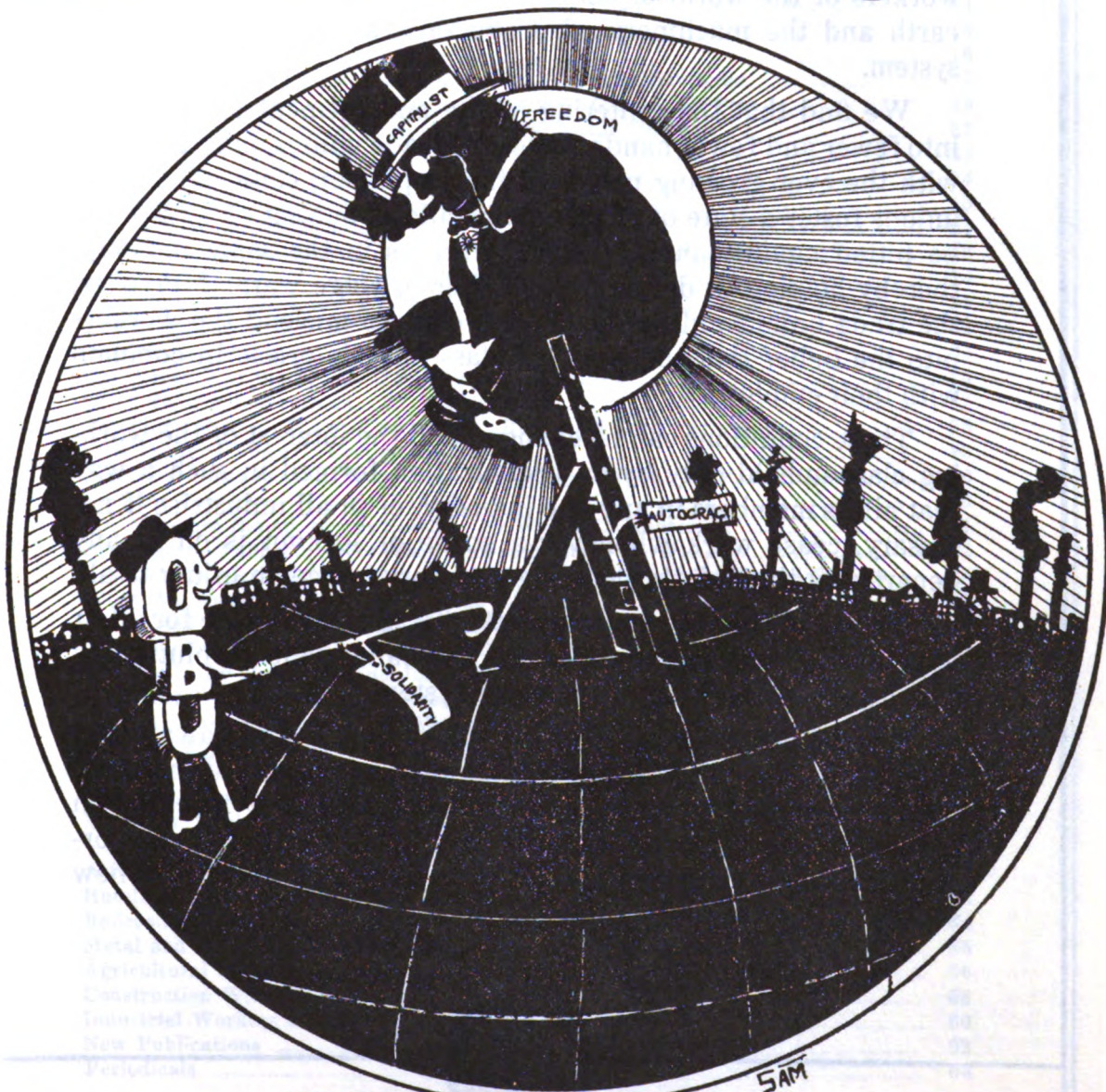


The **One Big Union** *Monthly*



THE ECLIPSE

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.

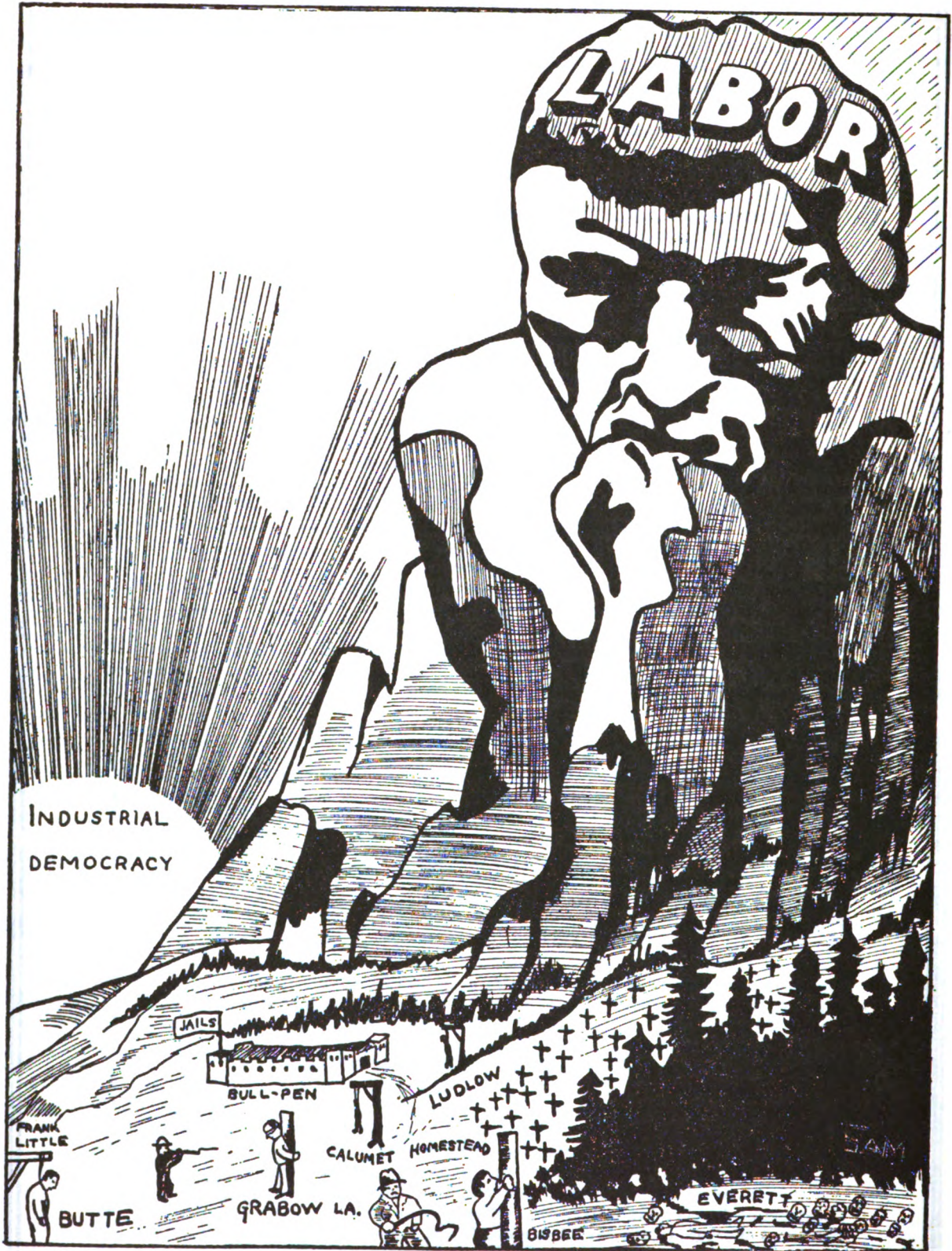
Instead of the conservative motto, "A fair day's wage for a fair day's work," we must inscribe on our banner the revolutionary watchword, "Abolition of the wage system."

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.



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THE IMPENDING DECISION

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

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Documents that Speak for Themselves

FOR THE SEVENTH CIRCUIT COURT

Chicago, July 1, 1919

Dear Sir:

The estimated cost of printing the record, together with the Clerk's fees for supervising, etc.,

in Cause No. 2721 } is \$ 4300.00.....
Dollars.

William D. Haywood, et al.

vs.

United States of America

Section two (2) of rule twenty-three (23) of this Court requires that the estimate must be paid within ten days after notification by the Clerk.

Respectfully,
EDWARD M. HOLLOWAY,
City Clerk.

To OTTO CHRISTENSEN, Esq.

General Executive Board,
Industrial Workers of the World,
1001 W. Madison Street,
Chicago, Illinois.

Chicago, July 1, 1919.

Gentlemen:

The United States Court of Appeals for the Seventh Judicial Circuit rendered a decision yesterday on our motion to have the record printed at government expense. The Court stated in its decision that as to all of the citizens who had filed affidavits that they were poor persons and unable to pay the costs of printing the record, an order would be entered relieving them of the costs in that respect. The court, however, held that the right to sue as poor persons under Federal statutes extended only to citizens of the United States and that those who were not citizens could not avail themselves of this statute nor obtain the benefit of the record of those who were citizens. The court stated in its decision that all aliens must comply with the rules of court which require appellants to deposit with the clerk the amount of money asked for in the clerk's "Estimate of cost."

The rules require that this money must be deposited within ten days after the estimate is made and that if the appellants fail to make the deposit the case may be dismissed upon motion of the government or upon the court's own motion.

The court enlarged the time within which to make the deposit asked for in the clerk's "Estimate of cost" until August 1.

I have today received the "Estimate of cost" from the clerk and it calls for \$4,300. This means that the organization must raise this money by August 1 and deposit it with the clerk on or before that date or otherwise the appeal will be dismissed as to all aliens and such citizens who failed or refused to sign the proper affidavits.

Very truly yours,
OTTO CHRISTENSEN.

Fellow Workers — Take Notice

Over \$4,300.00 must be raised between now and August 1 to print the Bill of Exemption for the aliens in the Chicago case.

Vanderveer is trying cases in the Northwest.

Christensen has gone to Sacramento to protect the rights of the Sacramento boys in the event the Chicago case is reversed. We couldn't let their rights go unprotected.

Miss Lowe is at Kansas City, Mo., working on the Wichita case.

Moore is dividing his time between Kansas and Oklahoma, to take care of Smith's case at Great Bend, the Bradley case at Lyons, the Higgins case and Denton case at Wichita and the Tyrill and Aldridge cases at Enid, Oklahoma, and the Krieger case in Tulsa and is working on the preparation of the Wichita case which comes to trial in September.

This all costs money. Cases undefended simply fasten public prejudice the more tightly on us. The cry of abandonment of legal defense comes from the outside of the

filthy debasing jails of the Middle-West. It is but the alibi to keep the cash in the pocket. No case has ever been won solely in court. We need money for investigation purposes. We need money for publicity. For every dollar that goes to the lawyers, we should spend ten dollars for investigation, publicity, office expenses and allied activities.

We haven't the money, we have got to have it. You have got it or have got to get it. The Convention decided for a segregation of all defense activities and all Defense Funds from the organization. This policy is being carried out. We expect to have a General Secretary-Treasurer of Defense appointed at an early date. Meanwhile, cash is needed now. The bunch in the jails are taking your philosophizing as to the value of legal defense as an excuse for not acting. You would if you were in the can.

Send funds until further notice to General Defense Committee care of Thomas Whitehead, 1001 W. Madison Street, Chicago, Ill.

Thomas Whitehead,
Acting Sec'y-Treas.

Our Prisoners

AS we are writing, about a dozen of the Leavenworth prisoners who were sentenced to one year from Chicago are again at liberty, and another dozen are temporarily at liberty on bail pending appeal. It may seem almost ghastly and ghoulish to count by the dozen our dear fellow-workers, of whom some are sentenced to twenty years' imprisonment, but there are so many hundreds of them in jail, that we have to deal with this misery wholesale. During the summer the number of our prisoners has increased instead of decreased as the Kansas and Oklahoma jails are filling up with members from the harvest fields. Great disasters dull the human sense of magnitude or else a disaster of this kind would crush our souls and drive us into madness.

We call your earnest attention to the first article in this issue. Read it word by word, think it over, and then act. As you will see, it is not a false alarm. It is a question of life or death, a question of to be or not to be. Upon your action will depend whether scores of the prisoners now shall have a chance to have their cases appealed. In this appeal rests their hope of liberty for

the next five, ten, or twenty years, as the case may be. If for lack of funds the appeal has to be neglected, then, farewell hope for our brave fellow-workers who went the limit in our behalf.

But far away be the thought that you should betray them and leave them in the lurch in this utter extremity. We know that you are coming to their aid, as true as your blood is red; but what you do, must be done immediately. DO IT NOW. DO IT NOW.

NEW ATTORNEY NOTICE

On account of Attorney Christensen going to California in connection with the Sacramento Appeal, the Bonds for the Chicago indicted men in Leavenworth, Kansas, will in future be taken in charge by John L. Metzen, Reaper Bldg., Chicago, Ill., to whom all letters for information and Bond forms should be sent.

Thos. Whitehead.

The Ku Klux Government

THERE is nothing like the sense of security in a country where there is a government of the people, by the people, and for the people. The liberty loving person can simply not breathe freely in any other kind of country. Such a country, the U. S. of America is supposed to be and was perhaps intended to be, but as a matter of fact, it has ceased to be a refuge of those who seek liberty. Over and above the government, federal and state, instituted by the vote of the people, there is a secret and invisible government, which affects our daily life in a most disastrous manner. When the necessities of life suddenly spring up so that you stand aghast, then you immediately get a vision of the profiteer and your blood surges in resentment. Little did you think that at that instant the black hand of the invisible government was on your throat. This same invisible government left traces at Homestead, at Ludlow, in Everett, on the Mesaba Range and in Lawrence, etc. It left traces behind at the hanging of Frank Little, at the legal murder of Joe Hill, at the numerous lynchings throughout the country, at the repeated Ku Klux visits, such as recently in Lawrence, when the editor of the textile workers' paper was beaten almost to death by the Ku Klux gang. It is leaving traces in the imprisonment in Kansas jails for nearly two years of two score fellows without trial. The same invisible government is leaving traces in the tar and feather party at Tulsa, in the illegal closing of I. W. W. halls at Seattle, and in the equally illegal mass arrests of I. W. W. men in California. The latest grewsome evidence of the existence and the activity of this secret and invisible government is contained in the following special telegram from Virginia, Minn., dated July 8th.

Telegram: "Ludnick Satina, delegate of Metal Mine Workers Industrial Union Number 800 was yesterday taken by force by a gang of men and carried away in an auto fifteen miles outside Gilbert, Minn. He was terribly beaten up and told that if he returned to the city they would hang him. It was the stools of the mining company that did it. Signed, A. W. Thorne."

As long as this secret and invisible government can with absolute impunity commit such acts almost daily in all parts of the country without serious effort to trace and punish them, we are compelled to consider the governments of the states and the nation, as outlined in the various constitutions, as mere camouflage governments while the real government is the secret and invisible one which can be traced only by the trail of violence and bloodshed and murder which it leaves behind. With the camouflage government, the I. W. W. has no fight. We don't fight wind mills, mirages or paste governments. We only take this opportunity to accuse them of not fulfilling their part of the contract which calls for the protection of the citizens and bringing to justice of the criminals.

Our fight is with the secret and invisible government which to us is neither secret nor invisible. We know where that government is located and we know of what persons it is composed. Its capitol is in Wall Street, and its officials are the defenders of the private ownership of the means of production throughout the country. Its executive servants are stools, finks, gunmen and murderers. That government, we frankly confess, we intend to overthrow and that is going to be accomplished by organizing the productive and distributive forces of the world along industrial lines, so that the people themselves can take over production and distribution.

The Campaign of the Agricultural Workers

AT the present writing the harvest is in full swing in the states of Oklahoma and Kansas. The harvest workers are more or less the same from year to year altho naturally a certain large percentage drops out and is replaced with new blood. Of the old timers, there is hardly one that has not heard of the Agricultural Workers Union No. 400, I. W. W. In fact, to thousands of them No. 400 is their pride in life as well as their only hope. Those of us who

know the conditions under which the harvest workers have lived and worked during the last few decades will not be surprised at this. Never in the history of the working class in any country or at any time was there a set of working men so abused and so maltreated as the harvest workers of the United States previous to the organization of No. 400. Conditions were such that the I. W. W. propaganda was like a spark in a powder keg. It simply seems to have thril-

led this large body of men. No. 400 grew to astounding proportions so to speak over night, and in spite of the difficulties of keeping together a body of labor of this kind when the harvest season is over, No. 400 kept on growing and solidifying from the inside until it now stands firm as the rock of ages determined to become the organ of agricultural production of the future.

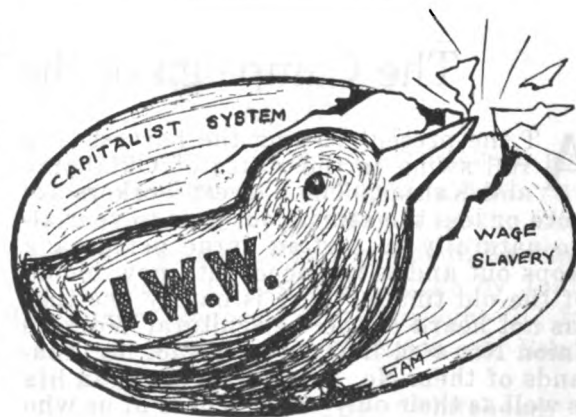
Never before have its members been put to the test so severely as this summer. Scores of their members are already in jail for months and years, and the resources of the union as well as of the individual members were almost completely exhausted. Before the harvest started, the states of Oklahoma and Kansas as well as Nebraska and South Dakota sent out warnings broadcast thru the capitalist press that they were prepared to receive the I. W. W.'s with special police, militia and gunmen, and that the machinery of the law and the courts was going to be strained to the utmost to keep I. W. W. agitation out of the harvest fields. Not enough with being poor, outcast and downtrodden, our members went to their yearly task of hard labor threatened with jail, clubbings and maltreatment, perhaps even death, for who knows what these men will do with the I. W. W. No sooner had our members appeared in the harvest fields of Oklahoma and Kansas before the wholesale arrests began. It was not a question whether these men were guilty of any misdemeanor or crime. Upon "suspicion" any harvest worker was taken into custody and searched, and if I. W. W. cards or literature or organizing material was found upon his person he was thrown into jail on some pretext or other. As a matter of fact, the constitutional guarantees have been suspended in the two states mentioned during the harvest. Equality before the law has there and in other states been abolished as an American institution, and a rule and a government of, by, and for the property-owning class has been set up in defiance of the underlying principles of American government.

Naturally treatment of this kind has had a tendency of keeping great numbers of harvest workers away from the states mentioned and as a result the farmers will suffer losses amounting to millions. The farmers themselves state that this disaster is due solely to the vicious efforts of the chambers of commerce, the Standard Oil, and the politicians in general, but before the harvest is over the lying press will probably find a way of rolling the responsibility of these losses to the farmer over on the shoulders of the I. W. W.

It is nothing but natural that the I. W. W. harvest workers have taken advantage of the situation and made an organized demand for higher wages, higher than have ever been paid in any harvest. According to reports of one of our delegates, the farmers around Hays, Kansas, have been forced to pay one dollar and twenty cents an hour while 70 cents an hour, board and lodging seems to be the current rate. Considering the hard work and the unsteadiness of the work, this is not a bit too high but that does not alter the fact that it is the highest that the harvest workers have ever come up to.

Chances are that as the harvest proceeds these workers in going northward to Nebraska, Iowa and the Dakotas, and up to Canada, will carry the high wage scale with them.

To those workers of the harvest fields who have this pleasant surprise without having moved a finger to attain it, we would put the question: "How do you think it came about? If you this summer work shorter hours, sleep in better beds, and eat better food, than harvest workers ever enjoyed, to whose efforts are those improvements due?" If you are fair and just you will admit that these improvements are due to the efforts of the men in No. 400. They organized and stood together. They worked when you slept, educating their fellow-workers. They took clubbing from the police and the gunmen. They spent weeks and months in jail for the cause. They held the union together and did not hesitate to invite you to share the benefits. Under the circumstances, what do you think your duties are? To us it seems that the first thing you should do would be to take out a membership card in No. 400 and place yourself in the ranks of the organized workers, standing shoulder to shoulder with them in their struggle for the emancipation from wage slavery.



Industrial Communism and Industrial Democracy

THE I. W. W. program aims at Industrial Communism and also at Industrial Democracy. What is the difference between them, if any?

"**Communism**" comes from the latin word "communis" which means "common." It refers to **ownership**. Communism, therefore, is a form of society in which things are owned in common. The early Christians are said to have preached communism, but to what extent it was practised and how comprehensive it was, will probably never be known.

All mankind began its carrier as communists. Every people as it enters the arena of history, enters it as primitive communists. Historic evidence of that fact can be piled up without limit. Numerous tribes of savages have been observed in that state, are now in it or are just emerging from it. In fact, human history cannot be explained except by starting from that basis. The various historic stages that human society has passed through are

Primitiv Communism
Family Collectivism
Feudalism
Private Capitalism
Collective Capitalism, and
INDUSTRIAL COMMUNISM

which is the name by which we signify the new form of society to which we are now going over and for which the I. W. W. and similar organizations are working.

Communism has been practiced and attempted at various stages of history. In medieval times the French people established communes of a kind, f. i. the commune of Laon. After the Franco-Prussian war the workmen of Paris established the commune of Paris and maintained it for six months. The country parishes of Sweden are still called communes, but to-day they are so to no greater extent than the city of Chicago is a "commune." In each case there are a good many things that the people have in common by forming an administrative entity, the streets, the parks, the schools, the libraries, etc., but as far as common ownership is concerned it does not extend to the means of production and distribution in the proper sense of the term. These are privately owned.

The great change that Industrial Communism would imply consists in making the means of production and distribution the common property of the people, using industrial unions as the organs of possession and operation.

Industrial Communism is two-fold in its nature, or even three-fold or more. When

carried out to its utmost consequences we will have first **The World Commune** comprising the whole world. Its subdivisions will be both industrial and territorial. There will be World Industrial Unions for the operation of the industries on a world basis and there will be Local Communes for local administration, and in both representation will be on an industrial basis. The servants of the people, "officials" as they are called now, will be elected from the workshops and the place of work by the actual workers, and this system of representation constitutes **Industrial Democracy**.

Democracy is a word of Greek origine and signifies "rule by the people" or "administration by the people," as opposite to rule by a privileged class.

The two expressions, Industrial Communism and Industrial Democracy, consequently do not signify the same thing although they are closely coordinated. Communism may be said to be the contents and democracy the form.

Industrial Communism refers to the system of ownership. Industrial Democracy refers to the system of representation and administration. Both are correct expressions by which to signify the new society. They are the new society seen from two different view points.

The bolsheviks call themselves communists. In so far as their ultimate aim is the realization of the I. W. W. program, they are justified in using the name. As a name for political parties it is a misnomer, being that the first aim of political parties is to capture the political power. The Left Wingers of this country, or at least the seceders from them, are following the illustrious example of the bolsheviks, and are trying to take the name of Communists and to make it stick. If they go in for Industrial Unionism with a view to creating organs for taking over production they will succeed. If not, it will be a misleading name, that will cause them trouble.

