



**The Industrial Union Bulletin**

PUBLISHED BY THE  
INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD

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SATURDAY, JUNE 20TH, 1908.

**INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM (SYNDICALISM) IN ITS ECONOMIC ELUCIDATION.**

In the periodical "Morgen" Professor Werner Sombart gives his views and a critic of the Syndicalist (Industrial Union) movement. His own criticism will be dissected in the near future in the Bulletin, but what interests us more is his objective review of the reasoning and the aims, as well as the literature of the International Industrial Union Movement. We reproduce here a part of that review:

"What conception has the ardent Industrial Unionist as to how will be accomplished the transformation from the capitalist system of society into the socialist commonwealth? Certainly not along the lines as preached by the old school of Marx, and of course not in the almost automatic way of a gradual transformation of the existing order into the socialistic. The Industrial Unionists are disinclined to wait for the expiration of the prescribed processes of accumulation and concentration, as much as they dislike to build their hopes on the theory of the gradual impoverishment of the masses. On the contrary, they argue, that the element required for the social revolution are proportionately quicker developed during periods of relative prosperity.

But what are these elements? Strictly taken, there is but one power, one propelling and constructive tendency, and that is the revolutionary will-power of the proletariat, which is developed into an enthusiasm for deeds of self-sacrifice and actions. In this generative power lie all the possibilities to break the old methods of production and old forms of society. Within it are embodied also all faculties of generating a new mode of production. This will be built upon a completely new moral, the moral of gratuitous sacrifice of the individual for the weal of the whole movement. It's a sentiment, as likely, perhaps only permeated the revolutionary armies of the eighteenth century, when everyone knew of nothing more noble as to perform his duties solely for the attainment of freedom, without any chances of personal compensation or aggrandizement.

The Syndicalist movement is building its hopes for the future upon the energy of the combined will-power, upon the enthusiasm of the masses, and upon the readiness of the workers for action. Therefore the Syndicalist does not recognize the saying: "In the beginning was the word—was the theory—was the dogma." The Syndicalist emphasizes: "In the beginning was the deed, was action." He does not wait for historic developments, he is intent to make history himself.

This is the philosophy of the "Syndicalists."

And by this theory the fundamentals of his practical policies are clearly defined; everything must be avoided which may tend to paralyze that revolutionary determination. Therefore the work and propaganda of the Syndicalists is centralized in the economic organizations and they are directing all activities therein. As the unions are to be the executor of the revolutionary aims the gravest danger for the revolutionist itself would ensue if the proposed instrument for these revolutionary acts, the Syndicalist unions, would be disintegrated by stagnation or compromises with the bourgeois-class.

And everything that resembles the pure and simple union methods is apt to promote the tendencies of compromise, and are therefore spurned—"Trade Union practical methods," such as well-filled treasuries, death and sick-attachments, arbitration boards, trade agreements with employers are discarded.

Trade unions with high treasuries become overcautious and fear conflicts, for this reason they debar the lower paid strata of workers, and become narrow-bounded in their collective dealings. In opposition to this the Syndicalists advocate the formation of unions according to industries (not by crafts) which are welded together in National Industrial Unions, so to counteract the tendencies to corporatism (labor aristocracy); therefore no treasury is accumulated for strike, or sick-benefit payment, hence the rejection of every policy of arbitration or conciliation with employers of labor, or of any other measure that may promote "social peace"; therefore they do not advocate compromises in the parliaments, social reforms, or humanitarian endeavors, which arise from the "social spirit," and are advocated only to foster that spirit; in brief, their slogan is: Fight to the end of capitalism, and all its institutions!

Only the constant conflict is able to preserve the creative powers of the employer as well as the employee, because the former also degenerates, becomes flabby when he does not fight, thus industrial progress, upon which the working class places a deciding influence, is retarded. Therefore, the proletarian "action" policy (violence proletaire) is in the interest of the progress of industrial and social development.

To emphasize the existence, and to continue the struggle unabated appears ever more important today when all efforts are made to play "social peace" against the advance of socialism—this is one of the arguments of Syndicalists.

On the other side every tendency must be supported which helps to strengthen the revolutionary will-power, by which the proletariat is made ever conscious of the class antagonism within capitalist society and which stirs its hatred against this world and its functionaries. And for the consummation of these purposes there appears at the present as the medium best suited the "strike."

In a strike is ever best expressed the existing antagonism between proletariat and the capitalist class, in every strike class hatred is engendered and given vent. And in the strikes and conflict on the industrial field are best developed those faculties of the proletariat which are needed to accomplish the social revolution and to build up the new forms of society; solidarity, enthusiasm, self-discipline and collective sacrifice-virtues. Of course the strike cannot be a mere business transaction, but must evolve spontaneously from the decisions of an agitated mass; is not, according to Syndicalists, ren-

dered possible by the application of carefully accumulated dues, but must base its chances for success on the faculty of the workers in enduring and suffering hardships, and also upon the solidarity of other groups of workers, who have to enter into sympathetic action voluntarily so to aid the strikers with pecuniary support.

If every strike of this kind is a medium to revive the revolutionary passions, so is in most excellent measure the general strike—(greve generale.)

