

LIBERTY! EQUALITY! FRATERNITY!

An Injury To One

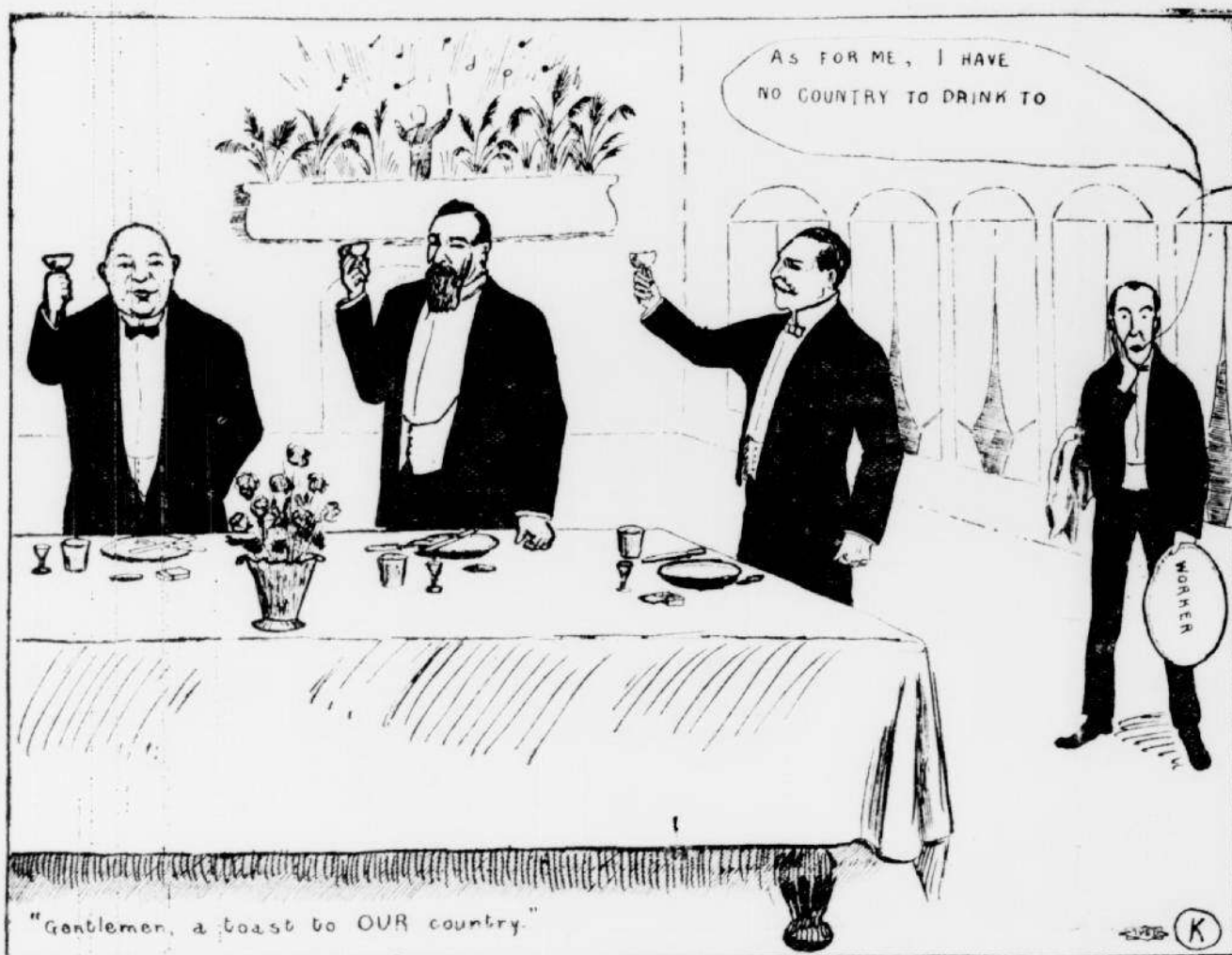
Organization ★ Is Power

An Injury To All

THE VOICE of the PEOPLE

[OWNED BY THE LUMBERJACKS]

VOLUME II "MIGHT IS RIGHT" NEW ORLEANS, LOUISIANA, THURSDAY, OCTOBER 30, 1913 "TRUTH CONQUERS" NUMBER 43



Dastardly Deeds of Minot Degenerates Exposed

Minot, N. D., Oct. 20th, 1913.

After being released from Carrington, N. D. jail, where he had been confined for about 15 days on a charge of street speaking and where he was brutally beaten and starved and, after entering Minot shortly after the free speech fight which was ended by a compromise on the urgent plea of a few of our so called intellectual Fellow Workers, Herman Blewer, paid up member of Local 332, Los Angeles, was again brutally beaten on the streets, and again three times beaten and given the water-cure while in the city jail where he was sentenced for 27 days for again carrying on active work in behalf of the I. W. W.; re-arrested after the expiration of his term, charged with assaulting an officer and bound over to the district court, which will be in session some time in January; has wrought terrible havoc with one who once as clean-cut a man as exists, once and still a rebel whose clear headedness has aided in the victory of many a battle for labor. He is being starved and was once again brutally beaten with a brass key, which was used to gouge his head and body and which was wielded by a stool-pigeon doing time here for boot-legging, Sam Adams by name, who comes from Flaxton, N. D., and who had charge of the county jail while the jailer went out during all this.

Publicity, I am sure will aid toward the release of one who has well earned the support of all, one who at all times can be found in the thick of the battle where the I. W. W. principles are at stake, and one who at the least pretense will undoubtedly be done away with as the pimps here have sworn to get him, the only reason being his activity in the fight here.

Fellow-Workers in this locality! This is an appeal that I hope you read aright and act upon in any manner in order to gain results.

A FELLOW-WORKER PRISONER, Minot County Jail, Minot, N. D.

The Challenge of the Deathless.

From "Chicago Magazine."

On October 7th., Judge E. H. Gary passed sentence upon the condemned men. The incidents that accompanied the imposing of sentence form the most dramatic episode of the story. Before sentence could be imposed custom required the court to demand of the accused men whether or not they had anything to say. All of them had, in fact, much to say.

Spies made an address at this time which read now, twenty-seven years after its delivery, has the ring of prophecy. His whole attitude was defiance.

"I, addressing this court," he said, "I will speak as the representative of one class to the representative of another. I will begin with the words uttered 50 years ago on a similar occasion by the Venetian Doge Falieri who addressing the court, said: 'My defense is your accusation. The cause of my alleged crime is your history.'

