "Mining Department of the I. W. W." were retained in the hope that from some source that it might be ascertained that movement would be launched that would be in fact as well as in name an industrial organization. As to the two factions of the I. W. W. that are practically dead, and the one that has arisen from the decomposing carion of both factions, there can be but little doubt in the mind of any man who has been an observer.

The Sherman faction, that held its convention in July, was but a business while the Trautmann faction, that held its convention in September, was but a grim joke. The treasury was empty, and both factions are confronted with debts which cannot be met. The Trautmann faction in its desperation has sent out circular letters, not only to the local unions of the Western Federation of Miners, but to every labor organization that was thought to be aggressive, in the hope that a few shoddy might find their way to the barren exchequer.

Francis appeals were made for funds, under the pretense that such funds were needed for organizing, but the facts are that the official bloodsucker, crazing into the near future, saw themselves confronted with an empty larder, and with no provender in sight, the more frenzied became the appeals for funds, in order that the Patrick Henry for the cue might prolong the vaudeville farce that gave a few officials a weekly stipend.

The Trautmann faction does not dare to disclose its membership, knowing that its numerical weakness would precipitate a run of creditors that would submerge this organization upon paper beneath an avalanche of debts.

The course that has been pursued by the Sherman faction has shattered and destroyed the I. W. W. furnished the "stench," and its remembrance can only have the effect of blighting the honest, earnest efforts of men who will meet in the coming conference to build or reconstruct an organization whose principles will appeal to the sober judgment of intelligent men.

Pinkerton Drops a "Bomb"

Old Craft Union Insurance a Demonstrated Fallacy -- Argument Advanced for a General Insurance for all Workers

By Wm. J. Pinkerton

An editorial, "Odd Fellows and Others," appeared in the *Weekly People*, Saturday, October 5, 1907, which seems to have caused much discussion, especially in view of the fact that the Odd Fellows are broken and whose "golden calf" is tottering from its pedestal. The editorial came at an opportune time to give those interested an opportunity to add their advocacy and assist in demonstrating more fully the false position and roles the laboring classes are beguiled into assuming, by seeking as a shelter the apparently innocent-looking "sheep" furnished by capitalist wolves under the guise of capitalist philanthropies and societies.

All of these societies are supported by the working class. But the great majority of the working class are not the beneficiaries of the various philanthropies. The poorer element being forced during depression of business into idleness and want, create a golden harvest for the wealthy vultures to pounce upon and an opportunity to herald their "false philanthropies" over again by calling the workers' attention to a "treasury" swollen by funds fished from workers who preceded, and thus a new flock is taken in, carried, fenced and turned loose in an ever-ending chain of despair.

The trickery employed by these insurance societies is beyond the comprehension of a great portion of the workers, and while it is contrary to the Industrial Workers' teachings to have anything to do with "coffin attachments" of any character, it has become apparent that a great number of workers would like to be in a position to break away from such societies and at the same time protect themselves and families against evils predominant under capitalism. Such society to be controlled by the workers and pledged from its foundation to co-operate in bringing about the Industrial Commonwealth, which, when accomplished, would mean its own dissolution.

That all of these societies fear the social change that might disrupt their large treasuries is true, and it is equally true that "insurance and fraternal features" as attached to labor unions is responsible for the "scabberding interest" into such societies that have found themselves. To illustrate this argument, let us take the "Transportation Industry" where entire organizations, through jurisdiction quarrels, have been broken up. In the I. W. W. standpoint, resolved themselves into employment agencies for scabs.

Cleveland, O., November 6.—An officer of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen announced in Cleveland yesterday that the members of the Brotherhood were ready and willing to fill the places of all engineers if the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers should declare a strike.

This suggestion was made by E. B. Barris, chairman of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen's joint protective board of the Lake Shore Railroad and leased lines, who has just completed a tour of inspection to determine the views of the firemen regarding joining in the general movement among railroad employes to secure higher pay and shorter hours.

