

THE VOICE of the PEOPLE

(Formerly "The Lumberjack.")

Education
Organization
Emancipation



Freedom in
Industrial
Democracy

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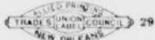
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EDITORIALS

THE QUESTION OF DECENTRALIZATION.

The Referendum.

Many in revolt against centralization propose that the business of the I. W. W. be transacted by referendum. They would abolish the convention.

The referendum, while probably superior to centralization, ordinarily has many serious disadvantages that preclude its extensive use. A fundamental one is that, usually, only a fraction of the membership votes on referendums. Consider the ridiculously small vote on the recent referendum for the election of general officers, etc. How much smaller would the vote have been had the referendum been on matters of less importance? This lethargy is due to lack of interest. In strike votes, however, the referendum is practicable, the interest of the workers being sufficiently aroused to bring out a large vote. On any but patently vital issues the rank and file pay little attention to referendums. This is the experience of every labor union.

A fatal objection to a general use of the referendum in local and technical matters, as is proposed, is the impossibility of sufficiently acquainting the rank and file with the details of such matters as to render them competent to make intelligent decisions. Consider the absurdity of having the Tampa locals vote on who shall be editor of the "Worker," or the textile locals decide whether the western locals shall be allowed to form a district organization or not. How can these locals possibly be sufficiently informed as to enable them to render competent decisions in these matters? To submit financial questions (such as per capita tax) to the rank and file is unscientific to say the least. Such problems should be solved by experts, not only by ill informed majorities.

The strike vote is one of the very few matters the national referendum has been found practicable on. In strike votes the rank and file are so vitally interested and well informed that they almost always take the right course. On almost every other question the national referendum is a most decided failure.

Decentralization the Solution.

Some believe that the remedy for the above lassitude and incompetence lies in a wide and thorough discussion of the questions at issue. They overlook that these defects are inherent in the referendum and are not to be eradicated from it. It is simply impossible to educate the timber workers to the point where they can intelligently dictate to the textile workers on technical matters concerning the latter alone. The real remedy is to decentralize the organization's business. The foolish policy of all the locals looking after all the other locals business must be abandoned. Each local must be permitted to attend to its own affairs. Let the western locals elect the editor of the "Worker," let the eastern locals decide on their own organization form, etc. The familiarity and interest in their own affairs will enable the locals to vigorously and intelligently settle them.

With each local attending to its own affairs there would remain but little business (save propaganda) of a national nature. This could ordinarily be settled by the convention. In national financial matters, for instance, the convention becomes better acquainted with the details than the rank and file can possibly be. It is competent to make a decision. The same is true in regard to the selection of national officers. This should be a function of the convention as the delegates become thoroughly acquainted with the various candidates. Decentralization places the settling of affairs in the hands of the "man on the job" who is alone competent. Let the local unions settle local affairs, and the convention dispose of national matters, save possibly strike decisions. And in the interpretation of what are local and what are national matters, let the decision be generally in favor of the local unions.

The above is the method in the C. G. T. which has no general referendum. The system has worked well.

Other Referendum Weaknesses.

The referendum is hopelessly cumbersome. To get anything like a thorough discussion of a question by means of it is impossible. Tons of ink are spilled fruitlessly trying to clear up propositions that could be swiftly disposed of by a convention. Anyone who has ever attended a convention has observed the remarkable standardization of ideas that takes place at such gatherings—a result that endless referendum couldn't bring about.

The referendum is also easily manipulated, the machine always being able to "bring out the vote." It is a much more difficult proposition to control a convention, especially when there is no national machine and the local unions have developed a strong spirit of independence.

Of course the abuse that gave two men at the seventh convention 182 votes, the control of the convention, will have to be abolished. The C. G. T. system is to give each local union one vote. Delegates may vote five proxies. Industrial unions, district councils and general officers have a voice but no vote. This system throws the control of the convention into the hands of the local unions, which are recognized as the basis of the labor movement.

Crooked officials use the referendum to hide behind. It relieves them of responsibility. They blame everything on the rank and file, whose sanction a well oiled machine enables them to secure on almost any proposition.

A peculiarity of the referendum is that the mass almost always vote "Yes." As a result the most conflicting propositions carry on the same referendum. This breeds hopeless confusion.

From whatever angle it is regarded the referendum is impractical, as compared to the system of decentralization outlined above. It is a species of centralism. The orthodox centralists would coerce the locals into being revolutionary by means of the G. E. B. The "referendumists" would use the referendum to perform the same needless task. They may both rest their labors as the locals are in no need of such assistance. On the contrary they are well capable of being the determining factor in the I. W. W.—a position they will arrive at in the I. W. W. as surely as they have in all other revolutionary unions.

Lets throw the referendum in the garret along with political action and the other working class delusions.

PAUL DUPRES, Ottawa, Can., Sept. 6, 1913

SOLIDARITY.

By Ruby Idom.