"If you think that by hanging us you can stamp out the labor movement—the movement from which the downtrodden millions, the millions who toil and live in want and misery—the wage slaves—expect salvation if this is your opinion, then hang us. Here you will tread upon a spark, but there and there, and behind you and in front of you and everywhere flames will blaze up. It is a subterranean fire. You cannot put it out.

"You, gentlemen, are the revolutionists. You rebel against the effects of social conditions which have tossed you, by the fair hand of fortune, into a magnificent paradise. The forces that tossed you into paradise, the industrial forces, are still at work. Their tendency is to elevate all mankind to the same level—to the paradise you now monopolize. You, in your blindness, think you can stop the tidal wave of civilization and human emancipation by placing a few policemen, a few

(Continued on Page 4.)

A Few Questions

To the Marine Transport Workers:

Fellow-Workers: Do you know, that you are working under worse conditions than any other class of men in the world?

Do you know, that you are getting less money than the land worker?

Do you know, that you have to submit to conditions that no other set of men would?

Do you know, that your work is harder than the average work?

Do you know, that you are deprived of all amusements the land worker enjoys?

Do you know, that your food in most cases is rotten, and you either eat that, or nothing?

Do you know, that you are now powerless against the COMBINED SHIPPING TRUST of the world?

Do you know, that as long as you are willing to submit to these conditions, they will never be changed?

Do you know, that YOU are the only one who can make the conditions what they ought to be?

Do you know, that the prices of all commodities, are from fifty to sixty per cent higher to-day, than they were ten years ago?

Do you know, that that means, you cannot buy but half of what you could buy ten years ago, even if you are getting the same wages as you got then?

Do you know, that an organization that organizes only part of the men on the ships, is as powerless as no organization at all, and that you men paying dues to such organizations are only keeping some one on your backs, in addition to what you already have to carry?

Do you know, that the workers of England had to put up with the same kind of conditions that you are putting up with here now?

Do you know, that the workers of England got tired fighting among themselves, and whipped the stuffings

(Continued on Page 4.)

Rangel Railroaded For "99 Years".

Kirby, Bailey and Huerta Press of Texas Gloats over Doomed Victims. But, as President Wilson so well says: "No Government Founded on Blood Can Endure," and, in the Words of the Splendid Dead, We Hurl This Message Back To The Huertaistas of Texas: "You Shall not Press Down on Labor's Brow this Crown of Thorns; You Shall not Crucify Mankind Upon a Cross of Gold!"

J. M. Gonzales was sentenced on the morning of Oct. 23rd, by a "jury of his peers" to serve a sentence of "Ninety-Nine Years" in the hellish penitentiaries of Texas. He was "tried" in the La Salle County "Court" at Cotulla, Texas. "State Witness" Buck swore Gonzales was at the killing of "deputy sheriff" Ortiz when, as a matter of fact, he was with Buck. We are trying to get a picture of this fellow Buck so all human beings may know him whenever he shows up. The gentlemen who are handing out "Kirbyized justice" to these helpless and innocent victims are: "Judge" J. F. Mulealy, "Sheriffs" Pool and J. L. Hess and "District Attorney John A. Valls, the last being part Spanish and a strong Diaz and Huerta partisan.

Judge Hudson writes that the rest of the cases will probably go to San Antonio as the State has been fought to a standstill in Dimmitt and La Salle Counties, and that he has every reason to expect a reversal in the cases of the convicted on appeal.

Bailey's little fice dog, the alleged "Houston Post," derides the power of the Rebel Press to force the Huertaists-

tas to take their blood-stained hands off the throats of Cline, Rangel and their fellow victims and it is up to the Rebel Press to give this savage gang a whole lot of the advertising that don't pay.

Remember! only two or three of these victimized men are I. W. W's.; but all are soldiers of Humanity, and it is for this reason that they are being rushed to a doom far more frightful than instant death on the gallows—years of torture in the heidiously horrible penitentiaries of the Huertaists of Texas.

Sons of the Alamo!

You Texans who still have love for Liberty and Justice, and I know there are thousands of you, in the name of your noble dead, I appeal to YOU to rise and force Huerta, Kirby and Co. to cease making your State a slaughter house of Human Freedom!

Texans! in the sacred shadow of the Alamo, will you allow this awful crime against liberty to be done? Texans! Sons of Rebel Sires, in the name of YOUR OWN HONOR, we appeal to you!

Rebels of the World!

Here in this Southland, to which they are trying to entice working men and working farmers from other lands, Justice is still a thing that must be had with money and, so, we appeal to you to RUSH all the funds you can spare to Vincent St. John, Gen. Sec. Treas. of the I. W. W., 164 W. Washington St., Chicago, Ill.

In Freedom's Name This Appeal Goes Out to You!

Suhr Horribly Tortured By Burns Hellions.

"Gentleman" Bill's Bloodhounds Equal the Black Hundreds of the Bloody Czar in Atrocious Cruelty, Wreaking their Lawless Will On Wheat-land's Helpless Victims While Hiram, "The Great Reformer," Prates of "Law, Order and Justice."

Special to THE VOICE OF THE PEOPLE: Sacramento, Cal., October 16, 1913. Terrible as are the tales of Chateau d'Gff and of Torquemada they pale in fiendishness beside the recent treatment of Henry D. Suhr, a worker whose only crime is that he was present when the people rebelled against the terrible conditions on the Durst Hop ranch. Suhr's home is in Stockton and his wife and two little children are distracted by the news of his terrible experience.

Suhr was arrested about a month ago near Prescott, Arizona. He was imprisoned in the refrigerator of the box car and carried to Los Angeles with Burns men nagging him. Here he was simply kept awake. Then he was carried to Fresno and all this time the process went on. Here he found wires running into his cell and tore them down and exposed a dictatorship. He was taken to San Francisco

co and a big Burns bully armed with a gun kept him awake in a room in the Sutter Hotel. Thence they took him to Oakland and confined him in the Alameda County Jail. Ten days had been consumed in these trips and Suhr was kept awake as much as possible. In the Alameda County Jail the fiends turned loose. Three shifts of them, working eight hours each kept at his bedside and through the lattice of a three-foot wide cell they kept him awake. He left the bed and tried to sleep on the floor. These fiends rolled long spills of paper and tickled him. When this failed they prodded him with sticks. Then he tried to sleep standing. They took him into the corridor and walked him up and down, bumping him against the walls and the cells. Four days this agony endured before Suhr went crazy.

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THE VOICE of the PEOPLE

(Formerly "The Lumberjack.")

Education

Organization

Emancipation



Freedom in

Industrial

Democracy

Published Weekly by National Industrial Union of Forest and Lumber Workers, Southern District.
Office of Publication:
520 Poydras Street, New Orleans, La.
COVINGTON HALL, Editor.

