

# The One Big Union Monthly



DEGRADATION

PRICE 15 CENTS

# PREAMBLE

of the Industrial Workers of the World

The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace as long as hunger and want are found among millions of the 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 to defeat one another in wage wars. Moreover, the trade unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the working class have interests in common with their employers.

These 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 is 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."

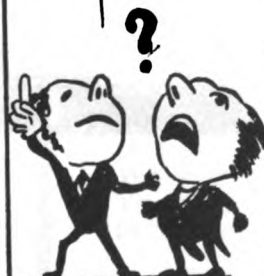
It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. The army of production must be organized, not only for the everyday struggle with capitalists, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown. By organizing industrially we are forming the structure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





## INDEX

"Degradation." Cartoon by Maurice Becker.....	1
Preamble of the I. W. W.....	2
Labor Ready to Crush the Conspiracy. Cartoon by Maurice Becker.....	4
Will You Help Now? By Wm. D. Haywood.....	5
Break the Conspiracy. By Wm. D. Haywood.....	6
Narcissus Capitalism. Cartoon by Maurice Becker.....	7
<b>Editorials:</b>	
Capitalism Run Mad.....	8
The American Legion.....	9
Don't Mourn—Organize! .....	10
The I. W. W. at the Industrial Conference. Cartoon by Maurice Becker .....	12
The Industrial Conference.....	13
The Stupendous Influence of the I. W. W.....	13
The Industrial Encyclopedia.....	15
When the Chickens Come Home to Roost.....	16
Swan Song of the Industrial Conference. Cartoon by Maurice Becker	16
An Open Letter to the U. S. Congress. By the General Defense Com- mittee .....	17
Civil War in Printerdom. By Donald M. Crocker.....	18
Doubly Enslaved. Cartoon by Maurice Becker.....	21
To the Unorganized Workers in the Printing Industry. By Donald M. Crocker .....	22
The Awakening of the Negro.....	24
The General Railway Strike of Great Britain. By George Hardy.....	25
Russia Gives the World's Workers a Lift. Cartoon by Maurice Becker	28
The I. W. W. in Germany.....	29
Story of the I. W. W.—Chapter 10. By Harold Lord Varney.....	30
Tulsa—A Study in Oil. By Eugene Lyons.....	36
Isolation at Leavenworth. By Charles Plahn.....	39
The I. W. W.'s in Prison Camps. By One of Them.....	40
The I. W. W. Handbook.....	42
I. W. W. in the World of Cartoons.....	43
From Primitive Man to Agriculture. By Abner E. Woodruff.....	46
The American Freedom Convention. By H. Austin Simony.....	47
The Conscience of a Dum-Dum Bullet. By Quasimodo von Belvedere..	48
Queries. By Covington Ami.....	48
The Worker Before the Big Boss. By John Meadline.....	49
The Dreamer. By Paul M.....	49
The Difference Between a King and a President. By Walter C. Hunter	50
The Ghurkas of Democracy. By Covington Ami.....	51
Indiscrete Confessions of Labor Leaders. By Covington Ami.....	51
Prominent Politician Foresees Collapse of Capitalism.....	52
Agricultural Workers No. 400 Report.....	53
Shipbuilders I. U. No. 325 Report.....	54
Construction Workers I. U. No. 573 Report.....	55
Railroad Workers I. U. No. 600 Report.....	56
Lumber Workers I. U. No. 500 Report.....	58
Hotel, Restaurant and Domestic Workers I. U. No. 1100 Report.....	58
Metal and Machinery Workers I. U. No. 300 Report.....	58
General Recruiting Union Report.....	59
Industrial Workers of the World General Office Report.....	59
Literature List .....	63
Periodicals .....	64





LABOR READY TO CRUSH THE CONSPIRACY

# THE ONE BIG UNION MONTHLY

Published Monthly by the General Executive Board of the Industrial Workers of the World,  
1001 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois.

JOHN SANDGREN, Editor

Subscription price, \$1.50 per year; 15 cents per copy; bundle orders, 10 cents per copy, non-returnable. For sale with news dealers.

Address subscriptions, business communications and remittances to **The One Big Union Monthly**, 1001 West Madison Street, Chicago, Ill. Other communications should be addressed to The Editor.

## Will You Help Now?

Another member of the Industrial Workers of the World has been murdered. Wesley Everest was lynched at Centralia, Washington. He was hung to a bridge, the body riddled with bullets. The corpse was afterwards cut down and by the murderers dragged back to the jail and thrown in among the many fellow workers who had been imprisoned after the raid on the I. W. W. hall. Four of them under an armed guard were escorted with the body of their dead fellow worker out into a yard where they were compelled to dig a grave and bury the dead.

Fellow Worker Everest, the murdered man, was an overseas veteran. He fought for the United States of America against the Imperial German government. When he returned from the war he took up his membership in the Industrial Workers of the World, beginning again the battle against the lumber trusts of the Northwest.

When the I. W. W. hall was raided several of the aggressors were killed, but this in no way justified the un-American, unlawful, inhuman murder of their comrade who had fought with them in the trenches of Flanders.

The Centralia outrage was followed by many others all over the country. Halls were raided, furniture destroyed, literature confiscated, and it is reported that over a thousand men have been arrested—that is, thrown into prison without warrant and denied the privilege of seeing friends or lawyers.

We urge you to demand with us a government investigation of the many raids against the Industrial Workers of the World and the unlawful manner in which they were conducted.

If the I. W. W. is guilty of any offense against the law, charges should be preferred against us, and as every man is entitled to a fair trial, we should be accorded such a trial in the halls of any tribunal. If the I. W. W. is guilty we are open to the condemnation of the civilized world. If assassins and destroyers of human life, property, and human rights are marauding in uniform all of the people should know.

The Industrial Workers of the World court a full and careful investigation. A campaign has been started to raise \$100,000.00 defense funds. This sum is needed now, as extraordinary efforts will be made to fasten some crime upon the organization or some of its members. We will try to guarantee every member as good a defense as possible. To do this we will require your help. Send checks, money orders or cash to the General Defense Committee, 1001 W. Madison Street, Chicago, Ill.

Yours for Industrial Freedom,  
WM. D. HAYWOOD, Secretary-Treasurer.

## Break the Conspiracy

When I was leaving the Leavenworth penitentiary, under bond of \$15,000, having served eleven months of a twenty-year sentence, with a \$20,000 fine hanging over me, a fellow convict, not a fellow worker, said to me, "Put on the soft pedal, Bill." My reply was that the soft pedal never got a man into the penitentiary and, likewise, it would never get a man out. My efforts on the outside would be to liberate my fellow workers from this and other prisons.

To open the jail doors I knew it would require publicity, and much of it, of a different kind than the people have ever read or heard of before. Sentiments must be changed. The truth must be told. The workers must be made to understand that the imprisoned members of the Industrial Workers of the World were the victims of the blackest and most vicious conspiracy ever conceived in the minds of men.

It was the purpose of the employing class, the so-called business element, to crush the I. W. W., to tear it out by the roots. To do this they used, and are still using, their political henchmen and the overwhelming power of the venal press.

For many years past the I. W. W. has been under the constant surveillance of that branch of government termed the Department of Justice. The never-closing eyes of many detective agencies have been continually upon us. Police departments have been ever alert watching the I. W. W. for infractions of the law.

The mystic, magic letters, I. W. W., have, by the newspapers, been associated with all manner of heinous crime, charging us with things that the membership of the organization never dreamed of—much less committed.

These fearful things were harped upon by august senators of the upper house; an erstwhile western governor, the elongated, bald-headed Thomas of Colorado, ranted and fumed about the I. W. W. conniving and thriving on German gold. Unconsciously, perhaps, the senator of the Centennial state became a party to the base conspiracy, but his prattling and infantile assertions were refuted by government witnesses upon the stand as bank experts and accountants testified that the books of the I. W. W. were kept in excellent shape and not a trace of German gold was to be found.

Miserable stories were circulated about the poisoning of blooded breeds of cattle, of putting ground glass in foodstuffs. Such fearful crimes, if perpetrated, could have

only been the acts of the insane, but were written by vicious brain reporters and published by the daily papers, either charged directly to or in some way connected with the I. W. W. Nothing was too vile or reprehensible for these white livered pencil pushers to charge against the I. W. W. There was no way to refute their infamous villainous lies that they so malignantly told about us. The daily press, then as now, was closed to the truth.

Treacherous labor fakirs, like Gompers and his ilk, countenanced the brutal assaults and pernicious persecution upon the membership of the I. W. W., not because they thought we were guilty of the offenses as charged, but because forsooth they regard the I. W. W. as a rival organization. These A. F. of L. officials are contemptible tools of the employing class. They have now shown their polluted hands to the general membership and their traitorous official days with labor unions are numbered.

It was in such an atmosphere, generated by slanderous tongued, malicious, story telling, lying politicians, at a time when the war fever had overheated the blood of the nation, when the people were not in a normal state of mind, that hundreds of members of the I. W. W. were forced to trial. The inevitable result was conviction, as one of the jurors said to our counsel, "If your names had been on the list, you would have gone to the Leavenworth penitentiary with the rest." It was to this federal penitentiary that we of the Chicago group of the I. W. W. came to serve long terms of imprisonment. Ninety-three of us, mostly young, strong men, and not a criminal among the number.

Later came the Sacramento trial. The men who stood before the bar of justice in the Capitol city of the Golden state decided that any kind of defense was worse than useless, so they adopted the resolution of "Silence." No man uttered a word during the progress of this remarkable trial. All of the "Silent Defenders" were convicted and they too were sent to the Leavenworth penitentiary.

During these strenuous days many hundreds of members of the I. W. W. were jailed, arrested without warrant, and held without charge. Thousands were drafted, more were held for investigation and deportation, while others were driven from pillar to post. Free America had become surcharged with the virulent spirit of blackest Russia under the regime of Czar Nicholas before the coming of the revolution

that is now offering cheer and comfort to the workers of the world.

There is no gainsaying the fact that the I. W. W. was crippled. The Department of Justice had shaken the organization as a bull dog shakes an empty sack.

We are appealing the Chicago and Sacramento cases. The financial cost will be tremendous, but we are determined to give normal and rational minded judges an opportunity to review the meager evidence against us. We urge you to be alert and open-minded. The decision in these cases are of as much importance to you as to the men in prison or to those of us who will have to go back to prison if these cases are not reversed.

Watch the trials of the I. W. W. in Michigan, Nebraska, California, Washington, and Oregon, which are now on, and the Kansas trial of the forty-two men which begins at Kansas City, Kansas, December 1, 1919. These men have been confined for over two years in some of the vilest jails

of the country. The Sedgwick county jail, a revolving contraption, has recently been condemned. Here these men were held while indictments were framed and quashed, until now, after two years' imprisonment, they are to go to trial under the third indictment. "Their only crime is loyalty to the working class." Will you be loyal to yourself and to them? It is all they ask. All that any of us ask is a square deal. This we are going to have from now on. Our backs are against the wall. We have been robbed, looted, and persecuted by the profiteers until it is time to call a halt. This conspiracy against the Industrial Workers of the World and the working class generally must be broken. We do not ask you to help if it hurts you, but assure you it will hurt you worse later if you don't help now.

Yours for Industrial Freedom,

*Wm D Haywood.*  
Secretary



CERTAINLY WE ARE NOT "AGIN THE GOVERNMENT"

## Capitalism Run Mad

Capitalism has evidently set out for the impossible task of exterminating "radicalism." For the last two years great numbers of people have been killed and thousands have been put in jail for from 1 to 20 years or more, simply because they are enemies of capitalist rule. It was then explained as repressive acts in connection with the war. But the war is now over and there is no let-up in the persecution. True, all the fellow workers accused of "criminal syndicalism" in the state of Washington have been acquitted by the juries in three successive trials in Seattle, Spokane and Colfax, but arrests by the score have been made in California in the last few months on the same absurd charge. A dozen have recently been arrested in Scotts Bluff, Neb., and another dozen in Omaha, Neb. Several men have been put in jail in Denver, Colo. But this seems to have been only the prelude to a perfect carnival of madness. In the last few days a perfect storm of persecution has broken loose. Mass arrests have been made among the members of The Communist Party, The Communist Labor Party and the Russian Workers Union. Some papers state that as many as 2,500 of these "Reds" have been arrested in the various cities of the country, but the number really held is a few hundred, among them being the well-known Irish labor leader Jim Larkin. Most of these are held for deportation, being considered dangerous to the continued existence of the U. S. Government.

Simultaneously comes the news of a new concerted attack on the I. W. W. in the West. The events in the West seem to cluster around the tragedy in Centralia, Wash., where parading soldiers in uniform sought to raid the I. W. W. hall, with the result that 4 soldiers were killed and 3 wounded, one I. W. W. man being lynched in the same connection. By spreading the false report that the I. W. W. made an attack upon the parade and killed without notice, it was hoped the sentiment was wrought up sufficiently to allow of further violence against us. As a result we have heard of raids on the headquarters in Seattle and Tacoma and Portland and other western cities as well as the arrest of hundreds of fellow workers. Taking advantage of the good wind, the governor of Nebraska has issued an order to arrest all I. W. W. men to be found in that state. There is reason to suppose that we have not seen the end of it yet. The capitalist world has lost its reason. It has gone stark mad. In

its madness it imagines that it can put down the aspirations of the workers for a chance to live and to be free.

The attack upon the I. W. W. and the radicals generally is made under the cover of the stars and stripes and in the much abused name of capitalism, in order to work on the feelings of the American people. But everyone knows that the attack comes from the same profiteers who are now holding up the American people with high prices and plundering them. Everybody knows that their patriotism is only a sham, and that the real reason is that they wish to try to stamp out real organization among the workers. They have neither shame nor honor, and they will do anything for profit. Furthermore it is unquestionable that the same profiteer capitalists have made up their mind to get control of all the human agencies by whose aid they can build up a capitalist dictatorship and lock the chains of wage slavery forever on the workers.

Their desperateness is equally plain from the stand they are taking on the steel strike and the coal strike. In regard to the innumerable violations of the law and the constitution resorted to by the steel capitalists and their tools inside and outside the government, the officials are taking an indifferent stand. All these violations are tolerated, if not openly encouraged and participated in by the authorities. In the coal strike the supine government has through one of its judges issued an injunction against the officers of the United Mine Workers prohibiting them from in any way encouraging the strike of the 425,000 coal miners, prohibiting the payment of strike benefits and, finally compelling the officers to order the strikers back to work, under the pretense that the strike is "illegal." But the men continue to strike.

Truly, capitalism is on the verge of mental collapse. Such absurd measures could not be resorted to by men in their full senses.

This is a time when all the cool and wise heads of the country should get together, in order to devise a method by which a social calamity could be averted. The workers on their part are giving all their efforts in that direction, by suggesting and struggling for an adjustment that would give the poor mass a chance to live. Especially is the I. W. W. active in propagating a new social order that would solve the whole question.

But the capitalist class, and that immense horde that have prostituted themselves to



it, as well as the ignorant and misled, are uniting their forces in the carrying out of a policy that is making things worse every day and speeding on a complete disaster that will upset everything and cause untold suffering.

Society has come to a pass where the people are no longer able to pay the immense rent, interest and profit that the capitalist class is trying to collect from them. They cannot pay and live at the same time. But the people will live. They will have to stop paying. The proper thing for the capitalist class to do in these days is to make up their mind that capitalism is about to wind up its affairs and that a new system must be inaugurated. Man is bigger than the property he has created.

The wisest thing the capitalists could do would be to voluntarily surrender the ownership and control, by means of which they are collecting rent, interest and profit, and turn the country over to the people, organized industrially. Sooner or later it will

have to come to that. It is the only solution. To resist the efforts to bring about this solution is insanity.

The capitalist class is now criminally insane. It is raving mad. It is a positive danger to mankind at large. The people should get together and put an end to its rule before it has a chance to do much more harm.

We, the workers, are the sane, hard-working people. On our shoulders rests the responsibility for supplying all mankind with what it needs, and we are willing and anxious to do it. But we are being prevented from doing it by the greedy capitalist class, which only wants to produce in order to increase its own wealth.

Looking at it impartially, everybody will admit that whoever is running society at the present time is making a terrible mess of it. And it is the money-mad capitalist class that is running it and preventing the people from taking control. The capitalist class must go.

## The "American Legion" a Revolutionary Body

As we are writing the so-called "American Legion" is holding its convention in Minneapolis, Minn.

It is apparent from the program they have mapped out that they propose to install themselves into American public life as a ruling factor alongside and above the legally constituted authorities. In fact, it may be set down that they are cautiously and under the mask of patriotism gathering all the forces that are opposed to the fundamental principles of liberty, supposed to be safe-guarded by the constitution and inherent in American institutions. They are setting themselves up as censors and guardians of such bodies of the people in this country as do not unqualifiedly endorse the doctrines promulgated by the secret and invisible government which has its seat in Wall street. It is time that all Americans who really value liberty and wish to maintain it also gather their forces to combat them.

These people have every advantage at the present time. Just as it has happened that advancing troops drive before them prisoners of war or defenseless women and children, daring the enemy to fire, so these people are trafficking in the fact that they have once worn the uniform or been overseas, and are wrapping themselves in the American flag, posing as the only true-blue patriots and as 100 per cent Americans, daring anybody to attack them. Any one who does attack them runs the risk of be-

ing denounced as a desecrator of the flag, as an enemy to the country and as a traitor.

Under the cover of the flag and in the guise of patriots they are trying to take the American people by surprise and rush them into surrendering their liberties to this legion and to the parties that they represent. But we shall try to analyze these "patriots," minus the flag and minus their uniform.

First, their claim that they represent the American people is false. Even all the men in uniform, whether they approve of the American Legion or not, do not represent the American people. Those subject to draft were only about one tenth of the population, and of these only about one half ever wore the uniform, and only part of these ever saw service over seas. The nineteen twentieths of the American population, we are sure, are not willing to accept the guardianship of the one twentieth that were forced to put on the uniform, whether they wanted to or not.

Besides there is this to be noted, that the American Legion will find it difficult to prove that they even represent the 5 million men who had to put on the uniform. We believe that a considerable portion of the drafted men will have nothing to do with the program drafted by the Legion. Of those that actually have allowed their names to go on their roster a majority are doing so under a misconception. They join it simply as an analogy to the G. A. R., or

with the hope of some material or social advantages to be gained. We are sure, if the matter were properly explained to these men and submitted to a referendum, they would not vote in favor of the dangerous program adopted by the Legion. When they discover that it aims at the very heart of American liberties, they will become terrified and turn it down.

The American Legion assumes its guardianship under false pretense. The American Legion is properly speaking only an adjunct to the machinery of "Patriotic Leagues" (such as the "National Security League," the "American Protective League," the "American Anti-Anarchist Association," the "Inter-Racial League," etc.) started by the profiteers and their supporters in the various walks of life.

As prompters behind it, and as members of it, stand members of the firm of J. Pierpont Morgan and every other capitalist aggregation, and a good deal of its inspiration is directly derived from the seditious organization called the "Knights of Columbus." As a result their program is essentially one of hostility to the aspirations of the working class and aims at circumscribing the liberty of people in general, by inaugurating a system of suppression of ideas and movements which conflict with the plans of the profiteers and their henchmen.

The Legion is constituting itself as a National Ku-Klux Loyalty League or a National Vigilante movement, which is going

to be a real danger to the people. Draped in the Stars and Stripes these Ku-Klux Vigilantes are going to initiate a system of oppression against the citizens, carrying out the orders and suggestions of the secret and invisible government mentioned. They will oppress and terrorize not only private individuals, but they will also terrorize the regularly constituted authorities, making themselves an extra-legal body for the enforcement of the will of their masters.

While there can be no objection raised to a national association of the ex-service men on a legitimate and non-partisan basis, there is every reason to be alarmed at this Legion. It is intended as a tool of autocracy and will be so used. If the American people allow these men to go too far, they will soon have reason to regret it. It is the forerunner of a capitalist autocracy based on military dictatorship.

We should not allow ourselves to be deceived by their present scrupulous observance of republican forms and democratic manners. When Augustus abolished the Roman republic, now close to 2,000 years ago, and made himself world dictator as the representative of the Roman ruling class, he also scrupulously retained all the forms of the republic, but abolished liberty completely. Everything points to similar action by the American capitalist class today, and the American Legion is one of the chief instruments to that end.

Wake up, you American lovers of liberty, before it is too late!

## Don't Mourn — Organize!

Joseph Hillstrom's last message to the workers before he was legally murdered on the 19th of November, 1915, in Salt Lake City, was: "Don't mourn—organize!" For that reason we shall not devote any space to this tragedy except to repeat his greeting.

For the same reason we shall simply remind our readers that it was on November 5th, 1916, that at least five of our fellow workers were foully murdered by the tools of the master class in Everett, Wash. These fellow workers were Hugo Gerlot, John Looney, Gustave Johnson, Abe Rabinowitz and Felix Baran. Please note that the murderers of these men are all well known to the authorities, and that they still are unpunished.

To our martyr calendar for November we can now add the name of Fellow Worker Wesley Everest, who was lynched in Centralia, Wash., on the 11th of November, by

a mob of lumber trust patriots, who first wanted to mob and raid our hall in that city. And that is not the end of that tragedy. During the raiding of the hall 4 of the raiding soldiers were killed and three were wounded. The danger now is that the kept press will make raiding a patriotic act and that our 16 fellow workers in jail in this connection will be held to answer for murder. Then we will have more to remember and more to mourn. But through it all rings the advice of Joe Hill: "Don't mourn—organize!"

---

The revolution in Finland is not over yet. Late advices inform us that in some places in Finland the White and the English forces are fleeing before the Red forces. The post office has become so disorganized that friends of ours in Finland are advising not to send any money at the present time to Finland.

## "The Sherman Service, Inc."

To readers of the Chicago papers the name "Sherman Service, Inc." is well known since the firm was raided by the police the other day. But we have reason to believe that little publicity has been given to this nasty affair outside of Chicago, and the case is being hushed up here too, for that matter. The case is, however, of such great importance to the working class, that we feel justified in giving it world-wide publicity by treating it in The One Big Union Monthly.

The name of the firm "Sherman Service, Inc." used to be "The Sherman Detective Agency." It is a concern occupying large offices in Chicago and employing a great number of "operatives," and it has branch offices in six or seven other cities. They call themselves "industrial engineers and conciliators" and boast of having "installed their service" with an immense number of respectable firms, and even display a letter of commendation for their services from General Haig of the British army. They are consequently to be classed in the 100 per cent American and "patriotic" group.

But now to our story.

According to the press, an "operative" of this very respectable and patriotic concern some time in the early part of October went to Secretary Nockels of the Chicago Federation of Labor and confessed to him that the firm he was working for was supplying all the rioting, window smashing, tire puncturing and brick-bat hurling in the strike zone of the steel industry round Chicago. This was startling news, and Nockels did what every other man would have done, he reported the thing to State Attorney Hoyne of Chicago, who asked that publication should be withheld while investigation was made. It appears that Attorney Hoyne took the matter up with the military authorities and with Washington, but finally Secretary Nockels had to threaten with publication unless steps were taken against this concern. Under these circumstances Attorney Hoyne sent 50 police and deputies, who raided the Sherman offices as completely as ever an I. W. W. office was raided.

We may surmise that the authorities had pretty good evidence to take such a step.

Now, then, what is the significance of this matter?

It means simply this, that by accident we have caught a glimpse of the criminal terrorist machine which the capitalist class maintains in this country to browbeat the

working class, to undermine liberty and to pervert law and order and, finally, to make a revolution.

This is not the only "firm" of its kind. On the contrary, there are several such firms, which "install" their service in the workshops, mines and mills throughout the country. Of course, it would not do for highly respectable Judge Gary to openly have a department of provocation and thuggery as a part of the steel trust. Nor would it do for saintly Rockefeller to directly stand as sponsor for the staff of gunmen and perjurers that swarm in every establishment of his, and in every locality where he has the power, as for instance in Tulsa and the Kansas oilfields. Nor can any other "respectable" profiteer and member of patriotic leagues openly admit that they are co-operating with and employing this criminal element, ex-convicts and thugs, for the purpose of breaking the law and terrorizing the people, but they do it just the same.

If the authorities were to continue their investigation and follow up all the clues they gain through the raid against the Sherman Service, Inc., they could lift up the whole network of iniquity that enmeshes the American people. They would find the clue to the race riots, they would discover the perpetrators of the acts of "sabotage" and "criminal syndicalism" blamed on the I. W. W., they would trace the murderers of Frank Little and they would know the source of all the strike-disturbances which are used as a pretext for calling in the police or the soldiers. It would be proven that our most respectable profiteers and captains of industry are themselves criminals, but who do not do the dirty work themselves, as long as they have the money with which to hire other criminals to do it for them.

No doubt these firms have also installed their "service" in the labor unions. Here in Chicago the unions are full of gunmen, as events of the last year prove, for instance in connection with the plumbers union and the building laborers' union.

If the American people knew all these things, perhaps their attitude towards the I. W. W. would be quite different. But we know that as soon as the investigation begins to drag in the names of the big capitalists of the country it will come to a sudden end. The investigators themselves are under the thumb of the very same capitalists.



THE I. W. W. LOOMED BIG AT THE INDUSTRIAL CONFERENCE

## The Industrial Conference

"Why rattle the bones of the dead," somebody might say. What is the use of spilling another word on that mishappen conference, that by President Wilson's order met in Washington in October as a worthy preliminary to the International Industrial Conference now in session in accordance with the peace treaty? We all know that Gompers and the craft union leaders lost out on "collective bargaining," and that they now find it hard to find a reason for their own continued existence. We all know that the capitalist class is feeling so strong, that they do not think it necessary any longer to divide the power with the craft union leaders. We all know that "the public" is a sham. And, finally, we all know that if the capitalists go into conference with the representatives of labor it is with the purpose of strengthening their grip on the throat of the working class.

But there is one thing that we wish to call attention to, and that is that the three magic letters I. W. W. occurred very often in the press reports. It is plain that the I. W. W. loomed big at the conference even though it was not represented. Gompers used it time and again as a bogey with which to scare the capitalists into acceptance of his terms. He warned them time and again that not to share the world power with the craft union leaders by giving them official recognition would mean that the I. W. W. would get control of the workers. These leaders made their offer to control the workers for them, for the preservation of capitalism, and for the suppression of radicalism, but the offer was repudiated. Evidently the capitalists were convinced that Gompers could not deliver the goods. They did not think he would be able to stave off the final triumph of our program. They decided to go it alone, depending on their other agencies, the government, the legislative bodies, the judiciary, the police, the kept press, the pulpit, the patriotic societies, the American Legion, their gunmen,

and their general stranglehold on the people.

All the three groups felt and knew that what the world now imperatively needs is a rational system of production and distribution that would solve all the difficulties, and all three of them knew that there is no program that offers such a solution except the I. W. W. program, but none of them was willing to sacrifice their own interests for the welfare of all.

They all three came there for a division of the spoils, that is for a division of the products of labor, but they fell out on the "divvy."

This conference was supposed to have contained the best brains that the president could gather together for handling the question of solving the social problem. But this august body made a terrible mess of it. The means adopted for solving it, that is, "collective bargaining," was tabled indefinitely. The question now before the house of the people is again as before:

**Resolved, that the social question cannot be solved except by abolishing private ownership and control of the means of production and distribution and by organizing all the people industrially, so as to supply ourselves with new organs of production and distribution.**

The floor is still open for discussion on this resolution.

While discussing we may note that the cracking and the rumbling sounds heard from every side are the symptoms of the collapse of capitalism, for which reason discussion should be made brief and to the point, in order that we may take some action along the lines of the resolution before the house of capitalism tumbles down over our heads, burying us in its ruins.

If the Industrial Conference has done no other good, it has demonstrated that the leading men of capitalism are unable to solve the social problem, and that the problem will have to be solved by the workers alone.

## The Stupendous Influence of the I. W. W.

There is something about the growth of the I. W. W. that should make even its worst enemies stop and think. There is evidently something about our principles that makes it irresistible and unconquerable. How else will you explain the fact that when thousands of us are put in jail it has no tendency to stop our growth? As a rule people stand in terror of jail and are

ashamed to associate with people who have been sentenced to jail. But by the way people are coming to our ranks it rather seems that people are anxious to break into jail instead of being afraid of it, and to judge from the correspondence we receive and from the articles written about us in numerous labor papers there is a great mass of people who are not at all afraid

of acknowledging acquaintance with these I. W. W. jailbirds. On the contrary, thousands of letters contain contributions in money and bonds to help secure the release of these prisoners and to help defend them. And every time one of them is released and appears on the public platform, people turn out by the thousands, fill the biggest halls available, and greet the released men as heroes and champions of wronged humanity.

Speaking of the growth of our influence we need hardly repeat the now well known facts that the workers of western Canada and of Australia have in mass adopted our principles in the course of this year. Close upon these significant events came the news that the three fragments into which the Socialist Party was split endorsed industrial unionism, while two of them rather outspokenly favored the I. W. W.

Later we were able to state that the increase in our own membership in the course of the 12 months Sept. 1, 1918, to Sept. 1, 1919, was about 50,000. Now we are able to inform our readers that the growth of the last 3 months has been unprecedented. Lumbers workers, miners, construction workers, marine transport workers and many other unions report many thousands of new members. We are getting a footing in fields that we have never been able to touch before, such as the printing industry and building construction. Carpenters and painters are joining us by the thousands. On Nov. 9th delegates of 8 independent unions in different industries, representing something like 250,000 workers, met in New York City and took the first steps for an affiliation with the I. W. W.—in spite of jails and persecution. And let us not forget that the Negro workers of the U. S. are organizing on the basis of our program.

But the influence of our principles is not limited to the English speaking people in America and Australia. Other races and countries are enthusiastically taking up our program and proudly announcing that they are with the I. W. W. Thus in Mexico our movement has taken form and been laid out on a national basis. In South America, where the labor movement always has been in sympathy with us, the workers are going one step further and have started organizing as an I. W. W. In Buenos Ayres there is already an organization of 2,800 marine transport workers in such an organization.

Furthermore it is to be noted that practically all the old trade unions on this continent prove to be honey-combed with friends of the I. W. W.