In the meantime we of the One Big Union should not hesitate in proclaiming ourselves **Industrial Communists** and our new society as one of **Industrial Communism**. Everything should have a name, and besides it saves a good deal of round-about explanations.

When you have become an I.W.W. man by conviction, do not spend any time with your fellow workers in mutual admiration. Get out among "the heathen" with a bundle of papers and magazines and try to convert them. That is how you yourself became converted. That is the way we grow.

The League of Nations

WHAT the trust is to the stock companies out of which it was formed, The League of Nations is to the nations out of which it was formed. In combining into a trust the stock companies lost their independence. In combining into a League of Nations, the various nations concerned lost their independence. They have no longer their free will in external or internal affairs.

The United States might as well make up its mind to that fact and admit that it is no longer an independent country or nation. It is part of The Nation Trust.

This will no doubt be humiliating to the self-sufficient farmer of the plains, to the mountaineers of Kentucky, to the backwoodsman of Arkansas, and to the man in general who has all his life been proud of the absolute independence of other powers plus the Monroe doctrine.

To the capitalist class of this country it is no humiliation. To them it is a business necessity, to which everything else is subordinated.

As their business expands, it grows out over the boundaries of the country, and these boundaries become a burden and an inconvenience rather than a protection. Just the same as a farmer who buys a number of surrounding farms finds it desirable to tear down the fences separating his original holding from the new ones, in order to operate the whole area as ONE farm, so the capitalist class in forming the League of Nations has torn down the "fences" separating the nations, and the whole world becomes its field of operations,

If accomplished, this marks a wonderful step in human progress. It signifies the es-

tablishment of internationalism, but not the kind that we workers would like to see. **It means capitalist internationalism.**

It means that our enemy has multiplied his powers. While the workers are **squabbling and dabbling** in internationalism, the capitalist class have **acted and accomplished**. We are behind again.

Just as the trust became a more formidable enemy to us than the stock companies composing it, just so the League of Nations will be a more formidable enemy to deal with than the separate nations. When the workers of one country want to come into their own and take possession of the wealth labor has created, as well as the resources of nature, they will be up against not only the privileged class of their own country but against the privileged class of this whole super-nation, The League of Nations.

This is no cause for us to throw up the sponge and say that emancipation from wage slavery now is impossible, but it will force us to throw away our -isms and to try to find a basis of unity, so that we can offer a common front to organized capitalist world dominion.

There is no program existing to-day which offers a base of unity and makes possibly a world battle-front of labor, except the program of the I. W. W. The future belongs to us, by sheer necessity.

Therefore, all hail the new internationalism, as far as we are concerned. We are all ready for the fray, or will be so in the near future. We will have an "Industrial Workers of the World" in fact and in reality instead of having it in the name only, as at present. Thus, the world progresses amid constant struggles that force us to think and act.

Gompers Beer Entusiasm

GOMPERS has filed a protest with the Senate Judiciary Committee. He wants to save beer in order to save his beloved friends (?), the workers, from the I. W. W.

The following excerpts from his protest report speak for themselves.

Regarding the effects of prohibition in Michigan Gompers has this to say:

"The House of the Masses, home of radicals in Detroit, has built up a membership of 21,800, with 17,000 shareholders, a capital investment in buildings of \$75,000 and over \$40,000 spent for propaganda work in Detroit alone. The Labor Museum, another radical organization, has a capital investment of \$85,000 in its Detroit building. Since pro-

hibition the miners of Michigan have turned in droves to the I. W. W.

"The radical propoganda that is making headway so rapidly in Detroit is spreading throughout Michigan. In the upper peninsula the copper miners are in **open revolt** against the absence of their accustomed beer, which they regard as part of their daily diet.

"Since prohibition set in many of the most skillful and best paid miners around Calumet have quit their jobs and gone elsewhere. In the lower peninsula, and particularly in the Saginaw Valley, where the coal miners are numerous, the unrest over conditions is particularly acute. The dissatisfied miners are turning toward radicalism in shoals.

"The movement in Detroit is of the fierce form of radical I. W. W. teaching and preaching akin to the revolutionary socialism of the continent of Eu-

rope rather than the parlor socialism of the London Fabian Society. It is a socialism born of class antagonism, and the hatred of all superiority, either mental, moral or physical, which would seem to be inseparable from radicalism, whatever name may be used to dignify it.

"The resentment of the working men was not alone due to the deprivation of beer, but indignation blazes forth at the idea that while the poor man is thus deprived the wealthy classes who took the beverage away from him have their cellars filled against all future needs."

Thus Gompers sounds a sharp note of warning to his friends the capitalist class.

Gompers fears prohibition, because experience proves that when the workers are sober and able to think clearly they decline to be misled by him and his gang. He as much as says to the capitalist class: "If you shut off booze and give the workers a chance to sober up and think, I can no longer guarantee to deliver the goods, as per our understanding and gentleman's agreement. Either you have to give them

booze or they will be I. W. W. Take your choice."

Of course, we know that the I. W. W. program will with necessity be the program of world reconstruction, booze or no booze, but there is no question but what our task will be much easier under prohibition than in "wide open" country. Our appeal is solely to the intelligence and to the sense of duty and justice of the workers. A sober workingman has all of these things, but a worker with a befogged mind and paralyzed will-power has neither. For that reason we have everything to gain by prohibition in a country where intoxication is a usual occurrence, like the U. S.

Gompers and we have the same object, namely to reach the workers mind. Gompers can't reach it, except the workers are kept in a state of drunkenness. We cannot reach it, except they are sober.

It's up to the workers to choose.



THE DUTIFUL SON

The Mooney Strike

THE general strike for the deliverance of Mooney and Billings has come and gone. From one point of view it was not much of a success. It did not include a sufficient number of working men to make a serious impression and what little there was of it was hardly mentioned in the capitalist press. We have no exact figures as to the numbers that went out, but for the present that is immaterial. The strike movement has established the fact that the American Federation of Labor may be justly accused of both treachery and duplicity. In the Mooney convention last winter, where close to a thousand delegates were present, the A. F. of L. elements showed the radical elements the door, as much as saying that they would not associate with such people in their noble efforts of saving Mooney and Billings.

The radicals did not exactly feel offended, but rather than in any manner jeopardizing the success of the Mooney convention they withdrew, leaving it to the A. F. of L. elements to stage the general strike. Altho repudiated, we of course, always had the intention of participating in the general strike movement and adding what weight we could to it. That such was our purpose is borne out by the actions of the I. W. W. in Seattle and the I. W. W. lumber workers of Eastern Washington and Northern Idaho, these being the principal places, where I. W. W. could enter into a struggle of this kind with any considerable numbers. As

far as the rest of the country is concerned, we, of course, had to await the action of the more numerous A. F. of L. elements, being that in very few places we are strong enough to accomplish anything by going out alone. We cannot but admit that we feel a bit disappointed. After all the stiff talk at the Mooney convention, we thought that the A. F. of L. leaders would be able to make at least some showing, but as it is the whole performance looks very much like treachery and duplicity. If it had not been for the good will of the repudiated radicals this so called Mooney strike would hardly have been worth noting. When it came to a test it was the Socialist and I. W. W. press that gave the most assistance in saving the strike movement from complete collapse.

There may be some of the radicals who will say that under the circumstances we should have nothing more to do with the A. F. of L. side of this movement, as it will only result in more disappointment, but as a matter of fact, when it comes to the sacred business of the class struggle, our patience and forbearance are almost inexhaustible. If the Mooney defense again calls upon the workers for a general strike, we have no hesitancy in promising, that the I. W. W. will be there on the spot. Our motto is, "An injury to one is an injury to all," and our sense of solidarity is stronger than our possible resentment against treachery and duplicity.

All communications to this periodical should be addressed to The One Big Union Monthly, 1001 W. Madison St., Chicago, Ill. — Do not address them to other departments, and do not mix in other publications. To do so causes confusion and loss of time. Please help us out by complying with these instructions. As the I. W. W. business expands, the members will have to accustom themselves to deal with the various departments separately to mutual benefit and satisfaction.

If you think The One Big Union Monthly is good for you to read, don't you think it is good for the other fellow also? Go and get his subscription and send it in. Or send in for a bundle order and sell them. You will have to do some active work, in order to get peace of conscience, and spreading our press is about the easiest work there is, and perhaps the most effective. Every reader should get at least 10 subscribers a year—no, per month.— Then you would see something drop!

The prisoners are waiting. Waiting for what?— They are waiting for you to act!



A PLACE IN THE SUN

BISBEE

FOR THE SECOND ANNIVERSARY

By Card No. 512210

We are waiting, brother, waiting
Tho the night be dark and long
And we know 'tis in the making
Wondrous day of vanished wrongs.

They have herded us like cattle
Torn us from our homes and wives.
Yes, we've heard their rifles rattle
And have feared for our lives.

We have seen the workers, thousands,
Marched like bandits, down the street
Corporation gunmen round them
Yes, we've heard their tramping feet.

It was in the morning early
Of that fatal July 12th
And the year nineteen seventeen
This took place of which I tell.

Servants of the damned bourgeois
With white bands upon their arms
Drove and dragged us out with curses
Threats, to kill on every hand.

Question, protest all were useless
To those hounds of hell let loose.
Nothing but an armed resistance
Would avail with these brutes.

There they held us, long lines weary waiting
'Neath the blazing desert sun.
Some with eyes bloodshot and bleary
Wished for water but had none.

Yes, some brave wives brought us water
Loving hearts and hands were theirs.

But the gunmen, cursing often,
Poured it out upon the sands.

Down the street in squads of fifty
We were marched, and some were chained,
Down to where the shining rails
Stretched across the sandy plains.

Then in haste with kicks and curses
We were herded into cars
And it seemed our lungs were bursting
With the-odor of the Yards.

Floors were inches deep in refuse
Left there from the Western herds.
Good enough for miners. Damn them.
May they soon be food for birds.

No farewells were then allowed us
Wives and babes were left behind,
Tho I saw their arms around us
As I closed my eyes and wept.

After what seemed weeks of torture
We were at our journey's end.
Left to starve upon the border
Almost on Carranza's land.

Then they rant of law and order,
Love of God, and fellow man,
Rave of freedom o'er the border
Being sent from promised lands.

Comes the day, ah! we'll remember
Sure as death relentless, too,
Grim-lipped toilers, their accusers,
Let them call on God, not on you.

The general strike is good for *stopping* production, to exert pressure on the capitalist class: It is good also for training in solidarity, and it causes a mind concentration of the masses on the ills that beset them and the way to get rid of them. But when it comes to the real thing, the taking over of the industries, we cannot do it by striking. To do that we will have to stay on the job and organize and train for the purpose.

Do not wait for what the workers in England, France, Italy, Scandinavia, Russia and Hungary are going to do. They are waiting for us to catch up with them. Go to it right here.

Anarchy has no economic program. That is why its name is hardly heard of in these days of economic reconstruction, where the main question is to put into practice an economic program that will solve the world problem.

The teachers of the country have a hard battle for their living under normal circumstances, but at the present time it is harder than ever for the powers that be are trying to rob them of man's precious possession: spiritual and intellectual independence. In New York the school authorities are not content with subjecting the teachers to inquisitorial methods to ascertain their views on such subjects as "bolshevism", etc., but they are even examining the pupils to find out their views and where they got them.

A. F. of L. has always been a sort of labor trust, giving job monopoly to its members. And the monopoly was protected by high initiation fees, rules and regulations excluding various groups, f.i. the negro. In admitting the negro the trust collapsed in part. The old citadel of craft aristocracy is crumbling all over.

The I. Double Ws.

Kuttings from Kipling by DOUGLAS

Have your heard of the I. double W?
 All over the country it's spread,
 It has sons on the farm—and a million at home
 And they carry the banner of red,
 (The glorious banner of red.)
 There's a little red card in their rockets
 And a button in each coat lapel,
 And the Wobblies, you'll find, they're never behind
 Where unorganized workers get hell.
 (Poor beggars—they always get hell.)
 Then here's to the I. double W.,
 And here's to the red blood that runs
 And burns in each vein of the radical train
 Of Labor's rebellious sons.
 (They're always—Rebellious Sons.)

Join hands with the I. double W.,
 Creation they're meaning to own,
 And they'll purchase the same with the sword or the flame,
 For 'twas Labor that built it alone.
 (Poor beggars—with blood and with bone.)
 Hands off of the I. double W!
 Hands off, you detective and cop,
 For the kings will come down and the capitalists frown
 When the I. double W. says, Stop!
 (And soon they are going to say, Stop!)
 Then, here's to the Union of Wobblies,
 From the Pole to the Tropics it runs,
 For there's mile upon mile of the rank and the file
 Who fear neither gallows nor guns.
 (Poor beggars, they face many guns.)

We heard of the I. double W.
 It's safest to let it alone
 For it's delegates stand by the sea and the land
 Wherever exploiters are known.
 ('Tis there One Big Union is known.)
 There's a voice on the wings of the morning,
 From the prisons and graves of the dead
 And it speaks of the day when the masters shall pay
 For the blood of our sacrificed dead.
 (We always remember our dead.)
 Then here's to the I. double Ws.
 At home or abroad on the sea,
 Here's all they desire, they'll never retire
 Until all the workers are free.
 (Poor beggars, they mean to be free!)

Former U. S. Senator Hardwick of Georgia, whose negro maid had both hands blown off by a bomb sent in the mail, tries to throw the blame on the I. W. W. We for our part are convinced the maid was the victim of a frame-up by the secret police, which is more and more resorting to the methods of the czar's okranja.

Federal Secret service agents claim to have listed 40,000 I. W. W.s in California alone in the last two years according to Boise, Ida., paper.

If You Like the O. B. U Monthly
 Increase Bundle Order Sales
 Get New Subscribers
 That is How Our Ideas Spread

I, the Working Man

By COVINGTON AMI

I am the Working Man.
 THE man without a country.
 All Nations, Kingdoms and Republics,
 All Empires rest upon my shoulders.
 For I am labor!
 I sail their ships and planes.
 I man their guns and tanks, their citadels and
 towers.
 I run their presses.
 I drop their bombs.
 I spread their gasses.
 I starve their enemies.
 I guard their camps and prisons.
 I furnish the corpses and the victories.
 MY blood is the crimson on their flags.
 On ME their glory rests.
 From ME their power comes.
 I make them all, I keep them all, I guard them all,—
 I, the man without a country!

I feed the Race.
 I clothe the Race.
 I house the Race.
 I AM the Race.
 For I am labor!
 I am Agriculture, Industry, Transportation; Com-
 merce and Art.
 I am fire and steam, light and electricity, civiliza-
 tion and society.—
 The wizard gold-producer.
 The raw material of wealth.
 The exhaustless source of dividends, interest, profit,
 rent, taxes and riches.
 The Alladin lamp and Frankenstein of Capital.
 I am the State.
 I serve the Church.
 I build the Union.—
 I made them all, I keep them all, I guard them all,—
 I, the man without a country!

I am love and life.
 I am bread and liberty.
 I am the womb of thought and truth—
 The mother of democracy—
 The nemesis of slavery
 For I am labor!
 All that you hold is MINE.
 But for me your fields are wilderness.
 Your mines dark caverns in the Earth.
 Your railways streaks of dust across a desert.
 Your mills and factories mausoleums of dead and
 silent steel.
 Your palaces, your temples and your banks the
 home of shadows and of worms.
 Your fleets lost derelicts on portless oceans drifting.
 Without ME all is NOTHINGNESS.
 The Word made flesh.
 I am the Logos.
 The Living Soul of your machines.
 The maker, keeper, guarder of it all,
 I, the man without a country!

Forward!

By COVINGTON AMI

Let the ancient hates be buried,
 With the evil past be buried;
 Close the ranks! Unite the forces!
 Mass them in a might of forces!
 Sons of Labor, forward!

Cease the war of ites and isms,
 For the dogmas and isms;
 And our watchword be forever:
 "Solidarity forever!"
 Sons of Labor, forward!

Open wide the cruel prisons,
 All the cruel, killing prisons;
 All the social convicts, free them!
 All the little children, free them!
 Sons of Labor, forward!

Group by group, by craft and union,
 Gather in the One Big Union;
 Each for all, and all together,
 To the New World, on together!
 Sons of Labor, forward!

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON

Thus begun Garrison in "The Liberator," Septem-
 ber, 1829

And here I close with this fresh dedication:
 Oppression! I have seen thee, face to face,
 And met thy cruel eye and cloudy brow;
 But thy soul-withering glance I fear not now—
 For dread to prouder feelings doth give place
 Of deep abhorrence! Scorning the disgrace
 Of slavish knees that at thy footstool bow,
 I also kneel—but with far other vow
 Do hail thee and thy herd of hirelings base;
 I swear, while life-blood warms my throbbing veins,
 Still to oppose and thwart, with heart and hand,
 Thy brutalizing sway—till money chains
 Are burst, and Freedom rules the rescued land—
 Trampling Oppression and his iron rod:
 Such is the vow I take—SO HELP ME GOD!

SENTIMENTAL REFORMERS

You lofty ladies, you who visit here,
 With hearts aflutter for our dear dear souls.
 Who urge reform of prisons, of paroles,
 And operations on our brains to clear
 Our minds of "tainted traits": why shed a tear
 For us? why seek to guide us thru the shoals
 Of this unsocial system, which enrolls
 In blood, the names of millions every year?
 For, they outside, are doing time for life,
 With no parole—by weary toil accursed,
 Till death commutes, and lifts the weary load:
 So ladies dear, why not get out the knife
 And operate upon the system first,
 Which causes men to break the penal code.
 Raymond Corder.

Hints to Contributors

By C. E. PAYNE

ONE of the great needs of the proletarian movement at the present times is a staff of correspondents in all industries. Without this, a great press for the I. W. W. is an impossibility. No matter how well an editor may write, or how perfect the make-up of the paper may be from a typographical standpoint, or how brilliantly the propagandists may discourse on the different phases of the labor movement, the newspapers will always be lame exponents of the working class movement unless there is a large number of news writers and correspondents who keep the papers informed of industrial progress and happenings from the working class standpoint.

No member of the working class who can write well enough to be understood should fail to send in any reports he may have knowledge of regarding working class activity and industrial happenings. No matter if the grammar and spelling and punctuation are not perfect, or if the manner of expression is not such as the writer would like, no member of the working class should hesitate about sending in reports of any matters that would be of interest to other workers. A statement from a worker regarding some matter affecting workers is better understood by other workers than an account of the same incident would be if written by a college president. The association of workers with workers in an industry gives a personal touch in a statement of this kind that can never be attained by outsiders, no matter how well those outsiders may write.

In sending in a report of any industrial news a clipping may be sent with it to give a more detailed account of the matter than the correspondent is able to make, but this should not be depended on to give the main news. The write-up should be made by the correspondent and the newspaper clipping should be secondary, if sent in at all. To send nothing but clippings to an editor and expect him to make news articles from them is equal to setting before a hungry man the remains from another man's dinner and expecting him to make a meal from it. It is nothing but rehash at the best.

In addition to a clipping from another paper being a rehash, for an editor who is not acquainted with the local situation to attempt to make a news article from it is not a very safe matter. The local paper may have purposely given a wrong slant to the article to mislead its readers, and one who does not know this fact could very well make a wrong statement that would misstate the situation entirely, and do great damage to men in some critical situation in a labor struggle.

Another thing that should be avoided is the stating of the writer's conclusions in a news article. The statements of the facts is what comprises the news article. The ideas the writer may have or the conclusions he may draw from the appearance

of the facts are a different matter, and partake of an editorial or propaganda nature. These should not be mixed with the news article when it is possible to avoid it, but should be written separately. Also, when the news article is properly written it will furnish its own propaganda, and the ideas of the writer will not need to be inserted.

No member of the organization should neglect sending in news articles because he cannot write as well as he would wish. We are organizing to take over the industries, and one of the first that we must take is that of establishing our own system of communication and intelligence in connection with our press. We must have correspondents in all lines on whom we can depend, and this means that we can never depend on some one else. At present the greater part of this work must be of a voluntary nature, and that also means that it must be taken up by the members of the organization. There is no one else who will do it voluntarily, and no outsider can be trusted to give the facts of industrial life as seen from the viewpoint of an industrialist.

It is useless to publish papers unless we can put into them the personal touch from out the lives of the workers. Every one can contribute something to make the sum total of a publication. If it is a news article of some live topic it can always find space as against a propaganda article, and the only reason it will be crowded out is because a news article of a much more important event requires space.

So, Fellow Workers, send in the news articles, not only to one paper but to all. If you cannot write as well as you wish, at least do what you can and leave it to the editor to make such corrections as are needed. He can do better with a poorly written article than he can with clippings or nothing.

The Diesel Motor is going to revolutionize the Marine Transportation of this country inside 5 years, says an authority. The European merchant marine has already adopted it. It displaces 2-3 of the engine crew. The day of steamships is gone, and we will now have *motorships*. Get ready for the great smash by organizing in M. T. W. Industrial Union No. 8 of the I.W.W.

The Spanish government is preparing to supply the whole country with electricity. It is going to utilize the waterpower to the greatest possible extent, and besides it is going to build power stations at the mouth of the coalmines where they will burn low grade coal which it does not pay to ship. This sounds like a very sensible proposition. It will be a fine thing for the Spanish Workers to take over when they get ready.

Revolutions In the Past and in the Present

By JOHN SANDGREN

IN the past production has been largely agricultural. It is just in the last century or so that production is becoming industrial in the proper sense of the word. For that very reason the revolutions of the past have largely consisted in changing the tenure of land.

The French revolution of 1789, as far as its economic features are concerned, consisted mainly in taking away the land from the old feudal owners belonging to the church and the nobility, and placing it in the hands of the peasant. The whole procedure was rather simple. The agricultural laborer simply stayed where he was, drove away the landlord and took possession, and the revolution was completed.

What took place in Russia only a couple of years ago was very much of the same nature, for the very reason that Russia is largely an agricultural country. The land was for the most part owned in large estates by the crown, by royalty, by aristocracy and other large landlords. 90 per cent of the population was agricultural. The main question to solve for the Russian revolution was, consequently, the question of land tenure, and this question the Russians solved much in the same manner as the French solved it in 1789. The large estates were confiscated, the land was divided up in small holdings, and the principal part of the revolution, the part that concerned nine tenths of the population, was solved for the present in a simple and easy manner. Agricultural production continued and the mass of the people did not have to starve and suffer to any appreciable extent.

When it came to taking over the rest of Russian economic society, the one-tenth part that was industrial, the question became more complicated, and the revolutionists did not make any signal success of that part of it. Still even here their task was comparatively easy. When the revolution started and the old owners of the industrial resources and the machinery of production were displaced, production collapsed in part and has not yet recovered in the course of the past two years. Still, it did not create any such great havoc, as industrial production formed such a comparatively small part of Russia's economic life. The workless proletarians, being fresh from the country, swarmed out into the country, went back to their home regions and joined their relatives, sharing with them their bread and their labor. Thus Petrograd and Moscow are said to have lost more than half of their populations, and the same applies very likely to the other industrial cities.

The Russian revolution did not become any great catastrophe.

As a general rule it may be said that the simpler the mode of production is, the smaller will be the upheaval of a revolution. The parts of the population that lose their footing temporarily are easily adjusting themselves and manage to make a living.