Man knows less of solidarity than any other living creature. Did you warring workers ever stop to think that even the wolves of the forest know enough to get together in huge packs and fight their common enemy? Even the bees get together, build hives and store up honey for the winter. In fact, all animals have incarnated in them the spirit of solidarity, the love for preservation of their species. Man alone, the boasted king of organic life is divided into sets and fight each other. When, Oh! When, will you workers realize your folly? The time will come when you MUST realize; to be liberated you MUST unite in one solid band and strike the blow. Can you imagine any living thing on earth starving in the midst of plenty, except man? Are the laws of nature responsible for the present condition of the working class? We KNOW that they are not. Nature has furnished plenty on earth for all. Nor is it fate that each day the struggle for existence assumes a more and more savage form. Man, alone, is responsible for these economic ills. Today every person who belongs to the wage earning class is absolutely dependent upon his employer for life, liberty and pursuit of happiness. At best he can know but little of life, less of liberty, and happiness is a joke. He looks forward to the time when he will become too old to work, then he will be thrown aside for a young and stronger slave; thrown upon charity, at last to go down to a pauper's grave. Now isn't there something terribly wrong when such conditions as these exist? YOU KNOW THERE IS, and so do I. What are YOU doing to right these wrongs? Agitation makes the world more forward. Carry the message of the ONE BIG UNION to the toiling millions from sea to sea! When the sleeping giant, Labor, is once awakened and learns an injury to one is an injury to all, then the masters of bread will be put on the run and the world captured for the workers.

GET BUSY! YOU!!

TERRIBLE TEXAS AND THE SUNNY SOUTH.

By Covington Hall.

Fellowworker Tiffany sends us a clipping from the San Francisco "Bulletin" giving an account of the "trial" of convict guards, Wheeler, Bain and Stewart, at Richmond, which is in the exceedingly "God fearing" state of Texas. The fiends were being "tried" for having jammed twelve men into a hole without a breathing space, when the thermometer stood at over 100 degrees in the shade outside, as a consequence of which eight men died in the most frightful agony. The human hyena Bain said, "Yes, I heard their cries growing lower all through the night, but considered it a joke."

Tiffany asks if we noticed the report of the horror? We did, and were waiting to see the results of the "trial" before commenting. The results of the "trial" is, as we expected, however,—"exonerated." When it is known, though, that Texas is very religious and that the Honorable John Henry Kirby is its political and industrial Boss, no one will be surprised at this "exonerated" of fiends the good old devil would not allow in his Presbiterian helldepartment.

Yes, we are "civilized" in the South. Also "we are the most chivalrous people on earth." The Kirbys all say so, and the Kirbys never lie. The Texans are especially proud of being a "Christian people." This verdict proves it. Other things do, too. For instance, a boy about twenty years old was killed in Dallas about two years ago by a railroad watchman who said he caught him stealing twenty pounds of old brass. Watchman "exonerated." About the same time a Mexican boy twelve years old was lynched in Texas for killing a man 35 years old in a personal fight. Mob "exonerated." Then came the exposures in the United States Court at San Antonio, Texas, of the frightful atrocities committed on prisoners at the Koppe convict farm, to which infernal place men and boys had been sent for the terrible crime of stealing rides on railroad trains, being drunk, etc., in punishment of which there was inflicted upon them tortures that would revolt an Apache Indian. Men stood up in the court and bared their back on which there was not a square inch of skin that did not bear a scar from a blacksnake whip. One BOY, WHITE, had been bastinadoed on his feet until the flesh fell off and the tendons showed through and,

IN THAT CONDITION, HE HAD BEEN FORCED TO WORK BAREFOOTED IN THE FIELDS. The United States District Attorney had had the fiends in charge of this "farm" arrested for "peonage;" they made no attempt to deny the atrocities, because they could not, but escaped prison by pleading that the outraged men "had been sentenced by a duly constituted court of the State of Texas and were in charge of the State's authorities at the time, so they could not be held for peonage." On this plea the Federal Government lost the case, and the State of Texas "exonerated" its fiends, as usual.

This is the hellish system the I. W. W.'s in the "Sunny South" are fighting and, if you rebels in the West and North will help to keep us going, THIS is the system THE VOICE means to cause a revolution against, or land in the penitentiary or on the gallows trying.

THE MACHINE AND THE WORKER.

The manufacturer figures the worth of a machine by its output. Each and every cog and wheel must do its part or the machine is of no value. The machine is set at a certain speed to get certain results, and should it fall short of these results then the machine is relegated to the scrap pile. It's the law of capitalism. In the operation of a machine the most minute detail is cared for, cost of motive power, wear and tear, depreciation in value and probable life of the machine. The machine costs money and its exact value in dollars and cents must be figured out.

Is the human machine given this consideration? Most emphatically NO. Just one thought is given to the human machine, WHAT IS ITS SPEED? Motive power (food), wear and tear, depreciation in value, length of life, have no place in the mind of an employer in sizing up the possible value of a worker. How fast can he go while he lasts? How or when you eat, does not concern the employer. The wear and tear of your body in no care of the master. The depreciation of your labor is of no moment to the capitalist. There is always a surplus of labor waiting to fill in where you drop out. Eight million of unemployed stand as a constant menace to your bread and butter. Knowing this the employer says sped up and you obey. You shorten your life one-half by the speed route. Yet like a square head, you never stop and think, is there no way out of this mad game? Is there no way for the worker to have rest of both mind and body? You do not rest when you have a job and you do not rest when out of one, for you are eternally speeding from place to place looking for another. There is no rest for the worker this side of the grave as long as capitalism holds the power of life and death over you. When you realize that the power of the world lies in the hands of the workers and when you become intelligent enough to combine with your class and break the power of the master class, your day of freedom will have arrived.—"The Wooden Shoe."