The general strike of the syndicalists presupposes that every thought and all tendencies of individual craft selfishness and narrow-minded business and immediate success policies are eliminated; the workers as a class appear upon the scene, and the line of battle is no longer drawn by a few groups of workers against groups of employers, but class against class. Every general strike is only a battle in anticipation of the final decisive conflict, is therefore only a field-exercise on a large scale. Because, obviously, the form in which ultimately the transformation of the means of production from the hands of the capitalists into those of the working class will pass, will be the general lockout (virtually a dry barricade). Yes, indeed, so much importance do the Syndicalists lay to the general lockout in the final act of the social revolution that they look upon it as the symbol of their efforts and propaganda.

In all likelihood the State, as representative of capitalist interests, will obstruct all attempts of the proletariat to take the means of production. So, in order to accomplish the change as smoothly as possible, care has to be taken beforehand that the new institutions are formed and the old government machinery demolished.

And as the capitalist State's power rests mostly on the army, the Syndicalists of France are endeavoring to break that power, while in the other countries they apply methods devised by the particular nature of conditions confronting them. The anti-militaristic propaganda in European countries has therefore a very close and organic connection with the Syndicalist movement, and in all other countries wherever that movement rises it aims to undermine the State, as expressive of capitalist ownership of the means of production—and to prepare the workers for the social revolution by means of actions on the industrial field.

**LET US SET THE PACE.**

"Had the Industrial Workers of the World accomplished nothing else it would at least deserve credit for bringing the question of industrial unionism so prominently to the fore that even the conservative element in the American Federation of Labor had to acknowledge its existence and coming ascendancy."

ERNST UNTERMANN,

In International Socialist Review.

Yes, and if so much has been accomplished the wise men of Unter-mann's type would advise the organization to disband; as, according to their notion, the American Federation of Labor is beginning to assimilate itself and will gradually grow into a big "federated" industrial union itself.

A high official of an International Craft Union, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, made a similar statement a few days ago. Said he: It's now useless for the Industrial Workers of the World to continue its agitation; they have scared the American Federation of Labor, this must be admitted, and thus forced that organization to allow the advocates of industrial unionism within the American Federation of Labor to press their ideas with more success, and we observe the tendency for amalgamation spreading all over the country; soon all national unions in the clothing industry will federate into one body; likewise will the 10 or 12 International Unions in the "Metal and Machinery Industry" form a "Department of the American Federation of Labor"; the International Union of United Brewery Workers has been readmitted into the American Federation of Labor—and that organization will gradually and peaceably work out the program which the Industrial Workers of the World is unable to accomplish because of its numerical weakness."

Both these gentlemen admit that the Industrial Workers of the World has set the pace. But as true defenders of pure and simple unionism they fail to acknowledge the difference in principles by which the advocates of industrial unionism through the Industrial Workers of the World distinguish themselves from the advocates of so-called industrial unionism within the American Federation of Labor.

No matter how much the American Federation of Labor may change in form, no matter what terms may be applied to express these changes; all this will not alter the fact that said organization, fundamentally advocating the identity of interests between employers and employees, is an attachment to the capitalist system of society and will be used to perpetuate the exploitation of the millions of wage-workers for the profit of comparatively few who own and control all good things of life.

The term "Craft Unionism" is therefore applied not so much to express the forms as the principles of an organization. The Industrial Workers of the World, as the advocate of "Industrial Unionism," apply the term to signify that the organization, while in forms and structure shaping itself to the requirements of industrial control of forces in the present day conflicts with the owners, is based in its fundamentals and principles upon the recognition of the class struggle; recognizing this irrepressible fact the organization is used and is preparing to end this struggle by removing the cause; that is, by the change of production for profit for that use. For this reason it will help to demolish the capitalist system of society by substituting the industrial commonwealth and abolish political government, through the administration of industries, by the organized agencies of the wealth producers.

The Industrial Unionist, used in terminology, is the direct antipode of the craft unionist; the latter is contented with working for immediate gains at the expense of the large mass of the working class; the former aims to organize the working class for more effective battle within the confines of capitalist society, and for the final conflict for complete emancipation and industrial freedom of all races and all nations.

Setting the pace in this direction, we know that scores of thousands within the old craft unions are cheerfully accepting these principles, and would be ready to cast their lot with the advocates of industrial unionism if they could. But with the ascendancy of this brand of industrial unionism the lines of battle are being drawn sharper every day, and when those who are not ready yet today to separate themselves from institutions controlled by capitalist class interests are strong enough to force the issue we will observe how

they will be compelled to segregate themselves from these decaying bodies; we will see how, by the aid of labor lieutenants and capitalist politicians, the "Craft Unionists" will hold the field, and then there will be but two alternatives for the "Industrial Unionist," that is, either to line up with an organization built on the principles of the Industrial Workers of the World, or abandon the battlefield on which the new forms and higher principles are fighting for supremacy over the old rotting forms and corrupted capitalist institutions. But in the latter event there will be enough in the I. W. W. to hold the ground and prepare the elements for final victory.

The Industrial Workers of the World will, by historic necessity, by their propaganda and agitation be the impelling force to hasten the days of these conflicts; because the sooner it comes the clearer will be made the real and paramount issue to the thousands and millions of toilers who long and strive for the day when they will be industrially free. No ill-advice of our present would-be friends will sway the I. W. W. from hewing strictly to its course. Industrial Unionism,—as they admit,—is in the ascendancy; it will sway over the country soon, but it will be Industrial Unionism for the attainment of Industrial Freedom.

Onward, fellow-workers, the days of victory are nigh!

The officers of the Industrial Union of Bakers and Confectioners (A. F. of L.) and the editor of the Bakers' Journal may hurl their invectives against the I. W. W. as much as they like, as long as we know that they have no proofs to back up their accusations. But how about their own members acting as strike-breakers against other members of the same organization?