It is for this reason that revolution in Hungary and Bulgaria also becomes a relatively simple affair.

In Germany, which is a great industrial country, the matter is quite different. In fact, there the revolution with necessity had to stop with a purely political revolution. Agriculture is only a comparatively insignificant part of German industrial life, the main part being purely industrial in the American sense. There was no possibility for the German industrial workers to flee out in the country to relatives or old neighbors. The industrial population of Germany has been definitely divorced from the soil.

When the question of taking over and running the industries arose, the German industrial workers found they were not prepared for it, and as a consequence they had to allow private ownership to continue, or to go over to government ownership to a small extent. The German worker continues to be a wageslave and will with absolute necessity continue to be so for some time to come. And the reason for this is that they had no organs ready for taking over and running production, no more so than the Russian workers had any such organs. The Russian workers are now slowly and painfully trying to develop those organs by creating industrial unions for the operating of the industries. Russian industry being simple, they are making quite a noticeable headway in this regard, according to last reports, but in Germany, where industry has already reached a stage of wonderful complexity, the task is not so easy.

The only German workers who seem to have caught the idea of taking over the industries through their unions are the syndicalists, and they are as yet comparatively few. For the big mass of German workers the problem appears to be one of establishing government ownership, but the government on the other hand, very naturally, is in no shape to take over production, and as a result, private ownership still thrives.

The whole question resolves itself into a question of creating the necessary organs for taking over production. Until these organs are created the main question is not how to tear down the old system of production, but how to prop it up to that it will last until the new system is worked out. And this is no easy question to solve. Capitalism is gone so far in decay that it can no longer fulfill the undertaken task of feeding, clothing and housing people, and the impatient and suffering millions are fretting for a chance to tear it down, irrespective of what they have ready to take its place, if anything.

This is a dangerous situation, which is apt to result in the gravest calamities unless patience and good common sense is used.

Turning to the United States we find conditions that may not be entirely different in kind, but very

different in degree.

In the U. S. there is no such land question as we had in France, in Russia, in Hungary, or even partly in Germany. The standard type of land tenure in this country is, as yet, the 160-acre farm owned by the man who tills it or superintends the tilling. A good many farms are smaller, and but very few are big holdings. True, a large percentage are tenant farmers, but in spite of the grievances of the landowners and tenants, the land question is not the one that is looming big on the horizon. It is not the big landowner we fear in this country, it is what is popularly called "big business," industrial capitalism.

For that reason there is actually no desire on the part of the country proletariat or the industrial proletariat of the cities to kill off the owners of the land or drive them away. The most radical among radicals, the agricultural workers of the I. W. W., do not propose to do as the Russian agricultural workers. They do not want to drive the farmer off the soil and divide his land. What they want is to organize agriculture as one great enterprise, managed by those engaged in agriculture. They want a revolution in their industry, sure, but that revolution runs in an opposite direction to the Russian agricultural revolution. The American agricultural worker wants not to divide, he wants to organize his industry, and as far as he himself is concerned, he wants nothing more and nothing less than the previous owner, he wants the full product of his toil. This he can get only by making the agricultural industry an inseparable part of the great human household, by co-ordinating his industrial union with all other industrial unions for universal and unrestricted exchange of products. This is the only manner in which he will be able to utilize modern machinery and modern methods of agriculture and obtain the best results.

This method requires far-sighted economic vision, it requires patience and endurance. The thing can not be done until the agricultural workers in mass organize into The Agricultural Workers Industrial Union. Of course, the farmer will make resistance to the idea for the present. He considers it preposterous that anybody should propose to disturb him in the ownership of the land that he has himself conquered from the wilderness, bought for cold cash, or inherited from his family. But as time goes on, the interdependence of men will become more plain to all layers of society and even to the farmer. Moreover, private ownership will gradually prove itself so impossible that it will be out of question any longer to continue it. The day will come when the farmer himself will prepare to surrender his title to the land to the people as a whole, represented by the agricultural organization and place himself as a worker on the One Big U. S. farm, side by side with the men who now are organized in the Agricultural Workers Industrial Union of the I. W. W. This may take time, but that it is the final solution, no sensible man will doubt.

Any attempt to solve the land problem in the U. S. by driving off the old owners en masse and placing the present agricultural wage laborers in possession as private owners, as has been the custom in previous revolutions, is bound to result in utter failure and terrible disaster.

But, as we said, the land question is not the one towering, big question in the U. S. The big question here is the specifically industrial question.

In Russia, at the time of the revolution, industry collapsed more or less. This was a terrible thing to happen, sure enough, but as only about ten percent of the population were purely industrial the collapse did not assume the proportion of an irreparable calamity or the annihilation of a people. As long as the farmer followed his plow and sowed his grain, it was not such a terrible thing if the wheels of industry stopped for a while. Those wheels have not started moving yet in a normal manner by a long way, and still the Russian people lives on, fighting with foreign enemies on practically all the borders of the country.

First we note that industrial production is the main thing in this country. Hand production, individual production is actually unknown, except as a matter of history. Steel f. i., is not produced in small individual plants. The whole steel industry of the country is one great organic affair, dominated by one or two concerns, which are the organs of steel production. If you smash those organs, you smash steel production, unless the prospective smashers, the workers have productive organs of their own by means of which they can continue production. But that they have not got as yet. Only a small part of the steel workers are organized, and those that are organized, are only in part industrially organized. Altogether they are said to number more than 300,000, and most of these do not feel any responsibility for the keeping up of steel production, without which American society would actually collapse. To such an extent has interdependence developed that the taking away of one single article will cause the whole social structure to crumble.

The workers can not take over the steel industry by driving off the steel trust and then dividing the mines and the smelters and the mills. That would absolutely destroy steel production. If they want to drive off the trust, they have got to be able to take over the whole industry or perish in the general social collapse. Taking over of the industry will be absolutely impossible, except after the whole mass of workers engaged in steel production have organized themselves as one organic body, including every single individual of them and placing everybody in his right place. For a steel worker to talk revolution without first having seen to it that his industry is organized properly is contemptible and vicious. The man that talks that way is a public danger, and should be taken in hand by his fellow men and speedily enlightened before he has a chance to do serious damage.

The same thing applies to the oil industry. The

man that proposes to make a revolution and divide the property of the Standard Oil is either a fool or a knave. Smashing the oil trust without having other organs of production ready for immediate use, is not only stupid but criminal. It would in a few days throw society into spasms. It could properly be called malicious social mischief. Before the oil trust is displaced we should be sure that we have another productive organ ready that is able to bodily take over the property of the oil trust and continue oil production, so that the flow will not stop for a minute. In other words, let us get the Oil Workers' Industrial Union ready so that it is able to take over the Standard Oil Co.

In the same manner we could go through the whole list of trusts, the modern American productive organs, and come to the same results. What we have said about steel and oil applies perhaps still more acutely to the food trust. If you smash that without being prepared to take the responsibility for food production, without interruption, you are going to throw the country into fits inside a week.

If you take up the list of trusts as contained in any book of economic statistics and go through them one by one you will see that what we have said above applies to nearly all of them with equal force. If you disable one or several of them you have disabled the whole social machinery.

To use an illustration. There is hardly a more complex machine in existence than a modern printing press, such as is used by the big daily newspapers. It is a wonderful piece of machinery, yet so sensitive withal that if you remove one or two or three minor parts of it, it is not worth more than its weight in junk, unless you are able to exactly duplicate the missing parts. Just so complex is present day American society, nearly as sensitive, and fully as wonderful as a composite machine of production.

Now it is a fact that this wonderful machine of production is in immediate danger of being smashed by barbarian hands, who know not what they are doing.

The insane pressure for profits by the capitalist class is driving people to such despair that they are about ready to undertake most anything. Capitalism has undertaken to supply mankind with what it needs, but it is not living up to its contract, and the result is apt to be revolutionary outbreaks which might easily flash up into a country-wide and world-wide revolution which smashes everything without regard for consequences, without having any new

The Hindus of the U. S. have sent out an urgent appeal to forestall the deportation of Gopal Singh, a young Hindu Nationalist. He was convicted of conspiring to violate the neutrality laws of this country in 1915-16, and sentenced to serve a year and a day on McNeill's Island. His term expired on Feb. 23, and he was to be deported at once. The point is raised that deporting him to India would mean his immediate execution by the English authorities.

organs of production to take the place of the old ones.

If premature revolution (premature because we are not industrially organized) breaks loose in this country, it will unquestionably be the most ghastly calamity of all history, for the reasons just mentioned above.

The more simple the mode of production is, the smaller is the shock of a revolution. The more complex the organization is, the more terrible will be the social earthquake, **unless we prepare for it.**

It is becoming more and more of a social duty for every thinking person with social vision to hasten the preparation, for the preliminary shocks of the social earthquake are being registered every day.

And there is only one way to prepare, there is only one way to save this country from a dreadful social calamity and that is to **ORGANIZE ALL THE PRODUCTIVE AND DISTRIBUTIVE WORKERS INDUSTRIALLY SO THAT THEY WILL BE ABLE TO TAKE OVER AND MANAGE PRODUCTION WHEN CAPITALISM COLLAPSES.**

This is the "One Big Union" movement now sweeping over the English-speaking world as well as other parts of the world.

The I. W. W. is the pioneer movement on this field, and in spite of resistance and persecution it has performed the seemingly impossible task of organizing the most hopelessly depressed workers in such a manner that they are now feeling ready to take over their respective industries on short notice.

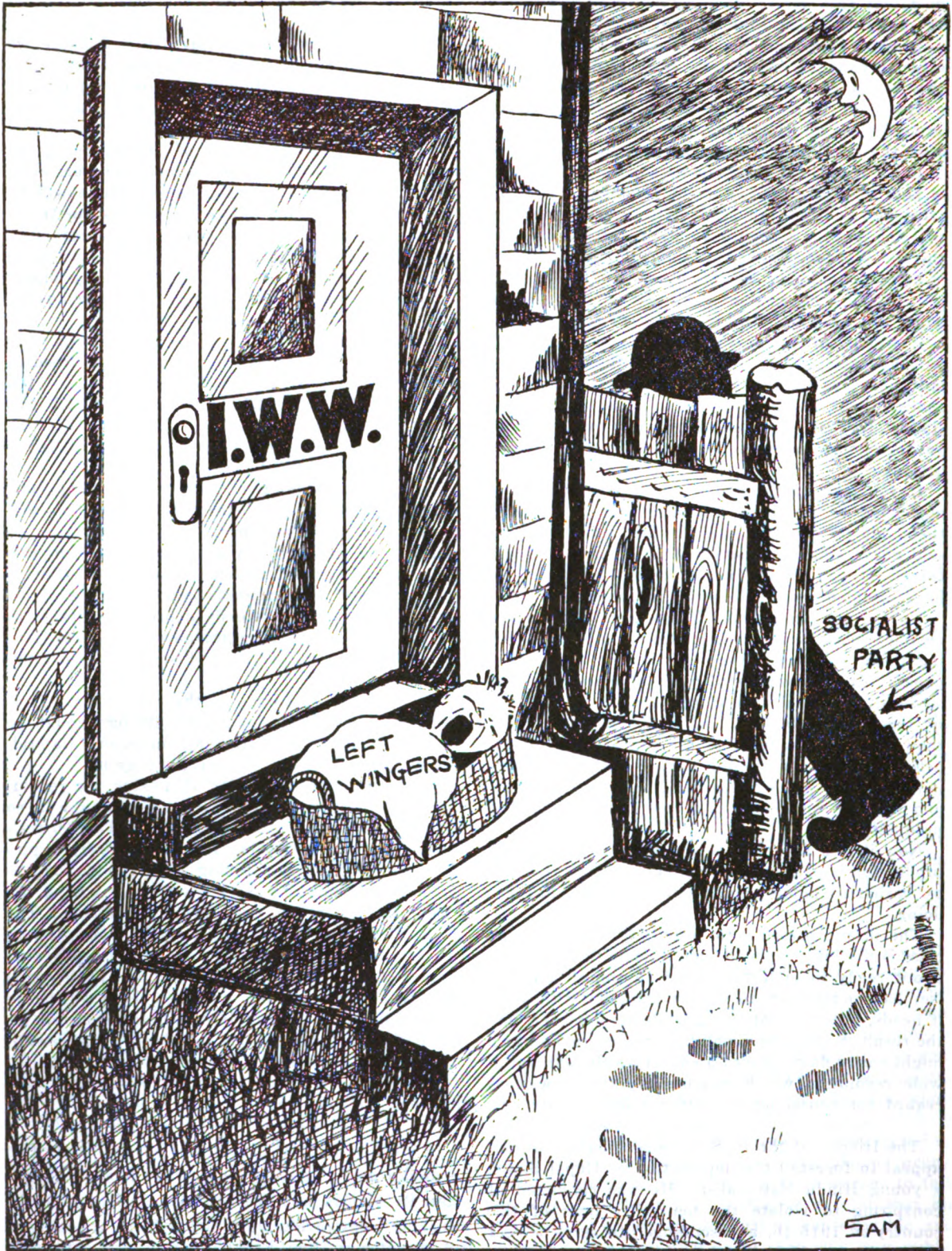
We are not speeding on the revolution. It is going to come fast enough and strong enough to satisfy the most "revolutionary" firebrand. Capitalism is speeding it on. It is right over us.

The question is no longer of making the revolution, the question is now **how to prepare for it**, so it will not crush us and annihilate us. The Australian workers are preparing for the shock by organizing the workers for taking over production; so have the Canadian workers done in organizing the "One Big Union," so does the I. W. W. do. The A. F. of L. membership is gradually waking up to see the approaching danger, and are sleepily stirring to change into industrial unionism. Pretty soon they will be wide awake, and then there will be an industrial union cyclone that will result in an organization that will be able to take the first revolutionary shocks without breaking down.

But, Fellow Workers, let us hurry with our preparations. We have not a minute to lose.

"Ca ira, ca ira!" ("It moves, it moves!"), old Ben Franklin used to answer when asked how the American Revolution was progressing. And so with the working class revolution today. There are millions of proletarian Ben Franklins who are exultingly shouting, "Ca ira! Ca ira!"

When capitalism can no longer maintain itself, it resorts to war.



THE LUSTY FOUNDLING AND THE HEARTLESS FATHER

The Humorous American Intelligensia

By JUSTUS EBERT

THE left wingers in their attacks on the I. W. W. are bound to make themselves useful to the capitalist class and a joke to the intelligent working class. The left wingers take themselves seriously, they are obsessed by phrases the contents of which they are unable to recognize in reality, though they mouth these phrases with an air of great solemnity, finality and understanding.

The left wingers declare, for instance, that the I. W. W. is growing conservative because it does not—so they allege—proclaim aloud the theory of proletarian dictatorship or publish pamphlets on the subject. At the same time the left wingers fail to specify wherein, by any practical act or word, the I. W. W. has ever espoused, subscribed to, or submitted to, any other dictatorship in fact.

Like the prosecuting attorneys of the capitalist class, the left wingers, despite the fact that they talk much about "action," "reality," etc., are prosecuting the I. W. W. not for its acts or transgressions of the proletarian code but for its mental attitudes—as the left wingers believe they see them; not as they really are!

Possibly, if we are to believe the left wingers—possibly, the capitalist class is making a grave mistake in prosecuting the I. W. W. What it should do, instead, is to befriend it. For, if, as the left wingers claim, the I. W. W. does not believe in proletarian dictatorship, it must follow that it believes in the dictatorship of the capitalist class. Of course, every act of the I. W. W., past and present, proves such an inference absurd; but then the inference is only as absurd as left wing logic makes it.

Or, possibly, once more, the real trouble with the I. W. W. is that, having once in its history overthrown the intelligensia, as personified by Daniel De Leon, in favor of the proletarian dictatorship of "the I. W. W. bummary," it now refuses to submit to another such dictatorship, as personified by certain intellectuals in this country, who, starting as chroniclers and interpreters of the Russian revolution, believe themselves now qualified, thru much phrase-mongering, to dictate to the proletarian in the name of the proletarian dictatorship itself.

And then there is **mass action!** Charmed phrase of great originality with the left wingers, with whom it is in danger of becoming massacre action; and who mouth the phrase much, forgetful of the fact that the I. W. W. practised mass action long before they ever came to talk so much about it.

What was the crime of the I. W. W. at the beginning of the war in the copper and lumber camps of the West and Northwest? Why, it practised mass action—mass industrial strikes, mass demonstrations, mass picketing, mass organization of all the miners and lumber workers, whether skilled or unskilled, organized or unorganized. Logically, it was for this that the I. W. W. and its sympathizers were

deported en masse at Bisbee, and arrested, persecuted, sentenced and jailed en masse at Seattle, Chicago, Butte and elsewhere! Have the left wingers, these mass actionists par excellence (on paper), any such record of mass achievements and persecutions?

Where were the left wingers, only recently, in the mass action general strikes at Seattle, Butte, and elsewhere? The I. W. W. played an important part in these strikes and because of this many of its leading members, like Deitz, Gammon, et al, now languish in jail. Again we ask! Where were the left wingers? Why, they were in Boston and elsewhere, calling the I. W. W. conservative and condemning it for trying to do in reality the things they do on paper, namely, start a proletarian dictatorship by mass industrial union action—the Social General Strike.

If the left wingers are such terribly real r-r-revolutionists, why, let them get out on the streets and start mass action in favor of the proletarian dictatorship, with John Reed as the Lenine of the occasion and Louis Fraina as the Trotsky. We have no objection. Go to it, John and Louis! Remember, example counts far more than theory! Begin in Lawrence, Mass., John; Louis!!

The fact of the matter is, as we said before, the left winger is a phrase monger who doesn't understand language when translated into action; and who himself has not yet translated his own language into actions that can be practised **right here, not in Russia!**

But to proceed further:

The I. W. W. has always favored action as against theory. It believes that every working class strike, however small or unsuccessful, is a training, a preparation for something bigger and more victorious; a step of a practical nature leading towards development and emancipation. It has been the active militant working class minority, fighting capitalism incessantly and without any limit to its sacrifices. In addition, it has always laid stress on conditions, and not on majorities, on evolutionary tendencies and the necessity for meeting them and preparing for their ultimate culmination by industrial union organization. This procedure the I. W. W. has called "building the new society within the shell of the old."

Now come the left wingers to show once more how little they understand either acts or language. They who have yet to earn the capitalist hatred lavished on the "conservative I. W. W."—for they are at liberty to attack the I. W. W. while capitalism harrasses the I. W. W. on all sides—they come and seek by implication to make the workers believe that the I. W. W. does not want to end capitalism until a majority of the workers are organized in industrial unions. Is there anything more absurd;

more contrary to the facts or I. W. W. teachings? Anything more typical of the application of left wing phrases in dealing with realities?

So we might continue much longer if space permitted or the left wing argument justified it. We will say further, however that the I. W. W. press, notably "The Industrial Worker" of Seattle, in the published interviews with the mate of the Russian ship, "Shilka," gave I. W. W. publicity and support to the Bolsheviki and its proletarian dictatorship beginnings, long before Louis Fraina, The Revolutionary Age, and the left wing appeared on the scene to proclaim themselves the only and original American Bolshevists.

The support of the I. W. W. organization and press at Seattle, Butte, San Francisco and elsewhere, contributed largely to the spread of Bolshevism along the Pacific coast and the great Northwest. Furthermore, the I. W. W. has published a pamphlet, "The Red Dawn," favoring Bolshevism. This is fact; not left wing theory—or imagination. The I. W. W. has been up and doing, while the left wing has been up and slinging phrases. If the I. W. W. has not done more it is because, bleeding, torn and exhausted, it was set upon by the bloodhounds of capitalism; a condition from which our brave "proletarian dictators," the left wing, seeks to profit, no doubt; as its untimely attack would indicate.

The I. W. W. has shown no desire by any of its recent acts, to deviate from its uncompromising course. Whatever desire is evident exists only in the minds of the left wingers; in the intellectual so-

ican intelligensia—the journalists, lawyers, doctors, phistications, a la Daniel De Leon, of the new Amerdentists, etc.—who lead the left wing. These non-proletarian elements talk "proletarian dictatorship," only to dictate to the most proletarian of proletarians, the I. W. W. And they expect to be taken seriously! If they want a real proletarian dictatorship why not begin on capitalism? Why pick on the I. W. W.

Let the leaders of the left wing give actual proletarians, not professional ones, a chance to dictate. Let them get a real proletarian following of some consequence and some weight. Let those leaders themselves get into industry and join the industrial organization of the working class they so much pretend to favor as against parliamentarianism. Let them show industrial union cards when they talk of a proletarianism based on industrial unionism. And when they talk about the value of the ballot and political action at the polls, let them show their naturalization papers, and tell us where they voted last. When they do these things we'll take them seriously and believe that they mean what they say!

As it is we insist on saying now what we said in these columns once before, to wit, that when the left wingers say the I. W. W. is growing conservative they simply don't know what they are talking about.

What the left wingers mean is that the I. W. W. is growing too revolutionary, too proletarian, because it refuses to bow to the self-appointed proletarian dictatorship of our new and humorous American "intelligensia"—the left wing.

THE WORKINGS OF THE ANTI-SYNDICALIST LAW IN CALIFORNIA

The Oakland Enquirer says that the police have been singularly helpless in coping with the criminal agitation of the I. W. W. How would it look if the helpless police got some help?

This is what it has to say in another issue.

"Commendable activity has been shown by the Oakland police in rounding up alleged syndicalists. There should be no let-up in this campaign to clear out dangerous radicals. Under a recently enacted state law dealing with organizations which tend to disrupt society, I. W. W.'s and their ilk can be successfully prosecuted. This new law, if properly applied, will quickly rid the land of mischief-making agitators and disciples of Bolshevism."

This sort of activity will barely cover up the symptoms of social decay. It does not remedy the ills of society, nor will it kill the ideas which the I. W. W. stands for.

CLEAN KILLING

"The wars that will be fought will be clean wars, fought chivalrously by those who ENJOY them."—Gen. Sir Ian Hamilton, in his book, "Millennium."

A CHALLENGE TO MOB ACTION PHILOSOPHERS

Guarded night and day and far out of human reach on a pedestal at the Interior Department exposition in Washington is a tiny vial. It contains a specimen of the deadliest poison ever known. It is "Lewisite," a product of an American scientist.

Ten aeroplanes carrying "Lewisite" would have wiped out every vestige of life—human, animal and vegetable—in Berlin. A single day's output would snuff out the 4,000,000 lives on Manhattan Island. A single drop poured in the palm of the hand would penetrate to the blood, reach the heart and kill the victim in great agony.

AFTER THE WAR

After the war is over,
 After the slaughter is done,
 After the people are ruined,
 After the victory's won,
 Labor will go on drudging,
 Wondering what it was for,
 Paying for generations,
 After the war.

Making the Workers Wise

The following is taken from "The Observer," a "welfare" publication issued by the "Welfare Department" of the Bishop & Babcock Co., and The Cleveland Machine Co., Cleveland, Ohio, April, 1919.

This is the kind of "education" by which the master class is going Americanize foreigners and deforeignize Americans who have become tired of worshipping the golden calf:

"Socialism and Company

Bolshevism is Socialism in practice. Contrast the Republic of Washington, Jefferson, or Lincoln with the political nightmare of Lenine, Trotzky, Haywood, or Debs and you get the exact difference between Democratic and Socialistic principles.