At a meeting in Roanoke, Va., which meeting was attended by Grand Chief Stone, General Chairman Cousins and other members of the B. of L. E.; by First Vice Grand Master C. A. Wilson and other members of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen, and by officials of the Norfolk & Western Railway, the following dialogue occurred:

"Mr. Cousins (B. of L. E.): I am authorized by every Division to say openly that if the firemen mean business, the engineemen will run this road. "Mr. Maher (General Manager N. & W. R. R.): How is that? "Mr. Cousins (B. of L. E.): I am authorized by every Division to say openly that if the firemen mean business, the engineemen will join hands with the company and run this road, and, if that is the case, the engineemen will get down and take the place.

"That the foregoing conversation actually took place is sworn to before C. M. Speece, a notary public of Roanoke, Va., on March 17, 1907, by the following members of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen who were present and heard the conversation: C. A. Wilson, 1st V. G. M. B. of L. E.; C. E. Woodson, J. J. Smith, C. G. Smith, L. A. Staples, J. M. Mason, Theodore Gude, H. F. Jenkins, C. D. Maxey and F. W. Geisel."

"When in Kansas City I was invited to attend a meeting of Railway Clerks given under the auspices of the Switchmen's Union, at that meeting was over O. D. Buffington, a member of the O. R. C., but at that time employed as clerk, requested W. C. Walsh of the S. U., First Vice Grand Master Neal Griffin myself to grant him an audience. The tale he told seemed hard to believe, but the following will substantiate everything he has told:

Mr. Fisher, President of the Railway Clerks, requested an interview with me, not knowing that I was a member of the U. B. of R. E. He informed me how his organization had entered into an agreement with Mr. Martin, general manager of the Rock Island in New Mexico to fill the places of the U. B. of R. E. men who a few months prior had won a victory on the Almorado lines and secured satisfactory terms after a shut-out of 60 days.

The *Railway Conductor* says: "The old organizations of railroad employes have placed themselves on record as determined to abide by, and carry out, agreements they make with their employers. There is no question but that this policy is cordially and strongly supported by the large masses of the membership. Some trouble may be caused by agitators and distributors, but the position that has been taken by the organization is right, and it is bound to prevail. The old organizations of railroad employes have obtained an enviable place in the

labor world. They have conducted their business on straightforward, trade-union principles; they have agreements, made in good faith, on most of the railroads in the United States and Canada. These agreements are of inestimable value to the men, and it is incumbent upon the organizations to live up in good faith to their agreements, and when unwarranted and unprovoked attack is made upon them by disturbers at a distance, it is nothing left for the organizations to do but to defend their integrity; and the organizations will not be found wanting in the performance of this duty."

Comment of Eugene V. Debs: "The first lodge of the B. of R. E. was organized at Oneonta, N. Y., September 23, 1883. I was not present in person, but it was the direct result of my work, and the letters I received from Oneonta acknowledged it, and the lodge above referred to, the first one instituted, was named Eugene V. Debs Lodge No. 1, B. of R. E., and this name it bore until 1891, when the grand assembly of the B. of R. E. entered into consultation with the officials of the Northwestern railway to discharge all their switchmen, members of the S. M. A. A., and fill their places with members of the B. of R. E., resulting in the dissolution of the B. of R. E. from the then existing federation of railway unions and the subsequent disruption of the federation. This infamous conspiracy I condemned, and my relations with the grand officers of the B. of R. E. were severed and the name of the lodge at Oneonta was changed.

From *Switchmen's Union Journal*: "I want to be thoroughly understood by all members of the Switchmen's Union, that any member or lodge of the organization that participates in a sympathetic strike without the consent of the Grand Master will be immediately expelled. This is good, plain English and cannot be misunderstood. We want to see labor win at all times, but we positively refuse to be made cats' paws of any longer. Those who put the chestnuts in the fire will have to pull them out."