Over in Europe it is the same story. The

rebuilding of production and distribution in Russia is said to be largely based on our principles. At last report there were about 3,500,000 industrial workers organized in industrial unions for the carrying on of production and distribution. The Russian people are taking possession of the industries through their industrial unions.

In Italy "The Italian Syndicalist Union," 300,000 strong, is forging ahead along the same lines as the I. W. W. In Spain our adherents are to be numbered by the hundreds of thousands. In France the proposition has recently been made in the organ of the Communist Party, "L'Internationale Communiste," to start reorganizing the French working class on our program, in opposition to the C. G. T. In England there is a separate organization of the I. W. W. that is advancing rapidly, while the influence on the old trade unions is very noticeable in their changed attitude of late toward "direct action." In Scandinavia the Syndicalists have for years been in accord with our program, and of late, organizations have sprung up in Sweden and Norway that are directly affiliated with us. But the biggest surprise of the year we received from Germany. At least two separate calls have been issued by the German workers to organize exactly as the I. W. W. The recently formed "Freie Arbeiter Union" is also a federation of industrial unions that endorse our principles. And, finally, from distant, unknown Greece we are receiving news that the One Big Union is the aim of all the organized workers of that country.

Putting it all together we may state that the I. W. W. seed is now scattered over the world in such a manner that it is absolutely impossible for the capitalist class to exterminate our ideas. With equanimity we can face the worst persecution in one place after another, and we need not fear that by incarcerating or killing a few thousands of us they will kill our organization. Our ideas are understood by millions of the world's workers, and that means that we have that many agitators and educators. We may now cheerfully look forward to the organizing of a new society on the ruins of capitalism within a very few years, even though murderous capitalism takes the lives of some of our fellows.

There is really something uncanny about our growth, that an outsider will find hard to understand. Our principles are so exceedingly simple that the outsider at first sight may not be duly impressed with them. They are all expressed in our preamble: industrial organization of the workers for temporary improvements under capitalism,

and for taking over production when capitalism has ceased to function satisfactorily, and "An Injury to One is an Injury to All." That is all there is to it. But in these simple thoughts there is embodied a spiritual and intellectual power that sets the downtrodden workers' blood boiling and make him ready to go through fire and water for the I. W. W. This simple gospel is the sal-

vation of his soul and gives him courage to face jail and death without flinching.

Through those simple principles the workers have caught a glimpse of heaven on earth. After that nothing can stop them. They have got a new faith and they are ready to die for it. This is what explains the stupendous influence of the I. W. W.

## The Industrial Encyclopedia

In the November issue of the One Big Union Monthly there was an article by the editor entitled "The I. W. W. Needs an Industrial Encyclopedia."

This seems to have been the right word spoken at the right moment. In the few days that have elapsed the editor has received a big package of letters commending the idea in the most enthusiastic terms. Still more, the Agricultural Workers' I. U. No. 400, at its convention in Sioux City, Ia., Nov. 3-8, made an appropriation for the purpose, of \$500 as a starter for the "Bureau of Industrial Research" that we proposed for handling this work.

Letters from members of the G. E. B. inform us that the matter will be taken in hand at their next meeting.

The idea of an "Industrial Encyclopedia" has been objected to by one writer. But, really, it is not an encyclopedia of the usual kind that we proposed but a series of independent industrial union handbooks, which together would form what we could call an "Industrial Encyclopedia," in order to get a brief collective name for the work.

To do the work right, the proposed "Bureau of Industrial Research" should start out with a sufficient working force and sufficient resources to plan for a great number of handbooks at the same time. To write one at a time would make it necessary to wade through the same statistical material several times, when, in fact, the figures and the data could be gotten for practically all the industries at once. This on the other hand will be a very big job, and if only one man were to handle it, he would not be able to make very rapid progress. Some of the figures would be apt to be out of date by the time the work was nearing completion.

The proper way to start work would, in our opinion, be to select a capable director for the Bureau and allow him to choose his staff of assistants, among whom he could divide up the work after it had once been surveyed and planned.

There are already a number of engineers (mining and electrical) and statisticians who have voluntarily offered their services or their advice. The editor takes this opportunity to thank them for their prompt

response to this important call. Having no time to answer all the letters at the present time, we wish to state that the whole matter will be laid before the General Executive Board at their first meeting, and the letters will then be answered. We hope the writers will keep the matter in mind and favor us with all the suggestions they can. We also hope to hear from many more on this subject.

In the meantime it would be well for all unions of the I. W. W. and other bodies, **even those not now belonging to the I. W. W.**, to take the matter up, in order to secure the funds necessary for the undertaking. The scale on which the work can be started depends on the funds made available at the general office for the purpose. The 500 dollars donated by No. 400 is a good starter.

Remember it is a question of teaching the 40 million American workers all about the administration of their own industries, in order to make them able to take over production and distribution when that becomes necessary. Let us not get caught like the Russian, Hungarian and German workers, who did not have this preparatory work done. Without the knowledge to be contained in the proposed handbooks, the workers can do little or nothing. With that knowledge, the new society is apt to become a rather smooth-running affair from the start.

---

### NOTICE

**We are in urgent need of back copies of the One Big Union Monthly for March, April and May. We are constantly receiving orders for back copies from those who wish to have complete sets. For this reason we request all secretaries or bundle order agents who have any of these copies on hand to immediately send them in. We also request those of our readers who would be willing to surrender their copies of these issues to send us name and address, and we will send stamps in payment for same, in order to obtain them. Address all communications to**

**THE ONE BIG UNION MONTHLY,  
1001 West Madison st., Chicago, Ill.**

## When the Chickens Come Home to Roost

"We are living in our own time as best we can, but our lives are just a passing instant to the continuity of civilization and the progress of the world, and what matters it if you and I are placed in jail because we have attempted to uphold the principles of freedom and justice and democracy?"

"It is better that we should have our own self-respect and hand down to the generations yet to come the principles of freedom and the worthiness to battle for freedom than to die after an inglorious life."

Who said these words?

Was it Socrates before emptying the poison, or was it Hypatia before the flesh was scraped from her bones with clamshells, or was it Savonarola or Johann Huss or Giordano Bruno or Abraham Lincoln or Eugene Debs or any one of the thousand and one I. W. W. martyrs of the present day?

No, these words were spoken recently at a dinner given to delegates of the International Federation of Trade Unions in

Washington, D. C., by—SAMUEL GOMPERS.

Was it merely the result of a good dinner or are the chickens coming home to roost?

Has Gompers in his old age finally discovered that the friendliness of the capitalist class all these years was only a mask hiding the desire to enslave the workers by the aid of the labor leaders, or are he and his collaborators discovering that their jobs are about to end?

Is Gompers disappointed over the setback he received at "The Industrial Conference" on "Collective Bargaining" and shocked at the rebuff of the labor leaders by the steel trust and non-plussed by the injunction against the coal strike, finding himself swindled by his capitalist friends, or is he merely playing to the gallery to postpone the collapse of his machine and of craft unionism?

These are questions which the near future will answer.



"GOMPERS SANG THE SWAN SONG OF THE INDUSTRIAL CONFERENCE."—From Capitalist Press



# Open Letter to the American Congress

## The I. W. W. Demands Investigation

Out in the Northwest there has been a tragedy which has shaken the nation. At Centralia, Wash., it has unloosed a saturnalia of horror which is beyond description. Throughout the state of Washington it has been a signal for mob ferocity and lawlessness which has made life a terror for thousands of victims. It has packed jails with innocent men. It has enabled a gang of uniformed hoodlums to usurp every power of state. They have destroyed property, ravished civil rights, abolished every constitutional safeguard of citizenship. Under a cloak of patriotism they have attempted to exterminate a whole labor organization. They have shut the mouth of every man who has attempted to protest. They have become judge and jury and executioner, and in their hands all Washington today is like a black pogrom of terror.

How much do you know of all this?

For the newspapers tell us nothing—and they tell you nothing! From the first shooting on Armistice Day the solid press of the country has wilfully distorted the whole situation. In a struggle where there were plainly two sides, they have printed one side and maligned the other. They have glorified the thugs as “American heroes.” They have stigmatized the victims as “dirty Reds.” They have used every twisted incident as propaganda to exhort their readers to go and do likewise. And in Centralia itself a mob of men were thrown around the town to prevent a word from trickling out.

One newspaper tried to print the truth. It was not an I. W. W. paper. It was the Seattle Daily Union Record, owned by the A. F. of L. It announced that it had investigated the Centralia outrage and that in its next issue it would print the suppressed truth. But before this next issue could appear the hoodlums stopped the paper and threw its editors in jail. And today the Union Record stands silent and suppressed.

We want, and you want, THE TRUTH. In this Centralia horror we haven't had the truth. Somebody has stopped it. There is something that somebody is hushing up. There are burning facts which guilty hoodlums are trying to conceal. Will you help us to uncover them?

There are a few facts which HAVE escaped through the censorship. They are eloquent of the true situation. The I. W. W. wishes to call your attention to them.

First—The four hoodlums who were shot

at Centralia were shot while breaking the law. At the coroner's jury it was plainly brought out that they halted their parade in front of the I. W. W. headquarters and charged the door, thus bringing upon themselves the penalty which they suffered.

Second—This would mean that the men who fired the shots were unmistakably within the law, for even in capitalist courts a man is accorded the right to shoot in self-defense when an intruder breaks into his property.

Third—But after this, others of the uniformed thugs seized Wesley Everetts, an I. W. W. and an overseas veteran, and murdered him by lynching. They desecrated his body, dragged it back to the jail where other I. W. W.'s were imprisoned, and threw it there. Then they forced their prisoners to dig a grave for Everetts on a vacant lot and bury him. It was thus that “American heroes” obeyed their law and observed the justice of their country!

Fourth—They seized every known I. W. W. in Centralia and without due process of the law, threw them into jail. And four of our members now lie in that jail charged with murder and about to be tried in these “impartial courts.”

Fifth—They showed their love for justice by seizing the I. W. W. attorney and throwing him into jail also, in order that the I. W. W. might have no defender and that these crimes might be covered up. When Attorney Pierce was sent from Seattle to defend them he was escorted back to the train and driven out of Centralia.

Sixth—Working hand in hand with the anti-union elements throughout the state, the hoodlums have made this an occasion to spread similar terrorism all over Washington. And the result is that liberty lies broken and ravished throughout the lumber country and democracy has been replaced by the rule of the mob and the gunman.

These few facts we DO KNOW. And we know that behind them lie a multitude more—a red scroll of horror which is filled with the names of our fellow workers. But the lying, prostituted press has concealed it all and has sought to kindle mob passion all over the country by screaming wild, distorted lies.

The I. W. W. knows the hand that is striking us in the Northwest. We know who is the power whose might can close to us the pages of the nation's press. We know the secret evil force which is risking even civil war in order to destroy the I.

W. W. in the northwest. It is our old enemy. IT IS THE LUMBER TRUST!

We make this charge. And we put it up to you, the American Congress. Yours is the duty to uphold the constitution of this country. Out in Washington state it has been trampled under murderous feet. Will you join with the newspapers and white-wash them?

We of the I. W. W. demand an investigation. We demand that the government make a sweeping, impartial inquiry into the Centralia case. We demand they send investigators there to sift out the responsibility.

You MUST act. Uniformed thugs have put your government into contempt. They have throttle democracy. Already one innocent man in Centralia has died a ghastly death. And four more are to be tried for

their lives. The hoodlums are attempting to provoke the union men into revolt. Will the Federal government stand idle?

Our own hands are clean. It is not we who have censored the truth. In fourteen years of existence the I. W. W. has never needed to conceal anything. We don't now. We know our members and we know that they are innocent. And we court an investigation. Innocent men may be railroaded. Clean, straightforward American men and women may be the victims of foul mobs. Under the darkness of censorship any crime may be perpetrated. We are demanding that you lift the veil. Let the government investigate; then the truth will be known—AND WE WILL KNOW WHO IS GUILTY!

**General Defense Committee of the I. W. W.**  
Wm. D. Haywood, Sec'y.

## Civil War in Printerdom

By DONALD M. CROCKER

In the midst of vast nationwide strikes which hold at bay the vital industries of coal and steel, and involve many hundred thousand workers, it is easy to underestimate the revolutionary significance of the New York printers' rebellion, which for a month past has paralyzed the book and periodical output of the city where more of this work is done than in the rest of the country put together. Yet nowhere in this distracted hour is there to be found a more ominous portent of the sudden awakening of class consciousness among American workers and of the swift, certain doom of the old craft-unionism than this magnificent demonstration of solidarity by 18,000 printing trade workers in the metropolis.

### When Is a Strike Not a Strike?

For the extraordinary feature of this strike is that by craft union standards it is not a strike at all. On the part of one group, the pressroom workers, it is a lockout of members of "unrecognized" organizations; and on the part of the compositor group, a "vacation"—a new term in the nomenclature of class warfare. The 18,000 rebels, 95 per cent of their crafts, are braving not alone the power of the employers, but their own international organizations, which are putting forth every effort to break their strike, and have behind them the whole force of the A. F. of L. machine, and, even worse, the shameful scabbery of their fellow workers in other divisions of the same industry, who not only failed to respond to the call for action but are doing their dirtiest to help beat the insurgents back to submission. In a word, it is a civil war in printerdom between the old union concepts and the new; a civil war which can hardly fail to spread soon from coast to coast; a civil war which, whatever the immediate outcome, can mean nothing else than the complete disruption and destruction of several of the most powerful and reactionary organizations in American trade unionism.

The news from New York is well nigh unbelievable to anyone who knows these printing workers for what only yesterday they were—the most craft-bound, snobbish and conservative of "labor aristocrats." Now their strike literature abounds in references to One Big Union, denunciations of the whole idea of A. F. of L.-ism, and aspirations for workers' control of industry. Their most influential leaders avow in private that they are consciously directing the thoughts and desires of the mass straight toward the I. W. W. On the picket line, unsupported by strike benefits, without outside help from any source, these printers and pressmen, but lately held apart by craft separation and mutual distrust, are learning the lesson of solidarity. And they will never forget the lesson.

Who are these workers who, on November 1st, entered the second month of their spontaneous "illegal" mass strike with ranks unbroken?

### Labor Aristocrats

The typographical union is heir of a line of journeymen's societies, guilds and unions which reaches clear back to the invention of printing. The ancient origin of the printer's trade society is attested by the survival to this day of certain quaint reminders of a ritualistic past (such as the use of the word "chapel" for the shop organization, for instance). New York Typographical Union traces an unbroken history from the early years of the nineteenth century. (Horace Greeley, the famous editor, was the first president, when he was a youthful journeyman printer.) The process of typesetting varied little from the day of Gutenberg, who invented it in the 15th century, to that of Mergenthaler, who perfected the first practicable machine about 30 years ago. It is a process requiring skill, speed and a long apprenticeship. The compositor came honestly by his feeling of superiority to other workmen. He achieved all that a highly organized craft union could get for

him long before the members of any other labor group. He won the rights of collective bargaining, of the closed shop, of a limited voice in the conditions of his toil. The international union obtained the universal 8-hour day when that was regarded as a radical innovation in industry. And so, it was natural that the printers should regard themselves as aristocrats of labor. The utterances of their representative leaders, the columns of their journals have always sounded the note of aloofness from less favored workers; glorification of their own craft achievements and reluctance to share them with others. And ever they sang the praises of their safe and sane policies and rejoiced that their employers and capitalist opinion in general thought so well of them.

#### **Coffins and Crutches**

The typographical union amassed a great treasury. It pays a handsome death benefit. It has established an old age pension. It maintains a magnificent sanitarium for the care of sick members. As a "coffin and crutch society" it has few equals.

The other unions—pressmen, etc.—followed closely in the footsteps of the typographers, copying their benefit features and their conservative policies. Although loosely affiliated in an Allied Printing Trades Council, that fact never prevented the unions from joyfully scabbing upon one another on every possible occasion. The sacredness of the contract and the identity of interest of employer and employee were the cornerstones of their edifice.

So here behold, up to a short while ago, a group of labor organizations which dwelt in the A. F. of L. heaven. All that Sammy Gompers points out as the ultimate goal of bliss for well behaved unionists was theirs. The closed shop; collective bargaining; contracts; arbitration; "a fair day's pay for a fair day's work"; the respect and esteem of their masters; big treasuries and benefits galore—all were theirs. Surely so privileged a caste of upper servants would never listen to the siren song of radicalism. And indeed for a long, long time it seemed that they never would.

#### **A Deadly Trade**

For all his "aristocracy," the printing craftsman has an unwholesome, even deadly, trade. Despite all precaution, the fumes of boiling lead and the divers acids and chemicals inseparable from all the processes of a printing plant take their inevitable toll of mortality. It is the high speed and intense concentration of attention and energy required which, however, is above all injurious. Nervous ailments and tuberculosis are recognized occupational diseases of the crafts. The palatial sanitarium maintained by the unions never have lacked a long waiting list of applicants for admission.

Anyone who knows the work of a linotype operator or a press feeder, to take only two instances from this much subdivided industrial process, should realize that more than four hours a day at such tasks cannot fail to be deleterious to mental and physical health.

When, during the abnormal inflation of prices

that began with the outbreak of the European war, and the attendant shortage of surplus labor, unskilled and unorganized workmen received large wage increases, the printers, fettered to their long-time contracts, found themselves helpless while they beheld the purchasing power of their pay envelopes dwindling toward the starvation level. They did receive some scanty increases during the 1914-1919 period, but only by dint of abject begging. Their standard of living descended to and beneath the level of the unskilled proletariat. Then, too, they witnessed more aggressive labor unions, composed largely of workers whom they had affected to despise as "foreigners" and inferior in skill, capturing the 44-hour, and even the 40-hour, week. With a true instinct, the rapidly growing insurgent element within the printing trades recognized shorter hours as the vital issue that must not be compromised.

#### **First Lesson in Solidarity**

Early last spring, for the first time in their history, thirteen printing craft groups in New York presented a united front to the employers. They issued an ultimatum, demanding the 44-hour week and a \$14 wage increase to be effective October 1st. (Simultaneously similar action was attempted in other cities, including Chicago, but was rendered abortive by typical craft union treachery and distrust.)

The employers, amazed at the unheard of effrontery and determined spirit on the part of their hitherto tractable slaves, turned immediately to their sure source of help, the international union officials. These latter too were alarmed. United action by the craftsmen was a new and dangerous departure—dangerous to their piecards. It even contained the germ of that frightful heresy, industrial unionism.

So the international officers of all the printing trades unions promptly held an "informal conference" with the employers, after which they blandly announced that it had been agreed to postpone discussion of the 44-hour week until 1921!

#### **Graft and Treason**

At just about this time an ugly scandal arose within the pressmen's unions. The international officers and board of directors were accused of misappropriating upwards of \$100,000 from the funds entrusted them. An investigation revealed that vast sums had been taken from the unions' treasury and invested in a company owned by George Berry, the president, other officers, and their relatives. These officers failing to clear themselves, over 30 locals, representing 68 per cent of the total membership, voted to refuse to pay per capita into the international treasury until the charges should be disposed of one way or the other. New York locals (23 and 51) were included among the protestants.

When the treason of the international officers in selling out the 44-hour movement was announced to the New Yorkers, there was an uproar of wrath that must have made those corrupt and despicable skates shake in their shoes. Later some of the

weaker brethren bowed their backs to the lash from long habit and consented even to be used as scabs, but the pressroom and composing room workers (a large numerical preponderance in the industry) hurled defiance both at the bosses and their international officials and vowed to stand together for 44 hours or fight on October 1st.

Then came President Berry to New York to visit vengeance on his insubordinate vassals who had committed the double offense of refusing to pay dues to enrich the private pockets of himself and his pals and kinsfolk, and of setting at naught his mandate against the 44-hour movement. In close co-operation with the bosses, he attempted to "re-organize" the two seceding locals. He opened a recruiting agency for his proposed scab union. Its failure was complete. Just SIX poor creatures rallied to his "loyal" and "regular" local!

Then the employees and their man Berry tried coercion. Selecting one shop as a test case, on September 6th, they ordered all pressmen and feeders to join the new scab "union." The result was a strike, tying up the entire plant. Manifestly the rebels were not to be daunted. And the fateful October 1st approached.

#### The Lockout

Twenty-four hours before that date the employers launched their grand coup. Without warning, there were posted in all the union pressrooms notices to the effect that henceforth no workmen would be hired who were not in good standing with the American Federation of Labor! Being interpreted, that was to say that the pressmen and feeders, being members of seceding unions, were locked out until they had made submission to their alleged embezzler President Berry. (Such solicitude for A. F. of L. regularity on the part of the capitalist class is respectfully commended to the notice of Hon. E. H. Gary!)

Well, the pressroom boys made no submission. As one man, they went out onto the street, 10,000 strong!

Meanwhile, what of "Big Six," the typographical union?

They, too, howled with rage when news of the attempted hamstringing of the 44-hour cause came. Their international president Marsden Scott (an ex-president of "Big Six," by the way) prudently kept away from the stormy meetings that were held, and consorted exclusively with his masters, the bosses. But Scott wielded the familiar threat, "Strike and I'll revoke your charter," and the ranks wavered. This threat to the craft unionist is as terrifying almost as the threat of excommunication by Holy Church in medieval times. It means not only deprivation of "coffin and crutch" benefits, but that a member from an outlawed local cannot obtain work in any "loyal" jurisdiction. So "Big Six" did not strike.

#### Playing Hide and Seek

What they did do was deliciously ridiculous, a true "reductio ad absurdum" of that supreme absurdity, craft unionism. On word of the pressroom

lockout, they (First) met as a local and voted not to strike; (Second) went somewhere else (the very same men) and voted to TAKE A VACATION; (Third) went "on vacation" October 1st, 4,000 strong in the first few days, and after thirty days 95 per cent of them were "vacationing"; (Fourth) in formal union session, ordered themselves back to work; (Fifth) in informal association, refused to go.

A class struggle is a tragic thing at best. It means hungry babies, worried wives, debt, privation, broken homes and blighted lives. Let us the more be grateful for the New York printers for injecting an element of comedy into the situation by supplying the spectacle of a picket line manned half by men who are locked out because their masters love the A. F. of L. so dearly, and half by men who are taking a vacation which they themselves in regular business session assembled, have solemnly disapproved!

The first week of October saw the industry paralyzed. One hundred and fifty publications suspended. The book output ceased.

#### Union Strikebreaking

October 7th, the board of governors of the International Printing Trades Council, composed of the officers of five international unions, convened at Washington. They condemned the strike, gave their "full approval" to the employers for refusing the 44-hour demand, declared the issue to be "the maintenance of true American trades union principles and against the Bolshevik," and threatened to withdraw the union label from any shop conceding the strikers' demands.

Two days later the executive council of the A. F. of L. officially condemned the strike. Soon afterward the A. F. of L. machine ordered the Central Federated Union of New York to expel the rebel locals or itself be outlawed. To date the C. F. U. has defied this order.

The photo-engravers, stereotypers, electrotypers and bookbinders are scabbing. They are obeying the orders of their international officers to refuse to handle work for plants which yield to the strikers. Withal, the insurgents had imposed their terms upon 130 shops by October 24th.

Typographical and pressroom unions in many other cities are standing by the strikers and defying their internationals. They have refused to handle work from New York. How steadfast they will stick, if the struggle is prolonged, is of course problematical. One thing is sure, the conflict cannot long be localized in one city.

The international union officials have thrown all discretion and decency to the winds in their frantic endeavors to beat the workers to their knees. Berry in his scabherding crusade did not scruple to use the Manhattan Detective Agency, a notorious fink organization. Scott gives hysterical interviews to the capitalist press denouncing the strikers, one of which winds up with the outburst, "The Huns and Bolsheviks are at the gate. They shall not pass," said Huns and Bolsheviks of course being the men

who have supported him in lazy affluence for years. W. W. Barrett, vice-president of the international typographical union, is quoted in the Ben Franklin Monthly, official organ of the employing printers of Chicago, as gloating over the prospective sufferings of the strikers and saying that when their rents become due in November, they will come to their senses. The contemptible electrotypers and bindery workers, at the command of their officers, have walked out of shops which settled with the strikers. Here is indeed the spectacle of craft unionism destroying itself in one great industry. None of the thinking men who are directing the revolt believes the old organizations can possibly survive. The cry for the One Big Union is incessantly raised in the columns of the strike bulletins. Is it possible that the most hopelessly reactionary workers of all are to step into the very forefront of the march toward industrial freedom? It would almost seem so.

#### Typeless Magazines

One by-product of the strike is the appearance of a magazine produced without type composition, by means of photo-engraving pages of typewritten copy. If this process should prove generally practicable, it might mean the sudden sliding of the type-setting craftsmen down into the ranks of the unskilled proletariat. It is noteworthy that the first imitator of this new process was that arch-enemy of labor, the late Harrison Grey Otis' Los Angeles Times.

On November 2nd, Hays, the secretary-treasurer of the typographical union, was the first of the international heads who had the temerity to attend a meeting of the rebel printers. An eye-witness thus describes the scene: "I never saw a man subjected to the hissing, booing, etc., that Hays got. It was hard to believe that this was Big Six. I never saw a labor fakir treated as he deserves before, and indeed, had I been selected to prepare in advance a demonstration of disapproval for some celebrated fakir, I doubt if I could

have approximated the Hays reception by half. It was epochal. Enthusiasm for our allies, the pressmen and feeders, knew no bounds, at every suggestion from Hays that we forsake them and go to arbitration. 'No!' 'Back to Indianapolis!' 'How much do you draw from the bosses?'—etc. I never enjoyed a show so well in my life."

The November issue of the strikers' bulletin comes out flat-footedly for One Big Industrial Union. Mention of the I. W. W. in the pressmen's and feeders' meetings is greeted with cheers. The radical Hebrew unions of the city have rushed a loan of \$100,000 to the aid of the insurgents, and meantime it has been disclosed that the desperate international heads are intriguing on the bosses' behalf for the printing of New York magazines in a Southern city. And thus stands the battle at the end of the first week in November.

Can the strikers win their immediate struggle? In the writer's opinion, no. The rank and file are not yet sufficiently class conscious and the odds against them are too heavy. What they will win from temporary defeat is something bigger—INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM. The I. W. W. is present in this strike (in the person of the members of Printing and Publishing Workers' Industrial Union No. 1200) as it is in the coal strike and the steel strike and as it will be present in every industrial conflict in this country henceforth until the coming of the Red Dawn. The I. W. W. printers are on the picket line with their craft union fellow workers, sharing their hardships, constantly advocating the only effective classwar tactics, constantly pointing to the glorious goal toward which those tactics should aim. The I. W. W. is there, abiding its time. And it feels that its time is very near.



DOUBLY ENSLAVED

# To the Unorganized Workers in the Printing Industry

By DONALD M. CROCKER

**A Leaflet Issued by Printing and Publishing Workers' Industrial Union No. 1200**

You are as helpless at the mercy of your employers as was the Negro slave in the South under the overseer's lash. If you are half way intelligent, you KNOW you are a slave. You have not a word to say as to the conditions under which you work. You labor as many hours as the boss dictates for whatever wages he is willing to give. Obey or starve is your alternative. When you apply for a job, you have to cringe before the foreman or superintendent. If he chooses he can subject you to an insulting inquisition about your past history and private affairs before he hires you. You have absolutely no security on your job. You can be turned out into the street at a moment's notice, without any given cause, at the mere whim of your "superior." You have the humiliating consciousness that you are selling yourselves cheaper than other men and women engaged in the same kind of work. Sometimes the boss throws you a favor as one throws a bone to a dog—a bonus, a Christmas present, some "welfare" or "benefit" stuff—in order to keep you contented.

Well, if you ARE contented, this leaflet is not meant for you. It is only written for workers with character and selfrespect enough to resent the conditions to which they are subjected and to aspire to something better. We know there are among the unorganized employes in the printing industry many with intelligence and ability equal to the union members. It is to these we are appealing.

There is very likely a good reason why you are not a member of the organization of your craft. The unions are not over anxious for new members. It is as hard to break into some of these "job trusts" as into any other close corporation. Maybe you are unable to meet the (purposely) difficult apprenticeship conditions. Perhaps you cannot afford the exorbitant initiation fees. Many of you have tried in vain to get union cards. The unions refuse you and then call you "rats" and "scabs" because you are compelled to work in non-union shops in order to live.

And then perhaps you are not especially pleased with the idea of paying heavy dues in order to support a tribe of lazy officials on big salaries. We cannot blame you.

There is certainly not much to attract an intelligent worker to the printing craft unions. For years their officials have been growing fat and the rank and file growing lean. Ugly graft scandals like that affecting the international officers of the pressmen's union are cropping up all the time. And that is not the worst of it. All these international unions are playing the bosses's game against the workers who support them with their hard-earned cash. They

are the greatest strikebreakers ever. When union men go on a strike, which the international union hierarchy chooses to regard as "unauthorized," it orders them back to work under threat of revoking their charter and filling their jobs with strike-breakers. A whole book could be filled with such cases. They are happening all the time. You don't feel like contributing your scanty dollars to keep a gang of fakers who will sell you out at the first opportunity. No wonder.

But the trouble with the craft unions goes deeper than the fact that their officials are rotten. Craft unions DIVIDE the workers instead of uniting them. Divided they are bound to fall.

There are about twenty-five separate unions in our industry. They make separate contracts with the employers. The contracts all expire at different times. Consequently every one of these unions binds itself by contract to stay at work even if any or all the others are on strike. In plain language, they pledge themselves to SCAB on their fellow workers! Lately the union electrotypers of Chicago went on strike. All the other printing craft unions stayed at work. They tried to camouflage their scabbery by extending sympathy and assessing themselves to support the strikers. But the electrotypers' strike was lost. Of course it was.

Right now, in New York City, ten thousand pressmen and press feeders are locked out because they have manhood enough to defy both their bosses and the international union officials. The official Judases of all the printing craft unions are bending their efforts to beat these fellow workers into submission. The typographical union members have gone on an "unauthorized" strike in sympathy with the pressroom men, but have been outlawed for so doing by their organization machine. This is not unionism. Let us call it by its right name—DIS-UNIONISM!

Well, we are not asking you unorganized workers to hook up with any of these obsolete, crooked outfits. There is a new union in the printing and publishing industry, and here are a few salient facts about it:

(1) It includes every worker in any way connected with the industry—all composing room, pressroom, bindery, office, foundry, mailing and distribution employes, etc.—one for all and all for one. We have in our union members of every one of the craft organizations, besides multitudes of the hitherto unorganized.