This is exactly what happened in St. Louis in the Heydt Bakery Co. At the present members of the same A. F. of L. union are shouting at each other "scabs! scabs!"

What a great farce,—could we say,—were it not such a tragedy!

**LOOKING FOR A REMEDY.**

In the official organ of the "Metallarbeiter Verband," (Metal Workers' Industrial Union) of Germany, a writer from the Pittsburg, Pa., district gives a truthful and vivid description of the conditions of the working class in the iron and steel mills of Allegheny County. Of the series of articles, published in that organ, which has now 250,000 readers, one contains points which are of vital interest to the Industrial Workers of the World, because the writer does not seem to know that a remedy which he is looking for has been found, and need only be applied, if the fellow-workers would only acquaint themselves with the facts, and disseminate the knowledge thus acquired to the hundred thousands of proletarians in that district, and elsewhere.

Chagrin, the correspondent thus signing the articles contributed, writes:

"In the Pittsburg iron and steel manufacturing belt all races, all nationalities, many languages and all colors can be found. Twenty-seven languages and the life-habits of all nations and races can be observed, without changing the locality, in all their phases of development, which they pass through from their first days of national originality.

The strongest contingent is recruited from the six Slavish nations of Austria.

One can get only an idea, and be amazed, of the abundance of nationalities and differences in languages used in that Austrian monarchy, when seeing them concentrated and huddled together in the narrow confines of a workshop in "America."

For instance, there are five men employed at a "job." Everyone of them emphatically swears that he is an "Austrian," but neither of them can converse one word with the others.

When an untrained foreman, a native American, gives an order in the English language, a spectator may often witness extremely comic scenes, when every one of the five endeavors according to his own conception and with overzealous haste to execute the orders; but this confusion would almost drive the inexperienced to despair. Of course, nobody wants to constantly quarrel and get angry with these men, and so after all, they learn to command a few words in Polish, Croatian, Slavonian, Bohemian, etc. In a short time both parties, the foreman and the men on the "job," submit with the patience of a genuine moselem to their lot; they soon find themselves in "dumb" harmony in the performance of their "job," and find relief in gesture-conversation, or, as in many cases, far more drastic and heart-rending methods of mutual "dumb" understanding are applied. One would believe that they were dealing with a herd of cattle instead of human beings.

The day-wages of laborers range from \$1.50 to \$1.75,—skilled workers receive from \$3.20 to \$4.00. As can be seen the boundary lines between these two classes of wage workers are far apart,—as a general rule,—there is no connection between the two.

The results thereof are on the one side misery in permanence, a ———— life from the hand into the mouth, a constant hovering around the ———— starvation point; and on the other side a semi-bourgeois comfortableness. Or, on one side a "quasi slum proletariat"; on the other a labor aristocracy, both terms, however, applied here in their technical sense.

The vast difference between the wages of the "skilled" and unskilled strikes the eye in all its dire consequences. The former are mostly recruited from native American, or Americanized workers, who have in their craft organization a backing and don't shirk a fight for the maintenance of their standard of compensation. The others, the larger mass, are foreigners, unable to speak the language of the country, unorganized, and never has a helping hand been extended to them. They are absolutely at the mercy of the employers. What is wrong from them by the organized craft unionists they again take away indirectly from these unorganized masses.

But how about the possibilities of organizing these foreign masses? Are they less than the Americans able to form organizations? Are they less accessible to the appeal to class-conscious action? Do they have the sense and feeling of solidarity?

This has not been proven yet, nor could it be shown that they have absolutely or relatively furnished more to the strike-breaking element than have the native-born workers.

But it is an historic fact that they were the heroes of the memorable Homestead Strike. It is a fact that they, who never earned more than \$1.50 per day, entered into this struggle and kept it up, although not having the support of an organization, without hopes of securing advantages, only inspired to their action by undefined

solidarity and a consciousness of their class interests, and those whom they aided in the struggle.

What is needed for these foreign workers is the aid and assistance of the unions; these should furnish their organizers of their respective nationalities who know their language, their customs and their conditions.

The correspondent, Chagrin, displays in all other articles appearing in the "Metallarbeiter Zeitung" a thorough knowledge of the conditions in the iron and steel industry, which would indicate that he had informed himself also of the "Reasons why the craft-unions of America, and in that district particularly, are not actuated by the iron logic of events, as would be reflected in actions and methods of labor organization."

Nor does it seem that the propaganda carried on by the I. W. W. for just such purposes as the correspondent would like the old unions to pursue, has been observed by him and those who clamor for organization among the workers of 27 nationalities in that district.

According to statistical tabulation there are 275,000 workers employed in the "infernal" alone of the large Pittsburgh district; the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Plate Workers, that is the organization of aristocrats, embraces a membership of 28,000 throughout the United States, and while it is true that in their recent convention that organization opened its doors to the "colored brothers," because, in this instance, the iron logic of events forced that step upon the organization; yet this should in no way be construed as meaning that the "colored workers" thus to be admitted to membership from now on, are of that strata as described by the correspondent.

Today, when the official papers of the growing socialist unions of Europe are advising the emigrants to join the unions of the country where they find employment, they should be acquainted with all the facts, and not only a part, so that they will give true and not misleading information to those who rely on these sources for guidance in their relation to the workers of all countries.

Organize! Educate! Prepare!!!

ACCOUNT OF R. KATZ SINCE 1907 CONVENTION, WHILE CONDUCTING STRIKE IN LANCASTER, PA.