"Now, brothers, we hope the road men get what they ask for. We do not begrudge them a dollar a day of an increase if they get it, and they would not be getting too much at that, but what concerns our members is this: Your Grand Master, and your representatives, on the 10th day of last November, signed an agreement with the general managers in Chicago, for an increase of 4 cents per hour, taking effect November 1, 1906. You have been working under this new wage agreement for five months and ever since you have not been satisfied with present conditions.

"Now, then, are you going to nullify what your Grand Master and your committee accomplished in Chicago last November by going on a strike, which would in case the Trainmen carry out their threat?

"You are not asked to scab, but simply attend to your own business, the same as the brotherhoods have invariably done when we were troubled. Comment on the foregoing clippings is unnecessary. It will be observed that the pot takes upon itself the presumption in all of these cases of calling the kettle black. And the intention of the ship of all these institutions cry "scab" and throw stones at each other, while the official circles of the institutions they are maintaining are hiring men to fill their places.

Time and again have railway workers among the rank and file advocated a proposition whereby they could have a federation and be in a position to move from one department to another on change of employment, and time after time have the advanced solutions in both local and national federations failed. These failures could always be attributed to the present government existing for the organizations. When only one party to the federation was affected, the others who were not affected would decline to render their assistance thereby rendering useless the force of the compacts. The same system of federation if applied to states in government would have the same effect. Give to each state in the United States complete autonomy, let the President, Treasurer, etc., and it would not be long before the United States would be repeating the oft-repeated dramas of the Latin states of Central America, the history of which, on account of division among themselves, can be written in blood.

The part that the separate insurances attached to each of these craft movements has in keeping the workers apart is taken cognizance of and endorsed by those who see a hope of a further widening of the chasm between the crafts, in order to secure for themselves their positions as Grand Chiefs and Grand Masters, etc. The membership of all of these movements are beginning to see the futility of their hopes in any harmonious settlement of their jurisdiction quarrels, which have brought disgrace on the name of unionism among the "Transportation Workers."

As an illustration of the part insurance plays in keeping the workers divided a concrete example can be used. Take the U. B. of R. E. and let the Transportation Workers, divided into their separate craft unions with the harmony prevailing that Mr. Arthur of the B. of L. P. advocated when he said, "I have built a high board fence between the workers on railroads." All the other organizations on the N. Y. C. every man is in his proper union, the union of his craft or trade. As fireman, in the B. of L. E.; as engineer, B. of L. E.; as conductor, O. R. C.; as brakeman, B. of R. T.; as switchman, to the S. U. of N. A. The harmonious agreement is that each department must legislate for its own membership, and that if conditions warrant a change the workers of one organization will become affiliated with the union controlling their newly adopted vocation. Twenty-five years roll by: a

(Continued on Page 6)

O'Neil Explains in Lies and Slanders

From the Miners Magazine

A short time ago the Tonopah Miners' Union sent out an appeal to the local unions of the Western Federation of Miners, urging that the W. F. M., through its executive board, pay to the I. W. W. the per capita tax that is due.

The editor of the *Miners' Magazine* made the following comment on the circular letter in the issue of October 31st: "In this issue of the *Miners' Magazine* appears a circular letter that has been sent out by the Tonopah Miners' Union, No. 121, of Tonopah, Nev., appealing to the executive board and to every local in the W. F. M. to pay to the I. W. W. the per capita tax that is due."

At the recent convention of the Western Federation of Miners the I. W. W. controversy was discussed pro and con for a period of six days. After a discussion lasting almost a week, the convention refused to recognize either faction of the Industrial Workers of the World. The question must be answered by the delegates of the fifteenth annual convention. It is, however, the presumption of the editor that the words, "Mining Department of the I. W. W." were retained in the hope that from some source that it might be ascertained that movement would be launched that would be in fact as well as in name an industrial organization. As to the two factions of the I. W. W. that are practically dead, and the one that has arisen from the decomposing carion of both factions, there can be but little doubt in the mind of any man who has been an observer.