(2) No qualifications for membership except that you are a bona fide wage earner in the industry. Skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled enter on an equal basis.

(3) No high salaried officials. The union pays its officials and agents the same wage they would

earn at their trade—not a penny more. And we take a further precaution against building up a "machine" by forbidding them more than one consecutive term of office. The union is run on an absolutely democratic basis. The rank and file are at all times in control. Our officers take our orders. We don't take theirs.

(4) Low initiation fee and dues. The former, \$2; the latter, 50 cents monthly.

(5) We don't negotiate, we don't arbitrate, we don't tie our hands by contracts. We don't ASK the employers for anything. We DEMAND as much as the power of our united numbers enables us to demand. Then when we get a little stronger we come back for more. Our goal is complete OWNERSHIP and CONTROL of the industry BY THE WORKERS in the industry, and we make no secret of it.

Can't you see that when the workers shall be organized on this basis they will be all-powerful, that they cannot help but win? Why, this is a very new union in Chicago, but wherever you see our label it means a 44-HOUR week, which five large, old-established craft unions tried to get this summer and failed.

Yes, this union is a part of the I. W. W., and, of course, from all you have read in the newspapers, you have been given the idea that the I. W. W. are a gang of tramps and criminals. Why, bless your heart, what would you expect the newspapers to say? Who owns and controls the newspapers? Workingmen? We'll say they don't. The parasites that live off workingmen own them. The I. W. W. is going to knock these parasites off the workingman's back and enforce the Biblical injunction, "He that will not work, neither shall he eat." Why

wouldn't they hate the I. W. W.? The I. W. W. is proud of their hatred. It will always strive to be worthy of it.

As a matter of fact, the Industrial Workers of the World offer the only rational and constructive program for the peaceful and bloodless transition from the present condition of misery and chaos into a new and free society in which poverty, war and wretchedness will be unknown, a society of equals and fellow workers who will build a civilization upon this old earth nobler and happier than anything the past has ever dreamed of. Don't take our word any more than you take the newspapers'. Find out for yourself. Do your own thinking. Call at any one of the I. W. W. halls and you will be supplied with pamphlets and leaflets explaining our philosophy, methods and aim. Read them, and then if you are convinced of the justice of our cause, as you will be, and you are a red blooded man or woman, join the one and only organization which can get you better things right now and prepare mankind for a glorious future.

The Chicago headquarters of Print. & Publ. Workers' Industrial Union No. 1200, I. W. W., are at 119 South Throop St. The secretary is on duty all day up to 10 o'clock at night. He will be glad to give you any information, and if you are ready to "line up," he will issue you a membership card at once. Business meetings of the union are held every first and third Sunday, 3 p.m., at 119 South Throop St. Chicago. — In New York: 115 E. 10th St., meetings every Friday night. Other branches are about to be organized in several cities throughout the country.

Fraternally,

PRINTING AND PUBLISHING WORKERS'  
INDUSTRIAL UNION NO. 1200, I. W. W.

## The Awakening of the Negro

From Sept. 8 to 14 there was held in Washington, D. C., one of the most remarkable congresses ever held in this country. It was the congress of the "National Brotherhood of Workers of America." This is the largest body of organized Negro workers in America; 115 delegates were in attendance from all parts of the country, most of them being from the South. Delegates from the A. F. of L. were refused a seat, but 3 delegates from the I. W. W. were admitted on an equal footing. 15 of the delegates were from "The Society for the Advancement for Trade Unionism Among Negroes."

From the contents of the following resolutions, which were adopted by the convention, it is apparent that this body of colored workers has discovered their bearings and are aligning themselves with the industrial union movement.

The following are some of the resolutions adopted:

### RESOLUTIONS.

It is becoming more and more apparent every day that the present form of society no longer fills the needs of mankind, based as it is on private ownership of the means of production and distribution, and of private control and management of the industries, which entails unbearable hardships for the great mass of the people, making their lives one continuous round of slavery or unemployment, suffering, privation and worry for the future, with no hope for the workers or their offspring to attain a status of freedom and economic security.

The workers are the producers of all wealth and therefore rightly should be the masters of their own destiny and of the whole world.

The present controllers of wealth production, the capitalist class, are unquestionably proving themselves incompetent to supply mankind what it needs of the necessities of life, which are more and more getting beyond our reach.

All the events of the present point to a constant aggravation of the sufferings and the social disorder springing from this private ownership and control and no doubt will result in a complete breakdown and collapse in the near future of the whole system of production and distribution.

Such a collapse will mean complete social dissolution and chaos, as witness the events in Europe, and threatens all mankind with a calamity beyond human comprehension.

**THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED**, that we, the colored workers of America, in convention assembled, declare that the time has come for the working class to come to the rescue of mankind, thereby also saving ourselves and our own, by organizing for the purpose of taking over the means of production and distribution, all of which are either created by ourselves or given to us as the common heritage of man, and that we prepare ourselves, through industrial organization, to take control of the industries, when capitalism is compelled to give up the attempt to run them, in order that we may continue production and distribution without interruption and thus save society from dissolution and chaos;

**AND BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED**, that we hereby declare that we find that our aims and hopes and ambitions for the welfare of the human race are correctly expressed in the declaration of principles adopted and promulgated by the organization known as the NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE PROMOTION OF LABOR UNIONISM AMONG NEGROES;

**AND BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED**, that we now and hereby go on record as adopting the said declaration of principles, or preamble, as our own, to wit, as follows:

**First:** As workers, black and white, we all have one common interest, vis., the getting of more wages, shorter hours and better working conditions.

Black and white workers should combine for no other reason than that for which individual workers should combine, vis., to increase their bargaining power, which will enable them to get their demands.

**Second:** The history of the labor movement in America proves that the employing class recognizes no race lines. They will exploit a white man as readily as they will a black man. They will exploit women as readily as men. They will even go to the extent of coining the labor, blood and suffering of children into dollars. The introduction of women and children into the factories prove that capitalists are only concerned with profits and that they will exploit any race or class in order to make profits, whether they be black or white men, black or white women or black or white children.

**Third:** It is apparent that every Negro worker or non-union man is a potential scab upon white men and black union men.

**Fourth:** Self-interest is the only principle upon which individuals or groups will act if they are sane. Thus, it is idle and vain to hope or expect Negro workers, out of work and who receive less wages when at work than white workers, to refuse to scab upon white workers when an opportunity presents itself.

Men will always seek to improve their condition. When colored workers, as scabs, accept the wages against which white workers strike, they (the Negro workers) have definitely improved their conditions.

That is the only reason why colored workers scab upon white workers or why non-union white men scab upon white union men.

Every member, who is a part of the industrial machinery, must be organized, if labor would win its demands. Organized labor cannot afford to ignore any labor factor of production which organized capital does not ignore.

The employers can keep the black and white dogs, on account of race prejudice, fighting over a bone; the yellow capitalist dog will get away with the bone—the bone is profits. No union man's standard of living is safe so long as there is one man or woman who may be used as a scab and whose standard of living is lower.

The combination of black and white workers will be a powerful lesson to the capitalists of the solidarity of labor. It will show that labor, black and white, is conscious of its interests and power. This will serve to convert a class of workers, which has been used by the capitalist class to defeat organized labor, into an ardent, class-conscious, intelligent, militant group."

**AND BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED**, that we recommend to all the working people of our race, that they immediately make themselves acquainted more in detail with the aims, objects and methods of said organization, THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE PROTECTION OF LABOR UNIONISM AMONG NEGROES, in order that we may, as speedily as possible, align ourselves with and join the industrial unions that have already organized, and help to organize new industrial unions in such industries where they do not yet exist.

**AND BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED**, that we shall henceforth devote all of our energies to building up the new order of society along lines above indicated, to the exclusion of efforts hitherto expended in other directions.

#### **PUBLIC HEALTH.**

**THE NATIONAL BROTHERHOOD WORKERS OF AMERICA** recognized the problem of social diseases as serious and demanding treatment and control, and realized the need for social betterment as



urgent for the removal of negative, predisposing conditions and the development of positive corrective agencies;

**THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED**, in this, its annual meeting for the year 1919, **WE, THE NATIONAL BROTHERHOOD OF WORKERS OF AMERICA** do endorse and pledge co-operation in the United Public Health Service program and campaign for combating venereal disease and promoting sex education for improvement of the public health and the social conditions upon which the public health largely depends.

Done at Washington, D. C., this 10th day of September, 1919.

#### CLASS WAR PRISONERS

The following resolution on class war prisoners was adopted by the convention:

**WHEREAS**, there are in different jails and prisons throughout the country confined a thousand or more of working men and women, who have committed no crime under the sun, having been put there exclusively for the stand they have taken, in accordance with their convictions and their conscience, in the war between the classes;

**WHEREAS**, it is apparent that the ruling class intends to keep these innocent men and women in their prisons to the end of their respective terms, varying from 1 to 5, 10, 15, 20 or more years, in order to satisfy their fiendish hatred toward those who stand up bravely for the human rights of the worker, and in order to check the progress of our movement for industrial freedom and emancipation from wage slavery;

**WHEREAS**, we consider this punishment inflicted

on the Class War Prisoners as merely a brutal act of repression to further the selfish interests of the rich, an act of social injustice contrary to the best interests of the American people and all mankind;

Therefore be it

**RESOLVED**, that we, the colored workers of America, declare ourselves in friendship and sympathy with these our imprisoned fellow workers, and that we pledge our moral and financial support in the attempts now being made throughout the country for their liberation and promise that we as citizens and as workers shall do everything in our power to help in effecting their speedy release; and be it further

**RESOLVED**, that we recommend that all the papers at our disposal shall be requested to give this, our resolution, the widest possible publicity, in order that the men and women of our race throughout the country may know of this terrible injustice; and be it further

**RESOLVED**, that we earnestly appeal to all the organizations of our race that they adopt protest resolutions and send them to the proper authorities, and that they render all the moral and financial assistance in their power to those who are now working for the liberation of the Class War Prisoners, in order that justice may triumph, and these our fellow men and fellow women be spared further suffering.

Besides there were numerous other resolutions, on race discrimination, on peonage, on lynching, on race riots, on Mexican intervention, on the Russian blockade, on withdrawal of troops from Russia, etc., all of them full of the right proletarian spirit.

## General Railway Strike of Great Britain

By GEO. HARDY

The greatest industrial conflict ever waged in the history of Great Britain has come to an end with a complete victory to the workingclass, not only of Great Britain, for, had this fight been lost, it would have been an inspiring victory to the whole continental Bourgeoisie, who would have attempted a reduction of wages, as the railway companies through the government did attempt a reduction of the wages of the British railwaymen. The reply, through the National Union of Railwaymen, together with the Associated Society of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen, was a general strike.

At the outbreak of the war, the employers kept all workers at the pre-war wage as long as possible, until by pressure, they were forced to give increases, which were termed bonuses. The reason for giving money increase as a bonus is obvious, and the general strike just ended was planned and determined upon at the very beginning of the war by the employers. Equally determined were the workers, never to loose the money increase, and

to make it a permanent wage. Attempts had been made since 1917 to make a permanent wage out of all monies being received. Always the government managed to manipulate the negotiations so as to have the question left in abeyance. In February 1919 the matter was still pending.

In August 1919, on threat of strike, the government agreed to make the bonuses a permanent wage for all locomotive engineers and firemen. Having prepared to fight the railworkers since the February conference and to use Lloyd George's words spoken at a luncheon given in the Mansion House two days after the strike settlement, when he said, "As far back as last February the government realized that the crisis was coming, and under the home secretary they built up an organization to meet the situation. Taking this statement in conjunction with the settlement with the locomotive engineers and firemen one can only come to the conclusion that the attempt was made to satisfy one portion of the workers to be used against the



**STRIKE COMMITTEE, HULL DISTRICT OF NATIONAL UNION OF RAILWAYMEN—IN CONTINUOUS SESSION FOR NINE DAYS**

larger group, organized in the N. U. R., who also has 50 per cent of the membership of engineers and firemen.

The A. S. L. E. and F. thought more of class solidarity than the increase, that could only be temporary at best, if the government could beat the lower grades, so they threw in their lot with the section hand. Thus the strike was a complete stoppage, engineer speakers announcing from public platforms, "We cannot run our engines on a crooked rail," the implication was, they recognized the unskilled, no matter how low, just as essential to the railroad systems as the highest skilled man on the road.

The government's preparations were a fact, for as soon as the strike began at midnight, Sept. 27, began to appear motor transport by road. This could at most be temporary, as the Transport Workers' Federation has all these workers affiliated with the federation. As the days went past demands for action were demanded because each day the transport workers were becoming more enmeshed in the railway men's fight. They were refusing to handle material intended for railways all over the country, and had the strike not ended, Oct. 7 was the date, all transport delegates would have appeared in London to decide on direct action, as Bob Williams wrote, who is secretary of the federation: "We of the Transport Workers' Federation were willing and anxious to swing into line."

The above attitude did much to end this economic class struggle together with the messages of support, showing a readiness to strike in sympathy, sent in by nearly every union in all districts. The workers fully realized that if the railmen were forced to accept a reduction to pre-war levels, they also would have suffered the same fate. But, on the contrary, the government was forced from their position of reducing wages on Dec. 31, 1919, unto a position of accepting the present rates, as established wages until Sept. 30, 1920, with a minimum

of 3 dollars, and a quarter larger than their previous "definitive" offer, providing the cost of living had been reduced to 110 per cent over pre-war prices at a year hence.

At the outset of the strike the Premier issued a statement that this was engineered by "a small anarchist gang." This the workers smiled at and proved conclusively that if any anarchist gang existed it was on the side of government's conspiracy against the workers. However, we can take for granted that most districts had all their economically educated men on the strike committee, but elected by the rank and file.

The following is a sample of the resolutions passed unanimously daily, "That this mass meeting of all railway men reaffirm their previous decision to stand together until victory is assured. Believing that the solidarity of the railway men has proved beyond all doubt the justice of our cause, it also proves the inability of the present government to do any real service to the workers, at the same time it has demonstrated its class rule in the interests of those who exploit the people."

This strike was not a revolutionary attack against capitalism. It was purely a wage question. However, during the strike one would believe from the speeches made, together with the movement of troops into the large centers, that a revolution was pending but a few days. Notwithstanding all this there never was a more orderly strike. In Hull district in the large square where the mass meetings were held, speakers could be heard threatening to appeal to the soldiers if they were to be used in any way against the workers. The police were expressing their sympathy with the strikers. Daily the soldiers played football in the same square while mass meetings were in progress, having been forbidden to listen. This appeared to be one way of getting at least something that came from the platforms.

The prestige of the British government suffered a blow that it will never recover from. Lloyd George made all kinds of lying statements about "lightning strikes", etc., at the onset of the strike. He afterward told he had been "preparing since February" and that "he was not fighting trade unionism." The government also, stopped all back wages from being paid, in their endeavor to starve them into submission, all with no avail. Now, today in Great Britain industrial unionism as represented in the N. U. R. (National Union of Railwaymen) with the engineers and firemen in the sectional union throwing in their lot for the sake of their class, stands as a monumental power far greater than all the forces of the state even though they had eight months to prepare.

The same economic power, which is wielded by organized labor of Great Britain can, when it is ready, upset any government of the oppressors. This the government knows. And while we have some fine men at the helm, we have some very reactionary leaders. Fortunately, however, the district officials of the large unions have a thorough grasp of the conditions under which capitalism survives. This in the main is due to the education given out by the Central Labor College.

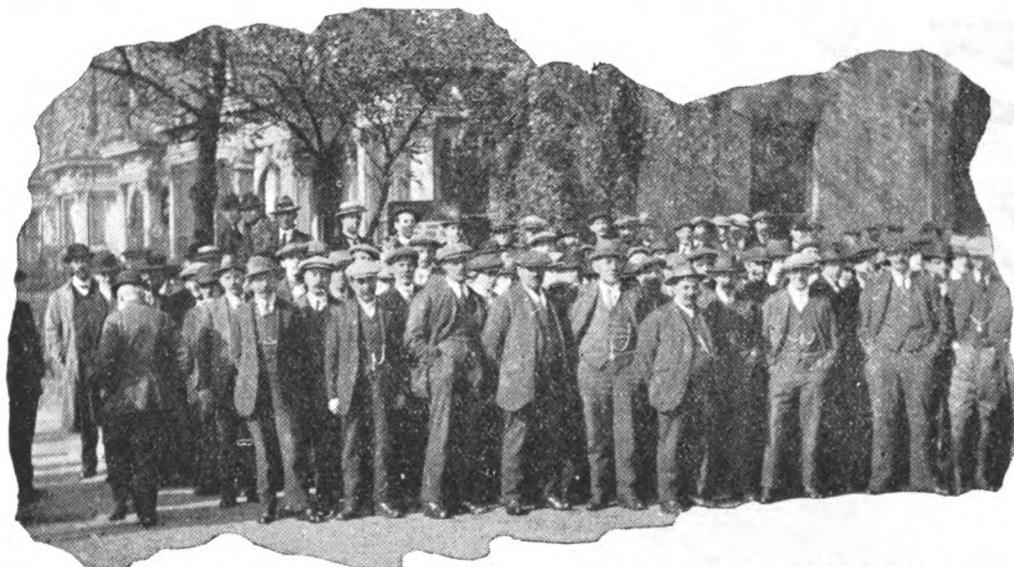
The college is an off-shoot of the Ruskin College, which, while being a labor college, were teaching bourgeois economics. A students' revolt took place, when Prof. Dennis Hird supported the students and went over to the C. L. C., which teaches materialist history and Marxian economics. The miners, railwaymen and to some extent in the large centers the A. S. E. (Amalgamated Society of Engineers) run Central Labor College classes every week. This is the back ground of the grand demonstration of solidarity given during the railstrike. Classes in the large cities are given under the auspices of the District Councils of Railwaymen. The college will answer any question sent in by any class for correc-

tion or verification. It also may be noted, the C. L. C. is owned and controlled chiefly by the above unions.

The work being carried on is, as near to the I. W. W. propaganda as can be found anywhere and not be the I. W. W. In some distant future we will emerge from our apathy towards the exploiters, and with our well trained men will have sufficient ability to man industry for ourselves. Agitation has caused the troops to be withdrawn from Russia, because it took a revolutionary character, the desire being to allay it for fear a general strike would be brought about. Today, trade unionism (trade unionism in England does not mean craft unionism) has gained prestige—the government's confidence has been shaken and the rank and file have learned they are the economic masters when they choose to act.



The Writer Leaving Argyle House Headquarters of N. U. R., Hull, with N. U. R. Officials



GROUP OF STRIKERS OUTSIDE ARGYLE HOUSE WAITING TO SIGN THE STRIKE REGISTER



**RUSSIA GIVING THE WORLD'S WORKERS A LIFT**

## The I. W. W. Makes Its Entry Into the Labor Movement of Germany

The weekly I. W. W. press has already published some documents about the labor movement of Germany, informing us that five important labor unions of Germany have united in the "Freie Arbeiterunion" (Independent Workers' Union) on an industrial union program. The five groups that have united are "Freie Vereinigung" (Syndicalist), "Allgemeine Bergarbeiterunion" (Miners), "Arbeiterunion" of Essen, "Deutsche Arbeiterunion" of Dusseldorf and "Allgemeine Arbeiterverband." One of these bodies had previously published a manifesto, calling on the workers to organize on the lines of The Industrial Workers of the World. A few days later we received a manifesto issued by the German seamen, informing us that they have abandoned the old International Transport Workers' Federation and formed the German Seamen's Federation on the lines of the I. W. W. program, specifically mentioning their endorsement and adhesion to the Industrial Workers of the World, and inviting the seamen of the world to join with them.

We are also in receipt of official information

that the Spartacan organization of Berlin, Germany, has come out openly with a declaration that they have abandoned the program of mass action as enunciated by them hitherto, as well as by their party friends in America and other countries, proclaiming that "the street is lost," and that they have declared themselves for industrial unions as the proper place in which to again gather their battalions, to the exclusion of parliamentary action.

This is the most important news in the annals of industrial unionism for many a day. We do not think that we overstate the significance of these events when we say that it is the turning point in the history of the European labor movement. These events, and others to follow, are bound to make a profound impression upon the workers all over Europe and set the current moving in our direction.

Moved by such considerations The Industrial Workers of the World have sent the German Fellow Workers the following message of greeting:

### A GREETING FROM THE I. W. W. TO THE INDUSTRIAL UNIONISTS OF GERMANY. To the Wage Slaves of Germany! Proletarians of Germany!

#### Fellow Workers:

With great interest we have followed your efforts to prepare yourselves for the coming gigantic struggle with your ruling class and your blood-stained government on an industrial revolutionary basis, and with enthusiasm we greet the forming of the "Freie Arbeiter Union" (The Independent Labor Union) of Germany, in which all the revolutionary labor unionists have united on an industrial, purely proletarian basis into One Big Union.

We further greet the declaration of the Communist Party of Germany (Spartacans), that political action, parliamentarism, cannot be the means of liberating the working class, and record with satisfaction that you, the proletarians of Germany, have learned from the bath of blood which the ruling class, with the aid of the Social Democratic Noske-Guard, has made you go through, that the wronged and enslaved wage workers were not driven by the machine guns into the parliament but into the industries. There, proletarians of Germany, there is the place! The industry is the basis on which you must come together for industrial revolutionary and direct action. Only in the industrial, purely proletarian and revolutionary organizations can you increase your economic power without limit and concentrate your direct industrial action until you are invincible, without giving the blood-thirsty white guard the opportunity to shoot your bodies to pieces in the street.

**Proletarians of Germany:** We, the Industrial Workers of the World, stretch out our hands as brothers. Even if an ocean, a capitalist-ruled sea, lies between us, even if thousands of capitalist censors prevent us from exchanging thoughts, our thoughts are still with you. Your struggle is our struggle and your aim is our aim, the liberation of the working class from capitalist oppression.

**Fellow Workers:** The liberation of the Working class can only be the work of the workers themselves. If you want these words of Karl Marx to come true, it cannot be done except you organize yourselves on a proletarian basis into One Big Union so that your power may be invincible, and go to direct action, under the battle cry, "One for all and all for one!"

**Industrial Workers of Germany:** The ruling class of Germany will recognize that the uniting of the wage slaves on the proletarian, industrial basis is equal to a sentence of death to capitalism! For this reason, fellow workers, we dare say, that the agitation for the "Freie Arbeiter Union," and for the One Big Union will for you mean the most brutal persecution through the state power of the white guard; just as we here have had thousands of I. W. W. members murdered, lynched, beaten and persecuted and put into jail for up to twenty years in the prison hell holes of capitalist-democratic America, so will your blood-stained Scheidemann-Noske conspiracy set the blood-thirsty white cossacks on your heels.

**Fellow Workers:** Be brave and courageous! Think of our Russian brothers and their proletarian revolution, of the unspeakable misery of the proletariat of the whole world and that the oppressed of

the world are jubilant over your achievement. Remember that the victims of the class struggle in the dungeons of all capitalist terror states put their whole hope in you and us, and remember further the crime of the still continuing mass murders, and forget not that you are not standing alone, **WE ARE WITH YOU IN CLASS CONSCIOUS SOLIDARITY AND REVOLUTIONARY FIGHTING SPIRIT! WITH YOU FOR THE LIBERATION OF THE WORKING CLASS! WITH YOU FOR THE WORLD-REVOLUTION!**

THE INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD.

United States of America.  
Chicago, Illinois,

October 27, 1919.

## The Story of the I. W. W.

BY HAROLD LORD VARNEY

### THE VICTORY AT LAWRENCE

Chapter 10.

The Lawrence strike was fought over the price of a meagre meal. But it grew until it became a revolution.

To touch the origin of the strike we must go back to the Massachusetts legislature. In the winter of 1911 it had passed a law which forbade the working of women in the factories of Massachusetts for a period longer than 54 hours per week. To such a humanitarian step nobody could find objection. Unnoticed by the majority of the public, this law glided into effect on January 1, 1912. But the mills of Massachusetts are so systematized, that no reduction of hours can be made for any single group of workers. It was necessary to apply the new 54-hour law to men as well. Processes were speeded up so that the same output was made in the 54 hours that had previously been produced in 56 hours. For a week the cotton operatives of Lawrence quietly worked under the new system. Then they found that they had been tricked and there was an explosion. When they received the pay envelopes for their week's work they were startled to find two hours pay missing. With a rage born of despair they rushed out of the mills to strike, to riot, to revolt, to do anything that could ease the indignation that was consuming them.

Lawrence, like McKees Rocks, was a prison of polyglot slaves, 20,000 unskilled workers, gathered from every nation, speaking a jargon of guttural tongues, divided by race and religion, and in the weakness of that division, all gouged by the same master. Their misery was unutterable. They were held down helpless by one of the great impersonal titans of capital, the American Woolen Trust. They had no unions and no redress in their grievances. They were underfed, underclothed and miserably housed. And they worked and lived and supported families on an average wage of \$6 a week.

The wage reduction of the new working hours meant, for most of them, about 26 cents a week. A mere trifle it would seem. So the Woolen Trust reasoned. But that mere trifle, to a man earning \$6 a week, means so many mouthfuls of food, so much less of comfort. The 20,000 mill hands saw their families suffering because their present wage was

not enough. What would it mean when that wage was 26 cents less. Possibly there has never been a big strike in this country where so much of mute misery was flung up to exposure. Certainly the I. W. W. had never yet met it, not even in the empire of the Steel Trust. It was this terrible and undeniable poverty which gave to the Lawrence strike the proportions of a class revolution.

Five hundred unorganized Italians started the strike. There are several mills in Lawrence, built side by side in a long row, all of them branches of the big trust. The trouble started in the Wood and Washington plants. Pay envelopes in hand, the Italians started rushing down the long line of looms. In the mad rush they snatched up the picker sticks used in the mills and struck blindly at the looms as they went along. Weaves were torn, belts were cut, windows were smashed. They drove all the weavers before them as they went.

Soon these two mills were empty. Outside in the street the workers became a wild mob. They bombarded other mills in the district. They forced gates and rushed in among other workers, infecting them with the spirit of the strike. Leaving the mills empty and silent behind them—mills which a few minutes before had been alive with industry—the mill slaves rushed down the street, hooting and cheering, and gradually dispersed to their homes. This was on Friday, January 12. That same night Joe Ettor arrived in Lawrence.

It is related that Ettor was handed the telegram summoning him to Lawrence as he sat on the platform in Cooper Union, New York, listening to William D. Haywood and Morris Hillquit debate the merits of direct versus political action. Be that as it may, Ettor lost no time in rushing to the scene. Up to the time of his arrival the strike was spontaneous and un-unionized.

We noted some chapters back, that the I. W. W. had a National Industrial Union of Textile Workers. At the beginning of 1912 the strongest local in the industry was in Lawrence. A persistent propaganda had lined up several hundred unskilled workers in the Local 20 of the I. W. W. Only a small fraction of them were in good standing, however. Small as it was in comparison to the 20,000 workers, the I. W. W. local was the strongest union in the mills.

A craft union of the most highly skilled men was maintained by the U. T. W. of the American Federation of Labor. And an independent union had a few more. But the I. W. W. was a union whose structure was almost made for such a situation as the Lawrence strike. It also was rich in leadership.

Joseph J. Ettor at this time was a member of the G. E. B. of the I. W. W. He was entirely a product of the I. W. W., educated up into leadership out of the ranks. He had received his training in the hard adversities of the early western struggles.

Richard Washburn Child characterizes Ettor as follows: "Lawrence was ready for socialism in one form or the other and socialism came. It came in the form of the Industrial Workers of the World. It came, too, in the form of Ettor, a laughing boy of twenty-six or twenty-eight, an organizer of this new and different union, a born leader, a youth crying 'Excelsior' with a great power to win over, not only the rough-necked and the high-browed but some men who were neither the one nor the other."

When Ettor arrived in Lawrence he sensed his opportunity. Here was a great inchoate mass of discontent. It was groping for leadership. His experience at McKees Rocks and Bethlehem had taught him the rare knowledge of mass psychology. His training in the rough give and take of the lumber camps had hardened his faculties for just such an emergency.

The mill owners of Lawrence had not taken the Friday walkout seriously. They had refused to be alarmed when the workers stayed home on Saturday. In their calculation, the fire of enthusiasm would burn out by Monday and the workers would do as they had so often done before, come back and beg for their old jobs. But the quietness of that Sunday was too ominous.

Ettor realized that he must do two things in order to hope for victory. First, a strong organization of the strikers must be created; second, every other mill in Lawrence must be closed in a general strike. All day Sunday Ettor was a dynamo of energy. Meetings were held for every group and nationality. A strike committee was organized in which every nationality was represented. Plans were perfected for a great mass picket for the following morning. Under the spur of these ideas, the strikers rose to the occasion.

Monday came. The strikers turned out *en masse*. Thousands of other workers had joined them. Forming a great picket line they surged down Canal Street past the mills. So effective was their picketing that scarcely a worker entered the gates. From there they rushed down to the Pacific Mill, the workshop where 6,000 operatives toil. To reach this mill a bridge must be crossed. The long line of pickets reached this bridge. Shivering as they were in the snow and ice of a January morning, the strikers were suddenly drenched by a stream of ice water from a fire hose on the factory roof. In an instant they became uncontrollable.

Pushing forward, they rushed the bridge and burst

open the gates of the great mill. Inside they repeated their tactics of Friday, stampeding the workers from their looms. Others of the pickets made their way to the coal pile and began to bombard the windows and the roof of the building where the hose had been concealed. All the police reserves of the city rushed to the scene. Shots were fired and heads were broken. Thirty-six pickets were arrested, but the tactics won their object. By the evening of that day the 15th, every mill in Lawrence was tied up. There were 20,000 persons on strike.

This episode of Monday morning was the last and only act of violence by the strikers. It was provoked and justified by the fire hose of the bosses. Before a blow was struck on the part of the strikers the bosses used violence and incited them to riot. The pretext was used by Mayor Scanlan to send for the State Militia and thereafter the streets of Lawrence were patrolled by the soldiers, 1,300 strong.