SUBSCRIPTION RATES:

Yearly, United States	\$1.00
Six Months, United States	.50
Foreign, Yearly	1.50
Bundle Orders, Per Copy (in Canada)	.02 1/2
Bundle Orders, Per Copy (in United States)	.02
Single Copies	.05

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NATIONAL INDUSTRIAL UNION OF FOREST AND LUMBER WORKERS—SOUTHERN DISTRICT.

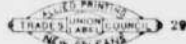
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Entered as Second-class Matter July 5, 1913, at the Post Office at New Orleans, La., under the act of August 24, 1912.



THE QUESTION OF DECENTRALIZATION.

7.

Centralization in Industry.

The centralists, when beaten at all other points, make what they consider a conclusive argument in the following: The I. W. W. is building up the structure of the new society, and as modern industry is highly centralized the I. W. W. must be highly centralized also.

This argument is sound save for two details, 1st, the I. W. W. is not building up the structure of the new society (as this is generally understood), 2nd, modern industry is not centralized (as centralists understand and use this term). Let us consider the first of the shocking propositions in this altogether shocking rejoinder.

Summed up, the current theory is that the labor unions will, in the new society, take charge of and oversee production. As our noted theoretician W. E. Trautmann says; they will "legislate the industries." How unnecessary will be the interference of the labor unions is readily apparent when one considers the existing producing or shop organization of modern industry. The shop organizations are the totality of workers of all kinds in the various industries. They have been called into being solely for the purpose of carrying on production. They are the social producing organism. They are the embodiment of the best thought and experience that humanity has been able to apply to production. These shop organizations are not capitalistic in nature, but economic. They will not perish with the fall of capitalism. On the contrary, the revolution will give a strong stimulus to their still higher development. They will not need the assistance, as producing organizations, from any government, be it political or labor union in character.

Compared to the shop organizations the labor unions would be ridiculous as producing organizations. The labor unions are only fighting organizations; they know nothing about carrying on production. Their chief function is to overthrow capitalism. If they have any function to perform in the new society it will doubtless be to serve as employment agencies. It is worthy of note that even under capitalism the labor unions so strongly see the need for a distributive shop organization for the workers that they are universally trying to serve as employment agencies. This is equally true of both the reddest and yellowest unions. Though unions may have nothing else in common, not even the strike, they will all be found functioning as employment agencies as best they can.

But, for the sake of argument, let us withdraw our shop organization theory and accept as correct the centralist theory that the highly developed shop organizations of modern industry, which know all about production, will be superseded in the new society by the labor unions, which know nothing about production. And then let us examine in order to learn if the labor unions, as future producing organizations, should be centralized or not.

The term centralization, as used by the centralists in relation to industry, means the bringing of great groups of workers and vast industrial processes under the arbitrary control of a few individuals. Let us admit at once that the combination of the ownership of great industries into the hands of a few men is throwing the workers involved directly under the control of these men, who are using their power in the most arbitrary fashion, compelling the workers to give them more and more of their product. The modern industries, as regards the relations of the workers and capitalists, are, therefore, admittedly centralized. But as exploitation of the workers will cease with the fall of capitalism, and masters and slaves will be merged into one army of producers, this phase of industrial centralization will pass away. The workers will be free; they will no longer need to be compelled to work; the centralized boss system will vanish. The sole problem then will be the best way of exploiting the industrial processes. Our task is therefore, to learn whether the industrial processes of modern industries are centralized.

Let us admit at once, that unquestionably a certain amount of centralization does exist in the operation of the industrial processes. But let us call attention to the facts that this centralization is distinctly detrimental to industry, and that it is in course of rapid disappearance. Or in other words, that the tendency in modern industry is from a partial centralization to a complete decentralization of the industrial processes. Let us first outline why industrial decentralization is necessary; then indicate the harm of industrial centralization, and, finally, conclude by a typical example of decentralization in modern industry.

Industrial processes are based on natural laws which submit to no arbitrary authority. They can be best exploited when the workers thoroughly understand them and shape their conduct strictly in accordance with their mandates. Any attempt to run counter to these laws, whether through ignorance or arbitrariness, inevitably results in decreased efficiency. So vast and complicated is modern industry that no one man, or central group of men, can possibly be sufficiently informed to direct the operations of the vast armies of workers in such manner as to produce the greatest efficiency. Specialization, which necessarily carries with it decentralization of power, is inevitable. The man on the job must be given autonomy to perform the task in hand in order to develop the greatest efficiency. This applies equally to an individual worker, shop, or an industry as a whole.

Intelligent capitalists and managers are getting an inkling of the necessity for autonomy in industry and the trend everywhere is towards specialization and decentralization. The day is rapidly passing of the old fashioned industrial dictator who kept all the "threads of his business" in his own hands, with a consequent immense loss of efficiency, due to his ignorance, etc. His arbitrary rule is being replaced by the natural rule of the facts and figures of the industries. These facts and figures cannot rule where arbitrary power exists to check their free expression. Hence the necessity to abolish the industrial dictators.

Though the influence of the industrial dictators is decidedly on the wane still many of their kind linger to blight industrial efficiency. As owners, boards of directors, managers, etc., they are afflicted with all the diseases of centralization, viz., ignorance, stupidity, cowardice, conservatism, stubbornness, recklessness, etc. And as such dictators cannot possibly be well enough informed to act in all cases, these diseases of centralization constantly make themselves felt, to the extreme detriment of industry.

The introduction of the automatic car coupler offers one of a thousand typical instances of the stupidity of centralized management. This invention has revolutionized railroading and vastly increased the earnings of the railroads; yet for years, the railroad dictators, in the face of facts, figures and common sense, bitterly contested it. They were brought to accept it only by a national law. The same short-sighted policy is now being pursued in the warfare against the introduction of safety appliances, better sanitary conditions, etc., in the various industries. The dictators refuse to accept these innovations, though it is patent it would be profitable to do so. Their conservative attitude is typical of all centralized bodies.

As a result of centralized management many industries are little better than scrap heaps and slaughter pens. Their necessarily incompetent dictators refuse to adopt the processes, machinery etc. that would put them on a modern basis. However this backward condition is being eliminated in the higher developed industries by the application of the decentralist principle. The arbitrary despotism of the former are giving way to the facts and figures of the latter. The specialist, or the man on the job, is being recognized as the only competent authority and being given the autonomy necessary to his work. This tendency is so widespread and well recognized that it were needless to give specific instances.