The Sherman faction, that held its convention in July, was but a business while the Trautmann faction, that held its convention in September, was but a grim joke. The treasury was empty, and both factions are confronted with debts which cannot be met. The Trautmann faction in its desperation has sent out circular letters, not only to the local unions of the Western Federation of Miners, but to every labor organization that was thought to be aggressive, in the hope that a few shoddy might find their way to the barren exchequer.

Francis appeals were made for funds, under the pretense that such funds were needed for organizing, but the facts are that the official bloodsucker, crazing into the near future, saw themselves confronted with an empty larder, and with no provender in sight, the more frenzied became the appeals for funds, in order that the Patrick Henry for the cue might prolong the vaudeville farce that gave a few officials a weekly stipend.

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Dear Sir and Brother:—I am enclosing a marked copy of the constitution of the W. F. M., and also a clipping from the *Miners' Magazine* of October 31, 1907. I confess I am unable to reconcile your position in this editorial with that of the Western Federation as expressed by their constitution. My attention has been called to the fact that since your article appeared that I ask you to explain this matter through the columns of the *Magazine* at as early

THE QUESTION OF MIGHT

Capital in Its Entrenchments---Means of Attack and Their Application --- The Final Conquest

By Wm. E. Trautmann
Translation by Otto Jauch

All historical struggles between classes in society depend on their course and outcome on the prevailing phase of development at the period in which they take place. Such conflicts were settled in the last instance by the power of the contending parties could line up in the field of battle. Stripped of all phrasemongery, the fight between capital and labor (capitalist and working class) is determined by the power which either side wields. The difference, however, when comparing previous conflicts and results in the historic economic development, lies in the assumption, that by the working class remaining victorious in the final battle on the economic field might will cease to be the factor governing the social relationship of mankind. This accomplished, the mad race for economic and consequently political and social power will be superseded by friendly rivalry for the highest mental and intellectual training, for the noble purpose of making life worth living for all who labor and produce.

The purely parliamentary socialist explains that the conquest of the power is the paramount mission of the proletariat. But mere parliamentary action--if loud talking contests can be designated as action--then becomes self-aim. Political action as a means for the purpose of wholly abolishing all social forms of exploitation is obscured as the real issue. The capture of political power at all hazards (compromise) is tantamount with the substitution of one set of economic despots by another, and in the haughty manner in which the leaders of the proletariat, although in most cases not members of the working class, establish bargain counters in political jobs as the logical consequence of false theories--notably so in this country, because the proletariat, according to the declaration of a socio-capitalistic log-roller of Milwaukee will not be the management of industries on a prepared for several generations to asocialistic basis. Therefore, ex-priests and reverend, shyster lawyers and parasites of similar character, forcing themselves upon the labor movement like leeches on a healthy body, are needed as tutors for the less intelligent and inferior wage slaves--so these gentry argue. If those men are really in earnest in their pleadings, the battle between capital and labor is reduced to a contest for political power for the purpose of gaining political jobs. Moreover, it is declared that the power of the ballot alone, used by blind followers and unthinking workmen, can destroy the immensely fortified stronghold of capitalism. How fittingly we find that power of wishing portrayed in the fairy tale of Aladdin's wonderful lamp! Children are taught with suspense to the stories of gruesome and also startling deeds of those possessing this wonderful lamp; and so did thousands of big children, follow in their despair, but nevertheless in cheerful hope and faith in a glittering priest, Gapon, only to get cured from their faith in fairy tales by the blue beans of the Cossacks; damning in their death struggle the hour in which they were shipped as if in the phantom-pictures of "wishes." Blind fools, misled to their own harm! They wanted to tear down the rocks of the capitalist castle with a wonder lamp, and open the full fountain of life of earthly happiness to the suffering hungry and downtrodden, like the old historical Moses, when he drew refreshing water for the exhausted from the dry rocks in the desert by touching them with his magic wand.