Under either Autocracy or Bolshevism only the ruling class can hope for Freedom and Justice. Each system exists for the benefit of a class. Each rests upon the damnable lie that "Power" whether derived from special privilege or a majority of numbers can determinate the right or wrong of any principle or policy.

Democracy, standing for the rights of every class and creed, for Justice, Truth and Liberty, is seriously menaced by these followers of Bolshevism, I. W. W.ism and Socialism.

Autocracy is the front, and Bolshevism is the back door to political, social, economical, and industrial damnation.

Bolshevism and I. W. W.ism are the "illegal" offsprings of Prussianism and Despotism.

Democracy is the first born of Justice and Liberty. The essentials of Democracy are intelligence, morality, loyalty and religion.

Bolshevism, I. W. W.ism and Socialism exclude these essentials, which make just and orderly Government, under their control impossible.

The essentials of Bolshevism are privilege, selfishness, ignorance and immorality, and of I. W. W.ism, destruction and crime, and Socialism associates religion, morality, law and order with despotism and regards all government as oppressive, existing only for the benefit of the Governing class.

Bolshevism, I. W. W.ism and Socialism are the last words in Autocracy. They protest against all religion and every form of Government except their own special brand of despotism, based upon the shifting whim of the majority.

Bolshevism is a ship at sea without chart or compass, its non-aiming course determined by its leaders who know nothing of navigation, either by experience or education.

Denial of individual rights is the chief aim of I. W. W.ism, destruction and crime are its only goal.

Bolshevism is the very last degree in Socialism. Give a class conscious Socialist power and he soon becomes a full-fledged Bolshevik.

Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, killed in the Berlin riots, were typical socialists who lost their lives while taking the very last degree.

Trotzky, Lenine, Liebknecht, Luxemburg, Hay-

wood and Debs are the saints of the Socialists, has any of them ever worked an honest days' work in the last 20 years? No, they have bled the ignorant working class, they lived by misrepresentation for years until the people and the law got wise and tired of some of them, killed Liebknecht and Luxemburg and put Haywood in jail for 20 years and we sincerely hope that the people of America will soon do their own thinking and stop supporting a bunch of non-producers who claim that the world owes them a living. Yes, the world owes everyone a "chance" for a living, an honest living, but not to live on graft and the preaching of crime and destruction.

Workers look what this "Red Dragon" "Socialism" has accomplished in Russia, Germany, Poland, Austria, Hungaria, Portugal, Spain, Holland and many other countries, yes, the snarl of this beast is now heard in the labor councils of Italy, France, England and even in some parts of America. Are you Americans going to permit that bunch of vipers to take away your homes and make slaves out of your wives, daughters and sweethearts? We hope not. We have been fighting Socialism and its offsprings, Bolshevism and I. W. W.ism, with our laws, but the oftener an I. W. W. or Bolshevik gets arrested, the better he likes it, that's part of his business, before and after serving his sentence he calls mass meetings, charges 25 cents admission, sells you his "poison" literature and tells you with "tears" in his eyes how he is "innocently" being persecuted because he "fights" for the "working class"—Workers any time any of these self-styled "Martyrs" fight for you, the writer of this article will give them credit for it, but the writer has made the economic and Social question his life's study and can conscientiously tell you, that 100 per cent of these agitators and trouble-makers don't give a d—m for you and the working-class in general, everyone of these skunks only do this to keep from working or to get even on some Manufacturer, Superintendent or foreman of some shop. Did you ever go through a strike? Did you ever see any of your strike-leaders suffer during a strike or sacrifice any of their comforts? You know only too well, that they never did; it's you that pays the bill all the time, it's you that has to take all the chances all the time, while the agitators get their 50 or 75 dollars and expenses each week. Yes, and in most instances, they draw salary from "two" sides, and they get theirs rain or shine, busy or slack time, and it's the non-thinking worker who helps to support that small army of Judasses, who in turn are always ready to sell you out to the highest bidder. Workers wake up, stop supporting that bunch of professional troublemakers, do your own thinking, do your own fighting, represent yourself if you have any grievance and we assure you that you will receive a hearing at all times. Stop being in your own way. Start doing your own thinking!



THE BEAR AND THE BEE HIVE

A Fable From the Russian

By SAM

The Capitalist bear went for honey to the workers' beehive. But he found the block of Industrial Unionism, driven full of spikes, hanging before the entrance. He thrust the block to one side, but the block swung back against him. He thrust it aside again—it swung back again.

He became angry and struck the block a heavy blow—it returned upon him with greater force, the spikes striking through his heavy hair and thick hide.

Thoroughly enraged the bear forgot about the honey, and forgot the block with greatest fury. In the meantime the bees became aroused and issuing from the hive in overpowering numbers attacked the bear and drove him away in shameful defeat.

A Letter to the Professor

By ABNER WOODRUFF

Professor _____ University.
Dear Sir:

As per your request for data and information concerning the Industrial Workers of the World (I. W. W.), I am sending you such matter as we have on hand; also a list of books by writers, who have attempted to interpret our movement from the outside. I thank you for the interest you are taking in the Class-struggle, but, somehow, it seems to me that you are late in getting into the game. It is the tragedy of your profession that you are teaching in the terms of the past. Not only are you interpreting the event long after it has past and has lost almost all its inspirational value to the present, but you lead so cloistered an existence that you are largely out of touch with modern events—separated from the active life of today, missing the experiences that enable truthful analysis and correct criticism. Obviously, you are compelled to interpret the world according to ancient standards and in the terms of a classicism that does not fit a newer and more vibrant era. No matter how much you may claim to be up to date, your mental processes are fixed by your necessity to constantly teach the things that belong to the past, and I doubt that you can thoroughly understand us (I only wish you could). But, since you propose to discuss us in a book you intend to write, I will take this occasion to instruct you somewhat as to our attitude on certain major propositions; thereby giving you a basis for discussion that will correspond somewhat to our ideas.

You will understand, of course, that we are a labor union. But, a labor union that is also a revolution and the germ of a new social order. We do not accept the standards of the past as being immutable and binding; for we hold that all progress is an Evolution and the mechanism known as "human society" must be consciously modified and remodified to meet the changing conditions of the world, just as organisms in organic life evolve from the simple to the complex and continue to change, in order to conform to a constantly changing environment. Our Economic Philosophy is based upon modern Science and the Marxian analysis of Economics and History; for therein we find the explanation of all natural and social phenomena—ourselves included. We believe that we understand Marx and have placed Socialism on its feet instead of standing it on its head, as the middle class intellectuals have so long been doing. The "official" Socialists have never correctly interpreted Marx—to their present discomfiture in the face of a world crisis—to our discomfiture as well, because they wasted the time and energy of the workers in a vain seeking of "place" when they should have been busy developing economic power. Things in this world translate themselves in terms of power and Marx evidenced his clear understanding of that fact

when he stated that the State is a committee acting for the economically powerful. All history demonstrates the fact that the character of the state has automatically changed as the various dominant classes have developed within the social structure and, to us, the effort to capture the state without having developed the force that must assume responsibility in case the enterprise is successful, is a placing of the cart before the horse and leads to every kind of contradiction and compromise. It tends to create an **impasse** from which there is no escape.

Therefore, as to politics—we are, at present, non-political. The political arena belongs to the economically powerful, and the working class, at present, propertyless and unorganized—therefore powerless—has nothing immediately to gain from participation in the elections. Being largely a disfranchised class, by reason of our lack of the residential qualification, and viewing Industry, not Residence, as the basis of interest, we hold that representation should be based upon the divisions of industry, not on Territorial Areas—which brings us into conflict with the Socialists, who yet look upon the people as a whole and do not seem to see them from the viewpoint of Industrial Demarcation.

Modern elections are MOB elections. We propose a much more sensible and orderly arrangement—one conducive to the growth of the sense of Industrial and Social Responsibility—when we urge that the Shop, Mill, Industrial Plant, or College Hall shall be the repository of the Ballot Box and that the worker should declare his will according to his immediate economic interest rather than through the vague and confusing electoral district with its many conflicting interests. No one can be truly represented—not even the Educational workers—unless he is able to choose his representative from the body of the operative force of his particular Industry. The community is a collectivity of economic entities with well defined and separable economic interests—interests that, once they are truly co-ordinated, are capable of the highest type of co-operation.

As to the Anarchists—we oppose them vigorously, because we hold that they have no economic program. Freedom, Liberty and Independence are highly relative economic terms and, to be attained, there must be organization on an economic basis and a program worked out that will preserve the good there is in modern life and, while limiting the restrictions on the individual, open they way to greater personality by providing greater participation in the activities of life. Under the conditions dictated by the Machine Method of wealth production, we cannot conceive of an absolute individuality—there must be a strong tendency towards the blending of personality—nor can we conceive of an absolute fluidity of Human Association—the ma-

chine demands a certain rigidity in the forms, from which we see no possible way of escaping. To deny such limitations and such rigidity would be to invite disaster to society. The machine process demands conscious association, with its accompanying sense of responsibility, and we can foresee the debacle that would ensue in case a complete disorganization should occur. We can easily picture the millions of dead that would line the roadsides as a result of the disestablishment of Industry, through the breaking of the bonds of association. Russia, with 85 per cent of her population yet in the agricultural stage, may well survive her period of disorganization, but America is in a totally different situation—her people would perish miserably.

We condemn the American Federation of Labor because it associates the workers in such a way that they are rendered ineffective as an economic force, either to help themselves or to safeguard humanity, and, at the same time, encourages them to a wrong view of their Industrial and Social responsibilities. We maintain that a new social order must eventually replace the present one and hold that the new organs of production and administration must be developed within the body of this society, just as the physical organs of the child develop within the mother's womb, so that upon the birth of the new society it will be able to function immediately. The A. F. of L. has no vision of a new society, or, if it has, that conception is largely on the order of the Socialist Party conception of the Co-operative Commonwealth—a society that, must needs retain the State as the owner and employer of the working population—a society in which the craft form of organization might continue to exist, but which would set up a duality of political and labor officialdom—a dualism that would be destructive of liberty by setting up Bureaucratic (despotic) administration and destructive of industrial efficiency by promoting an endless strife between the political and labor officials.

The Federation, by the Craft form of organization, lifts men out of their natural Industrial context and groups them artificially. Should they be confronted with the immediate necessity of taking control of Industry, they would be forced to at once reorganize themselves in the new and strange terms of Industry and in the interval that would ensue, it would be possible for the entire economic and social fabric to completely disintegrate. The organs of the new life would not have been developed and society would suffer a recession into some former stage after an enormous portion of the population had perished by violence, hunger and privation. The Russians were fortunate in the fact that their people in the large industrial centers were less than one generation removed from the soil and had relatives and friends in the country districts to whom they could go during the transition period and could employ themselves in agriculture, the land being once more a social possession.

We hold that the shop is the cell of the new organic life and the workers must be organized in

terms of production (industrially), rather than in terms of tools (by crafts). Thus organized, the natural industrial context is preserved and the workers will be able to continue production and guarantee the fundamental needs of life in the transition period that would follow the breakdown of the present system. The organs of production, distribution and administration would be ready prepared and capable of functioning at the moment of need.

No one can view the condition of Europe at the present moment without sensing revolution in the atmospheres of both Italy and France. If the German indemnities are not large enough, bankruptcy stares both these countries in the face, and once that bankruptcy is declared, revolution is inevitable. That means further exhaustion to those peoples and the further shutting off of the outlet for American goods. With American trade indefinitely interrupted, there must be a great curtailment of production, with a consequent unemployment and misery that will bring revolution here. Any revolution anywhere must have a social character at this stage of development. The aspiration of the people will be to change the social order, since capitalism can no longer employ them. Are they prepared for such a change? Have they created any organs that can function to keep the wheels of industry running? Are there any institutions sufficiently developed beyond the embryo stage to assume the direction of industrial production and the social life that flows from it? NO.

The Industrial Workers of the World have seen the present situation developing through many years and have made an effort to prepare for its coming, but in the face of a mad world, we have been almost impotent. We have done the best we knew how to do and must now trust to the instinct of the workers to carry them forward in the hours of stress. About 500,000 men have carried our card in the last fourteen years. They are scattered over the country and, with the education we were able to give them, they should have the initiative to act as leaders in the task of re-establishing production and creating new social institutions to take the place of those that will disappear. Instead of leading the workers to the barricades, they will persuade them to stand by the industries, for there alone will there be an assurance of bread and peace with liberty.

We view the Russian Revolution with the greatest interest and sympathy, for there we see an effort to translate into a socio-economic institution the Soviet or Industrial Council (a mechanism which we have provided for in our form of organization for the last fourteen years), but we are little affected by the cries of those enthusiasts in this country, who would attempt to duplicate the Russian Revolution here. We are evolutionists, not insurrectionists, and realize that the background for revolution does not exist there at present. It develops rapidly, however, and we would fain be prepared for it through the enlightenment of the working

class as to a sane method of procedure, but we may not be granted that privilege.

We are intensely desirous of spreading our ideas of Industrial Democracy before the engineers, chemists and technical men of this country, for we feel that their interests are identical with the interests of the artisans and laborers and they should realize the splendid part they can play in the construction of a new society—a society which the workers regard as, in all essentials, a great engineering enterprise. But we are met with a desperate cynicism on all sides. Apparently there is the same "After-us-the-deluge" attitude that existed among the aristocracy at the time of the French Revolution. If the cynics were the only ones to suffer, there would

be little cause for sorrow, but we live in a completely inter-related society, where the individual is an absolutely dependent creature and the results of a breakdown must be infinitely more terrible than in the days of the storming of the Bastille.

Let others sneer. We, at least, will not play the part of the ostrich. We shall meet our responsibilities in the days that are to come, as we have met them in the past—with a smile in our eyes and the International upon our lips. To all the other factors of society we have just these two questions to put, "Have you vision? Have you guts?"

Yours for Industrial Democracy

A. E. W.

Life In Leavenworth Federal Prison

By JOHN PANCNER

LEAVENWORTH, Kan., is a little city of about 20 or 30,000 population. Standing on the roof of new West Cell Wing at the U. S. P., one can see two other prisons, two miles from Leavenworth is Lansing, where is situated the Kansas State Prison. Looking in the opposite direction you will see Fort Leavenworth and alongside of it is the military prison, which holds at present about 5,000 prisoners. While Leavenworth can boast of several small factories, much of the local citizens' income comes from prisons and other federal institutions located nearby. It might claim the distinction of being the Siberia of America.

There are about 1,800 or more prisoners at the United States prison today. Many of them are young soldiers, who committed some trifling offense for which they were court-martialed and given long terms in prison, they generally came with 5, 10, 20 or 40 years. Good, fine American boys every one of them, they are the kind of Americans I read about when I went to school. They are leaving this prison with a deep sympathy for the I. W. W. They seem to be hungry for I. W. W. literature, but there is only a limited amount allowed inside. Many of them proclaim themselves Bolsheviks. Another large group, that are for the I. W. W., are the revolutionary farmers of Oklahoma. The Socialist and Labor Press should give more publicity to their cause. Leavenworth has a strong local of two hundred and fifty members of the Federal Employees' Union, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. About 20 of the prison guards carry A. F. of L. cards.

Daily Routine

At 6:30 A. M. the bugle blows for every one to get up. Then we rise, sweep out our cells (make up our beds, wash up and get ready for breakfast, which generally consists of mush, coffee, syrup and biscuits.

At 8 A. M. we are at work, at 12 A. M. we go to dinner, which during a week's time will vary and will include such things as stew, liver, potatoes, hash, beef heart, bread, tea, rice or tapioca pudding

now and then, also radishes and young onions once in a while. As a rule nothing is fried or baked, most of the stuff is steam cooked, giving it a bad taste and making prison life monotonous. At 1:30 P. M. we are back to work. At 4 P. M. we get supper and about 5 o'clock we are in our cells. Supper is the lightest meal. As a rule it consists of bread, tea, dried fruit and macaroni or rice. On two occasion, when the supper was too slim, the men all began to rap on their plates, and then began to shout, "Give us something to eat!" As a result of this four fellow workers are in permanent isolation. That is, they are in a jail within a jail, they work one hour per day, get the same kind of food as the big mess, are allowed fresh air in a very small yard, but cannot see or speak to the rest of their fellow workers. They are allowed to write only one letter per month, but can receive many letters. The names of these fellow workers are Chas. Phalen, Jack Walsh, Burt Sarton and EdHamilton.

All of the members confined in Leavenworth are in good spirits and eagerly watch for every little bit of news telling about the progress of the movement.

Fellow workers, when you write to the boys inside, be frank, don't exaggerate. Don't make any false promises that you are going to get them out next week, but dig in and help build up the general defense fund. We must appeal the case of the Sacramento boys and fight the Wichita case to the end. We don't expect justice, but we want to use every means to bring about a release. Last, but not least, you can help the boys inside by building up the One Big Union.

Vacation with full pay is quite common among the workers in some countries. So far, it is mainly office workers who get vacations with pay in the U. S. The bosses would simply scoff at the idea. But some day it will have to come.

War never gained anything for the working class.

The Syndicalist Movement In France

A Brief Historical Sketch of Its Developments and Its Present Status.

By GEORGE ANDREYTCHEV

Convict No. 13101, Leavenworth. Cell No. 8391.

EACH country has its more or less peculiar history of industrial development and accordingly, peculiar structure of economic organizations—both of capitalists and workers.

In this respect the labor movement in France has a very picturesque type. While Germany, Austria, and the Scandinavian countries are under the absolute domination of the political socialist parties they are consequently pledged to a vote catching career obscured by high sounding revolutionary phrases; while those in England are still impregnated with reformistic tendencies and policy; the labor unions in France and to a certain degree in Spain and Italy, are evolving their own original philosophy of action and their own conception of the role of the proletariat in the new order that is to supplant capitalism after its imminent downfall. This method of action and organization we are accustomed in calling **Syndicalism—the direct class struggle on the economic field for the abolition of the capitalist mode of production to be supplanted by the new units of production and exchange—the industrial unions, rather than socialist parties or trade unions with their antiquated forms and tactics.** This organization which symbolizes the pioneer efforts of the workers in Europe to create a new organism for constructive action, which personifies the heroic struggles of the working class in France in the last 15-20 years, is **La Confédération Générale du Travail.** It is the dynamic force in the social life of modern France and is destined to play the major role in the future revolutionary reconstruction of that country.

After the tragic end of the Paris Commune there began a revolution of all social programs promulgated among the class conscious proletariat. But the lesson was not instructive enough, for we see more than 7 socialist and labor parties engaged in a suicidal internal warfare—squabbling over insignificant philosophical and political differences—the inevitable results of politics.

This political corruption and sterility made the advanced guard of the Proletariat turn its mind on some practical and simple form of organization, free from political charlatanism and intrigues. And to the credit of the anarchist workers—they succeeded in unmasking the demagogues and demonstrated the futility and danger of political trading—the French working class chose a new, original road toward its emancipation—by organizing the nucleus of the new society on the basis of social life—production and distribution. Thus the syndicalists can be credited with transferring the centre of class struggle on the very source of life instead of dwelling in superficial and foreign-to-the-working-class political spheres. No wonder the politicians ferociously

attacked “the new politician menace.” And the German socialists in particular have been most hostile to the young Syndicalist movement. Suffice it to mention the spiritual fathers of Scheidemann, Ebert and David—Bebel, Singer, Auer, Kautsky who fought syndicalism more mercilessly than the bourgeoisie. Our own Spargos, Hillquits, Bergers and the chameleonic Ramsey McDonald in England have faithfully served the master class by their diligent fight upon the **new union movement.**

And ever since the C. G. T. was launched the socialist parties have been an anaemic and sterile abode for the professional intellectuals of all descriptions. The working class never fell in their snares again in spite of their able revolutionary camouflage.

In the early nineties the heart and soul of the syndicalist movement was the secretary of the **Federation of Labor Exchanges (La Fédération des Bourses du Travail)**—the young and energetic Fernand Pelloutier. If there is any individual contribution to the syndicalist movement as a practical organizer and and technical expert that can be compared to the theoretical contribution to modern socialism of Marx—it is that of Fernand Pelloutier. To him, more than any other man, can be laid the correct conception of the role the industrial unions are called to play in the future encounters with the capitalist system and their future function in the new order. He died after leaving a monumental growing organism for education of the working class in its new duties and responsibilities, creating self-reliant, self-disciplined and technically fit units of class conscious proletarians to begin the final struggle—the revolution—the transferring of all social functions from the political state into the hand of the industrial unions. Pelloutier died in 1901 from tuberculosis at the age of 31! One year after his death, The General Confederation of Labor and the Federation of Labor Exchanges became one integral organism—The C. G. T. carrying on the brunt of the battle on the economic field—The Labor Exchanges serving as the rallying post for the educational propaganda among unorganized, antimilitarist propaganda among the soldiers and youth of the proletariat. The Labor Exchanges are the bureaus of statistics and accounting so indispensable in the new society. They publish bulletins on production and labor supply in all important industries and furnish employment and transportation to its members thus doing away with the demoralizing and brutalizing effect of employment bureaus—private, municipal or state*. The employer is thus compelled to ask for his help at the Labor Exchange.

* By the way, these employment bureaus of the

private sharks were abolished thru the determined pressure of the organized workers and not thru political lobbying or electing "laboring men to the Chamber of Deputies."

Their night schools are training technical experts, agitators, writers and clerks from the class conscious young proletarians. The Labor Exchanges are in deadly earnest working day and night providing the necessary technically trained men that are to take the place of the masters' trained men.

The General Labor Confederation is pledged to a direct struggle against capitalism and its weapon of combat is **the general strike**—the cessation of production and distribution in all chief industries—thus paralyzing the life of bourgeois society and when the workers are physically able to take over the chief function of society, they will do it without much ado and noise. In the Congress at Amiens in 1906 the complete and absolute separation of the political syndicalist movement was proclaimed by an overwhelming majority. The members, however, are left free "to participate **outside** of their unions in such forms of struggle as correspond to their philosophical or political beliefs." They were requested "not to introduce into the union the opinions they professed outside. None of the federated units should, as such, concern themselves with parties or sects."

The same congress adopted a resolution directing the already admitted **trade unions** to reorganize themselves into **industrial unions** as soon as possible and prohibiting admittance of any trade unions into the C. G. T.

The Syndicalists realized the impracticability and unscientific structure of the trade unions—and fast began reorganizing and adopting themselves to modern development of capitalism.

They hold that the union, today the group of resistance, tomorrow will be the group for production and distribution, a basis for social reorganization. Or, as Emile Pouget, the veteran proletarian leader says, "The C. G. T. seeks to realize and to fortify groups fit to accomplish the expropriation of the capitalists and capable of proceeding to a social reorganization on the communist plan."

The C. G. T. is not an anti-political organization. It is non-political and non-religious. It does not aspire to capture the State or public power, but rather tries to strip them of such useful functions that can be absorbed by the Labor Exchanges and Industrial Unions. Syndicalism, says Pouget, does not look to a simple modification of the governmental personnel, but rather to a reduction of the state to zero, by transplanting into the syndicalist organs the few useful functions which keep up the illusion of the value of government, and by suppressing the others purely and simply."