Table with columns: Week Ending, Salary, Mileage, Hotel and Meals, Misc., Total. Rows include Oct, Nov, Dec, and Jan.

Table with columns: To Cash, Amount, Total. Rows include Oct, Nov, Dec, Jan.

Total bills in October \$57.83, Total bills in November 149.26, Total bills in December 111.49, Total bills in January 10.00. Total \$328.57

PROPAGANDA LEAGUE OF NEW YORK CITY.

The Propaganda League of New York will hold open air meetings as follows: Monday, June 22, corner of Leroy and Thompson streets.

ganda work for the I. W. W. are urged to communicate with the undersigned. Chairmen, speakers and literature distributors are especially required.

NOTICE TO LITERARY AGENTS.

Pay up what you owe for bundles ordered of the I. W. W., and after that set up by the first of every month.

JEROME.

"Jerome! Jerome! How I love thy rocky hills, how often have I cursed thy smelly smoke."

(With Apologies to Joe Lazare.) That ain't poetry, but is the truth Jerome the barren, Jerome the hell, Jerome in his amusement, barren in its enjoyments, barren in its life. Materialism personified, a daily grind of toil unrelieved by variety, unrelieved by amusements, unrelieved by music or by poetry, unrelieved by art or by drama; a dreary place of barren solitude surrounded by the suffocating company fumes of smelter smoke.

Senator Clark, how vain glorious in that title, Jerome the vain, Jerome the politician, Jerome the politician, Jerome the politician, Jerome the politician.

Jerome! Jerome! I am named after Saint Jerome or Broker Jerome, it is however partakes of the nature of the two, in that it is patient under its burdens and materialistic in its existence.

Jerome! Jerome! A desert in a desert, made a desert by greater, Jerome the barren, Jerome the barren, Jerome the barren, Jerome the barren.

OUR LITERATURE.

Of all the subjects for discussion in the civilized world of to-day that of Industrial Unionism is by far the most important, and judging from the fact that our speakers have repeatedly challenged to debate the champions of other movements that claim to work in the interest of labor, and that such challenges have with few exceptions, which have turned out as they were ignored or rejected, we have every reason to believe, not only that we are right, but also that we are fully able to prove that we are right, and yet our efforts to build up our organization have met with a success that is anywhere near in proportion to the importance of the cause we work for.

This can only be explained in one way: There is some fault or mistake in our means and methods of propaganda. The means of propaganda are our speakers and our literature. Our speakers are good, in fact, the best that are available for us, and the only improvement we can do is in that direction is to get more speakers as soon as our finances will allow us to do so.

But what of our literature? Our headquarters handles books that deal quite extensively with history, sociology, and abstract theories of political economy, none of these larger books deal with any kind of Unionism. The books are good, there is no question about that, and it is proper that we have them for sale, but why are they to be built up for industrial labor union, therefore books treating of industrial unionism is what we want first, other books are of secondary importance to us.

If the pamphlets handled by our headquarters there is only one, "Handbook of Industrial Unionism," to which there is no objection. "What Means This Strike?" and "The Burning Question of Trade Unionism" are good, but they deal with incidents that are not forgotten by the majority of wage-workers, besides that, the references to the L. T. and L. A. are likely to confuse the average reader.

Industrial Unionism, by Debs has lost much of its propaganda value by the fact that Debs has no real, and no interest in industrial unionism. Our speakers should not be put to the trouble of explaining why Debs lost his movement.

Our official organ, the "Industrial Union Bulletin," needs much use for propaganda purposes, nor do I think it should be made a propaganda paper; we need the I. U. B. for another purpose. The I. U. B. must be open for articles of interest, suggestion, and criticism coming from the rank and file of our membership. If it were not, the I. U. W. would be controlled by leaders like the A. F. of L. unions.

We also need to have our pamphlets translated into many languages: in this locality, Swedish, Finnish and German could be used to advantage. We have only English literature here, in other localities literature in other languages would be needed.

Yours for Industrial Democracy.

B. E. NILSSON.

(By 12 E. 456.)

A PROLETARIAN TRAGEDY.

Not far from an open sewer called Gowanus Canal, in the City of Churches, Homes, Tenements and Brothels, is to be seen a street, a few streets in an inhabited chiefly by women and children in the day time, and at night by tired horses and wearied men.

It is a street that is just like any other old street that you could find in the slums of the cities of America. It has all the landmarks of civilization in every corner; drug stores, saloons, badly ventilated tenements, houses of brick and houses of wood, a livery stable in the middle of the best block; a brothel in one end and a church in the other. All tastes can be suited; all whims can be satisfied in it.

The reader will agree with me in saying that it is a truly civilized place. But it is not of the streets, nor the city, that I am writing of or thinking about. For after all, there is very little difference between one street and another, between one city and another. They are all alike, and it is the worker who is concerned. They are all dreary and cold if we are looking for work. They are all handsome and cozy, like a bench in the park, if you have the price of a ball and a work.

them a few times a week. The Italian and the Jew both received as compensation for their toll just enough money that would bring as sustenance for their sickly bodies, and the bodies of their wives and children, rotten vegetable; coffee by name, but poison by taste; jungle meat, and other essentials, called necessities of life—or death. The third and other floors were occupied by Irish working people and among them the subject of our sketch. On the third floor lived or existed an Irishwoman, at birth named O'Brien, at marriage O'Doherty and at the time of writing a widow when a name is unnecessary.