IT COULDN'T BE DONE.

Somebody said that it couldn't be done,
But he with a chuckle replied:
That "maybe it couldn't," but he would be one
Who wouldn't say so till he'd tried.
Somebody scoffed: "Oh, you'll never do that—
At least no one ever has done it,"
But he took off his coat and he took off his hat,
And the first thing we knew he'd begun it,
With a lift of his chin and a bit of a grin,
Without any doubting or quiddit.
He started to sing as he tackled the thing
That couldn't be done—and he did it.
EDGAR A. GUEST.

"THE TERROR" IN IRELAND.

A few weeks ago we were expressing our disgust and horror at the astounding stories of the massacre of workers on the Rand. We were confident that such scenes as were there enacted could not possibly have occurred in this Kingdom. We demanded an impartial and complete inquiry into the affairs which caused—or at any rate which should have caused—every decent Britisher to blush with shame at the deeds perpetrated under the British flag. And lo! now we have to blush still more deeply that similar deeds have occurred almost on our own doorsteps. For except the fact that firearms were not used, the Dublin police attacks are as serious and deplorable as those of the Rand forces. Let us just briefly summarize the events: Jim Larkin, a picturesque and energetic firebrand, with a vigor, courage—and perhaps recklessness—which would be hailed as heroic if he were a military campaigner, succeeded in organizing the Irish transport workers. It is generally admitted that these men are badly paid. When it was felt that they had some sort of chance against the employers they struck. Larkin used some strong language, was arrested, and the police proclaimed that a meeting which should have been held last Sunday would not be allowed. Such autocratic conduct naturally incensed the strikers, and on the Saturday night trouble commenced. Who struck the first blow we cannot say, but we can say from the published accounts, from all sources, that the police immediately acted as if they were there to repress, with the most brutal and cowardly measures at their command, every citizen who came their way. By ten o'clock on the Saturday night over two hundred injured were admitted to the city hospitals. The following day, Sunday, matters were even worse, and on Monday the riots continued. Houses were wrecked, by the police. Hundreds of people were injured by the police, and one man died as a result of injuries received. Women returning from Mass with Prayer Books in their hands were grossly assaulted, by the police. Little children were thrashed, by the police. One girl in her teens was dragged through the streets by the hair of her head and beaten, by the police. Women were dragged out of their beds and beaten while lying nearly naked, by the police. All these charges have been made and repeated by reliable people.

From "Reynold's Newspaper" of September 7th.

COMMENT:—Curst be the police of all lands, races, creeds, countries and nations. All workers of all lands and all races, wake up! Get in ONE BIG UNION and put the capitalists and their fiends in human form incarnate off the map!

DAMNED BE THE CAPITALIST! DEATH TO HIS GUNMEN!

Convention Notes

Chicago, Ill., Sept. 21st, 1913.

The first measure considered yesterday, the 20th, was the Press.

Ben Williams of "Solidarity" brought up the fact that that paper was running \$200 a month in debt. He explained the condition and equipment of their plant in Cleveland. He also disclosed the shameful fact that a very, very small minority of the membership were subscribers to the paper. He strongly urged the imperative necessity of providing a Press Fund, if the papers are to thrive.

In this connection, a resolution was introduced, providing fifty cents of the initiation fee to be sunk in a Press Fund. It was amended to 25 cents and then the matter was referred to the constitution committee.

During the debate, many delegates from the East, who show a strong desire to make the I. W. W. a labor union, merely, favored one official press. Many small papers were severely criticized. THE VOICE got favorable mention.

The constitution committee reported a concurrence to abolish the G. E. B. This proposition was debated for six hours. There is no doubt that the G. E. B. will be retained, though the West is almost solidly for its abolition, including strong Eastern districts, like New York and Pittsburgh. The grand "Mutt" from Philadelphia with 42 votes, is lined up with the administration's forces, which closes the decentralizers out.

Saint John closed the debate. He outlined what the present system of organization was. He struck off a new phrase: "Make the organization fit the Constitution."

After his speech, the previous motion was moved. It comes up for a vote Monday morning.

SOLTIS.

Sept. 22nd, 1913.

After a bad day's rest, the Convention convened again Monday, Sept. 21st. The heavy mental strain, to which the delegates were subjected for the past week, told terribly on them. Their alertness waned and enthusiasm died. Four of the delegates had left for their homes Saturday. Many visitors are attending the Convention, including the anarchist Ben Reitman, and he of some fame in the S. P., Frank Bohn. Mary and Leslie Marcy of the "Socialist Review" were also in attendance. Many professors of Chicago Universities are studying the Convention of the I. W. W.