The methods of action—the **general strike**—is the logical culmination of the grouping of the working class on the economic field and the conceptions that arise from it. As Pouget says:

"The general strike is the material break between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie . . . This class

(the working class) after having proclaimed that it bears within itself all the real elements of social life, having acquired the vigor and the consciousness necessary to impose its will, will proceed to action, by refusing to produce for the capitalist class, and this decisive revolt will be the general strike."

At present the C. G. T. counts a membership of well over one million workers. The Railroad Workers Union (Les Cheminots) counts over 230,000. The next strongest unions are The Metalurgical, The Miners, The Building Trades, Teachers, Postal, Telegraph, Telephone Workers (P. T. T.) 30,000, Marine Transport, Winegrowers, Streetcar Men and Electrical Workers, Bakers, Municipal Employees, Shoe Workers, 100,000; Clothing Workers, etc.

The old leaders of the C. G. T. have discredited themselves by their Gompers-like attitude during the war but there is a new, youthful element that is displacing the old hesitating and compromising leaders.

The soul of the new element is Raymond Péricat, member of the Administrative Council of the Building Federation. He stood faithful to the revolutionary traditions of the Syndicalist movement and organized the **Committee on Syndicalist Defense**, which was composed of all unions and elements opposed to war, "the Union Sacrée"—the "class" war truce (Burgersfriede). They fought bravely. Many a strike has been led by them during the war. In May and June, 1917 a sporadic strike movement nearly brought France to a collapse. Then the 2,000,000 members gained great concessions from the master class, chief of which were the English week (La Semaine Anglaise). Saturday afternoon off with full pay, war indemnities, 8 hours, etc.

In May 1918, this organization called a congress of the rebel elements at Clermont Ferrand, the stronghold of revolutionary syndicalism and then decided to call a general munition strike. The strike came as a bolt from a clear sky. 200,000 were on strike in Paris alone. The government was on its knees. Then Clemenceau, the Tiger, who eats syndicalists for breakfast, had to beg on his knees Merrheim, the secretary and chief spokesman of the Metal Workers to settle the strike. Merrheim succeeded after two weeks parleying and he lost much of his popularity among the advanced guard of the French Proletariat. Then the reaction triumphed and Péricat, with 60 other noted syndicalist leaders, were arrested by the military authorities and kept until the signing of the armistice. Then the workers threatened Clemenceau with a general strike, if Péricat and his comrades were not released within 24 hours. They were released in spite of the fact that many hundreds of other political prisoners are still in prison. They were never tried.

Péricat is working day and night in our behalf and that of the Bolsheviki. Thanks to the threat of the French workers the Tiger does not dare send an army to Russia.

Pierre Monatte, a friend of the I. W. W., Lorient,

the great leader of the militant teachers and Péricat are publishing a weekly paper "L'Internationale".

They are demanding the release of Debs, the I. W. W. and all other political prisoners, and huge mass meetings have been organized for that purpose.

Next time we shall translate an article from "L'Internationale" for The One Big Union Monthly.

Whatever happens in the next few weeks or possibly months, one thing we are sure of—that the

C. G. T. will play the most important role in the great revolution, that the transition will not be so difficult as in Russia and Germany because of the fact that there is already a definite organism, or as the editor of O. B. U. says, a new house ready to move into.

And the birth pangs of the new industrial society will not be so bloody and full of countless sacrifices as in the Commune, Russia and Germany.

Qui vivra verra!

Justice For the Negro

How He Can Get It

By FREDERICK A. BLOSSOM

TWO lynchings a week—one every three or four days—that is the rate at which the people in this "land of the free and home of the brave" have been killing colored men and women for the past thirty years—3,224 Negroes known to have been put to death by mobs in this country since 1889, and put to death with every kind of torture that human fiends could invent.

Even during the war, while colored soldiers were being obliged to "fight for democracy" abroad, 91 of their race were lynched at home.

The wrongs of the Negro in the United States are not confined to lynching, however. When allowed to live and work for the community, he is subjected to constant humiliation, injustice and discrimination. In the cities, he is forced to live in the meanest districts, where his rent is doubled and tripled, while conditions of health and safety are neglected in favor of the white sections.* In many states, he is obliged to ride in special "Jim Crow" cars hardly fit for cattle. Almost everywhere, all semblance of political rights is denied him.

The Colored Worker Everywhere Unfairly Treated.

When the Negro goes to look for work, he meets with the same systematic discrimination. Thousands of jobs are closed to him solely on account of his color. He is considered fit only for the most menial occupations. In many cases, he has to accept a lower wage than is paid to white men for the same work.* Everywhere the odds are against him in the struggle for existence.

Thruout this land of liberty, so-called, the Negro worker is treated as an inferior; he is underpaid in his work and overcharged in his rent; he is kicked about, cursed and spat upon; in short, he is treated, not as a human being, but as an animal, a beast of burden for the ruling class. When he tries to improve his condition, he is shoved back into the mire of degradation and poverty and told to "keep his place."

How can the Negro combat this widespread injustice? How can he, not only put a stop to lynch-

ings, but force the white race to grant him equal treatment? How can he get his rights as a human being?

Protests, petitions and resolutions will never accomplish anything. It is useless to waste time and money on them. The government is in the hands of the ruling class of white men and will do as they wish. No appeal to the political powers will ever secure justice for the Negro.

The Master Class Fears the Organized Worker.

He has, however, one weapon that the master class fears—the power to fold his arms and refuse to work for the community until he is granted fair treatment. Remember how alarmed the South became over the emigration of colored workers two years ago, and what desperate means were used to try to keep them from leaving the mills and cotton-fields. The only power of the Negro is his power as a worker; his one weapon is the strike. Only by organizing and refusing to work for those who abuse him can he put an end to the injustice and oppression he now endures.

The colored working men and women of the United States must organize in defense of their rights. They must join together in labor unions so as to be able to enforce their demand for an equal share of "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness." When they are in a position to say to any community, "If you do not stop discrimination against the colored race, we will stop working for you," the hidden forces behind the government will see to it that lynchings cease and discrimination comes to an end. Only by threatening to withdraw their labor power and thereby cripple industry and agriculture can the Negroes secure equal treatment with other workers.

The Workers of Every Race Must Join Together.

But the Negroes cannot accomplish this alone; they must unite with the other workers in order to make their industrial power count to the utmost. If they form separate racial organizations, they will only encourage race prejudice and help the master

* The normal average death rate of males in a city is about 147.10 per 1,000; for negroes, 287.10 per 1,000.—New York Times, Feb. 22, 1919.

* The wages of colored kitchen workers in New York City average \$20 a month lower than white employees.

class in their effort to divide the workers along false lines of color and set one race against the other, in order to use both their own selfish ends.

The workers of every race and nationality must join in one common group against their one common enemy, the employers, so as to be able to defend themselves and one another. Protection for the working class lies in complete solidarity of the workers, without regard to race, creed, sex or color. "One Enemy—One Union!" must be their watchword.

Trade Unions Do Not Want the Negro.

Most American labor organizations, however, shut their doors to the colored worker. The American Federation of Labor excludes him from many of its unions.* In those to which he is admitted, he is treated as an inferior. The Negro has no chance in the old-line trade unions. They do not want him. They admit only under compulsion and treat him with contempt. Their officials, who discourage strikes for higher wages or shorter hours, are always ready, as in the case of the Switchmen's Union, to permit a strike aimed to prevent the employment of colored men.

This narrow-minded policy of excluding the Negro from the trade union often forces him to become a

strike-breaker against his will by closing legitimate occupation to him. The consequence is racial conflicts such as the frightful tragedy in East St. Louis in 1917.

The I. W. W. Admits Negro to Full Membership.

There is one international labor organization in this country that admits the colored worker on a footing of absolute equality with the white—the Industrial Workers of the World. The first section of its By-Laws provides that "no working man or woman shall be excluded from membership because of creed or color." This principle has been scrupulously lived up to since the organization was founded. In the I. W. W., the colored worker, man or woman, is on an equal footing with every other worker. He has the same voice in determining the policies of the organization, and his interests are protected as zealously as those of any other member.

* The constitution of the International Association of Machinists, for example, requires each member to agree "to introduce no one into the union but a sober, industrious White man."

P. S.—Since this was set in type, the A. F. of L. convention in Atlantic City has voted to admit the negro; principally to "save" him from the I. W. W.

Craft Unionism Must Go

By FREDERICK A. BLOSSOM

HISTORY tells of a Roman senator, Cato, who (being, even in his day, a good enough "Marxian scholar" to foresee the inevitableness of a decisive conflict between Rome and her chief rival for foreign trade) never rose to speak without declaring in his most vigorous tones, "Carthage must be destroyed!" In like manner, the man or woman today who has come to understand the fatal and ineradicable defects of the trade union will never miss a chance to declare that **craft unionism must go.**

Craft unionism must go because, as long as it lasts, wage slavery will last; as long as it lasts, the workers will be weakened in their daily and hourly struggle with their exploiters; as long as it lasts, the workers will continue to be fooled and tricked, misled and betrayed by shrewd politicians manipulating the complicated machinery of trade unionism. As long as craft unionism lasts, the workers, instead of being united against their common enemy, will be divided among themselves by the false divisions of medieval craft distinctions.

Craft unionism is the friend of the employing class and therefore, the enemy of labor. It is a wolf in sheep's clothing, pretending to offer the workers protection and strength, but, in reality, delivering them, divided and helpless, into the hands of their enemy. When Charles M. Schwab, sitting the other day at a banquet beside his friend and associate Samuel Gompers, King of the Craft

Unions of America, declared that he had formerly been opposed to the trade unions, but now believes in them heartily; when the American Newspaper Publishers Association, at its recent convention, adopted resolutions urging its members to "assist the trade union officials to maintain their supremacy," they frankly and openly admitted the value of the trade union as a protection to their "vested interests."

The craft union, by its structure, splits the workers' strength and thereby adds to the master's power. Examples of this are of such frequency in the annals of labor as not to need special mention. But craft unionism has subtler and not less harmful consequences in other directions.

By pitting the workers against one another in fictitious craft rivalries, craft unionism works against the development of a clear consciousness of the solidarity of interests of all the workers. The result is willingness to scab on one another, unwillingness to support one another in strikes and other emergencies. The underhand action of the International Association of Machinists in seeking to wrest control of the Acme Die Casting shop in Brooklyn from another labor union, through a secret deal with the employer, is but another incident in the long tale of A. F. of L. scabbing.

Craft unionism, by its established policy of "harmonizing" the interests of labor and capital, dulls the fighting edge of the worker's spirit. It leads

him insidiously to feel that, after all, the working class and the employing class have something in common. In announcing the opening of the present "strike" of the N. Y. cloakmakers, the international president of their union stated in the N. Y. Times: "The very best feeling exists between the manufacturers' representatives and the heads of the union." Small wonder if, under the inspiration of such milk-and-water belligerency, the strikers spend their time dancing, knitting and gossiping, as in the case of the recent waistmakers' strike (according to the accounts in the N. Y. Call) under the same warlike leadership.

The official "harmonizing" of the unharmonizable interests of the worker and the man who robs him of the fruit of his labor has now reached a stage where all camouflage is torn off and the A. F. of L. stands forth, naked and unashamed, as the bosom friend of the master class. In Philadelphia a few weeks ago, when the International Federation of Hotel Workers called on its members to strike on May First as a protest against the continued imprisonment of labor's militant workers, the local A. F. of L. waiters' organization at once issued orders to its members not to take part in the strike, adding that "the A. F. of L. is against any strike."

Craft unionism, through its pyramiding of official machinery, effectually discourages initiative in

the membership and kills the spirit of independence and self-reliance. The present "insurgent" movement in the garment trades in New York is a promising sign of a coming revolt of the rank and file against official autocracy.

The outright crimes of craft union officials in selling out the workers are too numerous to need more than a passing mention. Among examples still fresh in our memory are the breaking of the recent N. Y. harbor strike by the international president of the Longshoremen's Association, through the "delivery" to the employers of three of the six craft unions forming the Marine Workers' Affiliation, and the latest exposure of the notorious John Golden, president of the United Textile Workers, through a letter from the American Woolen Co., assuring a customer that his order would not be delayed by the Lawrence strike, as it would be "put through" at their Maynard plant, which Golden would keep going "in return for the favor we are showing his organization."

Craft unionism must go! It is today one of the great obstacles in the way of developing a militant labor movement in this country. Until we have broken the strangle hold of the A. F. of L. on organized labor and followed the lead of Canada and Australia in replacing it with a genuine industrial union movement on the lines of the I. W. W., we can never hope to make any real progress toward the goal of labor's emancipation.

The Telephone Strike

By WALTER C. HUNTER

IN some respects the strike of the New England telephone operators was one of the most interesting I have noticed. On the morning of April 15th, after much futile experience with Burleson red-tape, some 8,000 girl operators of all the New England states except Connecticut, struck for higher wages and for six days, save for a little emergency police and fire device, the telephone was "dead." It was one of the most completely successful tie-ups any striking organization ever accomplished. Imagine what it meant to a city the size of Boston not to be able to use the phone for a week!

A day or two after the girls went out 12,000 electrical workers comprising the construction department of the telephone company also struck. The girls were obviously "American," notwithstanding their origin, and the public was with them. But it must be admitted that Miss Julia O'Connor and her assistant ably led them. The picketing of the girls was uninterfered with and they were energetic, capable and resourceful.

For the first time in a Massachusetts labor dispute there was a slight evidence of solidarity on the workers' part. The hotel waiters immediately announced that if strike breakers were brought to the hotels they would go out on sympathetic strike. Efforts on the part of strike-breakers to get taxi-service

were futile, as the drivers said that as union men they could not carry strike breakers. In one case several strike-breakers and their police escort boarded a Cambridge car, but the pickets informed the motorman of the nature of the passengers and he refused to run the car. The old conservative labor union began to talk sympathetic strike, and the telegraphers realizing they were essentially strike-breaking, prepared to go out. Gov. Coolidge, a stand-pat Republican, asked Burleson for permission to take over the service and run it during the emergency; all New England was beseeching Burleson to do something; the chambers of commerce were cabling Wilson and crying to Washington to settle the thing; but Wilson passed the buck to Burleson and Burleson refused to budge. Finally the mayor of Boston went to Washington and convinced Burleson that he was starting something big; so that gentleman sent his first assistant to Boston to settle the trouble.

Tho the company offered \$8 a day to strike-breakers, strike-breaking was practically confined to the upper classes. Different Red Cross branches jumped in to man some of the exchanges, but a yowl of protest went up and the New England manager of the Red Cross ran front page advertisement for several days in the newspapers stating that

the Red Cross was not organized for strike-breaking purposes and that the Red Cross workers should remain neutral. Society women here and there were strike-breakers, the well-known anti-suffrage officer Mrs. Balch among that number. Boy scouts also were reported to have done some strike-breaking. But perhaps the larger numbers came from Smith College and from Harvard, Tech., etc. Altogether the strike-breaking was done by those naturally antipathetic to labor. At the same time it should be said that in Boston strike-breaking was done at the risk of life, as mobs surrounded the exchanges and a man-hunt commenced whenever strike-breakers, or in fact anyone else, came out unescorted. Several men, some of whom probably had nothing to do with the strike, were brutally beaten to insensibility. Some of the best work in this respect was done by sailors.

The strike proved conclusively that everyone in New England detests Burleson and desires his removal. Big Biz was as clamorous for this as the workers. Burleson has just one friend—the man who is responsible for his appointment and for his remaining where he is—Woodrow Wilson. Perhaps Burleson will stay long enough to pull the dynasty down with him. All the evidence the girls revealed of their long dealings with the man show that he is essentially a bureaucrat, and a man of duplicity. Some revelations, such as his refusing to remove his hat when receiving the delegation of girls, are petty; others such as Congressman Gallivan's statement that Burleson changed Tumulty's telegram to the strikers, and Miss O'Connor's charge that telegrams she sent to locals in the morning notifying them of a meeting were held up till night, so that the girls would get the messages too late to attend, are more serious.

Burleson asked the girls to return to work while their demands went thru a certain red-tape formula

The New York Defense Committee has just brought out a novelty that seems certain, if properly taken up by the membership, to net a good sum for the defense fund of the I. W. W. It is in the form of an oxidized silver badge, reproducing the now familiar face of the fellow worker behind the prison bars, with the word "Remember!" beneath.

The entire proceeds from the sale of these badges go to the I. W. W. defense fund. Fellow workers and others interested are asked to help sell them widely. It ought to be possible to place 100,000 among the more radically minded workers of this country.

The badges sell for 25 cents. If ordered by mail, they will be sent for 30 cents each, postpaid, or, in larger lots, at the rate of \$3.00 a dozen, postage free. Orders should be addressed to James Doyle, secretary, N. Y. Defense Committee, 27 East Fourth St., N. Y.

No man can be a helthy phool unless he haz nussed at the brest ov wisdom.—Josh Billings.

which is his idea of arbitration while they were on strike. Finally Burleson sent his man and, after more than 24 hours of discussion by all interested parties, the issue was compromised by granting 50% of the strikers demands; the minimum wage being increased from \$8 to \$10 and the maximum wage from \$16 to \$19. The electrical workers got an increase of from \$3 to \$4 a week. On May 1 phone rates to the public were raised to cover the increases.

Studying this strike one observed a growing sense of solidarity. On the one hand is the growing consciousness of those who work that all who labor have something in common and the acts of those who are working do help or hinder those who are on strike. They are beginning to feel that it is not right to do anything which might prevent strikers from succeeding. Something of this sense of solidarity and loyalty to one's class was evident in this refusal of some worker's to have anything to do with strike-breakers and in the discussion of others with regard to sympathetic strikes. On the other hand there was that almost instinctive act of the socially elect to defeat labor by strike-breaking. It was not anything pre-concerted or planned but simply an intuitive recognition of the big fundamental issue over which all men are gradually dividing. And as always where there is something vital to us at stake there was intense feeling aroused. This little strike gave evidence of growing inter-class bitterness and of the feeling that in these isolated struggles there is nothing less involved than the question of mastery of the earth.

It now becomes clear that just as long as the present owners and managers of the earth can dictate to its masters there will then remain but one logical thing for the masters to do, and that is abdicate! For where the control is there is also the power.

What's the difference between a political Socialist and an I. W. W. man? There is a lot of difference, but we may note that the politician wants to capture the government while the industrialist wants to capture the means of production. Also that we hold that representation should be based on the divisions of industry, while the political Socialists base their representation on territorial areas, being that the lines of industrial demarcation mean nothing to them.

Gov. Norbeck of South Dakota consoles himself with having a state constabulary of 300 that will enable the sheriff to cope with any I. W. W. disturbances. It is a well-known fact that we cause no disturbances. We organize and we sometimes go on strike. The constabulary is probably nothing but part of the state's strike-breaking machinery.

The rich man today does not only rule by using private property; he also rules by treating public property as if it were private property.—Chester-ton.



THE NIAGARA OF HISTORY

The Advance of the Slaves

By GUST ROHRBACK

From the shadowy past a memory deep
Keeps haunting my dreams at night,
Where the cries of captives disturbed my sleep
Who opposed their captors might.
Of the weary miles on the Roman road,
The road to the frozen North,
Of the tired limbs and the heavy load
Which we dragged to the Gallic port,
Where we crossed the water to blaze the way
For Romas' splendor and gain
Where the days were long and dreary and gray,
Where we slaved in sleet and rain,
Of the nights in the pens where the firelight
Played in faces, old and worn.
Where we slept on straw in the wintry night
Under covers filthy and torn.
Of the day when we stood and watched them pass
O'er the splendid road we'd made,
Where we felled the timber and bridged the morass,
Came the men of Wealth and their trade.
And all of them traveled in luxury;
Their bodies were fat and sleek.
And they laughed and jeered at our misery
As we faced them, humble and meek.

And some of them traded in human flesh,
In bodies of girls, pure and white,
And strong young men they drove with the lash
As they rode in splendor and pride
To the land which our labor had opened to them
To barter and trade and exploit,
While we stood with only our rags to our name
With a future as black as night.

But it's only a dream and I find myself
In a camp in the snow and cold.
And the light of the coaloil lamp on the shelf
Plays on faces worn and old.
And we sleep on straw in the wintry night
Under blankets filthy and torn.
And we shiver and freeze till the early light
Of another day is born.

Now we build the road of the shining rails
And again we have opened the wilds.
And again as of yore we have traveled the trails
With our packs for weary miles.
And again we stand and watch them pass
With their bodies fat and sleek,
While some of them jeer at our misery
As we face them humble and meek.

The Life of a Lumberman

By GEORGE WARD

(Card Number 245818)

AT THE AGE of 18 in the year 1898 I landed in a lumber camp for the first time. That was in upper Michigan for Smith & Alger Lumber Co. Since that time I have visited several and have found them all pretty much alike. The wages at that time was from \$20 to \$35 per month and board. The board consisting of corned beef, commonly known as red horse, salt pork, beans, potatoes, bread and some pastry. This camp worked a crew of about 90 men, all sleeping in one bunk house. Double-decked board bunks that the Jacks called "muzzle loaders," which means that the bunks are built along each side of the bunk house, spaced off to allowing 4 ft. 6 in. for two men. Of course, we had to sleep two in a bunk. One had to crawl in and lay with head to wall and feet toward main floor, which made it so dark one could not read without a light even in day time. In the center of the floor was a large stove to heat the building and also to dry the wet clothing including socks, which are wet every night. One can imagine how one would feel waking up in the morning after inhaling such fumes all night.

In the fall of the year they cut the timber, skid it out to the sleigh road and decked it into large roll ways. At this time they would work the crews eleven hours per day. Then when winter set in and it got cold enough they make ice roads and start hauling the logs on sleighs to the landing on the river bank, where they are again decked in large rollways, until the spring freshets come, then they are rolled down to the mills which are built further down, close to a market where they are sawed into lumber.

When the sleigh haul started were the great days. The company always saw to it that they had a good live foreman, one who could "con" the men and keep them in good spirits and get the work out of them even to the extent of having a stool pigeon system organized among them carrying tales to him about one another. When the sleigh haul started, the only thought seemed to be to get the logs to the landing. The foreman would see to it that there was a rivalry started among the crew, which of course had the result of increasing the efficiency of the crew with no expense to the company. For instance, there was always a striving among the loaders to see which gang could put on the best load in the shortest time and also among the teamsters to see who could haul the most number of feet at a load and make the best time to the landing. Four-o'clock breakfast was the rule, and if a teamster was lucky he would get in at five or six o'clock in the afternoon; if unlucky, it might be nine or ten o'clock, with their horses to take care of after that. I have seen teamsters come in, pull off their rubbers and crawl into their bunk, clothes and all, catch

three or four hours' sleep, and up and at it again. For this they got the magnificent sum of \$35 per month. No over time.

Then when the spring thaw came and the ice went out of the river, the drive started. The men would go out, break the rollways to roll the logs into the stream. The most experienced would go down-stream and wherever any logs would jam they would go out on them with peevies and break the jam. This is a very dangerous work, as all jams have what is called key logs, which get fouled on the rocks. The other logs keep piling upon them until huge tiers of them pile up, choking the stream from bank to bank and filling it up for some distance up-stream, causing the water to rise, therefore causing immense pressure. As the men have to work on the key logs, prying and working them loose, when the jam starts the whole seething mass comes pitching and tumbling forward, they have to make a quick get-away, and the least slip of the foot might mean death, being ground into a pulp among the logs.