It was a cold, bitter, stormy morning in the latter end of February in the present year of grace and peace. Mrs. O'Doherty lay in bed, tired after spending the greater part of the night in attending to her two sick children, Willie and Tessie. She expected to give birth to a baby in a day or two, but she would try to rest. Just as she was closing her eyes the clock told her it was time to get her husband's breakfast. He was promised a job in the New Tunnel. Though she felt like keeping him at Tom's as she was not feeling well at all. But then he was out of work so long, and they needed so many things, she thought it were better to call him, which she did. Tom O'Doherty, a big, rough, awkward, lumpy old man, with a face and two hands that told a tale of work, worry and misery, had his breakfast, and left for his new job. Before departing for his new job, Tom said to his wife: "If you need any more, and for my own part, I'll be glad to help you out."

"All right, good-by," replied Mrs. O'Doherty. She lay down again and tried to sleep, but she could not. She was worrying and thinking over the affairs of life. Her mind wandered back to the days when she was a school girl. She thought of the many incidents that occurred in her brief and chequered career of single-blessedness. She again thought of the poor breakfast she gave Tom, "a bit of hard bread, an' a piece of cold ham, with nothing to drink but old trash of tea, and poor Tom likes milk. I wonder how he'll pull thro' the day with the lunch I made up for him; sure, I'll be at it, just a couple of cuts of bread with condensed milk as butter,—and a poor excuse it makes." She, not being able to sleep, arose and walked about the little, narrow room. She distrust of that vilest piece of furniture in the house—the mirror. She smiled in admiration at her tall and graceful appearance. Her beautiful, statuesque body, her bright flashing eyes and her nose bearing, reminded one of the race of fighters—the Dalassians—that she sprang from, and was in no way an unworthy representative of it. As she gazed in the mirror, she noticed her face had a longish look, and several lines furrowed her cheeks and brow. It told a tale too plain, so much, that her long flowing hair and well worn kimona could not offset it. Had she been a lady of the bourgeoisie she'd fill the role of a beggar. She was aged, she was very early, a visitation they deeply regret, not from the low, animal standpoint of the middle class, but from the sad fact it interferes with the sale of the wage-woman, it reduces her standard of living. Like all women, she naturally had no more use for the glass. Though not in any sense proud or vain, she instinctively knew that in our present society, she was of a high dignity, and commanded little respect. She turned away from the mirror, and once more laid herself on the rickety and much-worn lounge. She now regretted she had let Tom go to work. She had to send Willie to school, and her sister's, and Willie wasn't strong, besides the day was so cold and he might get a relapse. "But I must send him, I'm feeling sick," she said, and immediately wrote a brief note, and instructed Willie to take it to his "Aunt Mary that lived in Dumfries street." She now thought a little light work would do her good, and getting on her feet, she attended to putting her house in order. In a little while the housework had to be abandoned, she was growing sick, besides she was so tired. She lay down once more, and said "she'd wait for Mary." "Mary," she thought, "Willie returned quickly (the day was cold, it made him run very fast), and told the sad news to his mother that his Aunt Mary was dead sick for three days, and that she was going to the hospital, and that she was dead for could not attend her, besides, said Willie, "The Settlement work lady said they'd have to get another girl." "And servants made such horrible mistakes by getting sick now, it was becoming, she wanted to be ill anyhow. I'll call up the agent and tell him send me a girl—a strong girl." "God help us," the poor brave woman cried on hearing Willie's message. "Was it too bad about Mary and she'll be so lonesome in the hospital. I hear they have no mercy for a poor person there. Well, well, did you ever see—troubles never come by themselves; they always bring company, they do so. If I could only get Hannah to come, but she got her share, too, and the poor thing was cleaned up by the undertaker and the drug store man and the doctor. She had nothing left out of Hughes insurance money. Things cost so much, and the little money they were saving was eaten up too by them fellows. Hannah's got it hard too. Everything seems to be against her. And poor Hughie, he's dead six weeks now. He got no chance at all, the dear fellow. Killed so sudden. Them old bridges are so dangerous. Poor Hughie was a good sort of a fellow, if he lived we wouldn't want for anything. "A poor dear Hannah must get out to Flatbush to nurse a lighted, rich woman's baby." "I suppose that's why little Margaret died, she was taken from the breast too soon."

"May had luck to them for rich people, they get the labor and sweat, and blood of our husbands and sons, 'Wasn't Hannah's husband killed and Mary's son, Eddie, run over by the cars." "And that's not enough, we mothers must give them the most of our smalling rotten eggs." The other manufactured cheap, unwearable shoddy clothes. Neither of the two sold his manufacture. Some one called for

them a few times a week. The Italian and the Jew both received as compensation for their toll just enough money that would bring as sustenance for their sickly bodies, and the bodies of their wives and children, rotten vegetable; coffee by name, but poison by taste; jungle meat, and other essentials, called necessities of life—or death. The third and other floors were occupied by Irish working people and among them the subject of our sketch. On the third floor lived or existed an Irishwoman, at birth named O'Brien, at marriage O'Doherty and at the time of writing a widow when a name is unnecessary.

"I don't know what kind of a country it is at all. But then I must despair, 'God is good, and I must not

course any one, "Tian't right." She walked or staggered from the lounge to the bed, the pains that accompany maternity came over her, no assistance could be had from her neighbors, the Jewish woman had been celebrating some Jewish festival and could not be found at home. The Italian woman had gone on a regular lar trip to the coal yard too, and the Irish women had all gone to church to get the "blessed ashes," and no assistance could be gotten till they returned.