Let us illustrate the naturally decentralized character of modern industry, by citing a fragment of the process of railroading—an industry that the centralists call highly centralized:

A freight train pulls into a freight yard from a foreign railroad. The foreign train crew leave it at the specified place—a place that has been selected for its convenience, and not because some official arbitrarily chose it. The car inspectors immediately inspect the train. Without interference from over officials they send to the repair track all cars unfit for the road. They have no arbitrary power in the matter, nor have their bosses. All must submit to the dictates of the industry, or serious trouble results. Meanwhile the yard clerk has received the bills of lading from the foreign train conductor. Automatically, if you will, he makes out a list of the car numbers and their destination. He hands this to the car marker who, without further ado, marks the cars accordingly. The switch engine then takes hold of them and they are switched, not in accordance with the whims of some dictator, but as the industry dictates. As soon as a train is made up a timely call is made for a train crew. These take the proper engine, and after going through all the necessary road regulations, etc., they deliver the cars, not where they might wish to, but where they belong.

And so it goes throughout the entire railroad industry, as well as all other industries; it will be seen by this that the nature of the industry is the determining factor in the industrial process, not the arbitrary will of some dictator. To the extent that bossism interferes with those natural processes decreased efficiency results. Only when the arbitrary human factor is eliminated altogether will the acme of efficiency result. And capitalism, though from its oppressive character it can never achieve it, is drifting rapidly towards this goal. Only in the future society, when there will be no need for slave driving, that complete industrial decentralization will be reached. Then "the man on the job," whether this be an individual worker, shop, or industry, will be given full charge of the work that falls within its natural jurisdiction. The result will be the absolute negation of government, whether it be an exterior political or labor union government, or an interior system of centralized bossism.

Centralists when they turn to modern industry for support of their theory are met with a strong rebuff. For, in industry, more than in any labor union, is found in operation the decentralist principle that the only competent one to perform a task, is the man or group having it in hand, and what centralization exists, is in a decidedly bad way.

The centralization in the management of the industrial processes is recognizedly bad, and the tendency is all away from it. No

doubt it will be abolished altogether in the future society. As for the centralization in the relations between the capitalists and the workers, even the centralists would hardly defend that. Its future is not bright either, for unless all signs fails, the revolution will destroy it and give the workers the control over their own labor power. Centralization, that lingering child of theology and kingcraft, can find no excuse in modern industry for its being. It is an inter-looper there. And it is high time that it is recognized as such in the labor movement and treated accordingly.

PAUL DUPRES.

Winnipeg, Canada, Sept. 29, 1913.

Editor's note:

This article should be No. 6 of the series; the one published last week, "A World Wide Movement," should have closed the series.

C. H.

THE VOICE CALLED.

New Orleans, La., Oct., 25th, 1913.

Mr. Covington Hall,

City.

Dear Sir:

We call your attention to the enclosed bill showing a balance due us by "THE VOICE OF THE PEOPLE," of \$185.90. Unless this bill is materially reduced by the 10th of November, it will be impossible for us to continue publishing the paper longer. Our agreement is that "THE VOICE" is to pay us every two weeks and our small capital forces us to insist on this.

Very Truly Yours,

JOHN J. WEIHING PRINTING CO.

FELLOW-WORKERS:

We call your attention to the above letter and appeal to all Locals and City Central Committees owing THE VOICE for bundles to rush us the FULL amount due by them IMMEDIATELY on receipt of this issue. There is owing the paper more than enough to pay this bill in full and there is no reason why those Locals and C. C.'s owing THE VOICE should not act more promptly. With very little team work, the paper could soon be put on a safe and sound basis, out of debt entirely and be made a power in the great Revolt that is brewing throughout the South.

Will you help us? Or will you allow this great Rebellion, when it breaks, to fall once more into the hands of pettifogging politicians? It is up to you. Taking what has been given me to work on, considering the forces that have fought the paper, THE VOICE has made an extraordinary record, for, if the Locals will only send in their remittances promptly, it is NOW practically self-supporting. It is the freest paper in the Labor Movement. It would be a crime to let it die. If the Editor displeases you, get another, but SAVE THE VOICE, for it is needed, and badly, in the South. But, as long as we stay, THE VOICE will be open to ALL QUESTIONS affecting the Labor Movement.

At the last, we will be unable to run accounts over 30 days hereafter, so that all bundle orders on which remittances are not received by the 10th of each succeeding month will be taken from the mailing list, so if you do not get your bundle for first week in November, you will know what the trouble is if you are short on remittances.

Yours in the fight for the World for the Workers,

COVINGTON HALL.

DIRECT ACTION.

By Covington Hall.

The one thing that seems to give all the Social Owls a pain is direct action. Direct Action means action in the shop—on the job—for the workers affected to make their demands on the Boss himself. Themselves and quit begging "Labor Lieutenants," priests, preachers, rabbis and politicians to pray and intercede for them. It means for the workers to Force, to Take by their Own Might that which they desire, when there will be no danger of them losing the advantage gained. The only real action a Labor Union can take is Direct Action—Action in the Shop—Action on the Job. Only when it becomes powerful enough to control the Jobs under its jurisdiction is a labor union able to affect social conditions elsewhere, for on the Job All Society rests. The class which Controls the Jobs Owns the earth and all the wealth upon it, for all wealth is of labor, flows from the Job. Around this fact swings the world-wide war of the classes; on it is based all the teachings and tactics of the I. W. W.; Ownership in Modern Industry Amounts to Nothing; Control of the Jobs to everything, and the I. W. W. is out after this Control of the Jobs by the Workers and for the Workers, the establishment of an Industrial Democracy, a system of production under which every worker shall have a voice in the management of industry. Control the work of the world, receive the full product of their toil, and in which the Union shall supersede the State as the General Administration of Society. A new world, owned and controlled by free workers, that is the mighty vision of the I. W. W.—the only real Labor Union on the North American Continent. Direct Action—Imagine, if you can, a Labor Union acting effectively otherwise! If it can, then the Union is useless and ought to be abolished. All the working class has, or ever will have, has been and will be gotten by—Direct Action—action in the Shop—against the Boss—On the Job—Through the Unions.

Direct Action * * * it is essentially a cry to the workers to get off their knees, do their own thinking, and act for themselves through their own organizations, for which reason:

Hear the hooting of the owls,
Of the owls, of the owls of the night,
Hear them hooting, hooting, hooting,
All in vain against the light!
The owls, the owls, the owls,
Hear their hedious hoots and screeches,
As for them the arm of Justice reaches—
The owls, the owls, the owls,
Hear the hooting of the owls of the night!

The General Defense Fund

St. Louis, Mo., Oct. 23, 1913.