Others stay behind to keep the logs all in deep enough water, so they will float. This means wading in ice cold water from knee-deep to arm pits all day, from daybreak until dark. For this they receive \$2.50 to \$3 per day. The men get breakfast in camp. They each have a lunch sack which they load up to last them through the day, and they are lucky indeed if they manage to keep it dry until eating time. For supper in camp they some times have a hike of ten or twelve miles to camp. As a general thing their clothing is never dry from the time the drive starts until the finish, usually from twenty to sixty days.

The foreman is the big king pin in a logging camp. A logger goes out to camp, gets a job, is told what the pay will be. If he works a month and becomes dissatisfied and calls for his pay, and the foreman feels like it, he will pay him off at what they term "jumpers' wages," which is anything that he took a notion to give him. As there were no organizations among the men he would take it and go, as kicking would be useless. And as the foremen were usually big huskies and tough men, unless a man were a good scrapper, he would get beat up and kicked out of camp. But since the I. W. W. have been getting on the job and awaking the working slaves, conditions are getting better. The slaves see where there is strength and power in organization and instead of working for the masters' interests, they are working for their own, making an injury to one an injury to all, shortening the work day, getting better conditions, and bringing the time closer when we shall do away with the wage system and produce for social use instead of the masters' profits.

The Story of the I. W. W.

By HAROLD LORD VARNEY

CHAPTER SIX.

THE ELIMINATION OF POLITICS.

Although darkened by the dissensions which had wrecked the convention, the year which followed was filled with incidents. The I. W. W. weathered the storm and began to grow again. It sprung into public notice by conducting several large strikes.

The first of these strikes was an unfortunate occurrence which cost the I. W. W. its organization in Schenectady. We have mentioned the fact that an Industrial Council with 17 affiliated locals existed in Schenectady. This city remained loyal after the split. The I. W. W. and the A. F. of L. had existed in the big General Electric plant, side by side. Out of the 15,000 employees, perhaps 2,500 of them were organized in the I. W. W. Heretofore, the organization had usually been able to secure all of its demands without resorting to strikes. Apparently the bosses framed to provoke a strike in the latter part of 1906. The draftsmen had recently organized into a local of the I. W. W. The bosses retaliated by discharging the three leaders of this local. Over the protests of many of the old members, a strike order was issued to force the reinstatement of these three members. Prominent in advocating a strike was Charles W. Noonan, one of the officers of the Industrial Council.

The strike lasted about two weeks. Between 4,000 and 5,000 men walked out. The A. F. of L. craftsmen remained on the job and worked. The I. A. of M. even endeavored to supply scabs. The strike was mismanaged and tintured with mutual suspicions. It was called off and the men returned to the G. E. plant, with none of their demands conceded.

Having demonstrated the impotence of the union, the bosses next resorted to the inevitable blacklist. Some of the active militants were forced to leave Schenectady. Noonan gained control of the Industrial Council and was instrumental in forcing the passage of a motion to withdraw from the I. W. W. Of course, some of the locals protested and refused to leave the organization. But the desired result was obtained and the movement was split and scattered. Those who clung to the I. W. W. were blacklisted out of Schenectady. For his services in this connection, Noonan was rewarded with a foremanship in the G. E. plant. Soon the I. W. W. had nothing left in the city where they had once been so powerful.

A small but bitter strike of textile workers in Skowhegan, Me., followed the Schenectady debacle. This was notable as marking the first contact which the I. W. W. had with the famous labor fakir, John Golden. Just as he later did in Lawrence, Little Falls and Paterson, so, in Skowhegan, he endeavored to break the strike by "union scabbery," but the strikers stood firmly by the I. W. W. and won their demands.

The most interesting events of this period were chronicled in Goldfield, Nev. Gold had been discovered in this camp only a few years previous. About the time of the formation of the I. W. W. the mines in Goldfield began to produce the richest yield in America. Naturally, prospectors and miners swarmed into the new camp. All the old incidents of former gold discoveries were repeated in Goldfield.

Among other who came were the blacklisted W. F. of M. strikers from Cripple Creek and Colorado. They early established a union in the new mines. In a new and unsettled city, it was not difficult to do so. Soon, every miner in Goldfield carried a

W. F. of M. card. Absolute job control was gained.

The new I. W. W. invaded Goldfield at the same time. Every industry in the new camp was organized. All restaurant employees, all craftsmen, even bank clerks, were forced to join the I. W. W. It became a closed city to all workers who were not members of the I. W. W. or the W. F. of M. The I. W. W. developed a membership of over 2,000. The local of the W. F. of M. became the second largest local in the entire Federation. Unparalleled conditions were gained. Hotel and restaurant employees secured the 8-hour day and raised their wages to from \$3 to \$5 per day. Clerks received \$5 for a ten-hour day. Bartenders were working 8 hours and earning \$6. Laundry workers received \$4.50 a day.

The bosses began to realize the power of unionism in Goldfield and they became restive. F. J. Campbell of Denver, part owner of the Vindicator Mine in Cripple Creek and an accessory to the outrages which had been committed on the strikers during the 1903 days, was beaten up and driven out of the city when he endeavored to come to Goldfield. All scabs and gunmen who were remembered by the W. F. of M. from previous strikes, received similar treatment. The power of the union was unquestionable. The bosses determined to crush it.

During the early part of 1907, they began the assault by attacking the I. W. W. Gunmen were brought in and Vigilantes were organized. Vincent St. John, who came to Goldfield to assist the I. W. W., was shot down in the street and crippled for life. An Italian restaurant keeper named Silva, opened fire on two I. W. W. organizers, M. R. Preston and Joe Smith, as they were picketing the restaurant. When they shot Silva in self-defense, they were arrested and railroaded to long terms in the penitentiary. The A. F. of L. entered Goldfield in collusion with the bosses and organized scab unions in all industries. Grant Hamilton, the A. F. of L. organizer, was feted and dined by the bourgeois of the city and even the exclusive Montezuma Club was turned over to him and his imported scabs.

The bosses soon realized that the W. F. of M. must be crushed as well as the I. W. W. They took advantage of a strike which had been called in November, 1907, against the payment of company scrip, to throw all their power against the organization. A joint Mine Owners' and Business Men's Protective Association of Esmeralda County was formed. A swarm of Pinkertons was imported. Since the local officials were somewhat in sympathy with the union, the bosses decided to invoke martial law. Nevada had no militia. Consequently, Governor Sparks called on President Roosevelt for troops. On Dec. 5, 1907, the president sent in three hundred federal soldiers. Of course, this gave the necessary protection for the scabs and enabled the strike to be broken. A tremendous protest arose against such an unwarranted institution of martial law. It was discovered that the request had been made by two members of the executive committee of the Mine Owners' Association. A federal commission was sent to Goldfield later on and it reported that it found no necessity for troops and recommended their withdrawal. But under the cloak of martial law the union had already been crushed. The stirring events of this Goldfield struggle are among the most vivid in I. W. W. history.

But they were completely eclipsed by the general assault which was next made upon the Western Federation of Miners. This episode, known generally as the Haywood-Moyer-Pettibone Case, deserves mention in any history of the I. W. W. although it was a W. F. of M. case.

On Dec. 30, 1905, ex-Gov. Frank Steunenberg of Idaho was killed by a bomb explosion as he opened the gate to enter his home. In the excitement of the days which followed, a dragnet was thrown out and all strangers in the vicinity were arrested. One of the victims of this dragnet was a miner, Harry Orchard. Under a third degree administered by Detective McParland of Molly Maguire fame, Orchard broke down and signed a confession implicating William D. Haywood, general secretary, Charles H. Moyer, president, and Geo. A. Pettibone, former G. E. B. member of the W. F. of M. It was a horrible story which Orchard told, a story which made these officials responsible for a dozen assassinations and acts of violence. An inner circle of criminals existed in the W. F. of M., claimed Orchard, and these three leaders were the arch-criminals of the union. Orchard claimed that he had been assisted by J. L. Simpkins, an organizer of the W. F. of M., but Simpkins has never been found or apprehended.

Neither of the three principals were in Idaho at the time of the tragedy, so according to law, they were not fugitives and could not be extradited. But their arrest was contrived illegally. The prosecuting attorney of Canyon County, Ida., made affidavit that Haywood, Moyer and Pettibone were in Idaho at the time of the murder. The governor then signed the requisition papers for their arrest. Both knew that they were committing perjury in so doing. These requisition papers were then presented to Gov. McDonald of Colorado, Feb. 15, 1906, and honored by him. For three days, however, the Denver officials neglected to arrest the extraditees, although all three were openly in Denver. Finally, on Saturday night, when the courts were closed and recourse to a writ of habeas corpus thus prevented, Haywood, Moyer, and Pettibone were arrested and held incommunicado. The next morning they were placed in a special train and rushed to Boise. In order to prevent any communications along the route, this special was not permitted to stop at any of the regular stations but engines were changed at isolated points on the way.

Of course, a storm of protest arose when the public were aware of this high-handed kidnapping. Efforts were made to secure a writ of habeas corpus, but the petitions were denied by the Supreme Courts of both Idaho and the United States. For fourteen months, the prisoners lay in the Boise jail awaiting the trial for murder.

The charges were palpably a frame-up. The mine owners, incensed at the growing power of the W. F. of M., were ready to commit any act of outrage to destroy it. Many believed that Harry Orchard was a detective, employed by the mine owners to incriminate the three defendants. Strength was lent to this belief by the actions of Steve Adams. Adams, a member of the W. F. of M., had been arrested at about the same time as Orchard, and charged as an accessory to the crime. The prosecution claimed that he had given a written confession of guilt. Afterwards, Adams was released on a writ of habeas corpus. He immediately went over to the defense and repudiated his so-called confession. It had been presented to him already written out, he claimed, and he had been forced to sign it under threat of death. Other charges were immediately framed against Adams and he was re-arrested. But this repudiation of his confession revealed, thoroughly, the depths of perjury to which the prosecution would go to secure the conviction of Haywood, Moyer and Pettibone.

ecution would go to secure the conviction of Haywood, Moyer and Pettibone.

The labor movement of America rallied generously to the support. The general office of the I. W. W. issued the first defense call. On Feb. 19, 1906, two days after the kidnapping, Trautmann sent out an appeal for defense funds under the title, "Shall our brothers be murdered?". The Socialist party gave an enthusiastic support. Even the A. F. of L. was shaken out of its lethargy by such a heinous challenge to organized labor. Probably the largest labor defense fund ever raised was accumulated and expended in this fight. Monster protest meetings and parades were held by workers in nearly every city.

After a long, nerve-racking delay, the case went to trial early in 1907. The prosecution believed that it had the strongest case against Haywood, and he was the first to be tried. Haywood was ably defended. Clarence S. Darrow of Chicago headed the counsel for defense. E. F. Richardson of Denver was associated with Darrow.

The trial was long and minute. In the little court room in Boise, all the lurid struggles of the W. F. of M. were recounted and laid bare. Not Haywood alone, was on trial. The whole Western Federation of Miners, and hence, revolutionary unionism itself, hung upon the decision at Boise. The atmosphere of the city was tense. Hundreds of miners swarmed in the streets and boasted that Big Bill Haywood would never be hanged. An equal number of detectives rubbed shoulders with them. The courtroom was heavily guarded against any danger of violence.

The verdict resulted in a sweeping vindication. Haywood was acquitted. Moyer and Pettibone, who were later tried upon similar charges, were likewise discharged. The ghastly frame-up against the western labor movement crumbled upon the heads of its own creators.

While the trial was proceeding, the convention of the W. F. of M. assembled in Denver. The I. W. W. affiliation question came up for final decision. Heslewood read a letter from Haywood, in which he expressed his hope that the W. F. of M. should not withdraw from the I. W. W. Moyer, however, had taken the contrary position and had come out strongly in favor of Sherman. The latter still had hopes that the W. F. of M. would come to his support and he was still maintaining the pretense of an organization. But the revolutionists blocked such an absurd action. On the other hand, they were not strong enough to induce the W. F. of M. to return to the real I. W. W. A meaningless motion was finally adopted calling for a reorganization convention to which both "factions" of the I. W. W. should be invited. Needless to say, this convention was never held, as it had never been intended to be. For all practical purposes the W. F. of M. had permanently withdrawn from the movement which, two years before it had launched. It was a grim coincidence that, while industrial unionism was securing its wonderful legal victory at Boise, it should receive a vital stab at the convention in Denver.

Haywood, St. John, Heslewood and other W. F. of L. revolutionists never gained the ascendancy again. Some of them remained in the Federation for some years longer. But, instead of becoming more liberal, the W. F. of M. became mired more deeply in reaction with every passing year.

Two other large and unsuccessful strikes were held by the I. W. W. in 1907. One of these was in Bridgeport, Conn., where a large local of metal and machinery workers had been formed. On July 22, 1,200 employees of the American Tube and Stamping Co. went out under the leadership of the I. W. W. The I. A. of M. presented a bitter oppo-

sition to the strike and, after a few ineffectual efforts, the workers were forced back into submission. The tactics of mass action which enabled the later I. W. W. to win its eastern strikes, had not yet been worked out.

A larger strike was that of the lumber mill workers in Portland, Ore. This struggle lasted for three weeks and involved about 2,000 men. But the A. F. of L. was maintaining a lumberworkers' organization at that time, and they took advantage of this strike to scab the I. W. W. out of the industry. This was the first tussle which the I. W. W. had among the lumber workers and prepared the way for many other strikes which were to follow.

The Third Convention of the organization assembled on Sept. 16, 1907, at the old historic Brand's Hall. Despite the reverses, the reports showed a very encouraging year. Although the W. F. of M. had been lost, the financial report indicated a membership of 28,000. 118 new locals had been chartered during the year. A large amount of the growth was registered in the textile industry where great efforts had been expended, particularly, by the S. L. P. element of the members.

A new controversy of irreconcilables was foreshadowed in this Third Convention, although its solution was put off for another year. The new chasm arose over the subject of politics.

It will be remembered that the First or Constituent Convention had avoided political divisions by adopting an ambiguous pro-political clause. This clause had been so worded as to permit both Socialist party and Socialist Labor party members to join the I. W. W. During the first year, both factions had been in evidence, but the majority of the Socialist party members had withdrawn with Sherman. This left three factions in the I. W. W., the S. L. P. political socialists, the industrial unionists and the anarchists. The latter were not numerous, however. For a while, the S. L. P.'s and the middle-of-the-road industrialists worked in harmony. But the domineering nature of De Leon soon became unbearable. Possessing a weekly and daily official organ and a political organization, the S. L. P. men were able to act together as a machine and manipulate the control of the I. W. W. Discussions of politics sowed the seeds of controversy among the membership. The doctrinaire bitterness which had been responsible for the non-growth of the S. L. P. began to taint the I. W. W. The conditions were verging toward the unbearable.

The Third Convention was consumed with discussions of this subject. Many of the middle-of-the-road Industrialists believed that the complications of politics would strangle the I. W. W. if they were allowed to continue. At the risk of the organization, they felt that it was necessary to strike out the political clause now, rather than procrastinate and endanger the entire future. But this element was not strong enough to succeed at the Third Convention. The non-political faction, led by Axelson of Minneapolis, made a powerful fight on the political clause, but they were voted down by a vote of 113 to 15.

But this rebuff only delayed the issue. The following year was darkened by an incessant controversy. St. John and Trautmann, who had not been with Axelson at the Third Convention, swung over to the non-political attitude before the Fourth Convention convened. The Industrial Union Bulletin, the official organ, adopted a strong non-political tone. De Leon lashed himself into fury. He saw himself steadily losing ground. Some of his oldest members, such as Justus Ebert, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Joseph J. Ettor, Ben H. Williams, William Yates and others, began to drop out of the S. L. P. and announce their conversion to the non-political position.

A climax was reached at the meeting of the G. E. B. in New York City, in December of 1907. De Leon had been confident that he controlled the G. E. B. and, indeed, three of the members, Katz, Williams and Yates were S. L. P. members. A bitter controversy was convulsing the S. L. P. over the personality of James Connolly, who later perished in the Easter Rebellion in Dublin of 1916. This controversy, De Leon endeavored to transfer over to the I. W. W. He appeared before the G. E. B. and endeavored to prefer charges against Connolly. To his amazement, he found himself rebuffed by the votes of two of his own former supporters, Williams and Yates. The details of the Connolly controversy are irrelevant, but this defeat led to the undoing of De Leon.

The stronghold of the S. L. P. faction had always been among the textile workers. The I. W. W. became strong enough to form a National Industrial Union of Textile Workers on May 1, 1908. The votes of the textile delegates were expected to swing the next convention. The non-political faction scored on the S. L. P. when the general office sent James P. Thompson to act as the national organizer in that industry. Thompson's influence prevented the political faction from manipulating the delegates from these locals.

The Fourth Convention made the poorest showing of all previous conventions. Instead of growing during the past year, the political controversy was slowly killing the organization. In place of the 70 delegates who had attended in 1907, only 26 delegates were in attendance in 1908. The non-political faction determined, for once and all, to extirpate the political clause even at the cost of the entire S. L. P. following.

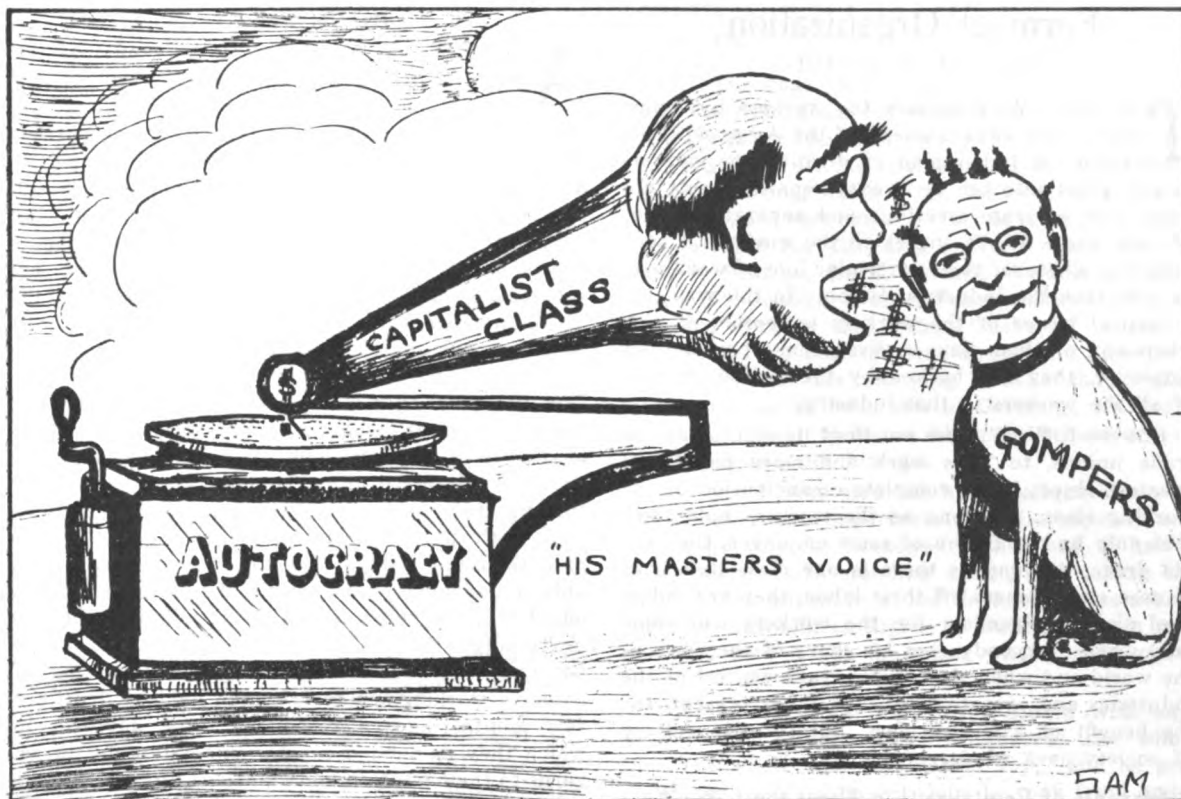
Picturesqueness was lent to the proceedings by the presence of J. H. Walsh and his "overall brigade." With fifteen men, Walsh had started from Spokane some weeks before the convention date and had "beaten it" to Chicago. Walsh was one of De Leon's bete noirs. His whirlwind, ballyhoo tactics of agitation had been rebuked by De Leon in many bitter controversies. It was Walsh who had originated the singing of songs at I. W. W. street meetings. Walsh had organized an I. W. W. brass band in Spokane and he used to lead the members out on the street corners where they had gained a great following among the lumberjacks by employing revivalistic and Salvation Army styles of propaganda. De Leon had objected strenuously on the ground that the Spokane tactics were lowering the plane of dignity which the class struggle should observe. Walsh came to the convention with the determination that De Leon must go.

The two factions were very equal in strength. The non-political group possessed the advantage of controlling the temporary organization of the convention and this advantage was maintained throughout the proceedings. St. John, in the chair, proved to be a master tactician. De Leon was denied his seat on the ground that he was not a wage worker and Elizabeth Gurley Flynn was seated in his place. He withdrew in disgust and the majority of his followers left the convention with him. The political clause was then voted from the constitution and the preamble was revised to read as follows:

"The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of 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 withing the shell of the old."

Another change which was made, barred all editors of newspapers not controlled by the I. W. W. from membership. This was inserted to prevent another De Leon from rising to control through the influence of a newspaper. A provision for the organization of Propaganda Leagues, to which non-wage workers would be eligible, was drafted. The deliberations lasted for ten days and when the Fourth Convention adjourned, it was to face a second split in the I. W. W.

But this schism was the last. The I. W. W. had at last struck the bed-rock of its real following. The first three years were the devious ways by which it slowly approached its goal. The real revolutionist was now in the saddle and revolutionary policies now found no challenge in the organization.

De Leon and his followers never recognized the legality of the Fourth Convention. On Nov. 1, 1908, he called another convention of the "I. W. W." in Paterson, N. J. About twenty of his followers attended and they formed a rump organization. This organization soon came to be known as the "Detroit I. W. W.," after its national headquarters. It continued to use the name and seal of the real organization and created much confusion. But it never experienced any growth. Like the old S. T. & L. A., it became a duplication of the S. L. P. It lacked the fire of the more revolutionary I. W. W. and St. John's organization soon outstripped it. For several years this Detroit "I. W. W." continued its course, never attaining a membership of more than a few hundreds. Finally, in 1915, it changed its name to the Workers' International Industrial Union, and disavowed all claim to being the original I. W. W.

St. John had been elected in Trautmann's place as General Secretary of the I. W. W. It was a difficult prospect which confronted him but he was undaunted. Small though it might be in numbers, the spirit of the I. W. W. had been fortified tenfold by the actions of the Fourth Convention. The backfire of controversy had been definitely uprooted. Some of the methods employed may have been crude but the effect was lasting. The I. W. W., for the first time, was a psychological unit.

Industrial Unionism the Strongest Form of Organization

By F. A. BLOSSOM

THE I. W. W. organizes the workers by industries, not trades. Instead of the American Federation of Labor plan of dividing the workers in any plant into ten or twenty separate craft unions, with separate meetings and separate sets of officials, the I. W. W. unites all the workers in each industry, whatever their particular line of work may be, into One Big Industrial Union. In this way, the industrial power of the workers is combined, and, when any of them have a disagreement with their employer, they are backed by the united support of all the workers in that industry.