To-day's session of the Convention transacted more business than any previous session. The debates that flourished last week were not in evidence to-day. The first thing before the Convention was the report of the Press Committee. Resolution No. 39, asking for a monthly bulletin of the organization was referred to the Ways and Means Committee. A resolution from Los Angeles, urging the I. W. W. press to devote more space to the Mexican revolution, was carried.

Resolution No. 51, drafted by Ben Williams, of "Solidarity," to the effect that all I. W. W. papers be consolidated, and that only one official organ of the I. W. W. be maintained, and that a press fund be established, the basis of which will be the sinking of part of the initiation fee, was carried by a vote of 25 to 7. This measure was bitterly contested. Delegate Nilsson of Portland, who said: "One paper cannot meet the views of the entire membership. For instance: THE VOICE OF THE PEOPLE is much preferable to the Western membership than is 'Solidarity.' There is good reason to have more than one paper." Kottegen, G. E. B. member was in favor of this proposition, stating bluntly that: "One 8 page paper is better than 3 papers."

Van Fleet of Spokane, was outspoken against the resolution. He stated his views as follows: "We cannot say what the membership shall read." In the West the "Industrial Worker" is the real revolutionary pa-

per, and "Solidarity," a newspaper merely. Why should you take from us "The Worker" when we have built it? Has not Ben Williams, himself, stated that it is the West, that is the support of "Solidarity." Let the membership control the papers and we will support all of them."

At this point, McEvoy of Omaha, moved that the resolution be submitted to the membership. Kottegen arose to a point of order, stating that he understood the resolution to be final with the Convention. Ben Williams was given the floor and explained that it was his idea that the Convention should be final on this measure, as the I. W. W. was developed to a point where things must be put in a positive form." St. John moved an amendment, that it be submitted to a referendum, which carried.

Sauter of Los Angeles, declared that the "rank and file will have its papers." O'Brien of Stockton declared that "no organ of the East can serve the West." G. E. B. member Ettore arose in a rather heated pulse and inferred, that "According to the Western delegates, there ought to be one kind of Industrial Unionism for the West and quite another kind for East." He was heard and soul for the One State Press.

Douglas of Seattle stated, "That if the organization gives the 'Industrial Worker' to the West, they will maintain it themselves, without outside support."

"The question of Sabotaging the 'Worker,' during the lively discussion, received a good deal of comment. Many of the delegates expressed themselves to the effect that, whether it was one press or more it had no bearing on the fact, that the membership shall always have the right to Sabotage it, if it fails to represent the views of the rank and file.

The G. E. B. shall remain.

On roll call the vote stood as follows: To retain, 71 votes. To abolish, 45 1-2 votes. Or a majority of 25 1-2 votes in favor of retaining the G. E. B., of which the G. E. B. itself and the General Officers cast 7 votes, while delegate D. R. Gordon of the Southern District cast in favor of retaining the entire vote of the Western District of the N. I. U. of F. L. W. Natl. Ind. Union M. T. W. James E. Murphy, 42 votes. No vote (?). Nine delegates were absent on roll call and three were recorded as not voting. Many locals were not represented, notably the fine local at Edmonton, Canada, with 14 votes.

The Pacific Coast voted solidly to abolish, with the exception of San Francisco, No. 173, whose 4 votes went to the retainers.

SOLTIS.

("Solidarity" of Sept. 27th, reports the vote to abolish G. E. B. as standing 76 to 44.—C. H.)

September 23rd, 1913.

A monster demonstration meeting has been arranged by the Convention for the benefit of striking stogie workers of Pittsburg, Pa., at the Hull House on Wednesday, Sept. 24th.

The resolution of G. E. B. member Little to the effect that, where 20 members of any mixed local were engaged in the same industry that they form a branch of their industry, came up to-day. The Western delegates opposed this resolution on the ground that if such was to be the case, it would make the Western locals impossible of existence, owing to the migratory nature of the work in the West. General Organizer Speed rapped the mixed local a terrific blow. G. E. B. member Kottegen, declared in an elevated tone that "What we want is job control." This is a petty phrase of his. Motion carried 20 to 9.

The Grievance Committee reported in a resolution introduced by delegate O'Mally of Toledo, who every now and then evokes a generous ripple of laughter from the delegates by moving the "previous question." The resolution asked for the official control of the I. W. W. label.

It developed that "Justice," a radi-

cal sheet of Pittsburgh, was using the label to exploit the sentiment that exists in that town for the I. W. W. This paper has been condemned all along in the Convention. The charge is that its shop is scabbing on the A. F. of L., under the universal label. The matter was referred to the G. E. B. It was moved that the label be only used on official I. W. W. literature. Carried.

Special Committee reported on G. E. B. member resolution, F. Little, which is, "that the free speech fights of the I. W. W. be not abandoned, but that the tactics relative to same, be altered." He advocated Sabotage in the shops, where the right of free speech is denied. A warm debate ensued. McDermott of San Francisco took the floor, and decried against agitators hurling their spleen at the police, church, etc. McEvoy of Omaha, asked him if he ever participated in one; he answered, no.

J. W. Kelly of St. Louis, evidently was fired at the remarks of delegate McDermott. He took the floor and declared that the police did not molest the I. W. W. because of certain agitators not controlling their tongues, but because they advocated the abolition of capitalism: "Whose tongue slipped in San Diego; whose tongue slipped in Spokane; whose tongue slipped in Akron?" He asked in a pitch of dramatic fervor, "To hell with the police!" he concluded.