Here you have a picture of the sufferings of the working class. Woman fulfilling her noblest mission is left helpless and alone. The sick child, Tessie, with her golden hair asks for bread, the delicate Willie wondering at it all, and both crying, "what is the matter with our mamma."

The pious women return from church, chattering, one Mrs. Lynch goes in to O'Doherty's with some "blessed ashes." The good woman enquires for Mrs. O'Doherty. Willie tells her "My mamma is sick—very sick." A groan from the dingy bedroom confirms Willie's short reply. The kind woman advances and enters the room, "good neighbor" suffering terribly and her face unnaturally red and sweat running down into her bosom. The visitor takes everything at a glance, everything, including the child, and she looks for something—milk—anything—to give "the 'scent' women" a drink," she says aloud. But no milk could be found. The milkman wouldn't give them any more "trust until he was paid up."

A second, a third cry from the bedroom, one louder and more pitiable than the other, and the Samaritan, Mrs. Lynch, uttered a short prayer and raced for a doctor. It is white with fear. The bedroom is silent except a slight, low noise. "The baby's born," said the woman to the doctor. He lights a match. The face of the woman is no longer red. It is white, very white. Her features are calm. The tresses are loose, making her look so sweet and so sad—she is dead.

PROPAGANDA NOTES.

The Rock Island Employees' Magazine, a dope sheet distributed among the employees of that road, recommends to its slaves to purchase R. I. emblem buttons, in the following manner: "You may well be proud to wear a Rock Island 'Trade-mark' button. Get one today, put it right on and you'll find your neighbors treating you with greater respect immediately they see it.

It means something to be a part of this great American railroad system, whether you're sectionman or president. Honestly! Just send for a button and try it on the neighbors—or travel all over the world and see how folks take off their hats to a Rock-Islander."

Are you really proud to wear the trademark of your masters, the railroad kings, who skin you the year around, and lay you off by the thousands when no profits can be squeezed from your hides?

Yes, you are a part of the great railroads, the only important factor, because you are the only ones who operate in fact those great systems of transportation, at the risk of life and limb, for just enough to keep you in good working condition.

But you play not the part that the company infers. It's they who benefit by your toil, who exploit you, and add insult to injury by asking of you to advertise the road, which skins its slaves to the queen's taste, at your own expense.

We don't ask you to buy any buttons, but to study the principles of Industrial Unionism. Write for information. Inquire in your locality for I. W. W. men—get in touch with them.

To our members we recommend to spread the I. W. W. literature amongst railroaders on road, yard, shop and section. They are made of the right stuff. Give them the "highball" to go ahead and get started in and studying Industrial Unionism! It will surely get them off the sidetracks into which the old brotherhoods are leading them now, and bring them back into the main line, possessed of the same spirit of solidarity that was shown in the great strike on the Gould system in the '70's and the Pullman strike of 1894 and keep on until economic freedom for themselves and their class has been achieved.

NOTICE TO LITERARY AGENTS.

A demand has been made to print a leaflet for Austrian workers. General Headquarters has now ready for delivery a special leaflet in the Slavonian language, the price of same being \$5.00 per thousand.

NOTICE TO SUBSCRIBERS.

Once more we request you not to put off renewing your subscription. Don't wait until your name is cut out from the list! Do it now, and state in your letter "RENEWAL." It will insure you an uninterrupted delivery of the I. U. B., and it will save you the cost of taking your name off and putting it back again on the mailing list.

THE PRESENT SITUATION\*

I. Retrospect. By Frank Bohn.

The discussion on tactics now absorbing the attention of the I. W. W. was bound to come, sooner or later. The very existence of the political parties made a straight forward course as regards political action impossible. Educational propaganda along political lines has been made impossible by our policy of neutrality. This fact gave golden opportunity for the propagation of "physical forceism."

The months of those industrialists who favor political action has been and are closed—and this though they far outnumber the advocates of "direct action." But this has been the least disturbing feature of the situation. Wrangling between I. W. W. members of the two parties has been much worse.

Before the coming of the I. W. W. the work of one of the political socialist parties was that of teacher alone. Suffice it to say here that the work of that party as a teacher of Socialist fundamentals has been such as to secure it a full measure of appreciation from the uneducated masses. But it has been no more than an educational society. Observing it from the near view of the present it is evident that as a separate organization its work was completely done in 1904. At that time, however, this was not seen so clear to those of us who were fighting to maintain it.

The Industrial Union Conference. Then came the Chicago Conference to the younger element in that party referred to. This conference was a promise of renewed vigor among the purely revolutionary forces of the movement, and then, what is of far greater consequence, the industrial movement, at its very inception, explained the form of organization and the tactics which the practical labor movement was to employ and must continue to evolve, in order to consummate the revolution. The Chicago conference was the result of experience gained in the Western Federation of Miners and the International Union of United Brewery Workmen. The first clear exposition of the theory and practice of industrialism was made by Fellow-Worker Trautmann in the A. L. U. Journal in 1902. When the writer, as a member of the S. T. & L. A. tentatively represented that body at the Chicago conference, neither he nor any other member of the S. T. & L. A. had ever set forth the argument for industrial unionism. Furthermore, I had never met or heard of one who knew anything about the matter as at present understood. It was a month later, at Kansas City, that I first explained industrial unionism as understood at the Chicago conference. I stood along the line to San Francisco my position occasioned surprise and not a little opposition. At Los Angeles threats of expulsion from the Socialist Trades and Labor Alliance were made. At this time, April 1905, the "Congress of Faith" was made and printed in the "People," and from then on real arguments for industrialism began to appear. After that I found no opposition among members of the Socialist party. Their paths had been made clear by light reflected from the Chicago conference and the A. L. U. Journal, then edited by Thos. J. Hagarty, by the "People." No more was I threatened with expulsion from the alliance. It is only fair to add that, at San Francisco, where the alliance was full of young, active members without the millstone of old hatreds about their necks, the industrial argument was understood and the movement started. These facts to forever put an end to such silly and untrue statements as "The I. W. W. is the child of the Alliance." Not one member of the Socialist Trades and Labor Alliance had the slightest idea that the I. W. W. was to be launched until a few days before the conference. The writer dropped in at the A. L. U. headquarters in Chicago and was then invited to attend. What ever the Socialist Trades and Labor Alliance may have had it exerted in a purely negative way through criticism of the A. F. of L. The courage of this critical attitude was recognized by the industrialists, but the S. T. & L. A. had absolutely no constructive argument.