To All I. W. W. Locals and Fellow-Workers:

You are no doubt aware of the fact that a number of our Fellow-workers are to be tried in the Capitalist Courts within the next few weeks, charged with every degree of crime from conspiracy to murder in the first degree. All as a result of their efforts in behalf of the workingclass, as against the Capitalist class. Fellow-Workers Haywood, Flynn, Tresca and Lessig and 130 other cases are to be tried in Patterson, N.J.; Cline & Rangel are to be tried in Pearsall, Texas, with 10 others for the supposed murder of a Deputy Sheriff; Murphy, in Salt Lake City. The Wheatland prisoners also need help. There are many others that we must support and defend from the vengeance of the Master Class.

Money is needed now. Action is needed without delay. Their fight is our fight. A system must be organized to collect funds for defense. To this end, the rebels of St. Louis have organized a Workers Defense League to collect funds and send them into General Headquarters for a General Defense Fund. Each member of the League solicits funds among friends and sympathizers and turns all money collected in to the Secretary of the League each week, who forwards the money to Chicago. In addition, each member of the League pledges a certain amount to be paid weekly and as much more as he can spare. The membership is composed of all who care to join. There are many Socialists, Anarchists and A. F. of L. sympathizers who will join when the object of the League is explained to them.

Get together, Fellow-Workers. Do something. Do not delay. Form Leagues in your locality. Get in touch with the Secretary in St. Louis. Let us show our enemies that when our Fellow-Workers get into the Capitalist Courts, we can get them out. The Secretary of the St. Louis League is—

Mrs. P. Rieman, 3877 Bell Ave., St. Louis, Mo.
She will be glad to give any information desired.
Yours for freedom.
(Seal.)

J. W. KELLY.

The General Strike

The workers of all countries are beginning to realize three important facts, that is: (First) The police and military forces of the capitalist parasites are helpless when confronted with a general strike. (Second) That the general strike because of its short duration places very little hardships on the worker. (Third) Comparatively few lives are lost. And we will add one more fact—number four. It is not necessary to have all the workers organized before we can have the general strike. Of course the more the better.

The three great strikes of England brought that country to her knees and yet only about four per cent of the workers are organized. Here in St. Louis, for instance, if the 80,000 union men desire they could stop every wheel in the city.

The workers have this tremendous power and the only reason they do not use it is because they are not aware of it. Now the only way to make them aware of it is to carry on an agitation for the general strike. In England, France, Italy and other countries the workers have demonstrated what a general strike can do and no West Virginia atrocities will be tolerated by the miners of England and France. It is America where the workers will submit to such dastardly deeds on the part of the boss. Let the miners of America go on a general strike and you can bet your last dollar the autocrats of West Virginia and Calumet will beg for mercy.

The shop men of the I. C., who have been out on a long strike, have recently expressed themselves 93 per cent in favor of taking a referendum for the general strike. The men are willing and took this vote in spite of the opposition of their international officers. It is high time these officers be taught that they are only the office boy of labor and forget that they are the "whole cheese." Many of these international officers have ideas so antiquated that they ought to be placed on exhibition alongside with the mummies of Egypt.

The general strike is the slogan of the hour. We will carry on the agitation in spite of the "old fogies" and when the workers are thoroughly imbued with that idea then and not until then will they be masters of their own destinies.

Boost for the General Strike.—From "The Unionist."

Syndicalism Gaining

"The result of of it all is seen in the gains which syndicalism is making among the British workers. Labor leaders like Ben Tillett who scorn all political action and preach the strike, or in the last resort, force, as the workman's only weapon, are gaining more and more influence, and still more significant is the revolt of the rank and file against their own leaders.

Only a few weeks ago 20,000 London railwaymen met in Hyde Park, and against the protests of their leader, J. H. Thomas, M. P., passed resolu-

tions in favor of a strike. A couple of months ago the miners, by an overwhelming majority, stripped their officials of the power to conclude any bargain with the employers without first submitting it to a popular vote. The shipyard workmen have gone on strike twice within the last year against the direct orders of their officials.

Discipline in English trade unions has disappeared and many trade unionists declare it is due to the effort to mix trade unionism and politics."

The above is from an article by John S. Steele in the New Orleans, La., "Times-Democrat," the closing paragraph thereof. The article dealt with the complete collapse of political Laborism and Socialism in England and showed that the British workers were rapidly turning away from both Politicalism and Craftism for Direct Action. This unheard of action on the part of the British and Irish workers seems to be making the entire Capitalist world uneasy, as well it may, for England is the heart of that world and when the Militant workers assault it they send a thrill of fear throughout all Bourgeoisdom.

The "discipline" bemoaned is the emphatic refusal of the Irish and British workers to longer submit to the dictation of the "Artwo Sec Six" Bergers, the "Hammer'em Down" Garretsons and the "Safety Valve" Lees. The day of machine-made unions is done. The Industrial Democracy is off its knees.

Propaganda Leagues

By John Pancner.

"Be it resolved by the convention that the general administration of the Industrial Workers of the World be authorized to issue credentials or charters to propaganda clubs or leagues composed of actual members of the working class in localities where the general organizer deems them necessary.

"1. That these clubs shall be under the control of the General Organizer the same as National Organizers.

"2. That these propaganda leagues shall be governed by the Preamble and Constitution of the Industrial Workers of the World.

"3. That they shall not admit to membership persons suspended from the Industrial Workers of the World.

"4. That they shall not admit to membership members who have withdrawn on account of disagreement with the policy of the organization or any of its subsidiary bodies."

What then is the difference between a mixed local and a propaganda League? A mixed local pays per capita tax but a League does not; you can belong to your Industrial Union, and a Propaganda League at the same time, but you can't belong to an Industrial Union and a mixed local. Suppose there are four locals in a city of different Industries, the mixed local it dead; there is no District Council; a minority in the locals wishes to carry on street meetings and hall lectures; the minority can start a Propaganda League.

This would bring about centralization of energy for Propaganda only.

Suppose a number of Italians scattered in different locals wish to carry on Propaganda among their countrymen; they can start a Propaganda League.

Suppose a number of Finlanders scattered all over the United States, wish to publish an I. W. W. paper; they can form a League. The League can organize children, women, and old and young men who are members of the working class, but do not work for wages. The dues of a Propaganda League may range from five cents to one dollar per month, as the membership may deem fit.

Next week I shall explain the District Industrial Council.

Some Preamble History

"The Committee on Preamble was composed of a representative from each of the several groups in the Convention. The original representative of the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance on the Committee was Thomas Powers of Providence, R. I. Two days after the convention had convened, and after the Committee had held several sessions, Powers informed me that he felt indisposed and would withdraw; and he also notified me that the Anarchists and pure and simplers were running things with a high hand. Knight, the representative of another group on the Committee, corroborated Powers' opinion. The next day, the Convention being in session, the withdrawal of Powers was announced by the S. T. and L. A. delegation, and at the request of the delegation, I was appointed his substitute.