But the I. W. W. does not limit its aim, as do the trade unions, to "less work and more pay." Its greatest object is the complete emancipation of the working class. As long as the workers hold their jobs only by permission of some employer, they are not free. As long as there is one class that lives in ease and idleness off their labor, they are industrial slaves. Freedom for the workers will come only when everybody does his share of the work of the world and when the workers take control of the industries and operate them, not, as at present, for the benefit of a leisure class, but for the welfare of society as a whole.

Servants of Capitalism Lie About the I. W. W.

Do not believe the lies being told about the I. W. W. by the hired agents of the capitalists—the press, preachers and politicians. They are paid to deceive the workers and lead them astray. They are hired to throw dust in their eyes because the master class does not dare to let them know the truth.

Investigate the I. W. W. for yourself and get the facts. We are confident that, when you learn the truth about it, you will realize that it is to your interest to join and help build up the organization.

"Tear" gas will in the future be used in dispersing striking mobs, instead of clubs and revolvers. This is the opinion expressed by Col. Roy Bacon in an address before the Pittsburg Chamber of Commerce. Bacon has recently returned from France, where he has been engaged in perfecting gases for the government. He adds that one drop of the gas would be sufficient to kill from 20 to 30 men. Gosh! But these fellows must hate a working man who wants his pay increased!

Labor is a commodity, says Karl Marx. In order to correct this sad state of things the Clayton anti-trust bill provides that "the labor of human beings shall not be treated as a commodity." And then some people say that legislators are not humorists.

The only reason whi a monkey alwus kreateas a sensashun whereever he goes is simply bekauze— coz a monkey.— Josh Billings.

Exit the Foreigner

By No. 247,770

ANYBODY who has followed the events of the last few years will not be surprised to see millions of foreigners leave the shores of America for the former homes in Europe. Disillusioned, the best years of their lives sacrificed at the altar of greed of the Money Kings, they are turning their steps towards the East. From the hellholes of mines and smelters, from the shanty towns of the cities, from the starvation of the cottonmills and the stinking, vermin-infested camps of the lumber barons and the railroads they will come in neverending streams. The days of unlimited supply of cheap labor has come to an end. Dagoes and Bohunks, the human cattle, the despised foreigner, who for years were the victims of the most unscrupulous and heartless exploitation ever witnessed in our modern times, are quietly turning their backs to it all and are leaving even now, with all of Europe in a turmoil, at the rate of a thousand a day. The tide flowing east? No, only the advance guard of millions to follow. What effect will the returning of those millions who are practically all wage earners, have on the international labor movement? In a mass meeting of Swedish workingmen and women held at Seattle a few months ago, a resolution was adopted, in which they demanded a clear understanding in regards to their position and transportation to Sweden if their presence in this country should be no longer desired. But they also said: "If we return to our native land, we always will regard with the highest esteem the millions of splendid men and women we learnt to know during our stay here." And so it will be with all of those who will leave. There will be no malice in their hearts against the American workers, nor the men of the many other nationalities they came in contact with. They will go back to the towns and villages from where they came with a deeper understanding of the purpose of the walls built around every nation through the teaching of national and race hatred in the capitalist-controlled schools and pulpits. They will tell their friends at home of the One Big Union of all the workers of the World, where men of all nationalities, creeds and colors fight shoulder to shoulder for the realization of their ideals of a world brotherhood of all who toil. The gospel of Industrial Unionism will be carried into many a nook and corner of the old world. With the propaganda of the Bolsheviki pouring into Europe from the East and the message of the I. W. W. delivered and explained by thousands of eager men and women arriving from the West, the day of the Federated Proletarian Republics of Europe is fast drawing near.

Some names applied to I. W. W. in a Council Bluffs paper: a motley bunch, regulation bolsheviki, outlaws, hoboes' outfit, plyers of hold-up games, foxy, hoboclan, impostors, shiftless criminals.

Mr. Theodore Blump, Secret Service

By WALTER C. HUNTER

THEODORE BLUMP was detective No. 49,231 in the employ of the government. He was paid \$2,500 a year for the purpose of discovering anarchists, socialists, traitors and all other kinds of persons who have a head that looks as though it might germinate an idea. Big and burly, he had strength enough in one arm to take the bulge off any brow with one crack of his well-worn black-jack. He carried one or two 44-calibre pistols and, in a "riot," generally managed to kill three by-standing women, maim two curious men, and injure half a dozen children before missing the man he aimed at. He was a man of such marvelously acute perception that he was able to discover deep and far-reaching mystery in things obvious to men merely of intelligence.

Being ambitious, he was energetic, and right on the job. While riding in a train one day, his keen eye noticed that the gentleman forward of him was reading,—actually in the act of reading!—an article on the Bolsheviki, in a paper called "The Nation." Blump's suspicions were immediately aroused. He began to study his man for recognized anarchist traits. Careful scrutiny revealed that the reader's hair was, in some respects, different from that of other men. "Ha!" breathed Blump, "a wig." And a moment later, "Ha!" again; "he's got a green bag! An anarchist sure!"

Up rose Blump, grabbed the amazed old man by the back of the neck and hauled him off to the nearest jail. There he was thrown into a cell and held excommunicado for three days, when he was given a hearing. Then Blump's "anarchist" proved to be a college professor with a bald head, who wore a wig to keep it warm.

Traveling home one night the ever-alert Blump noticed a light in an attic window. Immediate ground for suspicion. The next night, arriving later, he again noticed the light. His suspicions were now thoroughly aroused. He began a tireless vigil of the residence and learned that the light appeared at various hours from midnight to five in the morning. One day he lay heroically for six hours in a mud-hole while the rain poured down, waiting for a suitable opportunity to crawl up to the house on his belly and see what name was on the front door. Finally he wormed his way to it and on the name plate read, "Rudolph Schmidt."

"Ha," he breathed, "a German spy, making bombs." The next night when Schmidt came humming home Blump slipped out from behind a lilac bush and cracked him on the head with his black-jack, and then dragged him to the black maria waiting seven blocks away.

As Schmidt did not return as usual, and as his wife thought she heard a scuffle in the yard during the night, Mrs. Schmidt raised an alarm, but a search only revealed mystery. After a hysterical month, she discovered Schmidt in a jail 200 miles

away. The case finally came to trial and Blump made the final discovery that Schmidt was a well-known music critic, that his studio was in his attic, and that he wrote his criticism and did other writing on returning home after the evening concerts. After a good denouncing for bearing the name Schmidt, and for attending concerts where Haydn, Handel, Brahms, Bach, Mozart, Schumann, Beethoven, Mendelssohn, Weber, Franz, Schubert, Heller, Wagner, Strauss and other "German" music is played, and for getting home at such an unrespectable hour, and for carrying a cane that looked similar to one he once saw in Germany, the judge warned Schmidt to be on his good behaviour and magnanimously let him go.

One day Blump strutted into headquarters with an air of great importance. While mysteriously saying nothing, he beckoned with a nod to half a dozen other dicks standing about, and taking the chief by the button-hole, led them all across a long corridor, down three flights of stairs, across a tunnel, and into a sub-sub-cellar whose walls oozed slime.

"Here's something big," said Blump with suppressed excitement. "I've discovered the whole plot, the whole anarchist conspiracy!" and he proceeded to unfold a paper which he took from under his shirt. When he finally got it completely unfolded it covered the top of six barrels. "There it is, boys!" he exclaimed in awed voice.

They read across the top of it in letters a foot high:

"I. W. W. PREAMBLE."

The chief slowly turned to Blump and with a sneer exclaimed, "You hunk of maggotty cheese! What bill-board did you steal that from! Why, I thought from the way you came in here you'd discovered a plot to kill the president. Why, that things' been printed in 62 different languages and for 14 years they've been circulating it wherever there's anyone can read, write or hear! The missionaries take it to the heathen, and the Esquimaux sing it in French. And you come in here and interrupt me when I'm in the middle of a whale of an article in the New Liberator on the Soviets and drag me down into this rat-hole to hear a 'SECRET!' God man! Where have you been living the last 20 years! 'Secret?' Why, at the 244th annual convention of Presbyterian ministers last week, they voted to adopt the I. W. W. Preamble as a text-book in place of the Bible!"

The "righteous indignation" of the kept press over the deeds of the I. W. W. would be all right provided it did not come from a class of swindlers, profiteers, exploiters, hypocrites, thieves, lynchers, murderers and tar—and—feather artists. How long will it be before workmen will cease to set and print lies about their fellow workers?



DRIVING THE IDEA INTO THE
PRINTER'S BRAIN

Printing and Publishing Workers Organize In the I. W. W.

Fellow Worker:

THERE'S just one idea we want to drive into your brain with this leaflet: **the workers are helpless in their struggle for existence unless they are organized and ORGANIZED THE RIGHT WAY.**

Stop and think that over for a minute; there's a lot more to it than you might imagine—**particularly the last part of it.**

**The Employers Are Organized by Industries,
Not Trades**

Anyone with brains will admit that the workers must organize, because the bosses are organized in firms, corporations and employers' associations; but the big thing is for the worker to be sure he organizes **under the best system**, the one that will make his strength count to the utmost in the struggle for his rights.

Right there is where the big majority of organized workers in this country are making a fatal mistake—they are not organized in a way to meet modern conditions. Industry long ago outgrew the craft system, but labor is still sticking to the old-fashioned form of organization by trades, instead of falling in line with modern times and organizing

in the same way as business is organized, by shops and industries, so as to be able to meet the enemy on equal terms.

Industrial Unionism the Workers' Only Hope

Industrial unionism is the only form of organization that has any chance against the highly organized business world of today. By clinging blindly to the old style of organization by trades and crafts, the workers put a millstone around their necks and give the employers a tremendous advantage in industrial disputes.

Under industrial unionism, **ALL THE WORKERS** in one industry form **ONE BIG UNION** of that industry. Instead of being split up into a lot of separate trade unions, with divided and often conflicting interests, they pool their interests and unite their forces in one mighty and irresistible combination.

Industrial Unionism in the Printing Industry

In the printing and publishing industry, for instance, **all the men and women employed in that industry**, compositors, pressmen, bookbinders, proof-readers, rulers, lithographers, etc.—including even the stenographers, bookkeepers and office staff—are grouped in one union, in order to be better able

to grapple with their common enemy, the employers.

Stop right there and think what such an organization means in the settling of industrial disputes! When any branch of the industry makes a demand, it is backed up by the entire power of all the workers in that industry. If one group has to strike to get their demands, all the workers strike together and the plant is tied up from top to bottom. No more forced scabbing of one group on another, as happens so frequently under the trade union form of organization. No more cases where the pressmen have to stay at work and run stuff set up by non-union comps, or forfeit their charter. Why, the boss can't even dictate a letter to a scab-hiring agency, because his stenographer walks out with the rest.

Do you get the idea, fellow worker? Do you see how immensely this industrial form of organization increases the POWER of the Workers? Do you realize what it means in the way of strikes won, and won quickly? Not only that, but it actually means FEWER STRIKES, for the reason that the boss, when faced with a powerful 100-per-cent organization of that sort, thinks twice before going to the mat with his employees—and, in nine cases out of ten, gives in, rather than risk a test of strength with them. One experience of a strike with an industrial union, when the boss sees every worker in the place walk out and stay out until all have won, is usually enough to last even the most bullheaded boss for the rest of his lifetime.

Let Us Organize One Big Union in Our Industry

...There's our proposition, fellow worker. We want to get all the workers in the printing and publishing industry in this city to form ONE BIG UNION, because that is the only way they can ever hope to get shorter hours, more pay and real industrial democracy. Under their present form of organization, they will continue to drop back, as they have been doing for the past twenty years, until they become one of the most underpaid and overworked industries.

Are you with us? Will you join and help put this over? You will not need to sever your connection with any other labor organization, as it is not our method to attack our fellow workers, no matter how mistaken we may think they are. **Our members never scab on the other workers, whether organized or unorganized.** The workers need all their strength to fight their common enemy; they must not waste any of it in quarrels among themselves. **Genuine Industrial Democracy Our Ultimate Aim**

Of course, we don't confine our demands to the mere bread-and-butter proposition of more pay and shorter hours. No self-respecting labor organization will limit itself to a sordid program of that sort. We intend to keep right on until we have secured in our industry, and in all industry, the "democracy" we have all been hearing so much about. There can be no genuine democracy until every worker gets the full value of what he produces and

the workers of the world own and control the industries to which they give their lives.

When everybody does his share of the world's work and no one lives in idleness off the labor of others, and when those who do the work determine the conditions under which it shall be done, then and not till then will we have real democracy.

Beware of Lies—Get Facts!

Don't let yourself be fooled and hoodwinked by the lies about our organization that are being industriously circulated by the hirelings of the master class. The employers have waked to the fact that THE REAL DANGER TO THEIR INTERESTS lies in industrial, not trade unionism. That is why they have instructed their lackeys, the editors, preachers and politicians, to attack us in every possible way. But don't let yourself be deceived by this trickery. Remember that "what is bad for the master is good for the slave." **Get the FACTS and form your own opinion.** We have no doubt as to what the result will be if you make an impartial investigation.

Bear in mind that this is A LABOR UNION and nothing else. We are not organized to "destroy property" or "overthrow the U. S. Government by violence," break up the home, attack religion—or any of the other cheap lies retailed by the hired servants of the employing class to delude the workers and keep them from seeing where their real interests lie.

Our Aim: to Organize the Workers by Industries

We have only one aim: to organize the workers into industrial unions, so that they may use their economic power to get what they are entitled to and prepare themselves for the time when each industry will be managed, not by a small group of owners who exploit the workers, but by the workers themselves—not for the enrichment of a leisure class of idlers and parasites, but for the benefit of society as a whole.

Industrial unionism is coming fast. It is already the dominant form of labor organization in Great Britain; it is rapidly being adopted by the workers of Australia, Canada, Ireland and other countries; the time is not far distant when it will take the place of the outworn trade unionism in this country. Will you join with us and help hasten the day when the workers in our industry shall no longer be weakened by trade union divisions, but shall unite their strength in One Big Union of the Printing and Publishing Industry?

Come around and get further information. Come to one of our meetings and see what a democratically managed labor union is like—any Friday evening at 8 o'clock, at 27 East Fourth St. (between Broadway and Third Ave.), New York or 2nd and 4th Sunday, 3 p. m., 119 So. Throop St., Chicago, Illinois.

Yours for industrial freedom,
**Printing & Publishing Workers' Industrial Union,
 No. 1200, of the Industrial Workers of the World.**

Initiation fee, \$2.00. Dues, 50 cents a month.

Love For the Ideal of the Revolutionary World Proletariat

By MANUEL REY

(Federal Prisoner in Leavenworth)

I LOVE the ideal as a felon, before the scaffold, loves his life! As the bee loves the beautiful blooming flowers . . . and as the demimondaine loves her charms and jewelry . . . !

I love the ideal, as the poet loves his fame . . . , as the warrior loves his loot . . . as the just loves his virtue, and as all the birds love all the flowers, the trees and the forest.

I love the ideal as Galileo loved the truth, as F. Ferrer loved his ideal, as Joe Hill and F. H. Little loved the O. B. U. (I. W. W.), as the Chicago Rebels (martyrs) loved their principles; and as all the true lovers of liberty have loved and still love their great principles and ideas . . .

I love the ideal as the marine loves the seas, as the virgin her chastity, as the slave loves his freedom, as the capitalist god his charity, and as the outlaw loves his surroundings . . . !

I love the ideal as the miser loves the gold, as the blind loves the light, as the moors love their paradise . . . and as the martyr loves his cross . . . !

I love the ideal as the blood-thirsty executioner, when he goes on the scaffold, loves to chop away the heads of his fellow brother man!

I love you . . . , for since I was a mere boy I have learned to defy the scaffolds and the dungeons, too, and learned to fly on the wings of my thoughts . . . yes, on the wings of you, you the most beautiful ideal of all!

I love you for the love of living . . . for without you there only remains a dead living skeleton, that we still call life . . . !

I love you, as I love Land and Liberty, the emblems of love, equality and fraternity!

I love you . . . as I love the light that enlightens the darkness of ignorant minds.

I love you . . . you the one who carries with you all that is noble and human, looking at men without shelter, and in place of a friendly name you give him the heart of a worker and the name of a brother, as the rebel worker gives his life for the noble cause . . . !

If the ideal for those who live on the fruits of the workers toil;—I mean the plutocrats, and of humankind;—is nothing but a mere phantasy . . . for them; for me, it is the sublime love, and the scent of my sad life! For without an ideal I don't care to live in this cannibalistic society . . .

The ideal is my belief, and my charm, and my religion; it is the life of my existence . . . and the torch that lights my heart . . . and makes my life worth while living . . . For without the ideal, life is nothing but a chain—and a graveyard with great links, and a world of traitors, plutocrats and ex-

plotters of humankind. But when the lights of sweet life go out . . . we all . . . fall and sleep . . . between graveyards and crosses, between stony walls and dungeons . . . !

Oh, beautiful ideal, with all your mighty power of freedom and right, come and open the doors of my heart . . . ! for yours is my existence . . . and yours is my pulsation, that with volcanic violence is agitating my loving heart, which is longing for your loving art!

I love you for your greatness, as my dear mother used to love me years ago and as I still love her. To me, you are my all, but could I compare you with Mother Earth at all? For in Mother Earth there is nothing of ruin that I know . . . ! For after all she equally feeds . . . us all . . . and as a Good Mother Earth she eats us all, too . . . but without you, you the ideal of the world proletariat—without you . . . I cannot live at all . . . for men without ideas of an ideal, are nothing but dead living skeletons!

DEBS IN PRISON

Eugene V. Debs has gone to prison. A man of 64; three times candidate on the Socialist ticket for president of the United States, with a record of forty years ceaseless activity in the American labor movement, Debs is the most notable figure among the 150 political prisoners now held in American jails.

Deb's attitude has been superb. At his trial he stood by every word of the Canton speech, for which he was indicted. When the Supreme Court affirmed his sentence, he said,—“Great issues are not decided by courts but by the people. What the Supreme Court did decide is that the Constitution is another ‘scrap of paper.’ The court of final resort is the people, and that court will be heard from in due time.” A request for a new trial was made—and denied. Again Debs spoke his mind, “I shall be in prison in the days to come, but my revolutionary spirit will be abroad, and I shall not be inactive. I enter the prison doors a flaming revolutionist—my head erect, my spirit untamed and my soul unconquered. Love to all my comrades, and all hail to the Revolution.” Such was the challenge of this man as the prison doors closed upon him.

“Would you accept a pardon, if the President should grant one?” he was asked.

He answered,—“I shall refuse to accept it, unless that same pardon is extended to every man and woman in prison under the Espionage Law. They must let them all out—I. W. W. and all—or I won't come out.”—Scott Nearing.

What An Anti-Syndicalist Law Looks Like

HOUSE BILL No. 422
STATE OF MICHIGAN

A Bill Defining the Crime of Syndicalism and Providing Punishment Therefor

The People of the State of Michigan enact:

Section 1. Criminal syndicalism is hereby defined as the doctrine which advocates crime, sabotage, violence or other unlawful methods of terrorism as a means of accomplishing industrial or political reform. The advocacy of such doctrine, whether by word of mouth or writing, is a felony punishable as in this act otherwise provided.

Sec. 2. Any person who by word of mouth or writing, advocates or teaches the duty, necessity or propriety of crime, sabotage, violence or other unlawful methods of terrorism as a means of accomplishing industrial or political reform; or prints, publishes, edits, issues or knowingly circulates, sells, distributes or publicly displays any book, paper, document, or written matter in any form, containing or advocating, advising or teaching the doctrine that industrial or political reform should be brought about by crime, sabotage, violence or other unlawful methods of terrorism; or openly, wilfully and deliberately justifies by word of mouth or writing, the commission or the attempt to commit crime, sabotage, violence or other unlawful methods of terrorism with intent to exemplify, spread or advocate the propriety of the doctrines of criminal syndicalism; or organizes or helps to organize, or becomes a member of or voluntarily assembles with any society, group or assemblage of persons formed

to teach or advocate the doctrines of criminal syndicalism is guilty of a felony and punishable by imprisonment in the State prison for not less than ten years or by a fine of not less than five thousand dollars, or both, at the discretion of the court.

Sec. 3. When ever two or more persons assemble for the purpose of advocating or teaching the doctrine of criminal syndicalism as defined in this act, such an assemblage is unlawful and every person voluntarily participating by his presence, aid or instigation is guilty of a felony and punishable by imprisonment in the State prison for not less than ten years or by a fine of not less than five thousand dollars, or both, at the discretion of the court.

Sec. 4. The owner, agent, superintendent, caretaker or occupant of any place, building or room, who wilfully and knowingly permits therein any assemblage of persons prohibited by the provisions of section three of this act, or who, after notification by the sheriff of the county or the police authorities that the premises are so used, permits such use be continued, is guilty of a misdemeanor and punishable by imprisonment in the county jail for not less than one year or by a fine of not less than five hundred dollars, or both, at the discretion of the court.

It is not the bill itself that is any danger to us. It is the use the capitalist class are going to make of it, through their hirelings in office. But all these laws are like trying to stem the ocean with a broom. Economic evolution and capitalistic oppression will force the workers to act. That action of the workers will bring about the downfall of capitalism, which cannot even be delayed or postponed by the use that these laws will be put to.

Absolution

—or—

HOW PATRIOTISM AND RELIGION MAY BE COMBINED

Priest Absolved Foe, then Urged 'Go and Get Them' Zero hour.

A rifle-clutching line of the 5th Marines huddled in a front line trench. On their toes to go over the top.

A helmeted figure jumps to the parapet. He is their chaplain. They gaze in wonder as he swiftly murmurs words toward the Germans across no man's land.

He turns, jumps back into the trench and shouts to the marines, "Now, boys, I've given the Boches absolution. Go and get them."

That's one of the reasons why the Rev. Father John J. Brady of No. 2019 Morris avenue, Bronx, was able to pull from his pocket a **Distinguished Serive Cross** when he was besieged by reporters on the incoming steamship Niagara.

"Yes, it was quite a party," was the way he summarized the experience.—N. Y. World.

A bank cashier in Alabama declares in an interview in a local paper that the lynching victim under discussion had committed no offense, that there had been a mistake made in the man the mob was after. It must be admitted that this is most inconsiderate on the part of mob victims. They should be more careful. Identification cards should be carried, or other satisfactory evidence furnished showing that they are or are not guilty of the offense charged. Few persons can realize how mortifying it is to find after the victim is dead that he is the wrong man, and that the whole thing must be done over again. It wastes time, labor, and rope. If this should happen often enough mobs may be compelled to resort to the courts to determine in the old-fashioned way the guilt of the accused. And having determined that fact some inconsiderate person may venture the suggestion that the courts pronounce judgment.—The Public.

The poet who sings, somewhere, about "the footprints on the sands of time," had better get busy and sing about the footprints on the pants of capitalism, put there by the working class boot.

Poetry and Poverty

By HAROLD ROLAND JOHNSON

Truly, in the life of the great mass of toilers there is little poetry; that is, there is little that can be called poetic in its daily affairs. In many places the child, long before its muscles are mature, is taken to the thread-mill of life to begin a long, so very long, slavery. The father, himself, is too overworked to even think that the society which demands this is criminal. The mother, hearing the hungerwails of smaller children, feels relief when reinforcements like that join the family supporters. She, neither, stops to think of the underfed child who has been started on a slave-career after cheerless childhood.