G. E. B. Kottegen, in a fine strain of respectability, emitted a few gentle, well cultured remarks, relative to the futility of attacking the sacred police. The matter was referred to the G. E. B.

SOLTIS.

September 24th, 1913.

There is hardly any enthusiasm left in the delegates. Many left for their homes last night. The long, monotonous session, has sapped their energies.

Tom Mann, the great English labor leader, graced the hall for a few moments this morning by his presence.

The attire of some local celebrities, contrasted with that of many delegates and I. W. W. agitators attending, is vivid. All kinds and colors of Windsor ties are worn. Jack Whyte has a long flowing immaculate tie; Rietman a rainbow color; while others range from green to purple. If the Revolution was dependent upon the lavish display of a Windsor tie, Jack Whyte alone would precipitate it.

A resolution to prohibit any officer of the I. W. W. to hold office more than two years was lost, 16 to 1. A lively debate marked its defeat.

A letter from New York locals, nominating delegate Flynn for General Secretary-Treasurer was cause for some vitriolic discussion. This document had the seal of two locals, but the signatures appended to it were all typewritten. Jos. J. Ettore, G. E. B. member, made it appear during the wrangle that Flynn of New York, was the man who caused its formation. Flynn flatly denied this. After two hours debate, the Convention voted to consider the letter a farce and fraud, over the vehement protest of many decentralizers. The vote was 18 to 10.

The Constitution Committee reported a measure to abolish the Convention favorably. This measure seemed to arouse all the delegates present.

McEvoy of Omaha proposed a motion that this measure be left to a referendum. Ettore, G. E. B. member, raised a point of order, explaining that only measures passed by this Convention could be referred to the membership. He was upheld by the chair. The report of the committee was rejected.

A proposition was reported upon, that editors be elected by the rank and file, and also be directly responsible to them. Ettore, G. E. B., opposed this on the ground, that it takes over three months to get a referendum vote, and, since the editor controls the medium of information, he could make that vote suit himself. Thereupon, O'Brien, of Stockton, Cal., asked him a question, to this effect: "How long did it take the members to act on the 'Worker' Case?" Ettore

replied, that that action was wrong. The report was tabled.

SOLTIS.

September 25th, 1913.

Miss Iva Shuster is taking down the official notes of the Convention. She it is said, is the world's fastest stenographer; she is a member of the I. W. W., belonging to Local 173, San Francisco. It happened that she was attending the Chicago Business Show, held a week prior to the Convention, and thus became available to the I. W. W.

\$6.75 was collected last night, at the meeting held in Hull House, for the striking stogie workers of Pittsburg. Speed, Ettore, and Whyte were the speakers. Another meeting under the auspices of the General Convention has been arranged for the defense fund of Fellow-Workers Morgan and Murphy.

The Convention got busy this morning, with the reports of the Press Committee. A resolution, that all locals that have asked for a complete stenographic report, pay \$5.00 toward its publicity, was carried 13 to 9.

At the outset of the Convention, a plan for the establishment of a press bureau, was read from Justus Ebert. It provides for a central news bureau, which shall collaborate all news and facts pertaining to the I. W. W.; also to tabulate data on Economics. The Press Committee reported favorably on this plan. It was adopted 17 to 2.

The Constitution Committee reported on the resolution which provided for the erasure of Art. 2, Section 8, from the Constitution. It was defeated after a lengthy argument.

Resolution No. 34, introduced by Local Vancouver, that the General Secretary-Treasurer, Organizer and Members of G. E. B., be allowed a voice in the Convention, but no vote, was a text for heated debate.

Nilsson, of Portland, cited the practice of the C. G. T. of France, and the revolutionary union of Sweden, in support of his contention, that the General Officers represented no one, outside of themselves. McEvoy, of Omaha, said, "I am in favor of 1 delegate, 1 vote." Kottegen, G. E. B. member, who always has one eye to the "business" of the organization, declared that "such a proposition would make out of the Convention, a great mass meeting." Ettore, G. E. B. supported him, stating that "the best talker would control the Convention." Clinton, of Bisbee, Ariz., called it a "political move." It was defeated 20 to 12.

A resolution that the Constitution be changed relative to the eligibility of persons to membership from wage slaves to workers, was defeated.

A resolution that the General Secretary and the General Organizer, be nominated by the rank and file was lost.

SOLTIS.

September 26th, 1913.

The session opened with the reading of a communication from Lawyer Fred Moore. It pertained to the legal phrase of fellowworkers. Bocchini and Legere. He outlined two legal courses, which may be pursued to the end of winning freedom for the above mentioned fellowworkers: First, to appeal the cases; second, to ask the Governor for a pardon. It was filed.

The Committee on Constitution reported.

A resolution to the effect, that the initiation fee not exceed \$1.00 and the dues 50 cents, was lost by a vote of 9 to 3.

Resolution 62, that the universal label shall not be used on any commodity made and sold for profit by the capitalist class was lost by a vote of 13 to 11.