The situation was now absolutely in the hands of the strikers. Victory was theirs if they would stick together with their ranks unbroken. Day after day Ettor hammered into their ears the watchword of the I. W. W., solidarity. Violence was futile. All that they needed to do in order to win was to stand with folded arms.

This solidarity was assured by the unprecedented success of the Strike Committee. This committee was the very soul of the strike. For the first time the industrial parliament idea of the I. W. W. was put into practical effect. Haywood describes the action of the Strike Committee in the following words:

"It was a wonderful strike, the most significant strike that has ever been carried on in this or any other country. Not because it was so large numerically, but because we were able to bring together so many different nationalities. And the most significant part of that strike was that it was a democracy. The strikers handled their own affairs. There was no president of the organization who looked in and said, 'Howdy do.' There were no members of an executive board. There was no one the boss could see except the strikers. The strikers had a committee of 56, representing 27 different languages. The boss would have to see all the committee in order to do any business with them. And immediately behind that committee was a substitute committee of another 56, prepared in the event of the original committee's being arrested. Every official in touch with affairs at Lawrence had a substitute selected to take his place in the event of being thrown in jail.

"All the workers in connection with the strike were picked from material that, in the mill, was regarded as worth no more than \$6 to \$7 a week. The workers did their own bookkeeping. They handled their own stores, six in number. They ran eleven soup kitchens. There were 120 investigated cases for relief. They had their own finance committee, their own relief committee. And their work was carried on in the open, with the press on hand, with all the visitors that wanted to come, the hall packed with the strikers themselves. And when this com-

mittee finally reduced itself to ten, to make arrangements with the mill owners, it was agreed before they left that they must meet the mill owners alone."

It was this committee which won the strike. The absolute democracy of the thing was its strength. Everything out in the open, no closed doors or inner circle. Experts in labor strikes and social investigators were caught by its spirit and swept from their feet. Here were illiterate workers rising to the occasion and displaying rare executive powers. Here was a strike committee meeting daily and legislating the wishes of 20,000 people. This Strike Committee was the realization of the old ideal, "the cell of a new society functioning within the shell of the old." Ettor presided over its meetings. He gave its activities an I. W. W. bent. He sustained its enthusiasms by the strength of his personality. But he was in no sense the ruler. All tactics, every decision, passed through the crucible of open discussion on the floor of the Strike Committee. Every delegate was to refer back to the nationality he represented for his instructions. And neither Ettor nor the Strike Committee could settle the strike. Settlement could only come by a mass meeting of all the 20,000.

Of course, staid and respectable "law and order" as represented by the mill owners, their foremen and agents, the small business men who were their satellites, and the politicians and office holders whom they controlled, mobilized solidly against the I. W. W. The daily newspapers showed a surprising unanimity. Scare headlines screeched daily of the unfathomable terribleness of the I. W. W. Judge Mahoney of the City Court did not hesitate to give another object lesson of the blindness of justice by sentencing the 36 strikers arrested in the riot to terms of from one to two years. In order to emphasize his zeal he held a special sitting on the very night of the day of their arrest and monotonously pronounced the sentences. Mayor Scanlan was patently with the mill owners upon every question which arose.

Inclined at first to ignore the strike, the general public of New England became wrought up to a pitch of hysterical intensity as the strike expanded. Before Lawrence, people did not even know what the I. W. W. was. As the strike proceeded, the revolutionary significance of the organization was driven home to all. New England is the habitat of the most traditionally conservative families in America. William Dean Howells has well characterized them as "a people through whose veins courses a thin stream of ink and ice water." The Lawrence strike precipitated a panic among them. One of the Lawrence manufacturers, addressing a gathering of Boston business men, screamed hysterically, "Gentlemen, this is no strike; this is the beginning of a revolution." Judge Gary, chairman of the Steel Trust, called one of his famous dinners of multi-millionaires to discuss the subject, and some of the pandemonium of that dinner slipped into print. A story is related of a certain large manufacturer in Lynn who sold

out all of his holdings and invested his entire fortune in United States bonds as a safeguard from the menace of revolution. The Lawrence strike became a national issue.

The Workers were equally moved. Sympathy for the strikers ran strong among them. Donations began to pour into Lawrence. The farmers from the surrounding towns began to drive in to the strike headquarters—their wagons loaded with food. Lowell donated a cow. Gifts of money poured in from Socialists and Unionists throughout the country. Haywood's influence swung the Socialist Party locals almost unanimously behind the strike. A considerable amount of money was donated by several organizations but compared with the immensity of the task this total was ridiculously small. The money spent by the bosses to defeat the strike must have been enormous. One hundred and seventy-two thousand dollars was spent for the militia alone. The I. W. W. has never paid direct strike benefits. A system was introduced in Lawrence which has been followed in all subsequent strikes. Each nationality opened up relief stations and soup kitchens. Meals were provided twice a day at these stations for the strikers and their families. At the Franco-Belgian station 1,850 rations were served twice daily; at the Italian station 3,500; at the Syrian 1,200; at the Polish 1,000; at the Lithuanian 1,200, and so forth. So steady was the income that at no time did any of the strikers go hungry. And workers who average only \$6 a week when they worked did not notice any appreciable difference between their strike rations and their accustomed diet.

Of course the "respectable" classes resented this ease with which the I. W. W. was meeting the needs of the strikers. In all previous labor struggles they had seen the strikers starved into defeat. If only they could stop the source of income of the I. W. W. perhaps they could repeat this starvation among the Lawrence strikers. Unbelievable as it may seem, there were people in New England whose class feeling was so bitter that they actually begrudged the food that the strikers ate. To stop the funds several subterfuges were resorted to. Newspapers began to feature stories about the corruption of the I. W. W. leaders. Dark hints of immense thefts of strike funds were insinuated. But it remained for a preacher of the lowly Nazarene to make the actual attack. At the very crisis of the strike the Rev. Herbert Johnson, a Boston clergyman, applied to the court and secured an injunction tying up all the strike funds in the bank. This would have been fatal had it not been forestalled. In anticipation of such a move the bulk of the funds had already been transferred to Vincent St. John in Chicago for safe keeping. To the chagrin of Johnson and the mill owners, they discovered that they had tied up an empty bank account.

The bosses made strenuous efforts to get rid of Joe Ettor. The ease with which he was controlling such a heterogeneous mass of workers was alarming. If only the strikers would use violence, if only they



would be disorderly, then an excuse would be given for a coup. But day after day the I. W. W. leaders were preaching their philosophy of passive resistance, soothing the passions of the mobs, quelling the unruly. Even safe, sane and respectable A. F. of L. strikes had never been so peaceful as this I. W. W. strike with its background of revolution.

Tired of waiting, the mill owners commenced the violence themselves. On January 19 Lawrence rang with the cry of dynamite. Dynamite had been discovered in three places, in a cemetery, in a tailorshop and in a shoe shop next door to Joe Ettor's residence. There was enough of it to blow up the whole city of Lawrence. The connection was obvious. Ettor and the I. W. W. must be preparing a dynamite plot. The incident was exploited in every newspaper in the country and feeling against the I. W. W. began to run strong. But again this dynamite story proved a boomerang in the striker's favor. Investigation disclosed a peculiar connection of a member of the Lawrence School Board, a local politician named John J. Breen, with the finding of the dynamite. Breen was arrested. The evidence against him was so palpable that he was convicted of planting the stuff and was given a heavy fine. Added significance was given to the incident by the discovery that the Dynamite Special of the Boston American had appeared on the streets of Boston announcing the affair two hours before the dynamite was discovered. The clumsiness of the frame-up made the position of Wood and the other mill owners ridiculous, even in the eyes of their own class. The I. W. W. position was immensely strengthened.

Stung to recklessness the mill owners next imported fifty gunmen from Boston who were made up to impersonate Italian strikers. Mingling in the parade of the workers these gunmen attempted to incite a riot. At one point they assailed a street car, driving out the passengers and smashing the car. The police and militia looked on without making an arrest. If the bosses thought that they could "get" Ettor by any such raw tactics they were doomed to disappointment. Ettor exposed the whole trick at the next meeting of the strikers. The gunmen disappeared.

On January 29 the first death occurred. Anna La Pizza, one of the strikers, was shot in a slight encounter with the police and died in the street. It has always been believed that she was shot by a policeman. Her shooting would be incredible otherwise. But the opportunity of her death was too good to be neglected. Ettor was charged with being accessory to the killing and was arrested. With him was arrested Arturo Giovannitti, an Italian orator and editor. They were booked for murder and held without bail.

The removal of Ettor was only a temporary inconvenience to the strike. Like every other officer, Ettor had his substitute ready. That substitute was Big Bill Haywood. Living over again all his old battles in the west, Haywood threw into this Lawrence struggle all of his splendid powers of leader-

ship. He was the foremost strike leader in America.

The delirious emotionalism which colored this entire strike is well illustrated in the story of Haywood's coming to Lawrence. The Lawrence Tribune tells it as follows:

"William D. Haywood arrived in Lawrence at 11:50 o'clock from New York City Wednesday morning and over 10,000 strikers turned out, together with three bands and two drum corps, to greet him at the North Station with a tremendous ovation.

"Long before the time when he was scheduled to arrive the strikers assembled at the depot in eager anticipation of the coming of the great labor organizer. Even at 9 o'clock there was a large crowd awaiting his arrival. Before 10 o'clock the number of strikers at the station had been greatly increased. The sidewalks on Essex Street were filled to their greatest capacities. Common Street was crowded all morning also with strikers wending their way to the Boston & Maine Station. About 10:30 o'clock the Franco-Belgian band arrived, having marched from the Franco-Belgian hall on Mason Street. This band was followed by about 200 of the Franco-Belgian element of the strikers. The band stopped in front of the postoffice and played several selections.

"The number of strikers was becoming continuously augmented and the crowd seemed to be growing restless. About 11 o'clock a parade of about 1,000 strikers came up Essex Street. In this parade were the Umberto and Bellini bands and St. Joseph's drum corps. When this contingent arrived there was great cheering. The bands played almost continuously and there was a great deal of noise. Every time that the cab train came in sight the crowds would commence cheering and the bands would play with renewed vigor.

"Shortly after 11:30 o'clock a large parade came up Common Street and joined forces with the strikers already at the station. At the head of this parade there was a sign painted on cardboard in large black letters, 'All for One.' There were many American flags carried by the strikers.

"Finally the time for the arrival of Mr. Haywood came, and when the train came in sight there was a great demonstration. When the train was approaching the crowd kept pushing up near the tracks and it looked as if someone would be run over.

"When the strikers caught sight of Haywood they went almost insane with delight and cheered incessantly while the bands and drum corps boomed out stirring selections. The scene was certainly a wild one. As Mr. Haywood came out of the car he took off his hat and waved it to the crowd. The strikers surrounded Haywood and then the parade started down Common Street. Haywood was near the head of the parade and was surrounded by thousands of howling and cheering strikers. The parade was 10,000 strong. The bands played and excitement was of the highest pitch."

As it was on the morning of Haywood's arrival so it had been and was throughout the Lawrence strike.

All of the adventurous and holiday instincts of the foreign races were played upon. The spectacular spell of pageantry sustained their enthusiasm through the long weeks of hardship. For the masses of the strikers there was the perpetual and moving excitement of parades and music. But upon the 56 men of the Strike Committee was thrown all of the grim and nerve racking intensity of responsibilities. Outwardly it would seem that the strike was a great happy-go-lucky holiday of overworked toilers. But in the taut quietude of the Strike Committee one could hear every incident of the day planned and determined. And splendidly did the Strike Committee measure up to its duties.

Haywood stepped into Ettor's place as chairman of the Strike Committee. One of the first innovations that he introduced was the moveable picket line. The law forbade pickets to loiter. But this could not deprive them of the right to walk. In the early grayness of the morning the long line of strikers would mass in front of the mills five or six thousand strong. Forming a great parade they would slowly file around the factory, a moving wall of humanity. Not a scab could enter without passing through the breeches in this line which were opened at intervals by the crack of the policeman's club. And when they saw the scabs coming, down the mile-long line would run the groan, "Boo, boo, boo." To the furtive scabs it would sound uncanny and ominous. It would be a bold scab who would face such a daily greeting. Songs were also boomed out by the moving line—the Internationale, the Marseillaise and the Red Flag. All the memories of their European traditions would be called forth when the strikers sang these songs. The little red song book of the I. W. W., which had played such a dramatic role in Spokane, appeared among the strikers. A wise Frenchman once said, "Beware of a revolution which produces its own songs." The songs of these I. W. W. strikers gave the puritanical New Englanders food for vital reflection.

A sympathy-compelling tactics which is historic in the labor struggles of Europe was employed in Lawrence shortly after Haywood's coming. Temporary homes were found for the strikers' children and they were sent away from Lawrence. Many of the men were being weakened by the spectacle of their children's hunger. If their little ones could be provided for they would gladly "rough it" themselves. Outside friends of the I. W. W. competed with each other in offering to care for these children. Under the charge of Elizabeth Gurley Flynn and Margaret Sanger, a party of 150 children were taken to New York and distributed to homes. Others were taken to Boston and to Barre, Vt. An interesting feature of the occurrence was presented by the offer of Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont, the multi-millionaire of New York, to care for some children. The class feeling of the committee was emphasized by their refusal of her help. It was to the humble but hospitable homes of Socialists and I. W. Ws. that the children were entrusted. In all, about 400 children were sent away.

In this episode again, the mill owners showed the hand of their brutality. The I. W. W. was capturing too much public sympathy. On February 24 the police assaulted a party of forty children and their escorts and parents who were waiting at the railway depot to depart for Philadelphia. Women and children were clubbed and thrust into patrol wagons. The entire party was arrested.

The brutality and illegality of such a proceeding revolted public sentiment. Even newspapers frankly hostile to the I. W. W., could not condone such an outrage. This incident also drew Senator Poindexter to Lawrence. After making an investigation he issued a statement denouncing the mill owners for their high handed and lawless attitude. Returning to Washington, Poindexter aided Congressman Victor L. Berger in securing the passage of his bill for a Congressional investigation of the Lawrence situation. The Congressional investigation was a master stroke for the strikers. Under the pitiless scrutiny of the investigators all of the sordid story of plunder and poverty was brought to light. The immense profits of the trust—the soul-deadening penury of the workers—their miserable food, their tuberculous tenement house, the nerve-killing speed of the looms—all were revealed and authenticated. Of 119 children of the strikers who were examined every one was found to be suffering from malnutrition in some form or other. Most of the children were not even wearing underclothing. The facts which were exposed were too hideous and loathsome. They jarred unpleasantly upon the peace of mind of the upholders of things-as-they-are. The I. W. W. had put its fingers upon an ulcerous social cancer in Lawrence. A great demand went up, from the ruling class themselves, that the strike be ended and the disease once more concealed.

Several conferences had already been held between the strike sub-committee and the bosses. One had been called at the behest of the governor, but had been fruitless of results. The strikers had originally walked out in order that their wages might not be reduced. Since they had joined the I. W. W. they had decided not to go back until their wages were considerably increased.

There was no hope of trapping the I. W. W. into violence. Since Haywood had come, this possibility had become still more remote. Haywood realized that the strength of the strikers lay in the menace, rather than the use, of force. Even St. John was unheeded when in his impatience at the indignities of the strikers, he wrote from Chicago that the I. W. W. should break into jail and force the state to feed them, rather than maintain a soup kitchen. Passive resistance was the watchword and, as Haywood afterwards dubbed it, "it was a strike of folded arms."

Into this deadlock of solidarity the bosses threw their last card. This was John Golden, the president of the United Textile Workers of the A. F. of L. Heralded by a blast from the bosses, Golden came to Lawrence "to settle the strike." He did settle it for the two or three hundred workers whom the

democracy of the I. W. W. had repelled. With a great eclat they went back to work at the end of the seventh week with a 5 per cent increase. But nobody else went back with them. Vainly did Golden shriek that the strike was over, "called off officially by the A. F. of L." The workers kept right on striking under the I. W. W. as though the A. F. of L. did not exist. In his mortification, Golden volunteered his services as a deputy sheriff to help put down the strike. But it still continued.

At last the bosses were willing to talk terms. A sub-committee of ten were authorized by the Strike Committee to talk to the other side. On March 12 they met in Boston and came to an agreement. Wages should be increased for all, varying from 5 per cent for the skilled men to 25 per cent for the unskilled. Overtime was to be paid as time and a half. The premium system was to be altered and the workers were to return to the mills as a union, without discrimination.

Returning to Lawrence the sub-committee submitted the agreement to the Strike Committee. The

Strike Committee submitted it to the different nationality meetings. Then all the strikers came together in a great mass meeting on the Common to finally vote in a body. It was a dramatic moment in the strike. After nine weeks of heroic endurance here stood the 20,000 strikers, their ranks solid and unbroken. Here was the true political action of the I. W. W., the political action of working class unionism, voting as members of a union rather than as citizens of a state. The great gathering stood breathless as Haywood read the agreement which announced to the workers that they were victorious.

A roll call of the races followed the reading. One by one they accepted the terms amid tumultuous applause. It was a unanimous meeting. The strike was over and the I. W. W. had won. Simultaneously, from all parts of the vast crowd, the workers lifted their voices in the last song of the Lawrence strike:

"Then raise the scarlet standard high.  
Beneath its folds we'll live and die.  
Though cowards flinch and traitors sneer  
We'll keep the red flag flying here."

## Tulsa: A Study in Oil

BY EUGENE LYONS

Another DeQuincey will some day immortalize his name by a scientific exposition of the fine art of frame-up. The field of research is fertile and as yet unexplored. It awaits the hand of a scientific aesthete to probe the art to its dregs, to classify its methods, to interpret its soul. We hold no brief for frame-up as a social weapon. We merely concede the synthesis of vigor and finesse, the harmony of the ingenious and the ingenuous, which so often characterizes the masterpieces. Now take the case of Charles Krieger.

(As the press has already informed us, the jury of Charles Krieger's case was discharged, having hopelessly been hung up after 42 hours discussion, three voting for conviction in the final count. This means a new trial. In the meantime the defendant is admitted to bail in the sum of \$2,500.)

Every work of art depends for its effect not only upon intrinsic value but to a large extent upon a suitable background. There must exist that subtle congruity between subject and setting. And Tulsa the oil capital of the Mid-Continent Belt, is excellently suited for staging a frame-up without peer. The traps and the trappings are available, the audience is appreciative, the actors are skilled, the victims are patient and long-suffering. All the ingredients of a drama - intrigue, plot and counter - are at hand and he who dares may concoct a story. Poverty stricken artists are not handicapped by their impecunious state. On the contrary, they need but demonstrate some knack for framing and patrons aplenty - oil magnates, bankers, public officials - will flock to finance their endeavors.

Tulsa fairly bristles with those contrasts and paradoxes which are conducive to *jobbing*. A bogus crime fastened upon a real man would be outrageous in an

ultra-modern community, where law has been riveted by the centuries; it would be unnecessary in a primitive community, where men kill men without the ridiculous formality of a legal sanction. But in places like Tulsa, where civilization and the pioneer go hob-nobbing in automobiles and ox-carts, frame-up is normal and chimes with the wanted scheme of things.

The city, indeed, flaunts an exterior as up-to-date as any. The broad avenues are crowded with "latest makes," and lined with opulent shops. Magnificent private and public edifices, well-dressed men and women, polite recreations — these contribute to the veneer of multi-colored modernity. The window displays are marvels for richness and piquant ostentation. The residential section is replete with charm and comfort. Every day the walls of the city are being forced outward by the phenomenal growth. From the insignificant Indian village of Tulsey to the financial center Tulsa in the short span of fifteen years'. The municipal car lines cannot keep up with the expansion of the city; so that a network of jitney buses must supplement the service. Truly a bustling industrial focus.

The reverse of the picture is no less real. Beneath the surface is a seething world that is essentially untamed pioneer, adventurous. An unscrupulous, daring underworld functions undisturbed, and pays in homage and service for the protection tendered by the overlords. Out of the busy human mass a face suddenly stands out in bold relief — a face that is all beast, hard, cruel, unrelieved by any trace of human sympathy. You listen a moment to distinguish a connected sentence: it is about oil, everlastingly oil, couched in a greasy vernacular with the profane predominating. The intellectual development is — well,

isn't. The news of the day is monotonously murderous; mere bank robberies are plebeian items jostled into some corner of the paper. "At the time we go to press only two murders have been reported," as if apropos the baseball score. The hotels are notorious resorts for gamblers and prostitutes.

Officialdom is unblushingly corrupt, and its business is conducted on what I venture to call a multiple check system: Everybody has the "goods" on somebody else in a convoluted system of intrigue rivaling the court of Louis XIV. You can buy everything — from a juror to a life. Witnesses are made to order; provided, of course, that you can pay for them. A criminal with a long, proud record, one who has served for a few of his offenses but never will serve for all of them because life is too short, can be secured to testify to a confession of guilt by a prisoner. Another can be bridled to shoulder responsibility for one crime he did not commit in order to escape punishment for all crimes he did commit. Perjury is a profession. And all this is the norm, while life flows on unperturbed. Breakfast is spiced with the morning's quota of crime stories and bribe exposes. The business man is busy pumping his oil, and leaves politics to the politicians who are dependable. Only about 7,000 bothered to vote in Tulsa County, boasting a population of approximately 130,000.

I am conscious as I write that these generalizations ring wild. No one was less ready to give them credence than I. Having come directly from New York (with all its immensity a well-behaved community, even its excesses sandpapered) the raw reality of a boom town was incredible. An old resident narrated the story of an individual known as the "man-killer," believed to be employed by the banking interests, and boasting 22 murders. I laughed tolerantly; but later was treated to corroborating anecdotes from other sources. There are those in Tulsa who will contract to "remove" any man or woman for a consideration from one hundred dollars up. One of the prominent men in the scurrilous campaign against unions and strikes is generally known to have committed murder in cold blood. To the initiated gambling and drinking is forbidden by no law.

Such is the city where Charles Krieger was tried. It took five weeks of litigation, with their panorama of blackguardism, to convince me. Tulsa's rich exterior and its corrupt, roughneck essence are both the handiwork of the same group, the oil magnates. Directly or indirectly, the overwhelming majority of people in the city and its environs depend upon the oil business for their bread and butter. The small men live by the magnanimous grace of the big men.

Government is little more than a blind for the machinations of big business. The domination is complete and well barricaded. With crookedness subsidized by wealth, every oil baron depending on the loyalty of criminal retainers, Tulsa claims distinction as the most open town in America.

The scramble for land is still in progress although the Standard Oil is rapidly concentrating control. There are Indians and poor farmers and the U. S. government to be swindled. For the enriching of a handful, thousands toil unremittingly, with never a thought of anything but the welfare of the drone. Personally I have more respect for the audacious exploiter than the meek, brow-beaten slave. All the activity in the whole section is directed from Tulsa.

Now to return to the frame-up, as exemplary of the heights to which the art, under such propitious circumstances, can be carried. It took patience as well as skill to construct the frame. Twenty-two months were consumed in the preparations, while the protagonist, Charles Krieger, waited first in the Federal Jail at Muskogee, then at the County Jail in Tulsa. Many workmen carried out the instructions of the directing genius — detectives, snitches, crooks galore. In the Muskogee Jail Charlie was not alone — with him were other members of the Industrial Workers of the World, among them Wencil Francik and J. E. Wiggins.

The very choice of Krieger as the victim attests both painstaking investigation and consummate ability on the part of the frame-wrights. The problem was to fasten responsibility for an explosion which bit a chunk off the residence of J. Edgar Pew, at Tulsa, on October 29, 1917, on an I. W. W., and to fasten it securely. Mr. Pew was at the time the executive head of the Carter Oil Company, "the pirate end of the Standard Oil," as a local lawyer characterized it. At present Carter Oil, being a bona fide Standard subsidiary, has acquired a dignified standing. At the beginning of its career, I am told by the same lawyer, it specialized on gobbling up snaps — like a vulture it descended upon those who were in a financial hole and took their property for a trifle. The choice of an I.W.W. soon narrowed down to Francik and Krieger: both of them had been in Tulsa at different periods. The final decision was probably difficult. Neither of the boys had been in town on the 29th. Neither of them had a "past." Neither of them knew or cared about Pew. It was discovered, however, that Krieger had passed through Tulsa while en route to Perry on the 25th. Besides, he had a fine personality, was talkative, and could be paraded as the brains of a plot. At any rate, he was picked by the deputies of the Standard Oil as the example.

I say "example" deliberately. Something had to be done then to stop the organization of the oil workers. From the Tulsa and Drumright headquarters the I. W. W. had been distributing thousands of pieces of literature among the workers in the petroleum fields. Whatever the effect upon the workers may have been, the effect upon the employers was immediate and manifested itself in a series of atrocities. A provident war offered the sanctimonious cloak of patriotism to the persecution visited upon thinking workers. The halls in both cities were raided and sealed without warrant. Dozens of members were apprehended without excuse. Then came

the unspeakable abomination, the tar and feather party, when 16 I. W. W.'s were kidnapped, robbed, beaten, tarred, feathered, and driven into the woods naked. Their clothes were saturated in Standard Oil and set afire. (Incidentally, the man who flogged the victims led the Tulsa delegation of National Guards to the scene of action when the miners struck on November 1.) It was therefore desirable to make an example of some agitator to complete the work.

I can hear the query: How could Krieger have committed a crime 4 days before it was committed? A problem to the neophyte, but easy to the dauntless adepts. They have recourse to vicarious guilt. Krieger must have mingled with yeggmen; he must have been sent from Arizona to explode Mr. Pew; he must have hired a couple of pals to do the job. For their assistance they must have been promised a staggering sum to be paid by the I. W. W. from a special fund created to finance dynamiting and known as the General Defense Fund.

Nothing easier: The frame-up proceeds to find conspirators for Charlie. It happens that on Nov., 4th, precisely a week after the Pew explosion, three men were having a gay time shooting the lights off the posts along the streets of Tulsa — an injudicious procedure to say the least. But they were hopelessly drunk and made a really amusing spectacle, so drunk in fact, that one of them threw a phial of nitro-glycerine at the officers who arrested them, thus endangering his own life as well as the coppers. Unfortunately, the nitro did not explode. Next morning the story was spread over the newspapers and set our artists athinking. The three men, upon sobering, gave their names as Hubert Vowels, John Hall, and J. Foster. All of them were men with a "record".

The nitro led to an investigation which in turn led to a probable discovery that these men were responsible for blowing the safe at Midland Valley station two days before their arrest: a felony punishable under the Oklahoma law with fifty years' imprisonment. It also laid them under suspicion for the Pew blow-up a felony punishable with ten year' imprisonment. However, they were let off with several day's imprisonment while the detective kept an eye on them.

Meanwhile Krieger reposed easily at Muskogee jail. He had met Vowels once, casually, at the jail. He had never met Foster. In June, 1918, a Federal indictment was returned against these two and Krieger, charging them with conspiracy to obstruct recruiting, the specific overt act being the dynamiting of the oil man's residence. In other words, our artists had found conspirators for Charlie. John Hall was at this time in Leavenworth for robbing a post office. Vowels writing confidentially to Hall complains that he doesn't even know this fellow Krieger that they're hooking him up with. "The Pew outfit is jobbing me," he weeps. "Me interfering with recruiting when I want so much to go into the army." But it is a fact, he is linked with an I. W. W. in a plot to aid Germany by killing one of the nation's props, to wit, Mr. Pew.

The indictment was soon dropped. Instead a criminal charge was lodged against Krieger only, the "Information" mentioning the same Vowels, Hall and a third, Walter Benson, as the men hired by Charlie to do the job. And Vowels himself testified to the effect that he knew Krieger had hired Hall, who in turn hired him. What happened to make Vowels talk? At the trial he admitted that he was testifying on the understanding that Pew would keep him out of jail. From the testimony of John Hall, brought from Leavenworth, it may be surmised that Pew made a similiar offer to him which he was strong enough to resist "It's against my principles to frame the kid," he said to Pew when the latter made his offers. Both Hall and Benson testify that they had never seen or heard of Krieger before they met him in the Federal jail.

It is obvious from the revelations made in court that the three supposed hirelings of the I. W. W. had a hand in the Midland Valley safe affair. And that the Pew gang has the goods on them in this matter. It was probably this that provided the "weight" needed to make Vowels swear to a far-fetched story. It was probably this, furthermore, that constituted the threat held over the heads of Hall and Benson. There is nothing the least bit strange about the fact that a criminal assumes responsibility for a small crime (with a promise of immunity) to escape prosecution for a big crime.

Our frame-up experts are doing very well. Vowels alone, however, is kind of weak-kneed. He must get a prop. George Harper is sought out. He is in every respect a remarkable subdivision of the human species: a criminal from his boyhood days, he served several long terms in different jails. In an attempt to escape from the scene of a bank robbery he was shot and one leg had to be amputated. Rendered dependent by this accident, he turned snitch, was for some time a Pinkerton detective, strike-breaker, etc. — With such a record he was welcomed by the Standard Oil. He was placed in Krieger's cell for appearances' sake, and returned with a "confession," thus supporting the testimony of Vowels. Why even a guilty man should "insist on telling his troubles," (as Harper testifies) to the one-legged, repulsive creature is inexplicable.

This was the evidence, on which the great state of Oklahoma, represented by the Carter Oil Company, asked the imprisonment of the I. W. W. member. In addition there was a white-slaver, a boot-legger, etc., who testified against Krieger, but they were incidental, thrown in for dignity. With Harper as a prominent figure they needed a few respectables to balance the case: In summing up for the state, Flint Moss grew eloquent in praise of the snitch. He declared himself ready at any time to "lockstep with old peg-leg," but God save him from the I. W. W.'s. The evidence in the case was barely noticed, but the jury was treated to a Decoration Day speech instead.

But oil is still king in Tulsa.....

## Isolation at Leavenworth

BY CHARLES PLAHN

Much has been said about the treatment of the I. W. W. prisoners at Leavenworth. As I was one of the bunch that was thrown into the black hole on April 14th, 1919, and later placed in permanent "Isolation," with six others, I will try to explain just what "Isolation" is.

Isolation was established a few years ago in the Federal Prison, according to the old timers, for the purpose of segregating the degenerates from the other inmates, but now it is being used for a punishment place.