The first time that I saw the draft of the proposed Preamble was when I joined the Committee. The first thing that struck me about the Preamble was the conspicuousness by its absence of any evidence that the important role of political action was understood or at all taken cognizance of. The instant I uttered myself in this sense the discussion broke loose.

The discussion that ensued was three-cornered. It was conducted by Haggerty who spoke against

political action; by one Sullivan, connected with the W. F. of M., who spoke for the non-political element; and myself, who upheld the principle of political and economic action. Moyer said little; he merely growled at me.

The upshot of the tussle was that I obtained the insertion of the words "on the political, as well as" in the sentence which originally read:

"Between these two classes a struggle must go on until all the toilers come together on the industrial field," etc.; so that that sentence was made to read:

"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," etc., etc.

Immediately upon the adoption of my insertion, the discussion seemed to flare up anew. I perceived that my position was misunderstood; being misunderstood it was suspected of being a scheme to "run the new organization in the interest of the S. L. P." I availed myself of the opportunity to sketch the Socialist posture on Unionism. I quoted the Marxian principle that only the Union, that is the bona fide Union, could set on foot the real political party of Labor; that, hence, no true political party of Socialism could expect, or want, to run the class conscious economic organization; that the exigencies of the situation, which required political action to fight the Political State, thereby decreed the necessity of the political organization where-with to conduct a fight, the field of battle of which was necessarily territorial, while the field of economic battle was necessarily industrial. And it was then, as a consequence of the adoption of my first insertion, and in order to underscore the political posture of the S. T. and L. A., that I moved the insertion which Trautmann correctly, though disconnectedly, attributes to me—"without affiliation with any political party."

Extract from a letter by Daniel De Leon in the "I. V. News" of October, 1913.

Comment: It was the elimination of all these clauses referring to political action by the now famous "Hobo Convention," that caused the Socialist Labor Party Politicians to follow their Socialist Party brothers out of the I. W. W. What the "Hobo Convention" actually did was to restore the Preamble to its pristine Syndicalist purity, and it is around the inability of this Syndicalist Preamble to work in harmony with a Constitution fixed up by State Socialists and Craft-Unionists that every struggle, from first to last, within the I. W. W. has occurred.

It is around the great Preamble that all the propaganda of the I. W. W. has been built, around it that all the war made upon the I. W. W. by the old and dying order has raged, and around it that the hosts of American labor are gathering for the Social Revolution that is to put the Working Class in possession of the World.

The authorship of the Preamble alone will make immortal the name of Thomas Haggerty.

Where We Lose

Shake hands old South.

You've got us skinned, darn'ed if you aint.

There aint many things you can skin us on.

Washington still leads as the greatest lumber producing state in the country, although Louisiana runs it a close competition.

Our saw mills and our logging camps still continue to maim and kill at an alarming rate, the same as yours.

Our employers are just as greedy and just as bent on destroying every vestige of labor unionism. And when it comes to skinning us, the bosses have got the system down to perfection.

But when it comes to an increased cost of living, that's where you shine.

Listen what our State Labor Commissioner, E. W. Olson, has to say:

"The cost of living in the United States has increased more than twice as rapidly during the past 25 years as has the wage of the laboring man.

The increase in the cost of foodstuffs in that part of the country west of the Mississippi river has been less than in the South and East, the average increase being about 46 per cent. while in the Eastern and Southern States the increase has been as high as 72 per cent.

During the period in question wages have shown an increase of less than 3 per cent, while there has been a decrease in the hours of labor of 3.8 per cent. The figures show that the wage increase has been about one-half of the foodstuff increase."—Frank R. Schleis.

To the above "THE VOICE" appends the following clipping from an editorial in the N. O., La., "Daily States":

"Every time the clock ticks sixteen times a worker somewhere in the United States is hurt in an accident, most of which a proper supervision of industry, coupled with intelligence, would prevent. Every quarter of an hour a worker is killed.

The continuous toll of the shops, mills and railroads in maimed and dying exceeds each year the total blood cost of the Civil War; it strikes into the life blood of every inhabitant in fifty and of every worker in ten."

If YOU are a MAN, you will join the fighting I. W. W. and help end all this hellish misery. YOU have nothing but chains and death to lose.

A Veteran in Distress

One of our members, by the name of John Olson, met with a terrible accident while on his way from the convention back to Minneapolis, Minn. He was run over by a couple of cars and his left leg so badly crushed that it had to be amputated. He is now in the Lutheran Hospital, at La Crosse, Wis., suffering, a shadow of his former self.

We are determined to have him get good hospital treatment and an artificial leg when he gets out. However, the expenses will come to several hundred dollars and Local No. 64 won't be able to do it all alone.

Fellow-Worker John Olson has been one of the most active rebels in the I. W. W. He participated in the Spokane Free Speech Fight and other battles, and has never failed to respond when the organization needed assistance.

It is therefore imperative that the membership of the I. W. W. should come to his aid, now that he is helpless and disabled.

Send all contributions to Richard Reese, Secretary Joint Locals No. 64 and 221, I. W. W., 220 2nd Street S., Minneapolis, Minn.

Center Shots

By Frank Albers.

"To-morrow! It is a period nowhere to be found." To-day, now, spread the propaganda of the General Strike!

"In a few years you will be dead and dark—all cold, eyeless, deaf." What are you doing to make these few years worth while?

"To-morrow! 'Tis Fancy's child and Folly is its father." Organize your fellow-workers to-day.

Industrial Unionism will level up society.

"To think is to live, for he who thinks not has no sense of life."

Action is the soul of ideas, therefore, for goodness sake act.

We can stand a little Direct Action in the shape of more Subs. and increased bundle orders for this paper.

The printer refuses to take pay in philosophy—he demands real U. S. Coin.

Stick to the main issue and you can't be treed, "The Earth and the Fullness Thereof for the Workers." Let side issues go.

Why all this acrimony? Why all this hard feeling? Why is personality injected into discussions of tactics in the organization?

Can we not discuss matters that are of vital importance without calling each other names and attempting to impugn one another's integrity. Can we not discuss things as coolly and as dispassionately as the ruling class?

We must, if we are to succeed!

"Take Superstition's cruel claws from the throat of Truth! Unbandage Reason's eyes!" Man awaits the new-creating message of Solidarity and Freedom. You, fellow-worker, are you doing your share in this world-wide crusade to make this world forever free?

The I. W. W. teaches the philosophy of despairing of accomplishing anything for the workers by any other means than themselves. It is the "Philosophy of Despair to all the well paid 'saviors' of the working class.