Resolution No. 20, that the next Convention be held at Detroit, Mich., tabled.

Resolution No. 23, to abolish pledge of officers, evoked considerable comment. Sautter, of Los Angeles, said, "I see no reason for a pledge." Powell, of Sacramento, Cal., declared that "It is a part of capitalistic ethics." Kottegen, G. E. B. member, commented, "Any man who has any principle, will pledge his faith." Nilsson, of Portland, "It is a joke." McEvoy, of

Omaha, "It is like making a pledge to a priest." It was defeated.

Resolution No. 44, wherever a strike involves the handling of finances, the Central Committee of the strike locality will name the finance committee. Lost 17 to 4.

Resolution No. 10, to hold Convention on 10th day of December. Tabled.

Resolution No. 38, any local may elect an auditing committee to audit the books of any I. W. W. institution. Tabled.

Resolution No. 38B, that organizers shall receive more compensation than strikers. Lost 21 to 1.

Resolution to change the figure 3 to 2, in Art. 2, Section 2, of Constitution. Lost.

Resolution to make the word "Business Manager" to read after the word editor, in Art. 3, Section 9, of Constitution.

Speed, General Organizer, stated, "I hold that the membership is absolutely incapable to nominate any officers. The men on the floor of the Convention are the best judges."

Douglas, of Seattle, "I am opposed to electing any officers here. If there is any fizzle, it is here, and not with the rank and file." The resolution was lost 14 to 10.

The Special Committee reported on the subject of long strikes: "It is the sense of this committee that no general rules can be laid down regarding strikes, however, where the industries are not basic, the strike should be short." Adopted.

At this point, Jos. J. Ettore, G. E. B. member, arose to ask if Delegate Tom Flynn, of New York, had placed his charges against him? It happened that, when the question of whether the G. E. B. was to remain an organic part of the I. W. W. was on the floor, Delegate Tom Flynn, of New York, in the course of his remarks against the retention of the G. E. B., alluded to Ettore as organizer of the Boss Barbers of New York. Ettore resented this remark and immediately demanded a retraction. Flynn, for parliamentary reasons, withdrew it. However, ever since Ettore has been worried over it, and has boisterously insisted on an apology. After St. John explained that the record would show that Flynn withdrew the statement, the affair was dropped.

A resolution condemning the locals that threatened to withdraw their support from General Headquarters, over the action of the G. E. B., relative to the "Worker" controversy, was lost. A motion by Ettore, that this vote be not construed as endorsing their action, was carried.

An animated discussion took place. Kottegen, G. E. B. member, declared: "That kind of action on the part of locals, is traitorous."

The Smith-Heselwood affair came up for debate, on a resolution that both Smith and Heselwood be fired. Ettore moved to divide the question, and won. A motion to accept the resignation of Heselwood, carried. A motion to discharge Smith, called for a heated flow of language. Nilsson of Portland, McEvoy of Omaha, Sautter of Los Angeles, Van Fleet of Spokane, O'Brien of Stockton, fiercely contended that the motion was adding insult to injury, as Smith was innocent of any charge. The motion to fire Smith passed, however.

September 27th, 1913.

When the Convention adjourned last night it was thought that the Smith-Heselwood affair was settled. However, this morning it came up again. A motion to condemn the action of the G. E. B., in firing Smith, was debated for several hours. During the debate Delegate Nilsson received a letter from Spokane, which contained a statement from Walker C. Smith. It was read, and caused no little friction. Ettore, G. E. B. member, moved that the entire report of the G. E. B., on the Smith-Heselwood controversy be made a part of the stenographic record. It was carried.

This makes the possibility of a printed Convention report, very doubtful, as the report of the G. E. B., alone, is so voluminous.

The Western delegation insisted that the discharge of Smith was unfounded. In reply Foss, Ettore and

Kottegen alluded to a certain clique with which Smith had lined up against the good of the I. W. W. After this unnecessary debate, the Convention proceeded to discharge the final business before it.

The following were nominated: For General Secretary-Treasurer, St. John, Tom Flynn of New York, and Filigno. Only one new member was returned to the G. E. B., he is J. W. Kelly of St. Louis, filling the place of J. J. Ettor.

Grover H. Perry was elected Acting Editor of the "Industrial Worker." Jos. J. Ettor, Haywood and Fred Isler, are the candidates for General Organizer. It is said, however, that Haywood will not run.

Ben Williams, Justus Elbert and Walker C. Smith were nominated for editorship of "Solidarity." Bill Cook, Grover H. Perry and Chas. Downing were nominated for the editorship of the "Industrial Worker." With the nomination of these officers and a few mellow spirit-like speeches, made by various delegates, for the good and welfare of our organization, the portals of the Eight Annual Convention were closed.

From many standpoints this Convention will mark an important era of the I. W. W. The delegates were all glad that adjournment came. Their faces showed lines of great stress and intense thought. The dust of the work will not be easy to cleanse.

J. GABRIEL SOLTIS.

Ortie and Harry

Quite a bit of comment is being made regarding the treatment accorded McManigal at the county jail. It seems that Ortie, having grabbed the pastry business of the jail, has made a "trust" of his own. It is said that Ortie is making and saving money. Ortie has another source of income, that of making belts from rattlesnake skins. Naturally, McManigal must derive a great deal of pleasure from fashioning his relatives into ornaments for personal adornment.