The I. W. W. Finds the Field Ripe. At the first convention of the I. W. W. the organization was successfully launched under most promising conditions. Its acceptance by the revolutionary and progressive elements of the working class was most encouraging. Nor was this surprising. Hitherto we had plied with working people to study and understand economics, political science and history. Thus they would understand the labor movement and embrace socialism. But in 1905 our argument changed. "Let us organize," we said, "according to our various industries. Thus shall we be in a position to defend ourselves and win strikes when that is possible. Let us train ourselves to administer the intricate affairs of industrial society. Let us vote politically for revolutionists only, and seize, if we can, the levers of the capitalist state. If that means force, be prepared to exert physical force and capture the industrial plant of the nation."

Industrial movement. As the cavalry of the proletarian army, it would move naturally in its proper sphere of operations. This sphere is, always, to scout in front and cover the flanks of the solidly massed infantry columns of the industrial proletariat. Acting independently the political forces would ever be upon the wrong line of march, acting to show. To all such the end, he inevitably overpowered and destroyed. Thus would the industrial infantry be exposed to constant annoyance by the enemy's cavalry (the political power). Furthermore, the misbehavior of the proletarian cavalry would cause untrained and undisciplined elements in the infantry to react against the cavalry as a nuisance, anyway, and the infantry had betokened it alone—to ambush and certain defeat.

Many I. W. W. members of both Socialist parties placed themselves squarely upon the ground of the argument. To all such the end, he inevitably overpowered and destroyed. Thus would the industrial infantry be exposed to constant annoyance by the enemy's cavalry (the political power). Furthermore, the misbehavior of the proletarian cavalry would cause untrained and undisciplined elements in the infantry to react against the cavalry as a nuisance, anyway, and the infantry had betokened it alone—to ambush and certain defeat.

FROM THE ATLANTIC TO THE PACIFIC.

A hustler at the front is fellow worker Henry Traurig of New York City. Almost every other day an order is sent in by him, either for literature or for the Industrial Union Bulletin.

Of course, he does not always pay for the same out of his own pocket, but receives his instructions from his local. At the same time, this does not alter the fact that he is a "live one."

On the Pacific Coast, from Portland down to Los Angeles, the workers are pushing the I. W. W. Spokane receives a bundle of 300—Portland 550 a week, and will order one thousand next week, if the I. U. B. will continue to be a means of propaganda. You bet it will—but not just for the sake of an increased order from Portland, Spokane, Frisco, etc., but for the sake of all workmen, who want to learn more about the I. W. W. and Industrial Unionism.

Fellow workers in other cities, take an example of the work done in the A. L. U. Get a move on yourself—give the chairs at headquarters a chance to air themselves during the Summer months.

In spite of all opposition now evidenced against the work done among the workers, the I. W. W. not only advises its members not to retaliate upon A. F. of L. workers, but strongly condemns such action, no matter how justified they might appear. Any member of the I. W. W. proven by evidence of having scabbed upon any worker will be expelled from the I. W. W. without much ceremony.

We don't wage war against workmen, whether belonging to the A. F. of L. or to no organization, but against the capitalist system personified in the capitalist class and its defenders.

WHAT IS THE DEMOCRACY PRACTICED BY BROTHER CAPITALIST?

When he orders his protectors of the wealth stolen from the workers to stop or break up public meetings of his wronged brother laborer. When he employs the scum and dregs of society as spies in the Union. When he orders them to commit crimes to be placed afterwards at the door of some Union. When his agents exclaim with the bravado of a brigand who has his victim at his mercy, "To hell with the constitution," for which our revolutionary forefathers fought and died.

When the sanctity of the workers' home becomes a farce, Cripple Creek, Telluride, Denver bear witness. When labor papers voicing the truth are put on the index, while those who glorify Brother Capitalist are allowed to print fake advertisements to catch the worker; and print lies about the workers' cause.

When soldiers are sent to assist a few pirates in the crushing of labor and incidentally advertise the business of commercial adventurers.

When injunctions are issued against labor unions regardless of Dame Justice—finger pointing the other way.

When the calling of names takes the place of arguments. Thomas Paine has been called "filthy Abolitionist" and workmen who hold the banner of freedom aloft "Undesirable Citizens." While idle sports of the "400" and busy ruffians of the lower "10,000" are commended for acts committed against labor.

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be forwarded to each of the craft unions in Kallispell, and a copy be sent to the other I. W. W. locals in Flathead county; and be it further Resolved, That this local requests all workers who are organized, and all those citizens who are in favor of organized labor, to take what action they may deem most suitable towards those stores or corporations that wish to have their work performed by scabs and scab herders.