With the steady growth of the idea that the workers can free themselves, I can imagine the soul torture, the utter and absolute despair of such valiant saviors of the working class like Berger, Gompers, Hilquit and Co. at being separated from their Delmonico meal-ticket. Alike, it is the "philosophy of despair" to the capitalists and their labor lieutenants.

Labor's Press, all lands shall sing,
Our Press, is the Press we bring,
All lands to bless.
O, pallid Want! O, Labor stark!
Behold! we bring the second Ark!

"The Voice!" our Press, your Press!
What are you doing to keep this Ark from foundering?

The I. W. W. said: "Let there be light! Light was." Truth rose from the dead, seized the crimson banner of Liberty and proclaimed the Social Revolution. Great God! What a shock it was to 'Gene and Daniel.

Suhr Horribly Tortured. Con.

Continued From Page 1.)

Then they thrust upon him a paper which they said was his confession. He signed it. For one hour then sweet sleep blessed his eyelids. Sheriff Bartnet, who holds his office by grace of workingmen's and working women's votes then came to him and begged him to say that the confession was voluntary. Suhr slightly refreshed refused.

Suhr was a magnificent man of 180 pounds. He has a wife and two beautiful children. He was paying for his little home in Stockton. He has been a producer all his life and his pay is this fiendish brutality.

At the recent convention of the state Federation of Labor, the defense of the Wheatland victims was unanimously endorsed. The convention also voted to the Wheatland defense the balance of the McNamara funds, \$156. This money has not yet been placed to the credit of the Wheatland Defense Committee but is eagerly expected.

In order that the utmost safety shall surround the Wheatland Defense Fund it has been voted in Sacramento that the accounts shall be audited daily. Sim Powell has been elected Treasurer and bonded for \$2,000.

Send all funds to Andy Barber, Secretary, 1119 3rd Street, Sacramento, Cal.

The Challenge of. Con.

Continued From Page 1.)

gating guns and some regiments of militia on the shore. You think you can frighten the rising waves back to the unfathomable depths whence they have arisen by erecting a few gallows in the perspective. You who oppose the natural course of things, you are the real revolutionists. You, and you alone, are the conspirators and destructionists."

There was much more. Neebe followed. He told the court he would cheerfully receive a death sentence. Fischer declared: "I have been tried here in this room for murder and convicted of anarchy."

"I tell you frankly," said Lingg, "that I am for force. If you cannonade us we will dynamite you. I despise you. I despise your order, your law, your force-propped authority. Hang me for it."

"Your honor," said Fielden, "I have worked at hard labor since I was eight years of age. I went into a cotton factory when I was eight years old and I have worked continually since. I have never received one cent for agitating. To-day as the beautiful autumn sun kisses the cheek of every free man I stand here never to bathe my head in its rays again. My crime is this: I have loved my fellowman as I loved myself."

Note.

A great Memorial Meeting will be held in Chicago, in Pilsner Auditorium on Sunday afternoon of Nov. 9th, 1913, in honor of our mighty dead.

The Coffee that makes New Orleans Famous
GET IT AT
Creole Bakery & Restaurant
818 ST. CHARLES ST. OPPOSITE Y. M. C. A.

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 capitalists, 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.

A Few Questions. Con.

Continued From Page 1.)

out of the shipping trust, simply because they combined their entire forces?

Do you know, that the wages of the Transport Workers of England are nearly twice as much as before, since they combined into ONE BIG UNION.

Do you know, that you can do the same thing?

And do you know, that it is time you should do something for yourself, because, no one is going to do it for you?

Now, Fellow-Workers, there's no use wasting any time explaining why you can't accomplish anything as Sailors, Firemen, Oilers, Watertenders, Coal-passers, Quartermasters, Cooks, Waiters, Stewards, Longshoremen, and all the rest of the men engaged in the Marine Transport Industry. It is very necessary on your part, to come together in one solid body, so that you can put up a solid front to your employers, and besides, it is your only salvation.

There's a real Union here now, which organizes everybody connected with the Marine Transport Industry. The name of this Union is the National Industrial Union of Marine Transport Workers. The motto of this Union is, AN INJURY TO ONE IS AN INJURY TO ALL, and it believes absolutely in the SOLIDARITY of LABOR, in other words, it believes that the workers should all stand together at all times, so that they can resist the attacks of the employers.

Are you ready to unite with your Fellow-Workers? Are you ready to do your part in making the conditions what they ought to be? If so, join hands with the National Industrial Union of Marine Transport Workers, and turn your many defeats into a glorious victory.

Yours for speedy action.
Boston Local, No. 2, of the Marine Transport Workers, I. W. W.
284 Commercial St., Boston, Mass.

Haywood Ill.-Needs Help.

General Headquarters.

October 10th, 1913.

Fellow-Workers:

William D. Haywood is seriously ill in New York City. He is suffering from a complete breakdown as a result of the strain of the Patterson strike. He is dead broke and has had to depend on the good will of some of the New York Fellow-Workers for his bed and board.

It is needless to state what Haywood has done in the labor movement. That is known. But here is the situation which now confronts him. He is absolutely without money and seriously ill. Doctors bills in New York must be paid and a wife and family in the West must be provided for.

After using all his vitality and energy in the workers fights the least we can do is to stand by him in his hour of need. Haywood needs your help. He is not asking for it. He does not know that this appeal is being sent out. But Fellow-Workers in New York who do know assure us that the case is serious.

All of us should get together and do the best we can. Each local should try and do something. We should do this and do it quick. Lets show Haywood that the workers can appreciate his efforts.

Send all money to
JESSE ASHLEY,
27 Cedar Street, New York, N. Y.

Mann Stirs Vancouver

Vancouver, B. C., Oct. 19, 1913.
THE VOICE OF THE PEOPLE:

Tom Mann spoke in Vancouver, B. C., under the auspices of the I. W. W. and although the meeting was advertised in a hurry (we only had two days) it was a real success. Tom Mann surprised everybody, never were the principles of Industrial Unionism put before the people in such way; everybody, even our most bitter enemies admitted that Mann's address was a masterpiece of logic; he confounded the political scab philosophers and the craft union bleeder in such a way that they could not refute a single statement; in fact, the Vancouver Wobblies are all agreed, although it is a hard bunch to please, that Mann is the best that ever came down the pike, barring none. We are sorry that we did not have his address reported stenographically, and we advise any local that gets Tom Mann to get it if possible, as his lecture would make a splendid pamphlet. We would advise any local that has not yet a date for Mann to get one at once; don't miss the treat of your life.

Yours in revolt.

LOUIS RODEAUX,
Secretary Local 322 I. W. W.

Forest Rebels, Attention!