But still mightier, and consequently more destructive in its effects, is another weapon which the master class of America has forged for its protection. The craft organizations of labor, led by capitalist lieutenants, mistakenly called unions, are the most formidable instruments for the protection of capitalist interests. Directed in a wrong policy by capitalistic-thinking fakery, whose ignorance of existing economic laws is only exceeded by their brazen gall and bluff methods, the worker, by from his first entrance into the union made a stranger to his class interests. By virtue of false notions about economic conditions he is led along on roads to the destruction of working class unity, and as a result the worker, the bearer of our social structure, is alienated from his social duties and his class. The law becomes operative and the cheating of one group of workers by another, to the benefit of exploiters, destroying also all sense and feeling of solidarity, is the supreme function of a labor union movement.

These powerful agencies and auxiliaries, all established for the protection in the prevailing state of things, receive their nourishment from an inexhaustible source--the ownership of the means of life of millions by a few. Compared with this main stronghold,

which seemingly is undestroyable and stares ghastly powerful into the face of the attacking masses, all other instruments for the economic mastery are only side issues, outposts; these, however, must be stormed and captured before the combined advance against the main stronghold can commence. The almost unrestricted mastery on the economic field, the might which makes all other apparent manifestations of power only reflexes, is the merciless whip that forces the wage slave to serve the master; yes, it's the economic might, the almost uncontested field, on which the bourgeoisie wields its ruling sceptre to transform human beings into submissive, obedient working cattle. There it stands, the industrial stronghold, under whose armor the capitalist knights gained their might through legal robbery, swindle and fraud. Under the protection of this fort everybody must swear allegiance to those in power. That fort is defended and protected by those who must suffer most under the lash of exploitation if at times they refuse. The struggle is defended from the center by the "masters' rights." Incomprehensible is the extent of the power they possess, and how gigantic appears, then, the aim and the work necessary to crush and destroy that power, when once its immense proportions are known.

The proletariat is exploited as a producer, in the workshop, factory, mine and field, and exploited there alone. There lies the cause which produces all those gruesome effects. Remove the cause and the human race will be free: industrially free for the first time. But if freedom you would have, it is only by militant action that it can be achieved. The economic unity and solidarity of the proletariat, the basis which assures their existence, then all attacks must be centered against it. A proletarian class which aspires for industrial freedom must shape their methods of warfare accordingly. The fortress is defended from the center by choice troops, who, if they should get dissatisfied at times, and be inclined to rebel, are appeased by the capitalist labor lieutenants by pointing out the sham concessions, conceded as a result of the rebellious discontent manifested in their restlessness is suppressed by force, so that either way the workers can be used time and again for the defense of the life-interests of their exploiters.

As all institutions draw their nourishment and support from the economic might of the capitalist class, so must likewise the might of the working class, concentrated and cemented together on the industrial field, serve as that base for the military might of the proletariat, the ammunition in all these fights for the abolition of the capitalist mode of production, and furnish the material for the effective and successful termination of the struggle. The associations of laboring people that are in the A. F. of L. are organized auxiliaries for the perpetuation of the present system, conducted by capitalist tools, who lead them into jurisdiction fights, and so divide instead of unite.

It is only a logical consequence that these masses who assail and fight each other are also led astray upon other fields of activity, so as to strengthen the ranks of all capitalist institutions, the capitalist parties, and a "public opinion" made subservient to the interest of the capitalist masters. To be equipped for the combat against these forces of a mighty foe which becomes indispensable to form such an organization by which the workers can successfully contest the field and advance toward industrial freedom. Economic developments, resulting in a constant change of forms in the social structure must find their reflex in the construction of and the methods applied by an economic working class organization.

The organizing of the I. W. W. became, therefore, an absolute necessity, as a result of economic conditions, so as to provide the proletariat with the material and resources with which to control all other methods of warfare and defend themselves and to give its mandates on other fields the requisite energy and force:

(1) A united political, class-conscious, militant organization, uncompromisingly voicing the demands of labor, and making itself unassailable by its conduct.

(2) A press solely and alone serving the interests of the working class, owned and controlled by the political and economic militant organizations of the workers.

(3) A public opinion, growing constantly stronger as directed by those molding opinions for the organizing of the economic might, in the interests of the wealth producers.