Ortie was taken out of the jail and given an automobile trip to the Corona races, where he could spend some of his "pie" and "snake" money. Why not? Has McManigal not served the master well? Has he not done their bidding? Then, is he not entitled to his reward? How often will you have to be told that the institutions of this country are not operated for the worker? You who offend the capitalist class receive the limit in punishment, those who serve the capitalist class and do their dirty work receive their reward. McManigal will have a husky "roll" when he leaves the prison, not made from "pie" and "snake" skins but from the pie that the working class have been "skinned" out of. Application is now being made for the pardon of Harry Orchard and the application is being made by church people. Preston, who killed a man in self-defense, while on the picket line at Goldfield, Nev., is serving his term of twenty years at hard labor. The twins served the capitalist class. One served the working class. Will some one have to slap you in the face to make you see the difference?—From "The Wooden Shoe."

Cline Appeals to Rebels

Charlie Cline of L. U. 84, St. Louis, Mo., is in jail at Pearsall, Texas, with other Mexican arms "smugglers" and the murderous government of Texas is trying to hang them because some one killed a dirty deputy sheriff. Letter received as we were going to press says they were to go to trial on September 29. The boys appeal for help to appeal case. Help them all you can. More news next issue.

Go To Kinder

Workingmen and working farmers all go to Kinder, La., on Sunday, October 5th and hear Secretary Jay Smith deliver his great speech on the ONE BIG UNION. Bring your families and have a good time. All welcome.

Prepaid Sub Cards.

Send in for a supply of SIX MONTHS sub cards to THE VOICE. THREE for \$1.10; FIVE for \$2.00; THIRTEEN for \$5.00; FIFTY for \$17.50. Cash in advance.

This is a bargain that will increase your Local's literature sales and put money in your treasury.

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Liberty Luminants

Ownership is only a convenience to the exploiter, anyway. The ownership of land is almost as subtle as interest and profit as means of living without work, of grafting, of robbery, without the danger of burglary, hold-up, picking pockets, etc. Even the ownership of things which you produce is a social privilege. In the last analysis nothing can be owned if society simply withdraws protection from the "owner." In great calamities, in war, in famines, ownership gives way to the natural order, and he takes who needs. When society sees the absurdity of owning, at least the means of producing wealth, it will withdraw its protection from the owner and freedom will prevail.—Jo Labadie.

Peter Murray Killed.

Missoula, Mont., Sept. 22nd. 1913.
Fellowworker Peter Murray was killed by accident Sept. 17th., while working for the Western Lumber Co. near Twin Creek, Mont. He was a member of Local 40 I. W. W. Logger by trade and about 45 or 50 years old. He was a native of Pennsylvania. Yours for better Working Conditions,
P. STOCK, Secty. No. 40.

Thus saith THE VOICE: Farewell good soldier of the DAWNING AGE! Always death calls first the best and bravest. As you have done your duty, fought well the good fight, may we leave behind you likewise do until we join you in the long, still SILENCE. Farewell.

Says Eureka:

We have finally succeeded in procuring enuf filthy lucre to get a good headquarters and install up-to-date office fixtures. In fact, we have the best I. W. W. headquarters I have ever seen. All rebels are welcome all the time.

Our opinion of the Smith-Heslewood affair has considerably changed since reading the G. E. B. report. In fact we have concluded that they are both good men, if kept apart.

ALEXANDER MacKAY, Sec.

Rebels, Attention!

All Western and Northern rebels, who make it a practice of wintering in the South, please try to land on jobs in the Lumber districts and at once communicate with Secretary Jay Smith, Box 78, Alexandria, La. Cut this out and keep it for reference. Help us overthrow the infamous system of Southern peonage!

SALT LAKE NEWS.

(Continued From Page 1.)

tions in control are racking their brains trying to figure out a scheme to stem the speaking and agitation going on here with poor chances in view, because Local 69 intends to get out once more and push the propaganda and organization at once. The Utah Construction Co. is maintaining a "private jail in Price, Utah" and feeds the men arrested by gunmen in their employ. The county has nothing to say as it is broke financially. The Utah Construction Co.'s edict to the slaves is: "Either go to work on the Coal Road Construction camps or stay in jail" at Price. This company has practically a free hand in this State and has never been balked or hindered in its career of exploitation, robbery and persecution till the I. W. W. called a strike at Tucker in June. Since then the battle has been hot, and Local 69 in spite of handicaps intends to force that company to enforce better conditions and safeguards to the construction workers.

Fellow-Worker Murphy is still in the County Jail awaiting trial in the District Court. The Defense Committee is soliciting aid for him to clear him of the serious charge laid at his door. Geo. Childs is Financial Secretary of Defense Committee. His address is: 118 W. S. Temple Street.

Should you care to print all or any part of this local news it will be welcome to Local No. 69.

Yours for ONE BIG UNION.

Press Committee by

ED. ROWAN.

"Parrots or Pullets"

By Covington Hall.