A Fellow-Worker by the name of Snider has informed me that he has been for some time past working in the State of Arizona and he says that there is a good chance to organize a local in and around Flagstaff. He wishes that all the Fellow-Workers going that way to get in that field and see if they can't do something toward starting a local there.

They will find hardly any opposition to agitation in the camps there as there is only one boss that makes any objection, and that boss is the boss of the S. M. L. Co., the son of the superintendent of that outfit.

They are working 11 hours, in most of the camps there and, in this particular camp, the M A N A G E R came around and tried to reduce the hours from 11 to 10, but the son, as a boss, objected, saying that the men were satisfied with the present number of hours.

Snider says the men are rotten ripe for organization as the most of them are dissatisfied, so if the rebels will get in there about the first of May they may be able to do something in the line of organization, and possibly start a local in that locality.

The workers will find the camps in the following places: The Manisty Lumber Co. at Bellmont, with mills at William, 3 camps out of Flagstaff, Ariz., 1 out of Albuquerque, N. M., the American Lumber Co., W. Gaffey Lumber Co. out of True, Ariz. The boss that objects to a rebel is at the S. M. L. Co's camp. These camps are all lumber camps but there is other work around there, such as railroad camps and shops. So all Rebels going that way please get in that country, get in the harness and help to swell the ranks of the ONE BIG UNION.

FRED L. TIFFANY.

DERRY MEETINGS.

Local No. 402, Derry, La., meets every Sunday, 2:30 p. m. All rebels passing this way are invited to drop in.

Dear Hall: Please insert the above and let it stand several issues. The Derry Local has adopted a set of local by-laws which provides that each new member will pay \$2.00 for the membership book and one due stamp and out of the deal the new member will receive the Voice for 3 months. Good Idea.

PAUL DERBONNE,
Secretary-Treasurer.

"GO THOU AND DO LIKEWISE."

War is Hell.

It was pasted on the boarding, and this is what it said:

"Wanted.—Young men to go to war"—that's how the poster read. "Peace on earth, good will toward men" is nought for us to heed, for we are the wolves of the jungle den, and ours is the god of greed; and the wild warhoop will never cease where the wolf-welps buy and sell—so curse "goodwill" and the way to "peace," for ours is the way of hell! And the splutter of blood and crunch of bones, and the screams of the tortured ones, and the sweethearts' sobs and the mother's moans are hushed by the belching guns! And the vultures swoop where the carrion lies, and the demons dance and yell, and laugh at the sight of the weeping eyes in the land where war is hell!—"The Muck Rake."

Moral: Let the capitalists and politicians go to Mexico and furnish the patriotic buzzard food themselves.

Foreigners Wanted.

Wanted—Foreigners. To do all kinds of work in factories, mines, everywhere. Must be strong, active, industrious, humble, cringing and submissive. Must have intelligence enough to perform skillfully any work that is assigned but not enough to become dissatisfied with any working or living conditions that may be meted out to them. Above all, must never know enough to join unions, go on strike or otherwise seek to improve their lot. Must always have the highest respect for our sense of equal and exact justice, and must guarantee never to develop any disrespect for our police or to believe that they are anything but merciful, just and graft-proof. In addition to the lowest possible wage, this is an unprecedented opportunity to participate in the development of the greatest country ever elaborated. Address

Americans, (Capitalists and Landlords) Everywhere.—"Life."

ITA EST.

In my short experience of human life, the outward obstacles if there were any such, have not been living men, but the institutions of the dead. There is something servile in the habit of seeking after a law which we may obey. We may study the laws of matter at and for our convenience, but a successful life knows no law. Don't be too moral. You may cheat yourself out of much life so. Aim above morality. Be not simply good; be good for something. It is impossible to instil principles in a soldier's mind without making him a deserter. —Henry David Thoreau.

Southern District—Notice!

All Southern Locals I. W. W. should get in touch with Secretary Jay Smith at once and arrange a meeting for Fellowworker C. H. Edwards, G. E. B. member, who has just returned from the General Convention of the I. W. W., and is now on the firing line for new programme work.

Local secretaries will be able to arrange a meeting for Fellowworker C. H. Edwards by writing to Jay Smith, Box 78, Alexandria, La.

COFFUP, U!

Red Cross Drug Store

Tenth and Jackson Streets—Opposite Union Depot
ALEXANDRIA, LOUISIANA

Complete Stock of

DRUGS, MEDICINES, DRUG SUNDRIES AND
TOILET ARTICLES

Our Prescription Department is in Charge of Skilled Registered Pharmacists, and only Highest Grade Materials Used.

Mail Orders Filled Immediately on Receipt.

Safe Delivery by Parcels Post Guaranteed.

No Order Too Small for Our Best Attention and Service.

TELEPHONE NUMBER 212

Mr. Carl Canned

Eureka, Cal., Oct. 8th, 1913.

It is reported by a Fellow-Worker from Local 431, that Mr. Carl, a former Boarding Boss at Boarding House B. at Scotia, Cal., got fired last week. This notorious gentleman, with wife and one child, has been the company's assistance in firing all I. W. W.'s in said camp. Now this said Carl is walking the streets of Eureka, BROKE and very sad indeed, with his family up against it, looking for a job. "Some power for Carl." All Fellow-Workers should look out for him. He is a German born, speaks good English, with old country accent, stout and has a big birthmark on his right cheek; easy to recognize.

R. SODERQUIST.

Blackfoot Strike Off.

Missoula, Mont., Oct. 20, 1913

The Lumber Workers strike in the A. C. M. Co. Camps located on the Blackfoot, Mont., has been called off. The men have gained a 10 cent raise per day and other concessions. Lumberjacks can find employment in the camps of Western Montana. The wages is \$2.50 per day for 9 hours.

Yours for the O. B. U.

T. STOCK, Sec. L. U. No. 40.

SAY! You Southern Lumberjacks, look at those wages and hours; they aint what they ought to be by a dam-site, but they beat your time all hollow, alright. How did they get it? Why, BY ORGANIZING AND FIGHTING ON THE JOB, of course, and that's the ONLY WAY YOU will ever get anything. Thus saith "THE VOICE."

NEW ADDRESS:

Address All Communications
For The Editor or: The Voice
of The People to 520 Poydras
Street, New Orleans, La.

Back Numbers Wanted

All Locals or Individuals having back numbers of THE LUMBER-JACK and THE VOICE which they can spare from their files, please forward same to us at once for filing purposes.

REVIEW AND VOICE, \$1.00

We have on hand a few six months subcards to the "International Socialist Review—the great fighting "Red Socialist" Magazine. As long as they last, we will sell THE REVIEW for Six Months and THE VOICE for 40 weeks (both) for One dollar. Order to-day if you don't miss this chance.



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