(4) Superstition and false teachings more and more disappearing; the rays of enlightenment entering the minds of those who inhabit the tenements and hovels of poverty.

Yet all these manifestations of shifting and changes in the social fabric will only be the effects of the unity of purpose and fighting strength concentrated by the wage slaves on the economic field.

So equipped, the charge against the fortress of capitalism may be organized and conducted.

No Gaps, no Bergers, Hoehns and Hillquits will then be able to swerve the movement from its straight prescribed course. Fully conversant with the fact that the class struggle means "war," equipped with the economic instruments of power which receive their strength and effectiveness from the present, yet constantly changing conditions, the proletarian army can direct its fire against the real stronghold, in which the main force of the enemy thinks itself safely entrenched and pro-

ected. Even though all trenches, all posts and outposts are destroyed, the still the advancing battalions feel the destruction wrought by the enemy. The army of besiegers enlists, through the might of ideas, new recruits and fighters from the inhabitants of this broad held in subjugation by the wealth owners by their powerful means. The new ones enlisted in turn are trained in the methods how successful battle can be waged against the fortifications of capitalism. Other regiments, constantly enforced, prepare ahead the trenches, undermine the outposts, throw the grenades of enlightenment into the fort amongst those who blindly defend it on command of the masters.

Forced to retreat at times by the terrible fire of those who must necessarily contest every advance against the camp; deceived frequently by the cunning schemes of the enemy, often misled to attack bogus forts, to find only when captured that they fell into a trap. The enemy laid out in shape of bogus reforms, municipal ownership issues, etc., the efforts at undermining the basis can at the worst be only retarded, but never stopped. The strongest weapon, the dynamic of socialist knowledge and enlightenment, is gradually and surely the rocks on which the outer forts of the capitalist stronghold are built.

If it is true that after the fall of all citadels and outer works a fort has been left to the mercy of the conqueror, it means more so in the fight of the working class for the abolition of the capitalist strongholds, by which they preserve their rulership over the nations of exploited workers.

In moving towards the main stronghold those palisades and ramparts must be taken, because without conquering them the attack upon the main citadel would remain unsuccessful. The siege on the economic bulwarks of capitalism must be carried on by using systematically all methods of warfare which progressing knowledge has placed in our hands.

There rushes forward, with much noise and bluster, a big detachment, separated from the main body, by their number alone infusing fear and terror, against a strong outer fort, the political stronghold; most of them in good faith, many again led astray by the treacherous enemy impressed with the idea that the capture of that political stronghold suffices to force the immediate surrender of all other citadels and the main stronghold in which the enemy felt himself safe and secure.

With cheers an hurrah the troops conquer the fort, the political power. "Victory is ours," they cry; "we hoist the flag of liberty, economic servitude is at an end!" But who utters it? What does that noise mean? Is the cannon fire from the captured fort? "Quick, let us use the weapons we have captured; use the political paper decrees against the cannon balls pouring from the inner fort; let us show that we are the conquerors; let us hold our domain!"

But increased consternation prevails. Before abandoning the outer entrenchments to the onrushing masses the enemy had spiked all the guns. The cannons of the fort have nothing but declarations to shoot into the fortress of the besieged; the economic stronghold stands apparently undestroyable and the guns therein have a wide range of effect. "Heavens, we are ruined, we will be annihilated!" "Political might alone is a phantom, a delusion!" "Cursed be those who gave us this lie!" "Damned are those who led us armless into the bullets of the enemy!"

O, what a disaster to the working class of America if those deceived masses must retreat in wild flight from the terrific fire sent from the main fort at the conquered consternation and when they are compelled to abandon again the captured political citadel, because they failed to organize the economic might by which to hold what they had taken!

In wild rage will they fall upon those who systematically prepared the attack on the outposts, in the true belief that their conquest was absolutely necessary if the main stronghold was to be captured. Disorder and defeat; a throwing back of the entire army; destruction of the political citadel; the economic might of the proletariat would rely on the capture of political power as the means to end the class rule.