The building in which the isolation prisoners are kept is about 60x100 feet, the front being the office of the Deputy Warden, and the package room, where all packages are searched, before distribution among the prisoners. The rear of this building downstairs is the hole into which men are thrown for violating rules. There are 14 cells for this purpose, seven on each side of an eight-foot hallway. At the time of writing this article, six of these cells are occupied by men permanently isolated. The rest are commonly known to the inmates as "dry cells," or the hole.

In this hole men are kept from three days up to ten or twelve days on bread and water. In each cell there is a very small window thru which the fresh air enters. This window is covered with a very heavy screen to prevent anyone on the outside from passing anything in to the prisoners. These cells are 8x22 and about 12 feet high. The bars of the door of the cells are also covered with heavy screens except on three of these cells. These three cells are used when men are "strung up", as we call it, that is, chained to the bars during working hours and in some cases longer.

According to some of the old timers, men have been chained to the bars for days, being let down just long enough to answer nature's calls. When a prisoner is "put on dry", it means that his diet will consist of bread and water, about eight ounces of bread every twenty-four hours. There is no bed in these cells. There is nothing in the cell but a toilet and a wash bowl, a cup and a towel. In the evening there is a board, 3x6 ft. handed in with two thin blankets. This is the bed while "on dry."

When a prisoner is reported by a guard, or a stool pigeon, the deputy sends what is known as a "court call." This court is held every morning at 8:30, regularly and also during the day when guards take a prisoner from his work direct to the deputy.

The deputy reads the charge, whatever it may be, and then usually says, "Well, what have you to say?" and if one is innocent, he usually denies the charge. In my experience with "courts calls," the deputy always expressed himself in this manner.

"Well, I don't want to do you any injustice. I will investigate this case. Put him in isolation," meaning "on dry" from five to eight days. Before going on dry the guard in charge and his slugger, McNeal,

make the prisoner take off all his clothes. The clothes are then carefully searched for tobacco, as no tobacco is permitted while "on dry." Then the prisoner is given a pair of overalls and jumper with the buttons cut off, so that when there are two or more men in one cell, they cannot cut off the buttons and use them to play checkers.

One is never told upon entering these dry cells how long he will be kept there, but the deputy comes around almost every day and looks in and asks, "Well, are you ready to do the right thing?" This meaning to become a stool or a snitch, for him. This is one way the deputy has of "getting" the men on dry; for if one refuses to do the "right thing," as he calls it, he usually gets from five to eight days for minor offences.

In the spring of 1919 the food became so bad that there was a strong resentment shown by all inmates. The food was so bad and there was so little of it that many nights after a hard day's work, one could not sleep for hunger. So, early in April there were two food riots. The last one, on Sunday April 13th, at supper time. That night all there was to eat was sandy raisins and two slices of dry bread.

The mess hall seats about 1200 men and they all started shouting, "I'm hungry," or "Give us something to eat," to which there was no response. Plates were then thrown on the floor and a general rough house prevailed for at least 15 or 20 minutes when finally we were marched to our cells, without anything to eat.

The next morning the deputy sent his runner for Jack Walsh, Bert Lorton, Edward Hamilton, Jack Jarvis, George Yager, Carl Ahlteen, William Weyh and myself, all members of the I. W. W. and one soldier, Robert McCurry, who by the way was an I.W.W. at heart and a mighty fine fellow. We were all charged by the deputy with inciting to riot in the mess hall the previous evening. I was also charged with throwing cups at the deputy for which he took one hundred days of my good time. We also were reduced to third grade, which takes away all privileges, such as writing, with the exception of one letter a month, library privileges, in fact all the minor comforts that first grade men have. We were all thrown in the "hole" as previously described, and were held for six days on bread and water.

Ahlteen and Weyh were released at this time, simply because there was not room for them in isolation and were permitted to go back to the big yard, but the rest of us were taken upstairs to permanent isolation, where we were given regular diet again and put to work, breaking rock about three hours per day.

There were about 12 other prisoners up-stairs who had been segregated as degenerates or for refusing to work. Among these were two white slavers who

were the principal witnesses against Pete Pieri who was recently convicted on the frame-up charge by these two, in order that they might get a parole on the strength of their testimony.

Now we were kept here away from all the rest of the boys and all obstacles possible were placed in our way so as to keep us continually "in bad" to justify the action of the deputy. McNeal, the chief stool and slugger kept very busy, and many times we were forced into the hole for practically nothing. The guard in charge in the daytime is about eighty years old and has followed this work, according to his own statement, for twenty-five years and he seemed to delight in riding the wobbles whether on orders or otherwise, but he managed to keep some of us "on dry" all the time. Hamilton, being sickly, was thrown into the hole on several occasions for trying to get medical attention, the guard refusing to call up the hospital, thus forcing Hamilton to use the only means available, namely starting a "battleship," or making noise enough to draw the attention of the captain or someone else outside.

Now I could go on and write about the various

cases indefinitely, but I think this much will give the reader some idea of just what it means to be "isolated." There are many isolated prisoners who go insane and are removed to Washington, D. C. to a government sanitarium.

Now I wish to call the readers attention to the fact that Bert Lorton, Jack Walsh, Edward Hamilton, of the Chicago case, and Caesar Tabif and Pete De Bernardi of the Sacramento case, and George Yager, a conscientious objector, are all still in permanent isolation. The first three mentioned are all serving ten years each and were sentenced to isolation by the Deputy Warden, L. J. Fletcher, for the rest of their time. All of these boys can receive letters, books, fruits, etc., but their writing privileges are limited.

Write these boys and tell your friends what they are going through. Try to raise bonds for them as well as for the rest of the boys. Imagine yourself in their places. They fought for you. Will you do the same for them? On with the drive for the release of all Class War Prisoners.

## The I. W. W. in the Prison Camps

BY ONE OF THEM

Fort Douglas, Utah, September 16, 1919.  
Mr. Wm. D. Haywood,  
Secretary, General Defense Committee,  
Chicago, Ill.

Fellow Worker:—

Will take up the interned portion of camp first. These fellow workers were interned as enemy aliens. No charges of law violations were necessary. Some have been here for over two years. They are limited to two letters and four postal cards per month. They cannot receive money or packages without special permission of War Department. Discipline has been very strict. They were put on bread and water for long periods of time for singing or complaining of conditions and abuses. The sentry walking post shot several (crippled two for life) for singing wobbly songs. The authorities here justified the shooting by saying the prisoners were rushing the fence. This is an absolute falsehood. The prisoners who were shot were occupying the barracks now occupied by us — the military prisoners — and were shot while standing on that side of the barracks opposite to the outside of the compound. Also, favoritism has been shown by the authorities, the aristocratic internes getting decidedly the best of the deal. In at least three instances, the working-class element has been placed on bread and water for refusing to feed and to do the work incidental to cleaning barracks, etc., for the aristocracy.

The interned aliens, like us, are allowed ration money, it varies every month, amounting to from forty-five to fifty-five cents per day, per man. Seventy five per cent of this ration is drawn from the Prison Commissary, twenty-five per cent is spent in Salt

Lake stores for fruit, green vegetables, etc.,. The prison commissary handles only staples, such as sugar, canned-goods, rice, coffee, beans, beef, etc. We receive only one forced ration: corned beef; all other food is ordered in any quantity desired, within the ration allowance.

They are allowed a certain issue of clothes:— 2 pairs of shoes per year, 6 suits of overalls, 3 pairs corduroy pants, besides underwear and socks. Clothes are issued fairly regularly.

A small barracks is set aside for a hospital. A medical officer visits one every day. Serious cases are moved to the main hospital of the post. Numerous deaths have occurred, principally from tuberculosis and influenza. Quite a few of the tuberculosis cases were inmates of sanitariums at the time of their arrest. At present there are three in the main hospital: one tuberculosis case, one kidney disease, and one afflicted by some disease the name of which, apparently a secret, I have been unable to ascertain. A dozen or more have been removed to insane asylums, could not withstand the strain during the war, as irresponsible guards were apt to let the idea of shooting an enemy become an actuality. On the whole, medical attention was appallingly inadequate.

The main body of the internes is made up of migratory workers. Construction workers and loggers being in the majority. I think it is safe to say 90 percent were wage-earners. Of this 90 percent, a large number are union men, I. W. W.s, A. F. of L., and a few from the Independent Miner's Union from Alaska. It is extremely doubtful if there is a German agent in the bunch. I think all fellow workers

among the internes are entitled to all possible help. They were interned not because they were enemy aliens but because they were I. W. W.s. At present their treatment is not so vicious, but their long confinement is ruining their health.

Our treatment here is about the same, except that we are military prisoners. We are allowed to write six letters per month. Up to two weeks ago, no radical papers were allowed in the compound. Now we are supposed to receive any papers permitted to be mailed. Several radical papers have come thru, but no wobbly papers.

We are composed of religious and political objectors to war. Convicted by court-martial for refusing to become soldiers. Refused to work at the Fort Leavenworth Disciplinary Barracks, put in solitary and isolation for periods ranging from two to six months. We were moved here June 20th, to be isolated from other military prisoners as the War Department didn't want our ideas and example to spread to the rest of the army. We got along fine here for over two months. Then the Commandant, because we refused to work, put us on bread and water for fourteen days besides confiscating \$102.00 of our mess money. Two days previously, one of our men, for wanting shoes, was put in the guard house, a vile place without sanitation or ventilation. They wanted us to help discipline him by feeding him bread and water. We refused to do this and our Steward was placed in the guard house also. After being confined, he was brutally beaten by Sergeant Brundt who hit him so hard that he broke his hand on the steward's head. The next day we were all put on bread and water and the two men in the guard house were put back with us.

The bread issued us was noxious. At least 40 percent of it was unfit for consumption. It was pink and green with mold. The medical officers took as high as half of it out, but it was not replaced, so we did not get what the regulations call for: 18 oz., per day.

Several men's time has expired since Sept. 18th., they are still here. The Commandant cancelled all their good time for refusing to work. It now appears that the War Department sent us here with the intention of exempting us from work, except that we take care of our quarters, cook our own food, etc., which we have done since our arrival. So, the Commandant quite recently changed his reason for cancelling the good time: He says now, "it was for conspiracy", but what kind of a "conspiracy" he will not divulge.

Below is a list of fellow members in the military part of the compound. All card numbers are not available.

Sander Maki, member of I. U. No. 800, Crosby Minn. Arrested at Crosby, June 7, 1917, for failure to register. Sentenced August 1, 1917 to eight months Mankato County Jail. After expiration of sentence, re-arrested and sent to Camp Dodge, Iowa. Court-

martialled and sentenced to be shot. Sentence commuted by War Department to twenty years imprisonment. Further reduced in March, 1919, to three years. Not a Citizen of the United States. A Finlander.

W. Sandberg, member of I. U. No. 300. Address: 3027 Sheridan Ave., N. Minneapolis, Minn. Arrested July 20th, 1917, Minneapolis, Minn., for failure to register. Sentenced October 10, 1917 to eleven months Crow Wing County Jail. Released on bail pending appeal, October 20, 1917. Re-arrested April 4, 1918, charged with failure to return questionnaire, bound over to October term of court. Released on bail April 24th, 1918. Re-arrested May 20, 1918 and turned over to military authorities on a so-called indictment dated April 29, 1918. Tried by courts-martial for technical desertion — 58th article of War. Sentence of twenty years approved July 15, 1918. Sentence reduced to three years April 1919.

Albert Stangeland, member I. U. No. 400, card No. 198167. Address: 1931 N. Hancock Street, Chicago, Ill. Drafted. Placed in confinement at Camp Jackson, S. C., Aug., 9, 1918. Court-martial sentence of fifty years approved September 17, 1918. Charge: disobedience of orders — 64th article of War. Sentence reduced to five years on April 1919.

Louis J. Gergots, member I. U. No. 1000. Address: 645 Alter Street, Hazelton, Pa. Drafted by Local Board No. 31, Philadelphia, Pa., August 24th, 1918. Sent to Camp Lee, Va. Placed in confinement Aug., 31, 1918, for disobedience of orders — 64th article of War. Court-martialled October 14th, 1918. Sentence of twenty-five years approved. Sentence reduced to three years, April 1919. Only support of widowed mother.

Allen (Clyde) Wilson, member of I. U. No. 573. Card No. 244703. Arrested June 6, 1917 at Rockford Ill. for failure to register. Sentenced July 5, 1917 to one year, "Chicago House of Correction." Time expired May 6, 1918. Held by Department of Justice until May 11, 1918. Turned over to military authorities and placed in the guard-house, Fort Sheridan, Ill. Transferred to guard house at Camp Grant, Ill., May 27, 1918. Court-martialled July 1, 1918, for disobedience of orders — 64th article of War. Sentence of twenty-five years approved. Sentence reduced May, 1919, to five years. Illegal induction.

Roy Dempsey, member of I. U. No. 573. Card No. 206940. Same case as Allen Wilson's in all details, except that, sentence was reduced March, 1919, to four years.

Robert S. Cage, members I. U. No. 573. Arrested June 2, 1918, Milwaukee, Wis. Turned over to military authorities, June 9, 1918. Placed in guard house Fort Sheridan, Ill. Transferred to guard house at Camp Grant, Ill., about July 1, 1918. Court-martialled October 8, 1918, for disobedience of orders and desertion — 64 article and 58th articles of War. Sentence of twenty-five years approved. Sentence reduced to three years June 1919. Had registered and filled out questionnaire, desertion charge is only technicality.



Nickola La Casale, Hungarian Mixed Local No. 53, Philadelphia, Pa. Court-martialed October 18, 1918. Fort Oglethorpe, Ga., for disobedience of orders. Sentenced to be shot. Sentence disapproved January 7, 1919, and changed to twenty years imprisonment. Sentence reduced to three years some time this summer.

Alfred Burmeister, G. R. U. Drafted June 27th, 1918. Arrived in Camp June 30th., placed in the guard house July 1st for disobedience of orders. Court-martialed August 22nd, 1918, sentenced to fifty years, approved, Reduced to five years about March or April 1919.

Regarding treatment while at Camp and Fort Leavenworth, would advise you to get in touch with Theo. Lunde, President of the American Industrial Company, Chicago, Ill. His son is here, an objector, and his father, Theo. Lunde, more than any other individual has continuously fought to better conditions and secure our release. He has and will be glad to furnish you all details regarding "C. O's" as we are called. I know it is unusual to expect help from such quarters, but I think Lunde is similar to Bross Lloyd.

There are also some fellow members in the military prison on Alcatraz Island, San Francisco. Two that I know of were transferred there shortly after we were transferred here. One of them, Eric Ostrum would be glad to furnish complete details. Walter Hirshberg of Pittsburg, Pa., is a fellow worker sentenced by court-martial to the Federal Penitentiary at Atlanta, Ga.

We are allowed to receive packages here, although our visiting privilege has been taken from us. One fellow prisoner has a brother in Salt Lake who is not allowed to see him.

Would like some of our papers as it has been over two years since we have seen any.

Below is a list of interned fellow workers with available card numbers, also notes as to whether they are to be deported, repatriated, or neither:

M. A. Thompson, 246199, I. U. No. 500.  
 F. Herman, I. U. No. 500.  
 F. Helt, 145675, G. R. U.  
 — Kaesemeyer, G. R. U.  
 — Bickert, 327905, No. 400.  
 J. Bauer, 201764, No. 400.  
 J. Hoffman, I. U. No. 700.  
 C. Woyland, 53100, I. U. No. 500.  
 F. Zupan I. U. No. 500.  
 J. Carr, 293053, I. U. No. 500.  
 — Pierog, 53916, No. 500.  
 — Hetzel, G. R. U.  
 G. Miller, I. U. No. 500.  
 — Fisher, I. U. No. 800, (repatriated).  
 P. Seidler, I. U. No. 573.  
 R. Smith, Alaska Member.  
 F. Jacobs, 327811, I. U. No. 400.  
 — Struber, 394985, I. U. No. 400.  
 R. Kerner, 295673, I. U. No. 500.

A. Eder, I. U. No. 573.  
 P. Bussert, 230104, G. R. U. (Repatriated).  
 P. Monday, 200733, G. R. U.  
 W. Kircher, I. U. No. 500, (Repatriated).  
 F. Scheneider, 249222, I. U. No. 400.  
 — Kadjin, I. U. No. 500.  
 H. Gehrig, I. U. No. 700.  
 — Wageman, I. U. No. 500. (Repatriation).  
 — Kosa, G. R. U.  
 H. Miller, Alaska member.  
 — Koloch, 252942, I. U. No. 500.  
 — Kohler, G. R. U.  
 R. Kiefer, I. U. No. 400.

The last four above named, received deportation warrants. Two of them signed for repatriation, the other two object to deportation. Attorney Christensen of Salt Lake is supposed to handle the cases. Do not know what has been done.

Remainder of the foregoing list are:

— Allman, I. U. No. 573, (Repatriated).  
 C. Schoenberger, 347331, I. U. No. 500.  
 T. Stolke, G. R. U. (Repatriated).  
 — Rushman, 311745, I. U. No. 573 (Repat.).  
 — Miller, I. U. No. 400.  
 — Arnold, I. U. No. 500.

Any information I have overlooked or is needed I will be glad to try to furnish.

I had heard that Cully was deported. Received a letter from him while he was being held in Cook County Jail, after he finished his time in the Bridewell. He was a fearless rebel and made himself feared by the exploiters at Rockford. Give Fred Nelson best wishes from Wilson and myself.

We certainly are glad to hear of the favorable condition of the O. B. U., and as our activities are now confined to "well wishing" we wish the organization continued success and a favorable outcome of the trials soon to come up in the courts. Each of the Fellow Workers send their best wishes to all. Will close for this time.

Yours for THE ONE BIG UNION,

ONE OF THEM.

#### RED-HOT PATRIOTISM

The story of how "social climbers," "100 per cent boys" and "society parasites" attached themselves to war charity work and stole or squandered millions of dollars contributed for the benefit of war sufferers, was told by Assistant District Attorney Kilroe, in a report on his investigation of 534 "war charity" organizations.

The investigation, he said, disclosed actual thefts of more than \$3,000,000 in one year and waste of several more millions for "expenses" and resulted in the closing of 384 of the organizations. Of the 150 others investigated all were found by Mr. Kilroe to have "some vicious method of collection, disbursement, accounting and administration."

## The I. W. W. Handbook

The handbook of the I. W. W., written by Justus Ebert, is now finished and in the hands of its printer. It is the most comprehensive book ever issued by the organization. Its six chapters cover more phases of the I. W. W. than any other I. W. W. book ever published. There is no long, tedious exposition, but brief paragraphs, all related and developed together. Many subjects treated can be quoted independently. Each and every chapter can be printed in smaller pamphlet size, if so desired.

The handbook bears the title, "The A. B. C. of the I. W. W. What It Is. What It Has Done. What It Aims To Do." This will indicate the character of the book, which is written not so much for the high brow and the revolutionists, as the average uninformed workingman and student. Do you wish to explain to some workers why the I. W. W. exists? Then get him to read the first chapter entitled, "The Background of the I. W. W." Do you want him to see how the I. W. W. was evolved, not made? Then induce him to read chapter two, entitled "The Forerunners of the I. W. W." And so on. Each and every chapter tells something of the reason for the I. W. W., its predecessors, history, principles and forms of organization, achievements, economic and political ideals, influences, etc., etc.

Figures are tiresome things, when given in big tables. There are statistics in the I. W. W. handbook that are so presented as to do away with the tired feeling that generally accompanies the reading of such matter. Wealth concentration, labor organization, farm ownership, tenancy and labor, trusts, financial control, prices, wages, immigration, malnutrition, physical deterioration, poverty, war—these are a few of the subjects in whose elucidation figures are employed.

Railroad workers, agricultural workers, miners and metal workers, lumber jacks, transport workers, printers, textile workers, will find that the I. W. W. handbook contains matters of special interest to them. Railroad workers will find the Plumb plan paralleled in almost every particular in the Italian railroad workers' plan of 1910. Textile workers will find that the I. W. W. woolen workers are already informing themselves about the technology of the textile industry and preparing to take the latter over. The lumber jacks will learn the extent of capitalist concentration in the ownership of timberlands. The trade unionism of the typographical industry is used as a horrible example of A. F. of L. organization. So is the International Association of Machinists, Longshoremen and others. The "industrial union tendencies" of the A. F. of L. are exposed. In brief, all the workers in the basic and leading industries will find their industries touched upon, or explained in the I. W. W. handbook.

Job delegate systems, shop organization, shop committees, local and industrial branches, district councils, industrial unions, the one big union administration, and the world-wide character of the I. W. W. are not overlooked. Nor is the present number of the industrial unions and the present membership of the I. W. W. These are all brought up to date.

The I. W. W. and the Negro, the I. W. W. and the Brain Worker, the I. W. W. and the League of Nations, the I. W. W. and the Farmer, the I. W. W. and Immigration, the I. W. W. and World-Industry—these are a few of the topics succinctly handled in "The A. B. C. of the I. W. W."

Its a book that you'll want to read and pass on to others to read. Price and date of publication will be announced later.

### WHO CONTROLS THE ARMY?

Before me lies a photo of a regiment of soldiers from Camp Merritt just disembarking from a train on the steamship piers in Hoboken, N. J., for the purpose of acting as strikebreakers.

The striking longshoremen and steamship clerks are asking for a little more pay, shorter hours and better conditions—a little more happiness in thousands of workers' homes. And now the workers who produce all wealth are to be crushed by the military.

The owners of the trusts who neither toil nor spin, but only exploit the workers, they also control the military. Slaves in army and navy, don't you notice this? Slaves in industry, don't you understand this?

Join the army of the Industrial Workers of the World in the struggle for freedom.—John Korpi.

### "EQUALITY BEFORE THE LAW"

Milwaukee, Wis., Oct. 18.—Declaring that a confessed I. W. W. had no standing in the courts of the United States, Civil Judge A. J. Hedging today set aside a verdict which had been rendered by a jury in favor of a member of that organization. The man was J. H. Lane, a Finn, who was awarded \$150 last week by a jury in a suit against Gust Psihogios for assault and battery.

### COMPULSORY LOYALTY

There were more than 370,000 trials by court-martial of American soldiers during the war. Secretary Baker informed the senate in response to a resolution of Senator Borah of Idaho asking for the facts of trials of soldiers. Mr. Baker said that 22,000 cases were heard by general courts-martial and the remainder by special or summary courts.

# I. W. W. in the World of Cartoons



"OUT OF THE WAY! I'M THE LEADER!"  
—New York Tribune.



"LIKE HELL YOU ARE!"  
—New York Tribune.



"THE RED MENACE"  
—J. H. Cassel in New York Tribune.

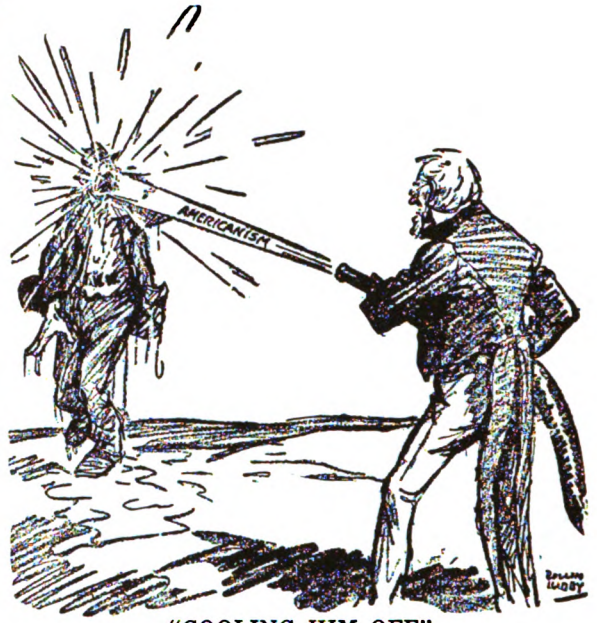
CARRYING HALLOWE'EN STUFF TOO FAR



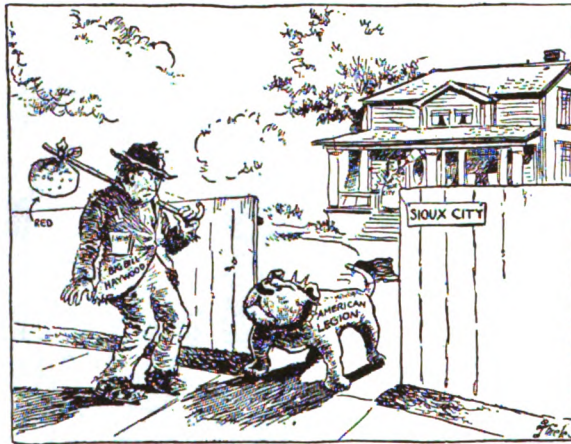
—Cincinnati, Post.



"THE WALK(?) OUT"  
—New York Tribune.



"COOLING HIM OFF"  
—Rollin Kirby in New York World.



"MOVE ON!"  
(As they would have liked to have it)  
—Sioux City Tribune.

**NOT SO BAD**

L. W. I. U. No. 500 initiated 9,700 members during the past eight months, up to September 30th, with the last month far ahead in every way of any previous month. Considering the number of times, and the very thoro going manner in which the organization has been "crushed," this is not a bad record and the most encouraging part of it all is that there is a noticeable upward tendency in the number of initiations and the amount of dues collected.

**LUMBER WORKERS GREET CLASS WAR PRISONERS**

**GREETINGS:**

We, the delegates of the Spokane District Convention of 500, now in session at St. Regis, Montana, send our heartfelt greetings to all Class War Prisoners of the World.

We have successfully held an I. W. W. convention in spite of the masters' hostilities and opened an I. W. W. hall through our powerful organization, and soon we hope to swing the masters' bastiles open and let our Champions of Freedom out to breathe the air of a new dawn.

# From Primitive Man to Agriculture

By ABNER E. WOODRUFF

(The following is chapter I. of a book just issued by Agricultural Workers Industrial Union No. 400 entitled "The Evolution of American Agriculture" by Abner E. Woodruff.)

"And the day came when the 'ancestor' of man swung himself down from the branches of the trees, where he had previously dwelt, and walked upright on the earth."

We may never know just when that wonderful event occurred. Time and many earthly changes have so obscured and buried the evidence that, tho our scientists delve and dig with ceaseless energy and painstaking care, they must yet resort to physical analogies for proof of the contention that we are an evolution out of another and primitive species. The "link" to complete the chain may be missing — the absolute connection of the human race with the "tree dwellers" may never be established — but, among the educated and enlightened, it will never be doubted in the least.

In the realm of Biology, the validity of the Law of Evolution cannot well be questioned, and we are quite justified in any attempt we may make to reconstruct that romantic period when the hairy denizens of the tree tops went thru those changes that finally developed a creature, bold enough to descend upon the ground and, club in hand, battle with the carnivorous beasts for the coveted right to live. We may well picture the first tree dweller that developed the human thumb — the thumb set so far forward on the hand and of such a length that it could be opposed to the other fingers — and imagine the advantages he possessed over his fellows amid the leafy canopies. We may see him plucking the fruits and nuts with greater dexterity; swinging from limb to limb with greater certainty of grasp; clutching at the throat of his adversary with a deadlier grip; striking with a fist instead of slapping with an open paw; and, for the first time wielding a club in the enforcement of his developing will. How formidable this human handed tree dweller must have been to the other inhabitants of the forest! Ah, how wonderful that provision of nature which transmitted the thumb on down the line of his descendants!

The law of claw and fang decided disputes among the tree dwellers and, most of all, it decided the question of mating. The human handed one, by reason of his greater ability to fight — through a better courage, generated by a consciousness of physical superiority — compelled the reproduction of his type thru the more perfect females of his kind.

Some have said that hunger first drove the developing "man" to forsake the trees and seek his food upon the ground, but I incline to the belief that the greater range of experiences possible to the human-handed one so developed his mental faculties, so increased his courage, that his first excursions afield were the

result of experiment, the product of pure daring, and in the nature of adventure. I like to imagine that first foray into the formerly forbidden realm — the hesitating progress outward from the shadows, club in hand — the savage dash of the wild dog — the sure swing of the weapon — the crash of wood on flesh — the yelp — the angry snarl — the crash again — blow on blow — the savage shrieks — the howls of pain — the panic stricken flight of the dog — and the new "man," bleeding, bellowing in his fury, brandishing his club, but victorious — master of the scene.

From encounter to encounter, man went; contending for every inch of his progress. Gradually he became more erect upon his hips; his feet and legs changed to conform to his new environment; the set of the head upon the spinal column changed; the brain pan enlarged; the brain developed; the infinity of new experiences produced a higher intelligence and man became truly man. At first he dwelt in caves, from which he drove the wolf and bear. He lived on fruits and nuts and roots and berries; on birds and small wild creatures that he caught with greatest cunning. Then he discovered fire and, presently the art of cookery.

Wonderful! Wonderful, was the discovery of fire! It is the turning point in prehistoric life. It set man completely apart from the balance of animated nature. It divorced him from the beasts and pointed the way to the conquest of the Earth. It extended his hunting grounds to the rivers, lakes and seas, for now, thru cookery, he could safely eat the fish. It broadened his range of travel and robbed the winter of its frigid terrors. No wonder he worshipped the fire! Around it they gathered to prepare their food, to bask in its warmth, to moon and dream of their adventures, to counsel with their fellows, and weave fantastic notions that finally resolved themselves into the rudiments of religion.

How precious was the fire! It must not be lost! At first the aged, the young, the crippled guarded the sacred flames, but later this duty devolved upon the woman. In the last period of her pregnancy and while the child was too young to be carried about, the woman kept the holy vigil. A natural conservator she readily took charge of what was brought to the fire and presently assumed command of those who came to the fire. Woman was master and thru her was born the institution of the family. Thru her also was born herding, for the wounded kid, healed by her hand, became the domesticated goat and fed about the slopes near the cave under her watchful care.

In her hours of leisure she wandered by the brook and gathered the plants that she knew were good to eat. One day she pulled the weeds and grasses from around a plant that she hoped to gather later, when

it should be full grown and edible; by this act Agriculture was born, and for ages following woman was the agriculturist.