THE "ERUPTIVE PERIOD."

Resolutions Adopted by Local Union No. 173, I. W. W., May 21, 1908. Whereas, The General Secretaries published in the "I. W. W. Bulletin" of April 25 and May 2, 1908, the malicious lies and misrepresentations of Joseph J. Ettor against this Local No. 173, I. W. W., without notifying said local, thus slandering and injuring the reputation of said local, before the Industrial Workers of the World; and Whereas, When No. 173 presented proven charges against Joe Ettor, in order that the true facts may be known, Assistant General Secretary immediately replied that if anything that he could say would have any effect, it would not be published in the Bulletin; therefore, be it

Resolved, By Local No. 173, that we demand the immediate publication of resolutions passed by this local on May 7, 1908, and sent to General Headquarters for publication; and be it further Resolved, That we do not take this stand because we desire to injure the I. W. W., but because when officers take the authority to say what must be and what not, to the general membership, without regard to true facts in the case, we are kept open for a deplorable machine as exemplified in the corrupt A. F. of L.; and be it further Resolved, That copies of this resolution be sent to I. W. W. locals, and request their co-operation in having said resolutions adopted by Local No. 173 on May 7, 1908, published in the "I. W. W. Bulletin," and also, that a copy of these resolutions be sent to General Headquarters.

Chas. Tyson, President. J. Calvo, Fin. Secretary. F. Monneo, Rec. Secretary Pro Tem.

This resolution is herewith published; with the following explanation: The report of Organizer Ettor was not published in full in the Bulletin, as inferred, only reference has been made to the same in the Bulletin in translations of G. E. B.; and the resolutions of L. U. No. 173 have taken the same course. That is, they have been submitted to the G. E. B. without further comment and when the minutes of the transaction published in the Bulletin will find that no more and no less importance is given to the explanation of L. U. No. 173 than was given to the report of Organizer Ettor. If all the every case submitted would have to be published in full, the space of the Bulletin would be taken up every week with such matters; in fact, the space of a week would be required, and the \$108 per week required for the printing and mailing of the Bulletin would, indeed, be money thrown away.

RESOLUTIONS.

Whereas, The I. U. B. is the property of the I. W. W., and not of any individual; and Whereas, The I. U. B. should be used for propaganda purposes, and for news of the I. W. W. locals, and not for the purpose of "veiled sarcasms," as appears in the I. U. B. of June 6, 1908, under the heading "A Singular People," by Justice Ebert; for the fact remains, the I. W. W. is not a political but an economic organization; therefore it is no concern of the I. W. W. whether "these singular people are dwindling in numbers or unable to reinforce even themselves."

It is a singular fact that men and women comprising these "singular people" have fought and do fight for the upbuilding of the I. W. W. and for the interests of the organization, and furthermore such articles as appeared in the editorial column of the same date, "A Letter from Covington Hall to a Friend," should find no place in the columns of the Bulletin; and Whereas, The overbearing conduct of the G. E. B. (of allowing the use of the Bulletin for other purposes for which the I. U. B. is maintained, viz: for the purposes of propaganda, financial statements, and news of I. W. W. locals, in face of all the protests entered by Local Unions against their doing so) is not for the well being of the I. W. W.; therefore, be it

Resolved, That we, members of Local No. 125, I. W. W., protest against the use of the Bulletin for the purpose of exposing the petty differences occurring between individuals of the I. W. W. membership and the political organizations they formerly belonged to; and be it further Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be sent to the I. U. B. for publication. Adopted by Local No. 125 at the regular meeting of June 11, 1908. J. W. HAWKINS, Cor. & Rec. Secy., Local No. 125.

RESOLUTION AND AMENDMENT TO CONSTITUTION ADOPTED BY LOCAL NO. 85, BRANCH 2, CHICAGO, ILL.

Whereas, The highest number of votes cast on any proposition at the referendum following the third annual convention of the I. W. W. only about 4 per cent of the entire membership of the organization, and Whereas, Section 16 of Article 3 of the constitution calls for a referendum vote by the entire membership of the I. W. W., and Whereas, Under the present lax system a proper and full expression of the wishes and desires of all of the members is impossible; therefore, be it Resolved, That the continuance of such

inefficient methods is apt to open the door to corrupt measures and also to discourage an otherwise loyal membership, therefore be it Resolved, that we recommend the following clause to be added to Article 3 to follow Section 16: Section 17. The General Office shall forward printed ballots in sufficient number to National Industrial Unions, Industrial District Councils; or in localities where neither is established—direct to the locals. Secretaries of the Industrial Unions or Industrial District Councils, shall in turn forward such ballots to the locals affiliated with. Secretaries of locals shall send by mail to every member in good standing one ballot, which the member at the next meeting deposits, duly marked and signed, with the election committee. Members prevented from attending the local's meeting through excusable causes, such as sickness or night work, shall send their ballot in by mail, duly marked. The Election Committee shall be held responsible for a full vote of the local's entire membership. Committee.

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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... 50c Constitution of the I. W. W. 50c Report of Sec'y Trautmann... 50c Handbook, Means & Methods, Parts 1 and 2... 1.00 Report of Third Convention... 50c Report of Second Convention... 50c Year's Subscription to Bulletin... 50c Amount of Leaflets... 50c ALL FOR ONE DOLLAR 212 Bush Temple, Chicago

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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.)

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