Then all false hopes in the power of political action are shattered, when the retreating "parliamentarians" throw themselves in their despair on those forces of an army trained and drilled in all modern methods of industrial warfare, temporary consternation and invasions of the labor. Sacrifices galore and many more new efforts would be required to win back those who had been led astray, and faithfully believed that loud shouting would accomplish today what an ancient and times the trumpets did in the fall of Jericho.

The advance can be retarded, but never stopped. The capitalists, watching in anguish the constant efforts, perceive the danger of the continued efforts of the besiegers.

The bombs of enlightenment thrown into the fort cause desertions among the defenders of the bulwark; many renounce allegiance and join the army of the attackers.

The only hope of the economic tyrants that they may keep up the robbery system lies in the faith and confidence that the defenders of their strongholds have in them. So they conceive that they must endeavor to weaken the power of attack of those who look for the capture of the economic fortress.

By granting more and more concessions to their labor lieutenants, by sending them amongst the attacking army for the purpose of diverting the energies from its straightforward course; in making concessions to some weakness and unprincipled to betray the interests of those striving for industrial freedom; by constantly making a guarantee that they will aid them in perpetuating their economic mastery, the capitalists will endeavor to hold together an army with which to fight the workers.

those posts, manned by regiments of proletarians organized in revolutionary economic organizations; when the disastrous bullets commence to strike the main fortress, then the power of the labor faker, employed in the interests of our despots, will have ceased to exist, and many of those who had been until then faithful to the capitalists will join the ranks of the revolutionists. And with the fall of the stronghold falls its strongest defender, the labor faker, the arch-enemy of the revolutionary working class. Entering the economic stronghold, the factories, mines and mills, the means by which the toilers were held for centuries in slavery, taking and folding all the tools of production, which alone gave the economic might to the enemy, locking out those who hitherto had been their masters, and placing themselves in that domain from which all wealth flows, the victorious proletariat will abolish simultaneously all institutions by which the relation of man to man were determined by economic might.

Triumph and glory to you, O strong, powerful and freed toiler! Son of the earth, comrade! No longer shall one fetter the economic master of a fellowman. On the day when you conquer shall fall the beast of private might, worshipped by the supporters of the present system, the banner of industrial freedom and equality shall wave over the nations of free men and women; wealth created in abundance shall be enjoyed by all wealth producers in common.

This, O workers of the world, is your historic mission. You have the power, and must find the means for the combat against our exploiters. Choose and act!

Only the working class can achieve its own freedom!

Organize into an economic fighting organization, join the Industrial Workers of the World.

This article was first published in a German paper in Cleveland, the "Cleveland Arbeiter Zeitung," in 1905, and extracts were published in two papers in France.

PINKERTON DROPS A BOMB

(Continued from Page 3)

switchman is discharged for insubordination, a brakeman for being kind-hearted enough in helping a worker to the wheatfields of Dakota, a conductor for violating the rules of the bond company. The B. R. T. men select an agent as switchman, the S. U. man as brakeman, and each is eager to become a member of the union controlling his new calling. Before they can affiliate with each other's union they are compelled by these unions to do that which they condemn in the master class that employs them, the passing of a medical examination by a local physician, who submits his findings to the general medical examination of the union. The applications are returned to both of these local unions as "not approved," probably on account of age or other infirmities. The worker is then notified that he can become a so-called member of the union that he is not in accord with, because he would be compelled to pay the high assessment of two organizations, both unions claiming jurisdiction over him for work done by the respective company. The result is the B. of R. T. man entering yard service remains in the B. of R. T. in order to hold his craft insurance, and when he thinks he is unjustly dealt with he appeals to his organization to assist him. The result being that after 25 years of experiment the harmonious relations fall to pieces and the same old cry of "jurisdiction" and "scab" passes back and forth.

To give the worker an opportunity to break away from this system the "Transportation Workers" advocate a "general insurance for all workers," advancing the following arguments in its favor:

(To Be Continued.)

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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.
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(Copy of Constitution Sent on Application.)

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