So long did woman till the soil with pointed stick and stone hoe and man hurl the spear and draw the bow that a difference in the structure of male and female shoulder blades resulted and today a woman

cannot hurl a stone with any kind of precision. The memory of these ages when woman was the agriculturist comes down to us from barbaric, thru historic times, for all the ancient Gods of agriculture had female names and feminine attributes. All Hail! Agriculture! But better — All Hail! Woman! Woman who has brought us the best that civilization can afford!

## The American Freedom Convention and One Big Union

By AUSTIN H. SIMONY

The revolution within the A. F. of L. goes on. Scarcely any meeting or convention of craft union men may be held these days without the floor becoming the scene of the ever more sharp conflict between conservative craft unionism and revolutionary industrial unionism.

It was so at the American Freedom Convention in Chicago the last few days of September. Called to seek the release of all class-war prisoners and the re-establishment of civil liberty in the United States, the feature of its sessions was a debate on the One Big Union.

The fight broke when "Bob" Buck of Chicago submitted a preliminary report of the committee on resolutions, moving to table, among other proposals, an endorsement of the O. B. U. — O. Schachtman of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, New York, who proposed the resolution, led the fight against laying it aside.

For three hours pyrotechnics of oratory burst over the convention. Some delegates declared that the O. B. U. and its project of a general strike were the only means of effecting the ends for which the meeting was called. Others agreed that industrial action through a single national organization of all industries was the ultimate solvent of these as of other problems; but that a specific endorsement of the O. B. U. would deprive the amnesty movement of the needed support of the conservative unions. An earnest brother from Peoria rose, late in the debate, to plead as follows:

"Brothers, I represent one of these here conservative unions. I had a scrap to get sent down here. I had a scrap to get my union to endorse this here convention. I'll have a harder scrap to get'em to support this freedom movement. I and my brothers won the last scrap. I think we can win the next one. But we can't if you come out and endorse this here O. B. U., they call it. Don't tie our hands so that we can't do anything for our comrades and brothers in jail."

That argument prevailed. Many delegates recognized in it a description of their own position. A large majority voted to return the resolution to the committee for restatement. Forced thus to make some declaration in favor of industrial unionism, and

willing to do so in any way that would not imperil the immediate issues, the committee wrote the following statement into its final report:

"The American Freedom Convention pledges itself to urge in its propaganda the utter futility of merely petitioning Congress or passing resolutions or begging those who should be servants of the people to be loyal to the people, when their bread and butter depends upon their betraying the people in favor of the private owners of industry. We urge in addition that all elements of the population who love freedom proceed with all possible speed to organize in such a way that, if the usurpers of tyrannical power do not heed the will of the people, effective means may be invoked to compel them to do so. In particular we recommend to all delegates who represent labor unions to work for the united action of all labor that the power of solidarity may insure victory in this fight for freedom."

The declaration of principles including that paragraph was passed unanimously. At the conclusion of its reading, it was moved that all delegates sign the document in order that all might share the consequences of possible prosecution by the government.

"It's a second Declaration of American Independence," said Irwin St. John Tucker. "It should be signed and framed in the style of the document of '76."

So India ink and large sheets of Bristol board were procured, and the names of 292 delegates representing 1,500,000 American citizens were written under the statement.

Three elements made up the delegate-body. The majority were radical members of conservative craft unions. There were many Socialists. The minority was composed of professional liberals. These last cut a small figure; they knew it and accepted it with genial grace. They admitted that they alone had been unable to make amnesty a successful, or even a general, issue. They acquiesced in the determination of the labor delegates to take control of the convention and of the subsequent work for release of political and industrial prisoners. So the American Freedom Foundation which now is in process of gestation, the seed of it having been fertilized at the convention, is being built up as primarily

a national federation of labor unions with a special function and aim.

What its methods will be is yet beyond saying. But, by the will of the convention, they will not be merely political. Disillusionment and determination characterized the thought and utterances of members of the convention. The statement of principles opens with this:

"Democracy no longer exists in the United States. One by one the rights of a free people have been stripped from us until our government is a republic in name only."

"It is folly to talk about American civil rights." said Albert De Silver of the National Civil Liberties Bureau, New York. "They don't exist any more. If

we want civil liberty in this country we must remake the government into a real industrial democracy."

Irwin St. John Tucker, whose case comes up before the Supreme Court within a few weeks, said:

"Don't petition to keep me out of prison. If you Socialists don't want us to go to jail, DEMAND that the case against us be dropped and then back up your demand with an organization that will compel compliance."

To effect such an organization the immediate action committee elected by the convention is taking steps to call a conference of all national bodies with aims similar to its own to meet in New York some time in November.

## The Conscience of A Dum-Dum Bullet

By QUASIMODO VON BELVEDERE

Copyrighted 1919 by Vincenc Noga

### CHAPTER I.

*In Which the Author Resolves to Discontinue all Tonsorial Culture of His face; and his Forecast of the Reactionary Influence which the Unhindered growth of Vegetation upon his Chin shall Exercise Over the Coming Proletarian Civilization.*

One murky evening when Matys, (who is not only my most faithful servant, but also the most resourceful literary adviser) came to take off my boots he made a remark that startled me: "Have you ever witnessed the dying of a man? — or an animal — An impressive spectacle," he continued after a pause, accepting my silence as attestation to my interest in the subject. "How infinitely more fascinating it must be to observe the feverish heaving and the spasmodic coughs of the expiring of an entire civilization?— There is a truly Divine spectacle for you, sir!"

The "New Freedom" I was reading dropped from my hands. "Certainly I should like to see it," I cried, although I realized only a fraction of the immense import of his words.

Matys did not appear to hear me; he had my left foot in his lap and was unlacing my boot, but his mien was as grave as that of a surgeon, extirpating an appendix from the abdomen of a king. "The main artery of civilization's body had already been severed; the stench of its putrid blood is penetrating even here to the virgin forest. — The end is near. A person ought to be living in some large city during these epochal developments, where he could see things.— This is no time to be loafing in the woods."

"If it be so ordained that civilization perish," I said somewhat disconcertedly, extending to Matys the other foot for undressing, "by what signs shall be heralded the approaching dooms-day?"

"The signs are glaring at you already from all directions; I need indicate to you only the fundamental one, sir" said Matys, "and this symptom alone will

wake you up to the fact that your civilization is mortally ill."

Your privileged class was inoculating and fostering the opinions of the masses by the means of the school and the press, precisely after the method of your feudalistic predecessors, who held the mind of the peasantry in subjection by the means of the church. When the feudalistic caste became so corrupt, and its church so artificialized as to cease to command the respect of the peasantry, the whole system fell. Now, it is obvious that the masses are becoming a trifle suspicious of your press—. Do you see anything in it?"

I gasped with bewilderment at the acumen of Matys — I surely had seen something in his words. I realized in a flash that the doom to the privileges of my class is impending already. If Matys himself only knew how wise he was he would not remain my servant very long — I never imagined that a meaning of such immense import could be crowded into one sentence. However, after a sober thought much of my fright disappeared. "It seems true enough," said I, "that our press is losing its grip upon the mind of the masses because, during the past three years I have lost seven millions on my investments in the press — and what did I get for the seven millions? The public did the exact opposite to what my publications advocated—when I urged the acceleration of production the workers threw down their tools and went on strike. That looks to me like revolution; but, cannot we captains of industry get behind the radical press and bring the revolutionists back upon the conservative path with the same chances of success as our forefathers contrived to neutralize the economic effect of Christianity by getting control of the churches, and having preached to the Christians doctrines exactly antipodal to those of Christ??? You know that every Pope, as well as every Christian king has been an anti-christ!— Ha, ha, ha," I laughed, "I am a Bushwawiki already; throw all my razors and all my perfumes and cosmetic powders into the ash-can — never shall my whiskers be shaved again!!!"

Matys was very skeptical concerning the possibility of my success; he extemporized to me quite masterly the idea that, like Christianity, Socialism shall remain immune to adulteration for at least one century. This argument however, I do not consider as absolutely conclusive, and it shall not deter me from my resolution — I always had fair luck in gambling. I have well conceived that my new role entailed a temporary renouncement of many of my luxuries, as well as a great deal of comfort — and that it shall yield me the contempt and ridicule of all my short-sighted colleagues — and that includes ninety-nine percent of them; for, capitalists, possessed of my sense, or that of Raymond Robins are not common. All this had considerably saddened my mind. To renounce life-long enjoyed privileges is not a simple matter; only an individual with noble mind and a great will power could give them up without a murmur. "So it's coming to this," I mused, "that our great country, governed by the

people and for the people shall perish from the world."

"There you are mistaken," commented Matys, "this great commonwealth shall continue to be governed by the people and for the people — but, it shall be governed contrary to the advice of your press. The \$7,000,000 deficit in your publishing ventures attests to that tendency — does it not?"

"In about a month," said I, "I shall have a respectable crop of whiskers, so let us prepare to return to Chicago by the first of July, — from there we may be able better to observe the last kicks of the expiring civilization."

(To be continued)

Editors note:— In the next issue of O. B. U. the noble Quasimodo proposes to relate his vicissitudes in Chicago. If the board of directors of his corporation won't have him interned in Kankakee, he may yet be able to tell us some absorbing adventures.

### QUERIES

By Covington Ami

If, as General Disque asserts in "System" for September, "We found a cure for strikes by giving the Workers partial control and management of industry, from which also enormously increased production resulted," upon what facts do he and his kind charge the I. W. W., which holds that once the Workers are in full possession and management of the industries there will not be, not only no strikes, but a production of wealth such as the world never yet has seen, with intending the destruction of society? Are they not being refuted by their own acts and condemned out of their own mouths?

If England, France, Japan and the United States, to say nothing of the empires in embryo, can only be saved by super-production and foreign markets, How long do you think it will be before the world's workers are again called to "Armageddon?"

If one hundred million Russians and eighty million Germans, to say nothing to the Turks, Persians, Indians and Chinese, are to be enslaved in order to pay the war debts, what will be the standard of living of the rest of the World's Workers?

If it was their duty to die and be mutilated in order to restore Alsace-Lorraine to France, how does it come that the French Workers have not received a title deed to a single lump of iron ore in the recaptured provinces? Could you thus make "savages" forego all share of captured wealth?

### AN ALASKA O. B. U.

Private advices from Juneau, Alaska, state that the strike of metal miners there is still on. A good many of the men have left and are working in other camps.

A convention made up of delegates from the various mining sections of Alaska was held in Juneau recently and plans were laid for the organization of a One Big Union for that territory. A preamble very much like that of the I. W. W. and a constitution were adopted subject to acceptance by the rank and file by referendum vote. The name of the new organization is to be The Alaska Industrial Union. One estimate places the number of miners in Alaska at the present time at 6,000.

Solidarity in I. U. No. 800 is shattered. Utah has reared up on her hind legs and is glaring ferociously at Colorado; Minnesota is snarling at Montana and Montana is milling 'round in circles looking for a tail hold; individualism has busted loose and competition is running hog-wild. The ruction started when we began publishing the list of new members by states and provinces taken in from week to week. Looks like we had started something that was going to be hard to stop. At that, the boss is the only one worrying.

(From No. 800's "Official Bulletin.")

President Wilson vetoed prohibition, because the war is over. He also demanded harsh action against the coal miners, because the war is not over. Incidentally it may be remarked that both measures were desired by the capitalists.



# The Worker Before the Big Boss

By John Meadline.

When the long, long day is over  
 And the Big Boss gives me my pay,  
 I hope it won't be hell-fire,  
 As some of the parsons say.  
 And I hope that it won't be heaven,  
 With some of the parsons I've met—  
 All I want is rest and quiet,  
 Just quiet to rest and forget.  
 Look at my face, toil-furrowed,  
 Look at my calloused hands;  
 Master, I've done thy bidding,  
 Wrought in Thy many lands.  
 Wrought for the little Master,  
 Big-bellied they be, and rich;  
 I've done their desire for a daily hire,  
 And I die like a dog in a ditch.  
 I have used the strength Thou hast given,  
 Thou knowest I did not shirk;  
 Three score years of labor,  
 Thine be the long day's work.  
 And now, Big Master, I'm broken,  
 And bent and twisted and scarred;  
 But I've held my job, and Thou knowest,  
 And Thou wilt not judge me hard.  
 Thou knowest my sins are many,  
 And often I've played the fool—  
 Whisky and cards and women,  
 They made me the devil's tool.  
 I was just like a child with money,  
 I flung it away with a curse;  
 Feasting with fawning parasites,  
 Or glutting a harlot's purse.  
 Then back to the woods repentant,  
 Back to the mill or the mine,  
 I who was worker of workers,  
 Everything in my line.  
 Everything hard—but hard work,  
 (I'd no more brains than a kid),  
 A brute with brute strength to labor,  
 Doing as I was bid.  
 Living in camps with men folks,  
 A lonely and loveless life;  
 Never the kiss of a sweetheart,  
 Ne'er the caress of a wife.  
 A brute with brute strength to labor,  
 And they were so far above—  
 Yet I'd gladly have gone to the gallows,  
 For one little look of love.  
 I, with the strength of two men,  
 Savage and shy and wild,  
 Yet how I'd have treasured a woman,  
 And the sweet, warm kiss of a child.  
 Well, 'tis Thy world and Thou knowest,  
 I curse, and my ways may be rude,  
 But I've lived my life as I found it,  
 And I've done my best to be good.  
 I, the primitive toiler,  
 Half naked and grimed to the eyes,  
 Sweating it deep in their ditches,  
 Swining it stark in their styes.

Hurling down forests before me,  
 Spanning tumultuous streams,  
 Down in the ditch building o'er me  
 Palaces fairer than dreams.  
 Boring the rock to the ore-bed,  
 Driving the road through the fen,  
 Resolute, dumb, uncomplaining,  
 A man in a world of men.  
 Master, I've filled my contract,  
 Wrought in Thy many lands;  
 Not by my sins wilt Thou judge me,  
 But by the work of my hands.  
 Master, I've done Thy bidding,  
 And the light is low in the west,  
 And the long, long shift is over—  
 Master, I've earned it—Rest.

---

## WHOEVER IS WHO

By Raymond Corder.

Jon Rocks, he stole a big franchise—  
 They put him in the Senate;  
 The "surging masses" thought him wise,  
 Their ballots helped him win it.  
 John Dub, he stole a loaf of bread—  
 He "surged" you see and hence,  
 At Joliet, so I have read,  
 Is now his residence.

---

## THE DREAMER

By Paul M.

They say that man is subject  
 To his environment,  
 That every thing and object  
 Holds mind and vision bent.  
 It may be true, but I can see,  
 Though living in the slum,  
 Though huts and hovels shelter me,  
 My eyes are 'bove the skum.  
 Though Nature's failures, prostitutes,  
 Surround my daily life,  
 Though soulless men and greedy plutes,  
 My life they make a strife.  
 Though living in the huts and hovels,  
 And toiling in the mill,  
 And sweating deep in Nature's bowels,  
 My vision cannot kill.  
 They may deport me if they will,  
 To some far distant land,  
 But even exile cannot kill,  
 My vision noble, grand.  
 They may in dungeons, bastiles cast,  
 Or hang, or crucify,  
 But to my vision I hang fast,  
 Their "Justice" I defy.  
 Although in gutters dwelling,  
 And hungry, freezing walk,  
 The tongue that I am spelling—  
 Tomorrow's children talk.

# The Difference Between a King and a President

(A CRAB'S-EYE VIEW)  
BY WALTER C. HUNTER

One would think that in this great republic which holds the universal patents and copyrights on democracy there would be a clearer idea of the difference between a monarchy and a democracy than there is. But so bemuddled is the average mind these days we frequently hear people say it would be a good thing were the United States to become a monarchy like Great Britain.

Though utterly unthinkable, it may be well to compare the relative merits of the two institutions: monarchy and republic. A king is an autocrat. He consults only his own whims, caprices, moods, thoughts, desires, his butler and his wife. He is absolutely free to do as he wishes with his people's sovereignty. He can plunge them into war, conscript them, abolish their constitutional liberties, tax them, run them into billions of debt and otherwise squander their wealth and on one can gainsay him. He is all-powerful and a creature of his own sweet will.

On the other hand, a president is completely the servant of the people. He has no rights of his own. His function is limited to carrying out orders. He can't even go out to get a shave or a shine or go to the toilet after taking a dose of castor oil without first consulting the people. Moreover, while a king can live on in utter contempt of his people and refuse them audience unless it suits his whim, a president is free of access at all times to any of the people. He must receive them, listen to them, heed their petitions. Not only can a king refuse to receive delegations from his people but he can have them arrested for lese majesty if they criticize him, fail to pay him the required respect, or interrupt at a public meeting to ask a pertinent question. He can maintain a private war at his people's expense of life and money and refuse to inform them anything about it, impose a censorship on the press and examine private mail. In other words in a monarchy there is no freedom.

But how different in our freedom-loving republic! How different where men dare to stand up and assert their manhood rights! There everything is free, even the air! You can do anything you want to. That's the beauty of a republic. The president freely mingles and talks not only AT but WITH the people at all times. Moreover it's all guaranteed in the constitution, writ down in black and white. Thus are the people's rights protected. So great is the advance of a republic over a monarchy.

The noticeably great difference between a monarchy and a republic is readily evident by a comparison between President Wilson (the devil save 'im!) and King George. Lloyd George can't do a thing on his own hook. He has to be forever consulting the king. He leads a dog's life, King George bosses him so. But look at our Secty. of State Lansing, proud and free, absolutely free to do anything he

pleases. He takes orders from no one; even the president doesn't dare interfere with his work. Parliament, too, is completely subject to the king's orders, while the American Congress is so manfully and subservient to none that president Wilson would not even think of trying to boss or bulldoze it.

Moreover, kings can go gallivanting and junketing round butting into everybody's business but neglecting their own. They don't have to know anything, whereas a president has to know everything (and some of them know even more!). Kings can be silent, whereas the greatest desideratum in a president is that he be a good talker and have a poor memory. Kings are great spendthrifts; presidents natural savers. Once a king squandered as much as 4 millions on a foreign war; but, God be praised! presidents are not like that. They spend millions for schools houses and education, for medical research and for sick benefits, old age pensions and paying people living wages and all sorts of humanitarian common sense, but never waste so much as a thousand on barbarous impoverishing war.

Now that we have made the great advantage of a republic over a monarchy so muddled clear, we think it should put an end to the desire to turn this republic into a monarchy. For, remember! If you say anything a king doesn't like his private detective will grab you and, Bingo! into jail you go.

That settled, let's out and greet the Belgian king.

---

## I. W. W. SONGBOOK IN JEWISH

The songs of the I. W. W. will now also be sung in the language of the patriarchs.

Our Jewish Fellow Workers wish to announce that the first edition of the first I. W. W. songbook in Jewish is now ready for delivery. The price is 10 cents per copy, with no discounts. The proceeds goes one half to the Defense Fund and one half to our Jewish paper "Der Industrialer Arbeiter." The songs are edited by Fellow Worker Philip Kurinsky. Orders and remittances should be sent either to Morris Kurinsky, 396 Bristol st., Brooklyn, N. Y., or to "Der Industrialer Arbeiter," 1001 W. Madison st., Chicago, Ill.

---

The heart of the American and the European capitalists is all set on General Denikin and his murderous hordes. They are supporting him all they can. After Denikin has taken Moscow it will be all off with Bolshevism, they say, and after that they think they will have broken the backbone of the world's labor movement. The Bolsheviks would rather have peace, but being denied it they propose to treat Denekin as they have treated Yudenitch and Kolchak. After that there is apt to be some peace on earth.

# The Ghurkas of Democracy

BY COVINGTON AMI

Under the caption of "How The Money Goes," The Gaelic American of October 4th., editorially charges "That out of the handsome loans our Administration made England, fully \$3,000,000,000 was reloaned to the brutal government of the Czar and its reactionary Kerensky — Milyukoff — Rodzianko successor," while "The Irish World of the same date editorially quotes the Roscommon (Ireland) Herald of September 6th., as follows: "When in America Mr. T. P. O'Connor procured a considerable grant from President Wilson's private fund, which on this side would be known as the 'American Secret Service Fund'. Of this 10,000 pounds (\$50,000) went to the Freeman's Journal to make the staff safe for democracy, the League of Nations and the "14" points."

It seems as if every one in Ireland had been wondering how the Freeman's Journal kept going with all Erin against it until that unlamented journal was forced into bankruptcy. It is all very interesting, especially to us Americans who thought we were being taxed and bullybegged for the wherewithal to obsequatulate the Hun.

Then, a few days ago, I read a dispatch which said some American commission over around Poland had "sold" large quantities of supplies to the "North-western Russian Government," and I thought how nice it was to have an Ally to loan money to, to set up "Governments" with, so "we" could sell the ally's set-up things and thusly get "our" money back. It sure has Mark Twain's famous "cat and rat farm" beat forty miles, all right. Then I pickel up American Industries for October and read a splendid article by their "General Counsel," Mr. James A. Emery against the dangers of democracy, especially of Industrial democracy, of which he says: "We talk about industrial democracy. That is a very dangerous term," which is just what I've been trying my best to drive into the heads of certain persons for, lo, these many days. I commend Fellow worker Emery's entire article to all "Undesirable Citizens" as extremely interesting reading.

Then I happened across a copy of Texas Petroleum News, a capitalist trade journal, and ran across another exceedingly interesting article, this time by another attorney for the Plutocracy, Mr. Geo W. Fisher, "Editor International Oil Worker", published as the official organ of the International Association of Oil Field, Gas Well and Refinery Workers of America, and ran across this wonderfully lucid example of sycophantic bootlicking: "Now a word about our organization. Some folks seem to think that any organization of oil field workers must necessarily be a bunch of dynamiters. This association will not permit the radical or I. W. W. element in its ranks. It is governed by an executive board of sound, conservative trade unionists who use every known means to curb the radical element." Then I knew where some more good American money is going to be used by the Setups to fight Industrial

Democracy. Mr. Fisher further promises the Lords of Oil that if they will ONLY let his crowd bootlick them, "working conditions in the oil fields and refineries will be stable, the relation between the employer and employee will be harmonious" and "a satisfied working force producing the maximum of efficiency", and that with "the I. W. W. and the direct actionist eliminated, conditions in the oil industry would be 10 percent improved". Going some! But why not promise the Bosses a 100 percent improvement instead of only a measly 10 percent? "Some Labor Union." "Some" dynamiter of logic and commonsense is Editor Fisher. Also "some liar" and "some cheap skate". When one knows, as I do that but for the heroic struggle of the I. W. W. lumberjacks in Louisiana and the dauntless spirit of its members in the Oil Fields of Oklahoma, that Fisher and his "Union" would not now be in existence, would not dare to open their mouths in any Southern State, one sure thinks lots more of curdops than he used to and far less of some things that call themselves men.

All of which reminds me somehow or other of the Ghurka regiments sent into Ireland to help make the world safe for democracy — the poor Ghurkas didn't know what they were doing, but these Ghurkas of Gompersism seem to have a pretty clear idea of what their job is, all right: "A satisfied working force PRODUCING" to "the MAXIMUM." "Some Labor Union." Poor Ghurkas!

## INDISCREET CONFESSIONS OF LABOR LEADERS

BY COVINGTON AMI

Mr. Ralph M. Easley of the Civic Federation recently wrote a letter to Mr. William Fellowes Morgan (see The Nation of 9-20-10) of the Episcopalian Church taking that and several other Churches to task for the disloyalty being shown by many of their priests and preachers to Easley's masters. Among other gems he let the following out of his nut: "The trouble with many of these preacher-secretaries of these social service movements is that they do not differentiate between social reform and socialism, while many of them are socialists, pure and simple, and do not wish to differentiate. *The American Federation of Labor and Railway Brotherhoods have all they can do to beat down the forces of disorder in their own fields and, from what I hear, some of them think that the employing and business classes, who largely dominate the boards of trustees of the churches — the Protestant churches at least — should protect them from attack in the rear by church organizations.*"

Mr. Glenn H. Plumb in a recent article (see Reconstruction for October) has this to say: "It has not often been commented upon that the introduction of the Simms Bill went far to allay the unrest and to make the ending of the strikes possible, and that the union leaders in speaking courageously as to

actual dangers, assuaged the fears of the membership that nothing was being done. It is generally true that unrest is not imparted to large masses of men by agitators, but by economic conditions. In this instance it is vividly true (it was!) for depreciated currency was the great agitator, and the plan for nationalization was brought before Congress, not because the strategy concerning Congress dictated the move, but because of the strategy as concerning the men themselves. The leaders ("some" leaders!) had their plans, based upon the plebiscite of last year, but they had to accelerate them to relieve this situation.

(All italics in both quotations are mine. C. A.)

It is said that "An honest confession is good for the soul", but I doubt if the super-safe and super-sane Higher-Ups at the head of the Federation and the Brotherhoods will appreciate these indiscretions of their lieutenants. I know that if I were in their places I would not want any one telling it around, especially among "the men themselves," that the "strategy" I and my friends were carrying on behind the curtains was for the purpose of beating "down

the forces of disorder", especially when said forces were the aforesaid "men themselves" out on strike. But it aint ME talking — it's the Lieutenants of the Leaders THEMSELVES.

If it were not for the tragic days in which we live, one could enjoy a merry ha-ha at the sight of these Lieutenants proving-up on their Leaders all the Industrialists have charged them with, — Manipulating the proletariat for Plutocracy.

As it is, it is enough to make the angels weep and Jesus Christ rise once again from the tomb to hear a hireling like Easley taking the entire Church to task for treason to the Kaisers of Capital! How low they must think the Church has fallen when the Plutocracy dares to delegate to a paranoiac underling the task of lecturing it as regards its social duties!

But this is not the best of it all: if the rank and file of the Unions and the Churches (this on their OWN confessions), and all the Liberal and Radical forces are fast turning against it, I would say — CAPITALISM IS SUICIDING. And, "Praise God from whom all blessings flow!"

## Prominent Politician Foresees Collapse of Capitalism

**James Hamilton Lewis, U. S. Senator from the state of Illinois, recently made a rather remarkable speech before the Chicago Association of Commerce.**

He made the prediction that President Wilson soon would declare himself in favor of "socialization" of all resources of the United States including railroads, coal and oil.

The senator declared himself also in favor of rather far-reaching changes in the same direction.

"We are now on the brink where we must make the choice", he said. "Your after days will either be in times of anarchy and chaos or in a period of peace and prosperity according to your decision."

"The test is whether you will have the impending changes affected by a revolution or by a slow and sane method. The changes can be brought about gradually if we follow a policy of educating the public."

"You have a duty in teaching the leader who advises violence and lawlessness that he is inviting his own following to sure death. Let us summon the labor representatives, the clerks, the men of affairs into a counter-organization, based on the government of law and order, to oppose the others who counsel violence."

Senator Lewis is just like the other intentional or unintentional prevaricators.

The fact is that the most radical elements of the country are unanimous in advising and propagating industrial unionism, by means of which the workers shall be able to take over and continue production when capitalism collapses. We the elements described as "lawless and violent," are thus the only elements that make for a peaceful solution. If our advice is followed, if the capitalist class will voluntarily abdicate from the ownership and management of the industries and cease extorting rent, interest and profit, and join our efforts to build up industrial productive organs, then there will be no disorder, no violence, no bloodshed. There is no other way of avoiding it, because there is no other way of con-

tinuing production so that people will get the necessities of life.

When Senator Lewis threatens us with death and wants to form a counter-organization, he is inviting the disaster that he claims to fear.

All that we the so called "lawless and violent" elements have to propose is a practical plan for a peaceful solution of the social problem, now that the capitalist class have brought it to a passus where it must be solved or we must go under in revolution. We are not clamoring for any revolution. That is being brought on by capitalists and their spokesmen of the Wilson-Lewis type, when they try to retain by force a system of production that no longer fills the needs of the people. What we are clamoring for is the awakening of the working class to a realization of the danger that is right over us, and to a sense of social responsibility which will make them quickly gather in industrial unions, by means of which we can prevent production and distribution from totally collapsing, when control slips out of the hands of the capitalist class.

We are the orderly elements of society who want to save civilization. Wilson and Lewis have made common cause with those who would allow the whole structure of society go to pieces in violence and bloodshed for the selfish purpose of saving their position as exploiters and rulers.

Wilson and Lewis and the capitalist class are in revolt against the laws of economic evolution, and that is the reason they have to think of threatening us with death. We have no such thoughts.

No socialization scheme of the kind that provides for the continuance of a class of parasites can stop the arrival of the social order we desire. The ball has now started rolling down-hill and it will not stop, before it gets to the bottom, that is to a society of industrial communism, in which there shall be no capitalists.

The socialization proposed by Wilson and others of the same class is a false pretense, a subterfuge that cannot solve the economic problem.

## Agricultural Workers' Industrial Union No. 400, I. W. W.

Bulletin No. 56

Chicago, Ill., Nov. 10, 1919.

Some few weeks ago the members of the A. W. I. U. decided to hold a convention in Sioux City on November 3rd. They had also made arrangements for Haywood to deliver a speech the Sunday previous.

The American Legion, Knights of Columbus and kindred organizations did not want Haywood to talk in Sioux City, so they got to the owners of the hall and we could not secure it for the meeting.

Mayor Short had not been antagonistic to street meetings, in fact, he told the local committee that the Haywood meeting should be held at 4th and Jones, so we made arrangements accordingly.

The members were drifting into town on every train and the American Legion must have reached Short because half an hour before the time scheduled for the meeting the Commissioner of Public Safety called at the hall and informed Haywood that Mayor Short had issued an order stating that the street meeting could not be held in Sioux City.

A committee called on Short and he informed them that there would not be a member of the I. W. W. left in Sioux City if we intended to hold this meeting. Furthermore, there would never be anymore I. W. W. in this town if we insisted on going through with the speech.

We had already stated that Haywood would talk and now that our own hall was too small and all other halls were denied us, we decided that the speaker could stand in the window of our hall and the crowd would fill the streets below. Promptly at 2:30 the meeting was called and the crowd amounted to around five thousand.

As soon as the speaker started the police made a rush for the hall, but a few husky bundle tossers were on guard at the door and the defenders of the law had to retreat.

Haywood made a big hit right from the start in spite of the interruption of the American Legion, and by the time he had talked ten minutes he had the entire crowd with him. No one would ever accuse the police of being intelligent, but even they could not fail to applaud. When Mr. Kelley, the editor of the Tribune, started down through the crowd in his automobile, both the police and the crowd crowded to one side. When Kelley turned around and came back through the crowd, the chief of police jumped on the auto and smashed the front glass in and started the brains of the Tribune to the city jail with a charge of inciting to riot placed against him.