Some body has been unkindly enuf to send me a copy of "The Western Comrade" of Sept. 1913. On the front cover thereof is a beautiful picture of the Honorable J. Stitt Wilson, sky pilot and alleged Socialist mayor of some godforsaken municipality in that satrapy of the Southern Pacific Railroad called by some stretch of the geographic imagination, "The Sovereign State of California." Hon. Stitt is claimed to have been the most efficient and honest mayor ever counted into office in the said burg and to have saved the cockroaches who live off the leavings of Neroic millionaires several thousands of dollars per annum, thereby beating a lot of ballot-box-conscious slaves out of what was coming to them in the divvy. But this is not what gets our goat in the "Comrade." The thing that makes us really sad and sorrowful-like is an eruption marked for our especial attention on page 184 thereof, and styled "The Gun Is Not Our Weapon," by one Chester M. Wright. Well, Ches. we never alleged that it was, but if our remark that we were GLAD that some body else besides WORKERS were killed at Wheatland had anything to do with creating your brainstorm, we have no apologies to make and we are still GLAD that some one else besides WORKERS went to hell on that historic day. We don't know if we would have been able to show the guts of that Porto Rican boy had we been at Wheatland, but we do know that we are not going to go screaming stuff that tends to bolster up the ruling class and put a damper on the fighting workers just because a damned political lawyer and a few natural born criminals called deputy sheriffs got just what they deserved. Any jackass knows that guns never really settle anything; that after the army must come the building of the new order for which it fought, but YOU LIE when you state: "If he DID shoot true to his interest and if he WON, had he not the sense to VOTE right in the first place he would not have sense enough to know what to do with his victory if he gained it by the gun!" Now that statement is a LIE, first, because it is denied by all history and, second, because you are either a politician or a fool, a double-crosser or a donkey. Further, your whole nightmare is filled with falsehoods, as, for instance, you assert: "The state is a political unit," which no one denies, BUT, IT

IS NOT AN INDUSTRIAL UNIT, and this last is what we I. W. W.'s have been trying to wooden-shoe into your saffron heads for eight long years. Again: "All of us vote as to how it should be conducted," you say, and, in saying it, YOU LIE, AND YOU KNOW YOU LIE, for it is an UNDENIABLE fact that the ink was hardly dry on the "Declaration of Independence" and the "Rights of Man" before the capitalist class set to work to disfranchise the working class, which, neither in this nor in any other country, has the right of ballot, and never will have so long as capitalist society lasts, SO LONG AS THE UNION ALLOWS THE STATE TO DICTATE THE BATTLEGROUND OF THE CLASS WAR.

I could fill a volume answering the false reasonings with which your article is filled, in baring to the light of truth the half truths by which you, like all the class of politicians to which you belong, seek to cloud the issue and swing the mighty movement of the working class away from its revolutionary base out into the quagmires of Bergerism and the quicksands of Jstittwilsonism, but I have time for only one more of your assanine screeches, wherein you say: "Study the use of the ballot. Learn its power." Well we down South HAVE studied "the USE of the ballot" and we have learned that it has no more "POWER" than a snow bird in hades. Down here the side that has the strongest INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATION and the latest pattern of pump—GUNS owns the sacred ballot box, just as they own everything else. This may be "foolish, nonsensical, dangerous, barbaric, unlabor-like, sabotage and gun play," as you so well put it in your diaroehia of words and constipation of thought, but, as dear "Parson" Long says: "Gus, are the bloodhounds hungry? The pump guns

oiled and loaded? Yes? Then, God's will be done. Allah il Allah." And I have a suspicion it is the same throughout the capitalist world, dear little boy blue.

Tell it to Victor, whisper it to Stitt: The question before the house is not whether it will be, as Vic says, "Parrots or Pullets," but if the UNION will be able to SOON gather into itself the POWER to OVEVRTHROW the STATE, which is the INCARNATION of CAPITALIST SOCIETY and CANNOT be USED as a WORKING CLASS POWER.

THE UNION OR THE STATE—those are the POWERS around which are gathering the armies lining up for the death struggle that is pending between the working class and the capitalist class, and all your hysterical talk about the power of ballot boxes cannot change it.

IT IS THE UNION OR THE STATE.

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SABOTAGE

By Emile Pouget and Arturo Giovannitti, a book every worker should read. Paper, 25 cents, postpaid. Address **The Voice of The People, 335 Carondelet Street, New Orleans, La.** Or for \$1.00 we will send you a copy of Sabotage and the Voice for one year. Get wise! Do it now, TO-DAY.

The I. W. W. Preamble

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 the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and abolish the wage system.

We find that the centering of the management of industries into fewer and fewer hands makes the trade unions unable to cope with the ever-growing power of the employing class. The trade unions foster a state of affairs which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping defeat one another in wage wars. Moreover, the trade unions aid in employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the working class have interests in common with their employers.

These conditions can be changed and the interest 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 on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all.

Instead of the conservative motto, "A fair day's wage for a fair day's work," we must inscribe on our banner the revolutionary watchword, "Abolition of the wage system."

It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. The army of production must be organized, not only for the everyday struggle with capitalism, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown. By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society with the shell of the old.