Haywood put up a great talk and a collection amounting to around \$250.00 was taken up.

The members around Sioux City realized that if the Haywood meeting could not be held then

there would be little show for them to carry on the convention, but the splendid showing of solidarity at the Haywood meeting must have swept the American Legion off its feet, because no one tried to interfere during the time the convention was going on. The convention lasted for five days and it was the best of its kind ever held.

The following were nominated for secretary-treasurer: Joe Murphy, J. Antijunti, Joe Rogers, James Kelly, Tom Doyle, J. Jefferys, P. Bowman, C. Baker, S. J. Cole, James Donnelly, Y. Tom Murphy, Pat Noonan, Fred Fisher, E. W. Latchem and S. Brown.

The following were nominated for organization committee: W. H. Meyers, F. Belina, Geo. Ellasser, C. L. Johnson, J. Downs, Wm. Caseboldt, C. Baker, F. Roder, W. R. Parker, A. Kornstrom, P. Taft, J. Garner, Jack Neilson, W. W. Preston, Jack Ward, H. Griffon, J. Hardesty, W. Danton, J. Fisher, F. Kezeli, Gabe J. Martin, J. Higgins, W. Granger, W. O. Kelly, O. Weaver, Geo. Gain, Chas. Thompson, W. Sullivan, H. Doerflinger, J. J. Murray and J. Jordan (Coast).

All of the above mentioned nominees, both for secretary-treasurer and organization committee, are requested to send their cards to the General Office immediately, so that we can pass on their eligibility.

Many proposed additions to the by-laws were discussed and all of them will go out for referendum vote. Resolutions were read from the Northwest District, asking that some provisions be made so that they could be represented in the convention.

This caused quite a bit of discussion, some few were in favor of a delegate convention, so that all districts could be represented by delegates, but others, knowing the make up of the A. W. I. U., felt that the delegate convention would not be to the best interests of our members, so, after much discussion pro and con, the following resolution was approved and it will go out on the ballot for your approval:

"There shall be three districts in the A. W. I. U. No. 400, California District, Northwest District and Middle West District. Each district shall hold a mass convention, where they shall nominate nominees for general secretary-treasurer and general organization committee men. All nominees and resolutions will appear on the official ballot and the ballot will show exactly from what district the nominees and resolutions come."

This means that each district of the A. W. I. U. will hold a convention and the action taken by each one of the district conventions will later go out on the ballot to the entire membership of the A. W. I. U.

We received request for donations from the Rebel Worker, Russian Paper, O. B. U. Magazine and others. The following donations were made:

\$500.00 to the Rebel Worker to help put it on a weekly basis.

\$500.00 to the O. B. U. to help increase the circulation.

\$500.00 to the Russian Paper to help put it on a daily basis.

\$250.00 to the new German Paper.

\$250.00 to help the strikers, Brooklyn, New York.

\$500.00 to help start up an industrial encyclopedia of the I. W. W.

There were very few grievances and the only one of importance was the case of E. W. Carroll, who was arrested and released recently on a criminal syndicalism case in Scotts Bluff, Neb. This fellow practically convicted himself. The Grievance Committee recommended him to be expelled. The convention approved the committee report and Carroll stands expelled.

The members decided that they would start a drive down through the oil fields. Two members of the Organization Committee are headed for that territory with all kinds of supplies. If all members in Kansas, Oklahoma and Texas fields will take out credentials and supplies there is no doubt but what we will be able to do good work down there this winter.

Best wishes.

We are yours for the O. B. U.,  
D. N. SIMPSON,  
Chairman, G. O. C.  
MAT. K. FOX,  
Sec.-Treas. A. W. I. U.

#### AGRICULTURAL WORKERS' IND. UNION No. 400, I. W. W.

##### Financial Statement October 1919

RECEIPTS	
Personal deposits .....	\$ 90.00
601 initiations (2 A. F. of L.) .....	1,202.00
4,279 due stamps .....	2,189.50
Org. stamps .....	184.00
Rel. stamps .....	310.00
G. D. stamps .....	755.50
A. W. I. U. stamps .....	180.00
Gen. defense donations .....	866.80
Buttons, pins, etc. ....	40.20
Lit., card cases, dup. cards, etc. ....	522.20
Sub. to German paper .....	.75
Moneys paid on acct. by br. secretaries and delegates .....	1,708.94
Moneys paid on acct. supplies .....	19.50
Moneys refunded .....	20.99
Joint account .....	224.00
Mimeograph work .....	6.00
Criminal syndicalism St. Cal. dist. ....	112.00
Donations, German list .....	4.50
Donations, Rubber Workers list .....	2.00
Donations, Cal. district defense list .....	6.00
Due stamps sold by No. 300 to A. Geritz .....	5.50
G. R. U., dues .....	6.50

B. W. I. U. No. 46, dues .....	1.00
B. W. I. U. No. 46, initiations .....	2.00
M. & M. W. I. U. No. 300, initiations .....	4.00
M. & M. W. I. U. No. 300, dues .....	7.50
S. B. I. U. No. 325, dues .....	2.50
S. B. I. U. No. 325, initiations .....	2.00
L. W. I. U. No. 600, initiations .....	36.00
L. W. I. U. No. 600, dues .....	88.00
C. W. I. U. No. 573, dues .....	257.50
C. W. I. U. No. 573, initiations .....	132.00
R. R. W. I. U. No. 600, initiations (1 A. F. of L.) .....	20.00
R. R. W. I. U. No. 600, dues .....	26.00
R. R. M. Stamps No. 600 .....	39.00
M. M. W. I. U. No. 800, dues .....	20.00
M. M. W. I. U. No. 800, initiations .....	6.00
C. M. I. U. No. 900, initiations .....	4.00
C. M. I. U. No. 900, dues .....	3.50
D. W. I. U. No. 1100, dues .....	21.00
D. W. I. U. No. 1100, initiations .....	26.00
G. D. W. I. U. No. 1300, initiations .....	2.00
G. D. W. I. U. No. 1300, dues .....	4.50
F. P. W. I. U. No. 1500, dues .....	1.50
F. P. W. I. U. No. 1500, initiations .....	2.00

Total Receipts .....\$9,079.88

M. K. FOX,  
Sec'y-Treas. A. W. I. U. No. 400.

#### DISBURSEMENTS MAIN OFFICE OCTOBER

Personal deposits .....	\$ 184.00
Headquarters, on account supplies .....	1,874.00
Commission on literature and papers .....	43.25
Literature and papers .....	420.34
Dist. and br. sec's wages and delegates commission .....	1,178.75
Mileage .....	209.15
Moneys held by br. secretaries and delegates .....	1,605.47
Main office salaries .....	621.00
Rent, light, heat, etc. ....	360.40
Stationery and fixtures .....	47.22
Postage, express and wires .....	206.37
Allowances on reports from other industrial unions .....	208.00
General defense and relief .....	1,496.85
C. F. Bentley, sub. to Independent .....	1.75
F. J. Nelson, report charged twice .....	3.50
H. Folkestad, report charged twice .....	2.50
A. Ross, report charged twice .....	28.50
E. Kivett, report charged twice .....	6.50
Int. Pritg. Co., 150 balls of twine .....	25.90
Old check allowed by auditing committee .....	40.00
A. S. Embree, expenses paid for Carl Bushland .....	38.50
Thos. Hooker, refund to G. Macaire .....	1.62
D. N. Simpson, 1 trunk .....	12.00
E. F. Webb, pro-rata expenses .....	43.25
Geo. Macaire, organization expenses .....	24.00
C. E. Smith, organization committee .....	8.00
D. Lavery, organization expenses .....	3.00
G. Chitwood, getting supplies from Spokane .....	8.74
Jail allowance .....	16.50
3 A. F. of L. cards .....	6.00
Criminal syndicalism stamps .....	115.00
Illustration work, A. Wallen .....	100.00
M. Sapper, donation from J. Nealy .....	1.50
On account, September reports other I. U. ....	345.50
J. Stevens, expenses D. O. C. ....	15.64

Total Disbursements .....\$9,252.70

#### RECAPITULATION

Total receipts .....	\$ 9,079.88
Cash on hand October 1, 1919 .....	12,099.76
Grand total .....	\$21,179.64
Total disbursements .....	9,252.70
Cash on hand November 1, 1919 .....	\$11,926.94

M. K. FOX,  
Sec'y-Treas. A. W. I. U. No. 400.

## Shipbuilders' Industrial Union No 325 of the I. W. W.

### Monthly Bulletin and Financial Report, Nov. 1, 1919 Fellow Workers:

Within the last month there has been a good many indications of the growing discontent among the workers in nearly all industries, and even in the shipbuilding industry the class struggle is a little keen. The capitalist mouth piece has already found the cause of all this discontent; after the usual amount of investigation they have placed their finger on the I. W. W.

Evidently we are getting some undue credit, although hundreds of active members have long realized that the good things of life did not come to

the working class by the way of piece work and overtime. Agitate as they did, they were unable to get the slave's mind off his immediate needs, which is the average slave's conception of life.

The master class would keep the slaves revolution-proof for a long time to come, had they continued to find plenty of piece work and overtime for them. For it has been useless for the I. W. W. to try to talk the workers into organizing industrially to obtain the good things of life, or even better wages, as long as the slave could keep his mind occupied with work.

Just at present the workers in the shipbuilding

industry are on the fence. In the eastern shipyards the workers are being laid off by the hundreds daily; on the Pacific coast most of the shipyards are tied up by strikes, and what yards are not on strike are laying men off.

This action on the part of the master class undoubtedly will re-act soon, although at present it has a tendency to make the workers more servile than ever. The fear of unemployment will naturally cause the workers to speed up on the job, thereby increasing the competition on the labor market and giving the master a larger army of unemployed to draw from.

Look at the situation as it is today in the shipbuilding industry. Wasn't this a fine time to pull a strike, now that the demand for ships has decreased? These workers are out for eight cents an hour increase in wages, not for principle. Is not this incident enough to show the workers that there is more need for understanding among all the workers in one industry now than ever before?

In Seattle the workers got the eight-cent raise, so the LEADER of the local craft unions did not sound the strike call. But in Tacoma, Oakland, Frisco and other places the workers came out. This is some example of "An injury to one is an injury to all."

Had the workers gone out for a six-hour day in the shipbuilding industry, which would mean a small army of unemployed, had they won their demands, the workers of not only Seattle but all other shipbuilding localities would have come out. But in order to carry on a strike in this manner the workers must be prepared to take the situation in hand themselves, and not leave it up to some craft union officials to notify the boss that they are going to call you off at some given date, then lead you off and when they are ready drive you back again.

In Frisco the workers have got their eyes turned towards the job as they realize that it is of no use to stay out much longer. Reports from Frisco state that the workers are becoming more dissatisfied with the A. F. of L. and are looking for a form of organization along industrial lines.

A meeting will be held in Oakland, Cal., on Wednesday, Nov. 5, by the shipyard workers, and it is expected that they will apply for a charter and get a branch of No. 825 established there, to take care of what discontented wage slaves there are around that district.

The Detroit Branch is going to get back in shape again. By the latest reports from there, organiza-

tion work in the shipyards is expected to liven up in the near future.

Tacoma has got a good foundation laid in the shipbuilding industry and we may hear of a rapid increase of membership there as soon as the workers get back on the job again.

Peter Stromberg, the Seattle Branch Secretary, has resigned and C. W. I. U. No. 573's branch secretary is handling the work of both industrial unions jointly.

About six weeks ago J. W. Wren got away with some organization money in Los Angeles, Cal. He is 5 ft. 6 in. tall, weighs 140 lbs., 27 years old and cleanshaven. WATCH FOR THIS CHARACTER! Maybe travelling in a Ford machine. He is a machinist by trade. NOTE:—The only feature of description is one gold tooth in front upper row of teeth.

TOTAL RECEIPTS	
150 initiations (4 craft cards) .....	\$ 292.00
1,172 due stamps .....	586.00
51 general defense stamps .....	51.00
15 C. W. P. stamps .....	15.00
81 general org. stamps .....	31.00
20 "Criminal Syndicalist" stamps .....	20.00
11 duplicate cards .....	5.50
40 gold buttons .....	40.00
Plain buttons .....	7.50
Literature .....	6.90
On account cash balance .....	6.00
<b>Total .....</b>	<b>\$1,060.90</b>

TOTAL EXPENDITURES	
Per capita for August .....	\$ 142.50
Supplies Headquarters .....	96.00
Literature .....	9.10
Industrial Workers subs. ....	1.50
Delegates' commissions .....	28.26
Seattle branch sec. wages .....	112.00
Other I. U. allowances suppl .....	72.75
Main office wages .....	164.00
Main office rent .....	20.00
Pro rata hall expenses .....	18.30
Meeting hall, Seattle branch .....	25.00
Stationery and fixtures .....	18.60
Postage and express .....	32.72
4 member G. O. C. expenses .....	32.00
Stickers .....	15.00
Org. expenses, Del. No. 50 .....	30.00
Receipt books .....	16.75
Supply bills .....	16.70
Typewriter rent .....	5.00
District defense .....	1.00
California defense .....	20.00
Advanced Detroit D. I. C. ....	50.00
Donation to Spokane strike .....	25.00
Parade expenses Oct. 8 .....	25.00
Business done for other I. U. ....	96.00
<b>Total .....</b>	<b>\$1,063.21</b>

RECAPITULATION	
Total receipts .....	\$1,060.90
Cash on hand Oct. 1 .....	21.67
<b>Gross receipts .....</b>	<b>1,082.75</b>
<b>Gross expenditures .....</b>	<b>1,073.21</b>
<b>Cash on hand Nov. 1 .....</b>	<b>\$19.56</b>

THOS. MCKINLEY,  
Sec.-Treas. S. B. I. U. No. 825.  
Box 365, Seattle, Wash.

## Construction Workers' Industrial Union No. 573, I. W. W.

SUMMARY RECEIPTS	
FINANCIAL REPORT FOR OCTOBER	
Initiations .....	\$1,462.00
Dues .....	2,562.50
Org. assessments .....	294.00
Gen. Def. assessments .....	631.50
C. W. P. assessments .....	384.00
Buttons and pins .....	43.90
Literature .....	269.36
Papers and magazines .....	429.17
Credit cash bal. Br. Sec., Dels. G. O. C. and other I. U. ....	1,326.16
Criminal syndicalism assessments .....	693.00

Card cases .....	166.00
Subs .....	5.25
Donations, hall collections .....	65.49
Donations, defense .....	24.95
Donations, C. W. P. ....	3.00
Donations, Org. ....	2.50
Defense lists .....	14.00
Moneys refunded .....	47.34
Proceeds, Seattle smoker .....	62.10
Duplicates .....	24.00
Mat K. Fox, office fixtures .....	8.25
C. N. Ogden, office fixtures .....	18.10
Charters .....	12.00
I. U. 600 assessments .....	1.00

I. U. No. 300 .....	1.00
Denver case appeal .....	14.50
Donations to Worker .....	2.50
Detroit Accident Board .....	2.50
Defense shields .....	5.00
Pro rata other I. U.'s .....	69.00
Raffle, Denver .....	8.60
Proceeds, Detroit smoker .....	133.05
Detroit C. E. C. .....	15.00
Business for other unions:	
I. U. No. 8, int. ....	26.00
I. U. No. 8, dues .....	50.50
I. U. No. 46, init. ....	6.00
I. U. No. 46, dues .....	14.00
I. U. No. 300, int. ....	40.00
I. U. No. 300, dues .....	37.00
I. U. No. 325, int. ....	32.00
I. U. No. 325, Dues .....	38.00
I. U. No. 400, int. ....	72.00
I. U. No. 400, dues .....	160.00
I. U. No. 450, dues .....	2.00
I. U. No. 480, int. ....	16.00
I. U. No. 480, dues .....	10.50
I. U. No. 500, int. ....	54.00
I. U. No. 500, dues .....	116.50
I. U. No. 600, int. ....	66.00
I. U. No. 600, dues .....	70.00
I. U. No. 800, int. ....	48.00
I. U. No. 800, dues .....	78.50
I. U. No. 900, int. ....	18.00
I. U. No. 900, dues .....	18.00
I. U. No. 1,000, int. ....	16.00
I. U. No. 1,000, dues .....	5.50
I. U. No. 1,100, int. ....	22.00
I. U. No. 1,100, dues .....	42.00
I. U. No. 1,200, int. ....	6.00
I. U. No. 1,200, dues .....	29.50
I. U. No. 1,300, dues .....	3.00
I. U. No. 1,500, int. ....	6.00
I. U. No. 1,500, dues .....	3.00
G. R. U., int. ....	10.00
G. R. U., Dues .....	14.00
<b>Total Receipts .....</b>	<b>\$9,988.12</b>
<b>EXPENDITURES</b>	
Per capita .....	\$ 500.00
Supplies .....	250.00
Literature .....	221.87
Papers and magazines .....	848.78

Defense .....	1,082.90
C. W. P. ....	573.00
Criminal syndicalism assessment .....	714.00
Wages, Br. Sectys, Del., and G. O. C. ....	2,754.22
Mileage .....	168.70
Account supplies .....	329.00
Charge cash bal. Br. Secty's, Del's and I. U.'s .....	1,920.01
Main office wages .....	372.00
Rent, light, heat, etc. ....	477.58
Stationery and fixtures .....	308.79
Postages, wires and expenses .....	294.98
Printing .....	151.05
Card cases .....	121.00
Proceeds Seattle smoker .....	68.10
Pro rata hall expenses, Omaha .....	81.95
Pro rata hall expense, San Francisco .....	74.67
Pro rata hall expenses, Yakima .....	22.91
Pro rata hall expenses, New York .....	25.00
Bal. due on Forum hall, I. U. No. 300 and No. 1,100 .....	44.02
Denver appeal .....	12.50
Deficit, South Side hall .....	9.56
Repairs South Side hall .....	4.00
Donations to Worker .....	5.00
Defense lists .....	11.50
Gas deposit .....	10.00
Cal. Dist. seal .....	7.75
Moneys refunded for duplicates .....	1.50
Storage .....	1.25
Bank exchange .....	.85
<b>Total expenditures .....</b>	<b>\$10,899.42</b>
<b>RECAPITULATION</b>	
October cash receipts .....	\$8,105.11
Cash on hand Oct. 1, 1919 .....	5,880.20
<b>Total cash receipts .....</b>	<b>\$6,485.81</b>
Expenditures for October .....	4,011.41
<b>Cash on hand, Nov. 1, 1919 .....</b>	<b>\$2,478.99</b>
<b>RECAPITULATION</b>	
Receipts, October, 1919 .....	\$ 9,988.12
Cash on hand October 1 .....	5,880.20
<b>Grand total .....</b>	<b>\$18,818.82</b>
October expenditures .....	10,899.42
<b>Cash on hand Oct. 1, 1919 .....</b>	<b>\$2,478.99</b>

## Railroad Workers' Industrial Union No. 600, I. W. W.

**Bulletin No. 23**  
 1001 West Madison St., Chicago, Ill.,  
 November 5, 1919.

**Fellow Workers:**

It was four years ago today that the Copper Trust and the Mormon Church in the State of Utah murdered our Fellow Worker Joe Hill. We of the I. W. W. promised never to forget. The railroad men in the State of Utah are very much dissatisfied with their present conditions and write for organizers of the I. W. W. It is a good place for delegates. Let us organize these railroad workers in the State of Utah 100 per cent and show the bosses in this state as well as other states, that we have not forgotten the murder of Joe Hill.

"The case of the switch crew at Mansfield, Ohio, charged with burglarizing box cars and stealing merchandise was postponed from time to time and finally came before the mayor on October 6, 1919. Special police of the railway told so many conflicting stories that the mayor dismissed the case entirely from his jurisdiction. Two of the crew were fully exonerated, while two were informed that they must go before the federal commission for trial. One of the special officers, when asked about

taking shoes, blankets, dolls, candy, etc., to his home, turned very red and squirmed like a worm thrown in the fire. His own actions very plainly show who had been doing the burglarizing of the box cars. The mayor did not even ask the crew to testify. The district attorney was the attorney for the special railway policemen. Even the district attorney was disgusted, as well as the mayor. The evidence plainly shows that it was a rank frame-up, as the workers on this crew were advocating the principles of the O. B. U." (Signed) Card No. 239555.

On October 27, 1919, at Olean, N. Y., Jos. B. Hart was arrested on the belief that he was an I. W. W. agitator. He was arrested without a warrant, held without any charge and without chance for counsel, was sentenced to six months in the Erie County Penitentiary. The regular justice was absent. A "jazz band" leader was secured to substitute in his place. In a private conversation, he stated that the Pennsylvania Railway wants Hart RAILROADED, but it seems that he got cold feet and ordered the release of Hart without any formality. All of Hart's personal effects, money, bank book, check book, private cards, etc., were confiscated. At last report, none of these had been returned to him and the prospects are good that they will never be. The facts of the case are as follows:



Our propaganda has been read with increasing interest by the railway men, which came to the ears of the management.

"I had been working regularly all along and laid off on October 25. While off, I was distributing propaganda among the railway men. On the night of October 27, a switchman and a friend of mine were entertained in my room and I supplied them with literature at the switchman's request. This "friend" was a Pennsylvania detective which the railway sent to investigate. He turned the literature over to the company officials, together with a statement of the switchman's favorable comments on same. This railroad detective's name is "Blake." He has a small piece out of one side of his nose, tall, thin, black hair and sallow complexion. Late on the evening of October 27, while in a restaurant eating lunch, an argument started over the steel strike and one man claimed a colored customer as an argument for poor pay to foreigners, stating that he needed less money than a skilled worker. I took the colored man's part and got into the conversation. I am positive that the colored man did not make a complaint, but that the Pennsylvania Railway detective saw the transaction and cooked up evidence to suit himself, and scared him into swearing to it. I was arrested in the lobby of a hotel while talking to the clerk, taken to the police station and booked on an open charge. The next morning I was booked as drunk and disorderly. The substituting justice is the leader of a jazz band, and substituting for the regular justice who is on his vacation. He tried to make me say that I was intoxicated, then sentenced me to Erie County Penitentiary for six months, without giving me a chance for counsel or for pleading guilty or not guilty. My room was raided. All of my personal papers, correspondence, photographs, bank and check books, pocket book, etc., were confiscated. On the afternoon of October 28, I succeeded in getting in touch with friends. My friends procured counsel, and delayed execution of sentence. On October 30, I was released without any formality, but with a warning to leave Olean. This only goes to show that the I. W. W. is taking hold in this vicinity and that the railway officials are alarmed and taking steps to stop its progress, but it cannot be stopped as this frame-up is well known to the workers in Olean. None of them have been fooled by it. It will be only a short time until we get large numbers of members in this vicinity."

(Signed) Jos. B. Hart.

Men working in the telegraph department on the Santa Fe Ry. in New Mexico are all disgusted with the I. B. E. W. and are ripe for organization in the O. B. U. It is a good place for delegates who are line-men and operators.

**Job News.**

Extra gang at Carral, Neb. Job is laying steel. Wages 40 cents per hour, ten-hour day. Men are wanted badly here. Board at \$9.00 per week. Shipments from Omaha and Sioux City. Fee \$1.00. Fare free. Job will last thirty to forty days.

The Union Pacific wants brakemen and switchmen at the following towns: Rawlins, Wyo., Green River, Wyo., Laramie, Wyo., Cheyenne, Wyo., Ogden, Utah, Pocatello, Idaho. Pay \$4.80 per 100 for brakemen. \$5.12 per day for switchmen. Eight-hour day.

Members are requested to be on the lookout for Credentials No. X214, issued by R. R. W. I. U. No. 600 to Jos. B. Hart. All members are requested to take up on sight, and send to this office.

If you think No. 600 is the right organization for you, why not get credentials and supplies and help build it up?

With best wishes, I am,  
Yours for the O. B. U.,  
GEO. APT,  
Chairman G. O. C. No. 600.  
C. N. OGDEN,  
Sec.-Treas. R. R. W. I. U. No. 600.

**RAILROAD WORKERS' INDUSTRIAL UNION No. 600**

**October Report**

**SUMMARY RECEIPTS**

Initiations .....	\$ 442.00
Dues .....	468.50
Relief stamps .....	12.00
Organization stamps .....	18.00
Defense stamps .....	27.00
R. R. Magazine stamps .....	46.50
Buttons and duplicate cards .....	6.25
Literature .....	29.31
B. O. papers and magazines .....	58.95
Subs. papers and magazines .....	1.50
Donation, defense, lists, etc. ....	19.50
W. Union tel. refund .....	20.00
Mimeograph work .....	1.90
Cr. del. acct's .....	80.15
Cr. ind. unions acct's .....	33.00
Ind. Union No. 8, init. \$18.00, dues \$6.50 .....	24.50
Ind. Union No. 325, init. \$2.00, dues \$0.50 .....	2.50
Ind. Union No. 400, init. \$6.00, dues \$12.00 .....	18.00
Ind. Union No. 500, init. \$8.00, dues \$10.00 .....	18.00
Ind. Union No. 573, init. \$14.00, dues \$ 6.50 .....	80.50
Ind. Union No. 1100, init. \$2.00, dues \$0.50 .....	2.50
<b>Total .....</b>	<b>\$1,360.56</b>

**SUMMARY EXPENDITURES**

G. O. assessments, donat., lists, etc., to Oct. 1, 1919	\$ 157.00
24 craft union cards .....	48.00
Papers and magazines, B. O. ....	126.48
Papers and magazines, subs. ....	1.50
Comm. and wages del. and branch sec'y's .....	240.60
Mileage .....	.65
Main office wages .....	212.00
Rent, heat and light .....	84.00
Stationery and fixtures .....	98.98
Postage, exp. and wires .....	70.49
Printing .....	67.75
Typewriter repairs .....	9.00
Allowance I. U. on supplies .....	280.75
I. U. accounts charges .....	23.50
Del. and branch sec. accounts .....	261.62
<b>Total .....</b>	<b>\$1,682.17</b>

**RECAPITULATION**

Cash on hand, October 1, 1919 .....	\$1,048.99
Receipts October .....	881.88
<b>Grand Total .....</b>	<b>\$1,880.87</b>
Total cash expenditures .....	1,103.49
<b>Balance cash on hand November 1, 1919 .....</b>	<b>\$777.88</b>

**RECAPITULATION**

Total summary receipts .....	\$1,360.56
Cash on hand October 1, 1919 .....	1,048.99
<b>Grand Total Receipts .....</b>	<b>\$2,409.55</b>
Total Summary expenditures .....	1,682.17
<b>Balance cash on hand November 1, 1919 .....</b>	<b>\$777.88</b>

Yours for the O. B. U.,  
C. N. OGDEN,  
Sec.-Treas. R. R. W. I. U. No. 600.

## Lumber Workers' Industrial Union No. 500 I. W. W.

### Financial Statement for Month of September, 1919

RECEIPTS	
Initiations, 8,916 new members .....	\$ 7,882.00
Dues, Union 500 .....	16,813.50
General organization stamps .....	2,901.00
District organization stamps .....	195.00
Class war prisoner stamps .....	3,600.00
General defense .....	2,951.12
Buttons .....	520.85
Literature .....	1,165.09
Supplies, Chicago Headquarters' account.....	1,728.40
Card cases, duplicate cards, banners, etc.....	569.83
Allowance on 50-50 business .....	812.50

DISBURSEMENTS	
Literature .....	\$ 2,267.73
Commission on initiations, etc. ....	1,489.05
Organization wages .....	9,692.99
Mileage .....	2,043.00
Supplies, Chicago Headquarters' account .....	2,000.00
Allowance to other unions, 50-50 business.....	599.50
General relief and defense .....	4,717.07
Main office wages .....	695.00
Rent, heat, light, office supplies, etc.....	2,242.36
Stationery .....	480.77
Postage, express, telegrams .....	656.14
Ledger accounts increased, for advances to delegates and delayed remittances .....	6,932.70
	<u>\$33,816.31</u>

### SUMMARY—SEPTEMBER

Cash balance on hand September 1.....	\$ 200.76
Receipts .....	39,915.09
	<u>\$40,115.85</u>
Disbursements .....	\$33,816.31
Cash on hand .....	6,299.54
	<u>\$40,115.85</u>

### CASH SUMMARY

Balance on hand Sept. 1.....	\$ 200.76
Received from delegates .....	1,415.25
Received from other sources .....	7,544.89
	<u>\$9,160.70</u>
Disbursements .....	\$2,861.16
Balance on hand Sept. 30 .....	6,299.54
	<u>\$9,160.70</u>

Superior, Wis., Oct. 20, 1919.

JOHN PATTERSON,  
Secretary-Treasurer pro-tem.

## Hotel, Restaurant and Domestic Workers' I. U. No. 1100, I. W. W.

### Financial Statement for Month of October, 1919

RECEIPTS	
181 initiations (14 cards).....	\$284.00
Due stamps .....	876.00
Duplicate cards .....	.75
Defense stamps .....	18.50
Relief stamps .....	1.00
Org. stamps .....	4.00
Press stamps .....	1.00
Buttons .....	3.50
Buttons defense .....	1.00
Literature .....	22.75
Credit, acct. of cash balance .....	16.17
Charter .....	10.00
Bert Lewis, acct. Forum Hall, Chicago.....	22.01
Total .....	<u>\$710.88</u>

EXPENDITURES	
Literature .....	\$ 22.34
Printing, leaflets, etc. ....	53.00

Wages, branch sec., organizers and delegates.....	43.42
Mileage .....	.50
Rent, light, heat .....	50.80
Stationery and fixtures .....	36.20
Postage, express and wires .....	21.95
Main office, salaries .....	85.00
On hand of branches and delegates .....	40.08
Business done for other unions .....	20.75
Business done by other unions, allowance on supplies .....	113.75
Total .....	<u>\$492.79</u>
Total receipts from October 1-31 .....	\$710.88
Brought forward from September 30 .....	144.09
	<u>\$854.77</u>
Total expenditures from October 1-31.....	492.79
Cash on hand November 1.....	361.98
	<u>\$854.77</u>

ERNEST HOLMEN, Sec'y-Treas.

## Metal & Machinery Workers' I. U. No. 300, I. W. W.

### Financial Report for October 1919

TOTAL RECEIPTS	
Personal deposit .....	\$ 50.00
439 Initiations (2 A. F. of L. cards).....	874.00
2,039 dues stamps .....	1,304.50
Assessment stamps No. 300 .....	32.50
General organization stamps .....	1.00
Cleveland relief .....	29.40
General defense stamps .....	29.50
Buttons .....	.50
Literature and duplicate cards .....	69.50
On account supplies .....	132.50
Cr. br. sec'y's and del. ....	204.23
Donations .....	343.40
Subscriptions .....	15.95
Hall rent refund .....	22.01
Dance tickets .....	149.20
Charter fees .....	50.00
Collections .....	28.27
Card case .....	.50
	<u>\$3,373.21</u>

TOTAL EXPENDITURES	
Personal deposit .....	\$ 50.00
Per capita tax .....	300.00

Headquarter's supplies .....	26.87
Literature .....	3.00
Subscriptions .....	104.25
Wages .....	1,191.15
Mileage .....	158.62
On account supplies .....	118.50
Held on hand by br. sec'y's and del.....	306.47
Donations .....	114.77
Main office wages .....	264.00
Rent, light and heat.....	260.59
Stationery and fixtures .....	351.36
Postage and express .....	111.87
Refunds .....	146.85
Expense on smoker .....	57.48
Expense on dance .....	46.15
Expense on south side hall .....	4.55
Joint office expense account .....	76.00
Printing .....	383.00
	<u>\$4,076.48</u>

### RECAPITULATION

Total cash expenditures .....	\$2,539.97
Total cash receipts .....	1,838.70
	<u>\$701.27</u>
Total cash on hand October 1, 1919.....	\$115.31

## General Recruiting Union, I. W. W.

### FINANCIAL STATEMENT OF THE GENERAL RECRUITING UNION FOR SEPTEMBER AND OCTOBER, 1919

September Receipts	
Initiations	\$684.00
Dues	1,188.50
Organization stamps	23.00
Defense stamps	133.00
Buttons, pins, etc.	33.88
Literature, card cases and duplicates	486.11
Relief stamps	13.00
Donations, relief, defense and organization	22.00
Collections, relief, defense and organization	27.00
Papers and magazines (bundle orders)	538.44
Papers and magazines (subscriptions)	1.00
Refunded on hall rent	252.00
Picnic and dance proceeds	272.29
Other refunds	74.90
Donations, O. B. U. Monthly	1.50
Freedom certificates	5.00
California defense stamps	3.00
Credit delegate accounts	620.71
<b>Total receipts for September</b>	<b>\$4,379.33</b>

Expenditures	
Papers and magazines (bundles)	\$245.70
Literature	329.49
Wages and commission dels. and branches	578.35
Mileage	6.34
Rent, heat and light (branch offices & meet. halls)	621.64
Stationery and fixtures (br. offices)	89.85
Postage, express and wires	144.31
Defense lists	30.70
Ball and Bond committee	25.00
Pro rata expense Omaha branch	12.75
Sub-Committee of New England	2.00
Charters, Br. No. 300	10.00
Defense (Canada) collection	25.00
Donation to Canadian workers	10.00
Donation to organizing fund	2.00
Donation to I. W. W. papers	5.00
Jail members due stamps	6.00
Donation strikes	25.00
General defense	200.00
Printing	41.90
Industrial unions allowance for supplies	77.00
Industrial union accounts, charges	44.75
Delegate and Br. accts., charges	507.36
To General Headquarters, per capita	387.50
To General Headquarters, supplies	230.75
To General Headquarters, literature	22.00
To I. W. W. Publishing Bureau	35.00
Bundle orders of papers and magazines	905.95
Ind. unions' supplies (allowance)	481.75
Printing	2.90
<b>Total expenditures</b>	<b>\$5,122.00</b>
<b>Total receipts for September</b>	<b>\$4,379.33</b>

Cash on hand September 1	761.90
<b>Total</b>	<b>\$5,141.33</b>
<b>Expenditures for September</b>	<b>5,122.00</b>
<b>Balance cash on hand October 1</b>	<b>\$19.33</b>

October Receipts	
Initiations	\$368.00
Dues	785.00
Organization stamps	10.00
Defense stamps	72.50
Press stamps	2.00
Relief stamps	33.25
Donations to relief and defense funds	70.00
Buttons, pins, etc.	13.50
Literature	448.09
Papers and magazines (bundle orders)	400.92
Refund on hall rent	99.25
Other refunds	11.00
Freedom certificates	15.00
Donations to organizing fund	5.00
Receipts from entertainments, etc.	116.00
Credit on delegates' accounts	136.45
<b>Total</b>	<b>\$2,556.95</b>

Expenditures	
Due stamps for jail members	\$14.00
Literature	216.50
Papers and magazines (bundle orders)	336.05
Wages and commission to delegates and branches	381.75
Mileage	3.10
Rent, heat and light	393.64
Stationery and fixtures	70.32
Postage, express and wires	117.33
A. F. of L. cards	2.00
Charters	10.00
Rubber workers' strike	16.30
Donations	2.00
General defense lists	79.50
Allowance, industrial unions (for supplies)	4.20
Charges for industrial union supplies	13.50
Charges, delegates' and branches' accts.	166.65
Bundle orders of paper and magazines	226.84
Industrial unions' supplies (allowance)	477.50
Main office, wages	2.00
To No. 300, sent by No. 8	2.00
<b>Total expenditures for October</b>	<b>\$2,531.96</b>

Recapitulation	
Total receipts for October, 1919	\$2,556.95
Cash on hand October 1, 1919	19.33
<b>Total</b>	<b>\$2,556.18</b>
<b>Expenditures for October, 1919</b>	<b>2,531.96</b>
<b>Balance cash on hand November 1, 1919</b>	<b>\$24.22</b>

## The Industrial Workers of the World

### General Office Bulletin and Financial Statement for October, 1919

#### Fellow Workers:

The ballot committee's report on the referendum issued by the General Executive Board, on the question of raise in dues and wages, will appear as tabulated by the committee in the issue of "The New Solidarity" of Nov. 8, 1919. Briefly, the result of the vote is as follows: "Shall the monthly dues be raised to \$1?" Yes, 2,371; No, 4,074. Total vote, 6,445. Majority against raising dues, 1,703. "Shall all members elected to office or appointed by the General Executive Board be paid at the rate of \$4 per day?" Yes, 2,847; No, 2,026. "Or shall they receive \$5 per day?" Yes, 3,707; No, 2,408. The referendum caused considerable discussion started by the Paterson branch of the Textile Workers' Industrial Union No. 1,000, showing how these workers view the question as affecting their interest. This was followed by a resolution from A. W. I. U. No. 400 branch in Minneapolis on Oct. 6, in favor of declaring the referendum null and void, practically

contending that the G. E. B. had exceeded their power, quoting "Article 10, Sections 1 and 2." Several branches have supported the resolution on the same grounds; those that arrived before the committee began the counting of ballots were published in "The New Solidarity." The following, however, came too late for publication:

Oct. 27, 1919.

Moved and seconded that we, the members of Hibbing branch, M. M. W. I. U. No. 800, go on record in favor of declaring the referendum calling for a raise of dues null and void. Carried.

Mike Kaputsai, Chairman,  
Jacob Aumila, Secretary.

Moved and carried that the Centralia branch of the I. W. W. concur with the Minneapolis branch in declaring the proposed \$1 monthly dues in our opinion is unconstitutional. Signed, Britt Smith.

Motion carried that we join in the resolution made by Minneapolis branch, for the following reasons: We believe this referendum violates our constitution in Article 10, Sections 1 and 2. Second, that in the I. W. W. convention, held in May, 1919,

decided on 50 cents. Motion carried that we send this resolution to the G. E. B. and also publish it in "Industrialist" and other I. W. W. papers.

Bessemer Branch, M. M. W. I. U. No. 800.

The contention that the G. E. B. have exceeded their power, however, is without foundation, and it is evident that many members need to study the constitution more carefully, and the attention of these branches is therefore called to "Article 7, Section 5," which reads: "The General Executive Board, or not less than three Industrial Unions, may initiate a referendum on any subject."

Article 10, Sections 1 and 2, refer to amendments to be brought before the convention, with the object in view, that the members may discuss them and instruct their delegates to the convention how they must vote, on the published amendments as their representatives.

Undoubtedly the lesson this referendum teaches us on matters of such vital importance is that more time should be granted for discussion between the time the ballots are issued and their return to the office to be counted.

The vote, however, shows that a majority of those members interested enough to vote are in favor of the increase in wages, but with no increase in revenue to meet this with it practically passes the buck back to the G. E. B. to use their best judgment in the matter of the wages question.

During the month of September and October, 32 new branch charters were issued, 16 for each month, as follows: Metal and Machinery Workers, 13. Construction Workers, 4. Marine Transport Workers, 2. Rubber Workers, 2. Coal Mine Workers, 2. And Textile Workers, 2. While the following have one each to their credit, Fishermen's I. U., Lumber Workers, Railroad Workers, Hotel, Restaurant and Domestic Workers, Tobacco Workers, Leather and Shoe Workers, and Foodstuff Workers.

The General Office is now taking care of the following Industrial Unions: Fishermen's No. 448, Furniture Workers No. 480, Printing and Publishing Workers No. 1,200, Leather and Shoe Workers No. 1,250, General Distribution Workers No. 1,300 and Foodstuff Workers No. 1,500.

Every effort will be made to push these Industrial Unions until they have the required number of branches of sufficient membership to be self-sustaining, when conferences will be called for election of secretary and organization committee, as provided by the eleventh convention.

The Printing and Publishing Workers have a wide-awake branch in Chicago and New York, but there is room for many branches in these big cities and if the members will go at it in a whole hearted manner they can be organized this winter and get a foothold in other cities also. The Furniture Workers of Rockford, Ill., have maintained themselves intact thru the years of persecution, and have a sturdy branch there. They have asked our General Office to act as

the Central Office and push the work of establishing branches in other places. There is a big field right here in Chicago, not only to organize Furniture Workers, but also Foodstuff Workers, and many other industries. We need leaflets and pamphlets in many languages for each industry in order to do effective organization work, and this will have to be written by workers familiar with these industries and members capable of writing such are invited to do so at once and send them to this office and we will endeavor to have them translated and printed so they can be put to work where effective results may be accomplished.

#### Press Fund

At no time in the past has the demand for literature in all languages been so great or persistent as at the present time; with the publication of many papers and magazines and bulletins comes greater calls for both pamphlets and leaflets in these many languages. The new Goss press can take care of the printing of the papers, but we have urgent need of two more linotype machines and another press for pamphlets and leaflets. Several of the papers have to be set up outside and they are under a heavy handicap thereby, the cost of them being two to three times more for composition, as well as lost time and expense of running back and forth. The German and Croatian papers, both of these are set up outside, are clamoring to be made weekly in place of twice a month. Consider what the two linotypes we have are called upon to do, working three shifts. "The New Solidarity," 6 or 8 pages weekly. Russian Golos Truzenika, 4 pages, three a week. Hungarian, 4 page weekly. Bulgarian, 4 page weekly. Italian, 4 page weekly. Swedish, 4 page weekly. Jewish, 4 page, twice a month. German, 4 page, twice a month. Croatian, 4 page, twice a month. Polish, 4 page, monthly. Spanish, 4 page, monthly. One Big Union Monthly, 64 pages. Russian monthly, 48 pages. The Boomer, 4 page, monthly, besides pamphlets, leaflets, I. U. bulletins and all the literature for the General Defense Committee. In order to get another linotype installed as early as possible, the Hungarian Press Committee have loaned \$500, the Russian Press Committee \$500 and the German Press Committee \$800. To order one from the makers means from 6 to 8 months before one could be installed; we are after one that can be installed at once for which we will have to pay \$4,300 cash; we therefore call upon those interested in seeing a more up-to-date printing plant established without delay, so this most necessary work for reaching the workers of all tongues with the message of Industrial Organization, to donate as liberally as possible to our Press Fund and speed this good work along. We have many inquiries lately for Greek literature dealing with Industrial Unionism. We have had the leaflet, "The Idea," translated, and another leaflet by Fellow Worker Katsiolis printed, also Grover Perry's pamphlet, "Revolutionary I. W. W.," and "Industrial Communism," by H. L. Varney, translated into

Greek, and these will all be off the press during the month of November. The pamphlets will be \$6 per hundred, express charges collect. The leaflets will cost \$2.50 per thousand.

We ask Fellow Workers and Branch Secretaries to send for this literature; also send us the address of Greek Fellow Workers, so we can get them busy doing educational work among their countrymen.

A blanket bond of \$15,000 for ten of the Wichita defendants has been set. These boys have been waiting trial in jail for two years now. If you have Liberty bonds, why not loan them to the General Defense Committee to be used for bonds for these boys pending their trial?

The deportations of our Fellow Workers to European countries have been the means of publicity about our persecutions being spread abroad resulting in the formation of Defense Committees in many countries who are obtaining writeups in papers and magazines and holding big mass meetings, which we shall soon hear more about, and showing the solidarity among all workers is gaining ground rapidly.

Yours for Industrial Solidarity,  
Thos. Whitehead,  
General Secretary-Treasurer I. W. W.

**GENERAL ORGANIZATION SUMMARY**  
Receipts and Disbursements for October, 1919

Receipts	
Due stamps, per capita.....	\$3,580.00
Assessment stamps:	
Gen. Org. ....	\$1,096.00
C. W. Relief .....	2,836.00
Gen. Def. ....	1,394.00
<b>Total assessments</b> ....	<b>5,476.00</b>
Org. supplies .....	1,085.85
Literature .....	1,018.79
Buttons and pins .....	356.70
Personal accounts .....	2,258.39
Publications .....	5,815.08
Misc., loans, etc.....	1,298.70
<b>Total receipts</b> .....	<b>\$20,839.51</b>
Disbursements	
Office expense:	
Wages .....	\$718.00
Staty. and supplies.....	36.75
P. P., exp. and freight....	126.60
Misc.: Rent, telegrams, postage, etc. ....	332.45
<b>Total office expense</b> ....	<b>\$1,213.80</b>
On acct. publications.....	6,697.39
Books and pamphlets .....	3,902.35
General organization expense:	
Wages .....	\$405.00
Misc. printing, etc.....	98.75
<b>Total org. expense</b> ....	<b>\$508.75</b>
Organization supplies .....	7,487.15
Due stamps .....	96.00
General Recruiting Union..	835.01
Personal accounts .....	1,289.76
Bank exchange .....	8.95
<b>Total disbursements</b> ..	<b>\$22,029.16</b>
Excess of disbursements over receipts for October..	\$1,189.65

**STATEMENT OF PUBLICATIONS FOR OCTOBER, 1919**

ONE BIG UNION MONTHLY	
Oct. 1, deficit .....	\$332.53
Receipts .....	\$1,637.34
Disbursements .....	1,400.64
<b>Oct. balance</b> .....	<b>286.70</b>
Nov. 1, deficit .....	\$95.83

THE NEW SOLIDARITY	
Oct. 1, deficit .....	\$2,375.33
Receipts .....	\$774.06
Disbursements .....	1,069.57
<b>October deficit</b> .....	<b>295.51</b>
Nov. 1, deficit .....	2,670.84
DER KLASSENKAMPF (German)	
Oct. 1, balance .....	\$166.55
Receipts .....	\$294.04
Disbursements .....	451.63
<b>Oct. deficit</b> .....	<b>157.56</b>
Nov. 1, balance .....	8.99
GOLOS TRUJENICKA and TRUDOVAJA MISL (Russian)	
Oct. 1, balance .....	\$1,112.32
Receipts .....	\$1,671.21
Disbursements .....	1,769.22
<b>Oct. deficit</b> .....	<b>98.01</b>
Nov. 1, balance .....	1,014.81
IL NUOVO PROLETARIO (Italian)	
Oct. 1, deficit .....	\$1,921.17
Receipts .....	\$348.61
Disbursements .....	629.21
<b>Oct. deficit</b> .....	<b>285.60</b>
Nov. 1, deficit .....	2,206.77
GLAS RADNIKA (Croatian)	
Oct. 1, balance .....	\$477.94
Receipts .....	\$520.60
Disbursements .....	358.69
<b>Oct. balance</b> .....	<b>161.91</b>
Nov. 1, balance .....	639.85
PROBUDA (Bulgarian)	
Oct. 1, balance .....	\$281.75
Receipts .....	\$309.08
Disbursements .....	406.95
<b>Oct. deficit</b> .....	<b>97.87</b>
Nov. 1, balance .....	188.88
DER INDUSTRIALER ARBEITER (Jewish)	
Oct. 1, deficit .....	\$15.84
Receipts .....	\$123.10
Disbursements .....	269.98
<b>Oct. deficit</b> .....	<b>146.88</b>
Nov. 1, deficit .....	162.72
NYA VARLDEN (Swedish)	
Oct. 1, deficit .....	\$1,572.56
Receipts .....	\$260.42
Disbursements .....	600.57
<b>Oct. deficit</b> .....	<b>240.15</b>
Nov. 1, deficit .....	1,812.71
LA NUEVA SOLIDARIDAD (Spanish)	
Oct. 1, deficit .....	\$1,405.02
Receipts .....	\$111.00
Disbursements .....	3.00
<b>Oct. balance</b> .....	<b>108.00</b>
Nov. 1, deficit .....	1,297.02
SOLIDARNOSC (Polish)	
Oct. 1, deficit .....	\$97.18
Receipts .....	\$68.45
Disbursements .....	124.32
<b>Oct. deficit</b> .....	<b>60.87</b>
Nov. 1, deficit .....	158.00
PROLETARAS (Lithuanian)	
Receipts .....	\$7.41
Disbursements .....	2.91
<b>Oct. balance</b> .....	<b>\$4.50</b>
Nov. 1, balance .....	4.50
A FELSZABADULAS (Hungarian)	
Nov. 1, deficit .....	22.40

## TRIAL BALANCE OF PUBLICATIONS

November 1, 1919		
	Debits.	Credits.
One Big Union Monthly .....	\$95.83	
New Solidarity .....	2,670.84	
Der Klassenkampf .....		68.99
Golos Truzenika and Trudovaja Misl..		1,014.31
II Proletario .....	2,206.77	
Glas Radnika .....		639.85
Probuda .....		188.88
Der Industrialer Arbeiter .....	162.72	
Nya Varlden .....	1,812.71	
La Nueva Solidaridad .....	1,297.02	
Solidarnosc .....	158.00	
Proletaras .....		4.50
A Felzbadulas .....	22.40	
Deficit due Headquarters .....		6,574.76
<b>Totals .....</b>	<b>\$8,426.29</b>	<b>\$8,426.29</b>

## GENERAL DEFENSE FUND

## Statement May 1 to November 1, 1919

May 1 balance.....		\$7,137.72
May receipts:		
Defense donations .....	\$1,267.19	
Relief donations .....	561.90	
Defense assessments .....	95.00	
Relief .....	65.00	
Total receipts .....		\$1,989.09
May disbursements:		
Wages .....	\$309.25	
General expense .....	924.65	
Legal expense .....	708.50	
Relief .....	1,378.20	
Total disbursements .....		\$3,315.60
Deficit .....		1,326.51
June 1 balance .....		\$5,811.21
June receipts:		
Defense donations.....	\$372.20	
Relief donations.....	1,294.95	
Defense assessments.....	79.50	
Relief assessments.....	396.00	
Total receipts .....		\$2,142.65
June disbursements:		
Wages .....	\$163.00	
General expense .....	82.25	
Legal expense .....	2,367.07	
Relief .....	1,207.49	
Total disbursements.....		\$3,819.81
Deficit .....		1,677.16
July 1 balance .....		\$4,134.05
July receipts:		
Defense donations .....	\$3,081.97	
Relief donations.....	876.57	
Defense assessments.....	171.50	
Relief assessments.....	596.00	
Total receipts .....		\$4,726.04
July disbursements:		
Wages .....	\$62.95	
General expense .....	2,059.89	
Legal expense .....	5,007.16	
Relief .....	946.42	
Total disbursements.....		\$8,076.42
Deficit .....		\$3,850.38
August 1 balance .....		\$783.67
August receipts:		
Defense donations.....	\$5,971.87	
Relief donations.....	538.09	
Defense assessments.....	763.75	
Relief assessments.....	1,708.00	
Total receipts .....		\$8,981.71
August disbursements:		
Wages .....	\$317.00	
General expense .....	3,559.77	
Legal expense .....	1,550.10	
Relief .....	1,171.13	
Total disbursements.....		\$6,598.00
Monthly balance .....		2,383.71
September 1 balance..		\$8,167.38

September receipts:		
Defense donations .....	\$11,176.95	
Relief donations .....	1,225.47	
Defense assessments .....	3,157.50	
Relief assessments.....	1,151.00	
Total receipts .....		\$16,710.92
September disbursements:		
Wages .....	\$984.50	
General expense .....	4,106.33	
Legal expense .....	7,628.06	
Relief .....	1,045.23	
Total disbursements.....		13,762.12
September balance .....		2,948.80
October 1 balance.....		\$6,116.18
October receipts:		
Defense donations .....	\$13,310.44	
Relief .....	998.23	
Defense assessments.....	1,390.00	
Relief assessments.....	2,986.00	
Total receipts .....		\$18,688.67
October disbursements:		
Wages .....	\$1,436.90	
General expense .....	4,195.51	
Legal expense .....	1,278.54	
Relief .....	1,270.33	
Advance to speakers.....	589.90	
Total disbursements.....		8,721.68
November 1 total.....		\$16,033.17
Recapitulation		
October 1 balance.....		\$15,508.34
General defense:		
October donations.....	\$14,308.67	
October assessments.....	4,380.00	
Total receipts .....	\$18,688.67	
October disbursements.....	\$8,721.68	
Balance .....		\$9,966.99
Organization:		
October receipts .....	\$20,339.51	
Less def. & rel. assmnts. ....	4,380.00	
Net receipts .....	\$16,459.51	
October disbursements.....	22,029.16	
October deficit .....		\$5,569.65
Net balance .....		\$4,397.34
Bail Fund:		
October receipts .....	\$3,627.51	
October disbursements.....	1,025.00	
Bail balance .....		\$2,602.51
October balance .....		\$6,999.35
Cash on hand November 1.....		\$22,508.19
Summary Showing Organization Indebtedness to Defense		
Defense fund:		
November 1 balance.....		\$16,033.17
Bail fund:		
November 1 balance.....		14,355.14
Total .....		\$30,388.31
DEFENSE AND BAIL BALANCE		
Nov. 1, cash on hand.....		\$22,508.19
Less linotype loans included in Oct. Organization receipts .....		1,170.00
Organization, due General Defense.....		\$ 9,100.12
BAIL AND BOND		
Recapitulation		
Bail Fund:		
Balance, Oct. 1.....		\$11,752.63
October receipts .....	\$3,627.51	
October disbursements .....	1,025.00	
Balance .....		2,602.51
Cash balance .....		\$14,355.14
Bonds on hand Nov. 1.....		2,995.00
November 1 balance Bail and Bonds.....		\$17,350.14

# I. W. W. LITERATURE

## PRICE LIST

	Single copies	Lots of 100
The I. W. W. Trial—George .....	\$0.25	\$15.00
Vanderveer's Opening Statement (cloth) .....	.25	15.00
Vanderveer's Opening Statement (paper) .....	.10	3.50
Evidence and Cross Examination of J. T. (Red) Doran .....	.10	5.00
Evidence and Cross Examination of Wm. D. Haywood .....	.15	7.50
Testimony of Wm. D. Haywood before the Industrial Relations Committee .....	.10	5.00
Chicago Indictment .....	.10	3.50
The Everett Massacre—Smith .....	.50	35.00
The New Unionism—Tridon .....	.25	15.00
The I. W. W. Song Book .....	.10	5.00
The Red Dawn—George .....	.10	5.00
Proletarian and Petit Bourgeois—Lewis .....	.10	5.00
I. W. W.—One Big Union—Greatest Thing on Earth....	.10	3.50
The Revolutionary I. W. W.—Perry .....	.10	3.50
The Advancing Proletariat—Woodruff .....	.10	3.50
Onward Sweep of the Machine Process—Hanson.....	.10	3.50
Evolution of Industrial Democracy—Woodruff.....	.10	5.00
The I. W. W.—Its History, Structure and Methods— St. John (revised) .....	.10	5.00

### FIVE-CENT PAMPHLETS

Industrial Communism—The I. W. W.—Varney.  
A clear and concise explanation of Bolshevism and  
I. W. W.'ism; 24 page, large type and attractive  
cartoon on front page. Price, 5 cents a copy; in  
lots of 50, 4 cents; 100, 3 cents, prepaid; 500  
copies or more at 2 cents, express collect.

### PAMPHLETS IN PREPARATION

Hotel, Restaurant and Domestic Workers—Chumley.  
Revised and enlarged. (Ready soon.)..... .10 5.00

### LEAFLETS IN STOCK OR IN PREPARATION

Open Letter to American Workmen.....Hardy  
Eight page; a convincing argument for Industrial  
Unionism. Price, 30 cents a hundred, or \$1.75 a  
thousand.

Justice to the Negro .....Jones  
A clear picture of the industrial and social status  
of the Negro; four page, with cartoon on front  
page; price, 25 cents a hundred; \$1.50 a thousand.

Political Parties .....St. John  
Four page. A clear exposition of the fallacy of po-  
litical action as a mass of working class emancipa-  
tion. Price, 25 cents a hundred; \$1.50 a thousand.

An Address to Colored Workingmen and Women.  
A clear and forceful statement of working condi-  
tions of the Colored workers, as well as a plain and  
convincing statement of the attitude of the I. W.  
W. toward all workers. Price, 25 cents a hundred,  
or \$1.50 per thousand.

Note—All prices of pamphlets in 100 lots and leaflets  
in 1,000 lots are subject to express charges collect.

### SONGS WITH MUSIC

Price: 15 cents a copy; six for 75 cents; ten for \$1.00, prepaid; or  
\$7.50 a hundred, express collect.

Workers of the World, Awaken!.....Joe Hill  
The Rebel Girl .....Joe Hill  
Don't Take My Papa Away from Me.....Joe Hill  
We Have Fed You All for a Thousand Years....Music by Von Liebich  
Funeral Song of a Russian Revolutionist....Douglas and Von Liebich  
The Advancing Proletaire.....Douglas and Von Liebich

### ORDER FROM

**Thomas Whitehead, Gen'l Sec'y-Treas.**

1001 W. Madison St.

Chicago, Illinois

# I. W. W. PUBLICATIONS

Issued by the General Executive Board of I. W. W. Unions:

## ENGLISH

### THE ONE BIG UNION MONTHLY

1001 West Madison Street, Chicago, Ill. \$1.50 per year; 15 cents per copy; bundle orders 10 cents per copy.

### THE NEW SOLIDARITY

1001 West Madison Street, Chicago, Ill. \$1.50 per year, six months, 75 cents. Weekly.

### THE INDUSTRIAL WORKER

Box 1857  
Seattle, Wash. \$2.00 per year; six months, \$1.00. Weekly.

### THE REBEL WORKER

115 E. 10th Street, New York, N. Y. \$1.20 per year; six months, 75 cents. Twice a month.

### THE TEXTILE WORKER

20 Van Houten street, Paterson, N. J. Monthly.

## RUSSIAN

### GOLOS TRUZENKA

(The Voice of the Laborer), 1001 West Madison Street, Chicago, Ill. 3 times a week; \$5 per year; 6 months, \$2.75; 3 months, \$1.50; 3 cents per copy.

### TRUDOVAJA MISL

(Labor Thought) Monthly. 1001 W. Madison St., Chicago, Ill. \$2.00 per year. Six months \$1.00. Single copies 15 cents. Bundle orders 25% discount.

## HUNGARIAN

### A FELSZABADULAS

(Emancipation), 1001 West Madison Street, Chicago, Ill. \$2.00 per year; six months, \$1.00. Weekly.

## SPANISH

### LA NUEVA SOLIDARIDAD

(The New Solidarity), 1001 West Madison St., Chicago, Ill. \$1.50 per year; six months, 75 cents. Monthly.

## ITALIAN

### IL NUOVO PROLETARIO

(The New Proletarian), 1001 West Madison Street, Chicago, Ill. \$1.50 per year, six months, 75 cents. Weekly.

## SWEDISH

### NYA VÄRLDEN

(The New World), 1001 West Madison Street, Chicago, Ill. \$2.00 per year. Weekly.

## BULGARIAN

**PROBUDA** (Awakening), 1001 W. Madison Street, Chicago, Ill. \$1.50 per year; six months, 75 cents. Weekly.

## JEWISH

### DER INDUSTRIALER ARBEITER

(The Industrial Worker), 1001 West Madison Street, Chicago, Ill. \$1.50 per year; six months 75 cents. — Twice a month.

## JEWISH

### KLASSEN-KAMPF

(Class struggle) 115 E. 10th St., New York, N. Y. — \$1.50 per year. Six months 75 cents. Weekly.

## LITHUANIAN

### PROLETARAS

(The Proletaire) Monthly 1001 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois.

## POLISH

### SOLIDARNOSC

(Solidarity). Monthly. 48 Van Houten St., Paterson, N. J.

## GERMAN

### DER KLASSENKAMPF

(Class Struggle) 1001 W. Madison St., Chicago, Ill.; \$2 per year; six months, \$1; twice a month.

## FINNISH

### TIE VAPAUTEEN

(Road to Freedom.) Finnish Monthly. 1927 Madison Ave., New York City. Single copies 25 cts. One year \$2.00. Bundle orders over 10 copies, 20 per cent allowed.

## SOUTH SLAVIC (Croatian)

### GLAS RADNIKA

(The Worker's Voice) 1001 W. Madison St., Chicago, Ill. \$2.00 per year; six months \$1.00.

Published by Stock Companies:  
Industrial Union Papers

## FINNISH

### INDUSTRIALISTI

(The Industrialist) Box 464, Duluth, Minn. Daily.

### AHJO

(The Forge). Finnish Monthly. Issued by The Work People's College, Box 464, Duluth, Minn. \$1 per year, 25 cents per copy.

# SUBSCRIBE!