When one sees conditions as this he actually begins wondering if the whole world is mad. At least, he must calculate that the fathers of such joyless families have had their minds taken away by Capitalism. If not, why don't they rebel against the whole system? Why don't they organize and fight? Can't their hearts be touched by their families' troubles? Are they stone—or machinery? Therefore, I say, there is little poetry in the life of the toiling masses.

Poetry, in a literary sense, is the joyful expression of the hope, love and youth of humanity. Or it may be artful criticism tending to unconsciously bring this happiness to the world. Poetry, in the sense of living, is love, happiness, fellowship, knowledge and attainment. Neither of these is possible among the working people under Capitalism. Their every position—as underdogs, wage-slaves, oppressed, weakened, hypnotized people—prefers them the opposite of poetry.

While the mental lethargy of the workers as a class is painful at best, there are many who have awakened to social consciousness. These have shattered the prisons which caged their minds; torn off the camouflaged curtain of fidelity and co-operation with which the capitalists have shrewdly blinded them; wrecked the belief in chance, success and opportunity which the social parasites have had carefully inculcated in the minds of children in public schools, for furthering exploitation. Now these class-conscious, awakened men—are they free? No.

They are free in themselves; free from deceptions and poison of capitalist ethics; free from the black desire to rise up on the dead bodies of those defeated in a barbaric and inhuman race for gold. In that they are free. But as members of society, still slaves. At the wheels of industry they still grind the dollars for profit (and this is unbearable to an awakened toiler); they are still the scum in the eyes of self-labeled respectables; they are still the footstools for the upholders of Capitalism and exploitation—termed “defenders of law and order.” Yes, they are slaves—with their whole beings revolting against the horrible yoke—all because there are so many not like them, the countless who yet dream of chance, success, perhaps now more of

food; dream lazily, foolishly till at last Age takes them, crumples them up ready to throw away—when just as they close their eyes to rest, comes the dreadful vision of the long past of slavery: the grime, injustice, oppression, pain, hunger, longing; the impossibility of chance—then lights go out!

But for all that—in fact, because of that the working class has poetry. Not of love and youth, indeed not. But poetry of rebellion is theirs. It is not nice and sweet, but necessary—it had to be. Parts of our class awakened first, took off the blindfold, and wrote our poetry. It is the best there is in any form or language. The joyous hopes for Freedom, the endless faith in the masses to awaken, the trust in the power of right against capitalist might—all that stirs in the workers' poetry. And it is a note of certainty that our masters could never quell—and hark—it grows louder and nearer!

Yes, poetry of rebellion had to come. Strong men refused to fear the prison, stake and scaffold; defied the orders from the masters demanding submission; withstood the scoff and scorn of an evil, greedy, ignorant society; and were paid death by their own class which trod faithfully in front of the oppressors. But these brave men wrote, both in noble deeds and verse, poetry which is stirring the world; and the children of those who made our martyrs are battling along with the rest against the rotten system which forced their victim-ancestors to do such abhorable things. Poverty makes poetry, not the kind that pictures the grand unreal but that which forces the intellect to revolt against the terrible real—wage-slavery.

It is noble to hate poverty and all the inherent wrongs of Capitalism. The Poetry of Poverty is making change, revolution. Capitalism must go; it is too gross to live beyond this generation. The poets have said so and they speak the current of the mass—the mass is rising. And after the Battle for Life when the hate, greed and misery of Capitalism has vanished with the ages-long struggle; when life and right have been made secure—then will the poetry of love, truth and beauty come from the pens of those who brought Freedom. From the grim purpose forced by this heartless system they will go; and the poets will gladly make the poetry of happiness and humanity echo universally with friendliness and fellowship for all under an equal society brought by the most stupendous change the world has ever known—Brotherhood and Industrial Commonwealth of Earth!

If you have once thrown your lot with the I. W. W. you are happy and free, though your clothes hang in rags about you.

No man who is occupied in doing a very difficult thing, and doing it very well, ever loses his self-respect.—Bernard Shaw.

Thoughts of a Dead-Living Soul

By MANUEL REY

20-year Class-war Prisoner No. 13,111, Leavenworth, Kansas.

I am spending the numberless days
Of my sweet and youthful life
In a felon's lonesome cell
For so many and lonely years.
Who knows how long it will be?

Twenty long years of prison life
Is indeed a cruel and bitter fate,
When one is all around encased
By stony walls and iron bars
Far away from the outside world.

I am spending the sweetest days of my life
Far, far away from Mother and Friends
All alone, without having the right
To the beautiful things of life
That bountiful Mother Earth
Gave to each one and all of us
When born to this mysterious world.

And so I am to spend the best of my life
In a prison cell so dark and cold.
And I know how cruel is its sting
On the mind and the tortured heart
To pass away these countless days
As a dead and yet a living soul,
Missing the scent of beautiful flowers
And the songs of the birds of fields and woods.
And yet I am one of those
Who have produced so many
Of the most precious things of life!

I am spending the numberless days
Of my sweet and youthful life
For the cause and the noblest thoughts
Of the future human race.
Oh! I ask who has the right
To make our life a living grave?
And to deprive us of freedom's might
And our birth-share of equal right
To all the broad heart of life?
Nobody, that I know.

For are we not a part
Of the human race!
So why should any of us be closed
In prison dungeons for his noblest thoughts?
Nobody that I know would put us here
Except the plutes and exploiters of humankind.

I am spending the numberless days
In a determined, yet cheerless way.
For I think that everyone
Is happy and enjoys the flow of blood
Of which his heart is full,
That all enjoy the beautiful thoughts
That human mind can possibly possess
In this mysterious life.

With these beautiful thoughts in an iron cage
I am spending the numberless days
To tell you that here suffers a man
In body, but not in mind.
For his powerful will
And high and noble thoughts
Conquer all the evils
Of even prison life.

I am spending the numberless days
In this stony and lonesome cell
With my mind and thoughts
Flying all over the endless world
To find the beautiful things of life.
And that is why I don't care
What the world may think of me,
A felon in a stony cell.
Neither what they might want
To make of my body and my life.
For my beautiful thoughts
My great ideas and unconquered will
Shall in the future
Conquer them all.

The Ideal

By HAROLD ROLAND JOHNSON

I've sighted my star and it sails in the night,
The rule of the Men of Gold;
It is hope for me for it's strong in its light,
Though it's sometimes hard to hold:
For the night is dark and the ground is rough
With many a rock and wall and bluff—
I've often said, "I have enough—"
For I have suffered pains untold.

For here on my right and my left and my rear
Are wrecks of the march of Greed;
I shudder to walk in the gloom of the Here
'Mong those in the woes of need.
But my star is bright in its forward light,
I follow its course which leads to right,
It gives me strength with which to fight
For souls who must starve and bleed.

O star, hold my faith in my class, make me strong
To dare in the reign of spoil;
It's killed what I owned in earth-joy, hushed my
song
Which came when I sprang from the soil.
Lead me on, bright star, through the marsh I'm in,
O hasten the time when can begin
True life, love life—make us soon win
The Freedom of all who toil!

The workers must help themselves or go without help.

A Screech By Melpomene

By ROBIN RED

I, Melpomene, formerly known as the Tragic Muse, am almost dead,
Killed by evolution, which removed fear and terror from men's minds.
Now men fly across the deep waters, span the oceans with wireless,
And show their contempt for the mysteries of nature
In thousands of impudent ways; fear and pity have flown.

I was reading one of my numerous obituaries in a high-brow weekly,
The other day, where the writer said:—
"Ghosts," "The Weavers" and "Justice" were instances of modern tragedies.
And that "Measure for Measure" was a Shakespearian tragedy.

"Ghosts" is the case where a son inherited syphilis from a debauched father.
There's no Ajax defying the Lightning there.
"The Weavers" is the story of men on strike, who accept a compromise.
I fail to observe Œdypus tearing out his eyes here.
"Justice" is the scene of a murderer in solitary.

The tragedies of the bourgeoisie are flimsy,
All concerning the loss of their property or place in society,
Like Nora slamming the door behind a parasitic home,
Where she had it pretty soft, thank you.
It made all the filistines weep; they felt fear and pity and were purged.

Yet the world was divided then and it is yet whether Nora was more fool than hero.
Whereas in the case of Medea murdering her two children,
Sentiment was unanimously with her, and is to this day.
The old dramas had me for protectress, the new ones have Thalia,
My sister, the muse of Comedy. I have abdicated;
She has seized my throne. Pity and fear have no representative.

The question arises in my own breast whether I am much loss?
I reigned in the age of darkness, of superstition and ignorance.
At those times fear drove men insane and I was needed as relief.
Now men don't go crazy over gods, devils, or secret mysteries,
They investigate where they don't understand and remove the terror.

So I step down and out as graciously as possible
And make way for Thalia. But she hasn't done much yet;
All the comedies recently produced have been bourgeois affairs,
Where the comic effect was gained by poking fun at the wage slaves.
Its weak stuff that derives its fun from the miseries of the poor.

I hope she will inspire a great writer to appear
And create a working-class comedy,
Where the fun is poked at the masters, not the slaves,
And then I shall feel like my abdication is justified.
Comic relief consists in the surmounting of obstacles set in the way of progress.
I hate to appear finical but I guess that author got his dates mixed.
Comedy is therefore essentially proletarian,
For who have more hurdles to leap than the workers,
On their way to the new Industrial Democracy,
Where pity will not be required, and terror never felt?
One is a master-class emotion; the other, a slave feeling.

EXTRACTS FROM MINUTES OF I. W. W. CONFERENCE

Seattle Dist., July 3, 1919.

49 delegates reported present representing the various jobs and chartered branches of District.

Meeting called to order at 10 p. m. by Fellow Worker Roy Gammon, Chairman of Conference Committee.

Fellow Worker Hansen elected Chairman.

Fellow Worker Rainey elected Recording Sec'y.

Res. No. 1. Resolved that we endorse a five-day strike for Tom Mooney and all political and class war prisoners. Concurred.

Res. No. 2. That we favor striking on the job after camps start up. Concurred.

Res. No. 4 and 6. That in case the first strike should not be successful, that we favor intermittent strikes and that we respond to each and every strike call. Concurred.

Res. No. 12. That we go on record that no overtime be worked except in case of wrecks and extreme emergencies, and that double time be paid for same. Concurred.

Res. No. 13. That every member carry his card. Concurred.

Res. No. 14. That we go on record as opposed to the payment of one dollar \$1.00 per week for bed, and that we favor traveling one way on the Companies' time and that all piece work contract work and bonus be done away with, preferably by job action. Concurred.

Res. No. 16. That City Propaganda Committee be instructed to issue literature pointing out the necessity for six-hour day. Concurred.

Res. No. 17. As amended that we send communications to the Workers, Soldiers and Sailors Union requesting them to call for a delegated conference of all labor organization in regard to the withdrawal of troops from Russia. Concurred.

M. and S. That we elect a committee of three to devise ways and means to collect bail and bonds for class war prisoners. Carried.

Res. No. 19. Be it resolved that this conference go on record as being in favor of urging the general headquarters to inaugurate a publicity campaign all over the world to acquaint the workers in all countries with the function and aims of the I.W.W. also inform them of the persecution of the organization during the war which resulted in the imprisonment and torture of thousands of our members. Concurred.

Res. No. 20. In order to help out our campaign of publicity, we request that all delegates and members make a special effort to secure names and addresses of workers and others necessary to the success of this movement.

This is for the purpose of supplying them with the necessary educational matter enabling them to more clearly understand the principles and aims of the I. W. W. Concurred.

Res. No. 22. That all members of the I. W. W. regardless of the action of other organization, go on strike from July 4th to July 9th. Concurred.

Meeting adjourned at 6 P. M., July 3, 1919.

Conference called to order 10 A. M., July 4, 1919.

Res. No. 24. That the delegates of this conference request the outside defense committees to co-operate with the Seattle District Defense Committee with as much harmony and as little friction as possible. Concurred.

Res. No. 25. As amended, resolved that the delegates of this conference favor the forming of a General District Council of the western states and western Canada for the purpose of co-ordinating the forces of all the industrial Unions of the I. W. W. Concurred.

Reading of Communications

M. and S. That hereafter all bail and bond funds shall be deposited in The Trade Union Bank of Seattle, and that an account be opened in the said bank as a bail and bond account. Carried.

M. and S. That we elect a committee of five for the Industrial Worker. Carried.

M. and S. That we elect a committee of three to devise ways and means to collect funds to be used for bail and bonds for Class war prisoners. Carried.

M. and S. That we elect a District Defense Committee of seven members. Carried

M. and S. That the different D. O. L. be instructed to communicate to all branches of the Western States and Western Canada also to all G. O. C. of said Dist. of the action taken of Resolution 19 and 25. Carried.

M. and S. That we request the incoming G. E. B. to finance the publicity campaign mentioned in Res. No. 19. Carried.

M. and S. That this body send a letter to all branches of the industrial unions in Seattle District requesting them to hold a job delegate meeting at least once every two weeks, to discuss good and welfare of the different industrial unions. Carried.

M. and S. That in order to form General District Council that this body favor the nomination of one delegate from all camps and jobs where 50 men or fraction thereof are employed. Chartered branches to be entitled to one delegate from each job or camp at future conference to be held within three months from date. Carried.

M. and S. That this body go on record as opposed to supporting all craft forms of labor organization. Carried.

M. and S. That D. O. Committees pay the expenses of the ways and means committee pro rata. That members of same receive \$4.00 per day. Carried.

M. and S. That C. P. Committee be instructed to get out "slow down" stickers. Carried.

ELECTION OF OFFICERS

Industrial Worker Committee: Deitz, Devine, McDonald, G. W. Adams and Bronke. Elected.

Bail and Bonds Committee: H. McVeigh, M. J. Smith, J. Engdahl, elected.

District Defense Committee: Marie Smith, Sec.-Treasurer; Deitz, Sherman, M. J. Smith, J. Hanson, Jas. Greanor, Walter Smith, elected.

Ways and Means Committee: Hayes, Bruce and Rainey, elected.

Good and welfare.

Conference adjourn 7. p. m., July 4th.

By singing "Hold the Fort."

W. W. Marine Transport Workers Invited to Join International Transport Workers Federation

The New York office of the I. W. W. Marine Transport Workers is in receipt of the following letter from the Dutch Transport Workers' Federation (Syndicalist):

Nederlandsche Federatie
Van Transport-Arbeiders

Dear Comrades:

On the 29th and 30th April last a conference of transportworkers was held at Amsterdam with a view of reestablishing the International Transportworkers Federation. Delegates from Great Britain, Belgium, Germany and Holland were present and a resolution was carried as to the reconstruction of the International. A provisional Central Committee was appointed to convene a full conference in September and draft new rules, which correspond to the actual international social and political conditions.

Our Federation is represented in the provisional bureau so that we as syndicalists have a voice in the preparatory arrangements. We are in touch with the British Transportworkers Federation that is supporting us to break the policy of the Germans and their Dutch satellites.

In order to strengthen the revolutionary element in the new I. T. F. we beg to suggest you to affiliate. Application should be made to Mr. Oudegeest, Nederlandsch Verband van Vakverenigingen, Reguliersgracht 80 at Amsterdam.

Trusting that you will agree with our proposition, we remain,

Yours fraternally,

Ned. Federatie van Transportarbeiders,
S. V. Berg,
Secretary.

Never let up in the work of agitating and organizing. Those that ght for a lie will get tired of their iniquities some day. Working for a high ideal never tires a man.

A New Freind

The following letter needs no explanation.

Mr. John Sandgren,

Editor, "The One Big Union Monthly,"
Chicago, Ill.,

Dear Sir:—

At a street meeting held under the auspices of my publication, The Challenge (a copy of which I am sending you under separate cover) I purchased from a gentlemen in the audience one copy of The Rebel Worker along with — The One Big Union Monthly. Yesterday I spent five hours reading them carefully. From them I gained light. I gained information that I shall in turn impart to the thousands of Negroes, scattered throughout the country that read The Challenge. The One Big Union Idea is undoubtedly far advanced over the old political buncombe now being ladled out by the Socialist of America. It is an idea that will readily appeal to every thinking Colored man and woman. It is an idea that I shall begin with the coming issue of the Challenge to propagate, and not cease propagating as long as I wield a pen.

As a solution of our manifold problems, I can appreciate the—ONE BIG UNION.— I cannot reconcile myself to the slow, static philosophies propagated by the American Socialist Party. So with this letter consider me one of the opposite Race to register my services and good wishes under the Great Banner of Industrial Unionism that is too well understood by the plutocrat, too little understood by the under-dog.

WILLIAM BRIDGES
Editor

DEMOCRATIZATION" PROCEEDS

Lansing, Mich.—A bill has been introduced by which the jurors would be selected from the assessment rolls instead of from the registration lists. That means that only such property owners as are on the tax list would sit on a jury. The man without property would be barred. Is Michigan fixing herself up for I. W. W. trials?

WHEN THE SOCIAL-DEMOCRATS LOST THEIR CHANCE

The social democrats of Sweden are getting quite numerous even in the upper house of the Riksdag. The other day it was unusually sultry, and is so happened that a great number of the bone-hard conservatives of the upper class felt a need to "go out" during the session. The social democrats counted noses and found they were in a majority. Now, you know the soc. dems., have promised that they would introduce socialism as soon as they got a majority. But did they do it? No. They passed an insignificant measure over the heads of the "fathers", and let it go at that. Would it not have been a joke if the soc. dems., had introduced socialism, while the capitalists were on the W. C. That is about the way the politicians propose to usher in the new society anyhow, so why didn't they do it while they had the majority?

Auditors Report

Chicago, Illinois, July 7, 1919.

TO THE GENERAL MEMBERSHIP:

The Auditing Committee has audited the books of the Duluth Defense Committee and finds a number of accounts owing to said Committee by various unions and individuals. The Secretary of the Defense Committee has been instructed to make an effort to collect these accounts so that the books may be properly closed. These books were fairly well kept, and we found the accounts true and correct. Whenever these outstanding bills are collected the books will receive our approval.

The books of Solidarity have been audited up to and including April 30, 1919, and found correct and in regular form. There are a number of accounts now open that should be charged off as we find they are uncollectable. The Committee has instructed the Business Manager of Solidarity to call on all the live accounts for a settlement so that the affairs of the paper may be in good shape for the new editor to go ahead. All who are indebted to Solidarity are urged to pay up their arrears. It is a shame that so many have grossly neglected their small debts. If you want the organization to get out the literature you must support the press and the settlement of these accounts will put us ahead immediately.

The Committee calls attention to the financial report for June. Study it, and see just how the general organization stands. We have great possibilities just ahead of us, and the membership must pull strong. Money is needed for propaganda now, as never before. Don't think because you pay your dues regularly that you have done your full duty—come across for the education of the slaves.

Yours for the O. B. U.,
Abner E. Woodruff No. 289169
O. J. Arness, No. 238718.

"Prices are determined by the high cost of production" the profiteer has told us. Now he is raising them again. Tomatoes cost 35 cents a pound yesterday. Why? The foreign buyers are outbidding the domestic ones. The old law of supply and demand. That explains the high cost of living. But we cannot eat explanations and do a day's work on them. Either the profiteers will have to prove themselves the "patriots" they claim to be, by rejecting the high bids and selling to us at normal prices, (a thing they will never do) or we will have to compel a raise in the wages, so as to be able to live. Let us raise our wages. To do that requires organization. Let us organize industrially. The union is good for keeping the wages up, and after that it is still good as an organ of production in the new society.

Dr. Chas. David Williams, Episcopalian bishop of Michigan, wants to start a new political party to "realize the reforms implied in industrial democracy." These people will give us stones when we are asking for bread.

Financial Report

Superior District M. M. W. I. U. No. 800
of The I. W. W. for the Month of June, 1919

RECEIPTS:

372 Initiations (Craft Cards)	\$ 652.00
2157 Due Stamps	1,078.50
32 Six-Hour Assessment Stamps	16.00
19 Central Organization Ass. Stamps	19.00
15 Class War Prisoners Relief Ass. Stamps	15.00
Button and Pins	126.60
Literature and Papers	217.45
Card Cases	20.50
Banners	19.75
Croatian Paper Fund	509.70
Leavenworth Boys Bond Fund, Gilbert, Minn.	148.75
Personal Deposits	152.66
Credits on Branches and Delegates Accounts	123.67
Miscellaneous: M. Kaputsi pd. lost due stamps	5.00
G. H. Ricker, Refund on Account with No. 800	102.20
A. L. Vecellio on Account	75.50
P. Saastamoinen paid lost due stamps	1.00
Total Receipts	\$3,282.78

EXPENDITURES:

For Superior District Office:

Wages	\$ 330.75
Mileage	3.65
Stationary and Supplies	17.35
Postage Expressage and "Wires"	53.94
Literature and Papers	49.47
T. Whitehead on account of Supplies	87.50
Sub. of Paper to Deer Lodge, Mont., jail	3.00
Refund on Personal Deposits	107.93
J. Seppala on account H. Kulman's case	89.75
A. L. Vecellio, on account	75.00
I. Lampi on account	50.00
Remittance to M. M. W. I. U. No. 800 Headquarters	1,250.00

Branches and Delegates Expenses:

Wages for Branch Secretaries and Com-miss. to Del.	772.60
Mileage	162.91
Rent, Heat and Light	42.25
Stationery and Fixtures	3.47
Postage, Expressage and "Wires"	14.71
Literature and Papers	34.35
General Headquarters for Charter	10.00
Charges on Branches and Del. Acc'ts.....	123.09

Miscellaneous:

Virginia Branch No. 800 paid Br. No. 500 deficit	10.29
E. Hawkins	3.25
J. Korpi	5.50
F. Grad, Report, 1 Init., 3 Due, and 1 Class War Stamp remitted May 14, 1919	4.50

Total Expenditures **\$3,304.23**

RECAPITULATION:

Total Receipts	\$ 3,282.78
Cash Balance, June 1st, 1919	266.95
Grand Total	\$3,548.83
Total Expenditures	3,304.26
Bal. Cash on Hand on July 1, 1919	245.57

Peter Petaja,
Sec'y-Treasurer, Superior District.
Metal Mine Workers Ind. Union
No. 800, I. W. W.

A Statement from the N. Y. District Council

UNANIMITY of sentiment has formed itself towards the recent creation of District Council in the New York District that has seldom been excelled. The membership here, having seen the failure of the City Central Committee to properly carry on the tremendous organizing affairs that have presented themselves in the eastern territory, eagerly welcomed the formation of a council.

After the looseness and aimlessness of the City Central Committee had become apparent the various industrial unions in New York got together to work out a plan of centralizing the general organization work that would particularly fit the peculiar circumstances of industry that prevail in the east, where innumerable workers are congested in a limited area. The District Council system was found to be both practical and effective.

Two members from each industrial union were delegated to form a council. A constitution was drawn up and, after being submitted to a referendum vote, was adopted. The Council, which in reality is an organization committee of the industrial unions, then rolled up its sleeves and got down to the principal reasons for its existence—lining up into the O. B. U. of the workers in the eastern community.

Propaganda was begun among the unorganized stable and garage workers, and in a remarkably short time 102 of these men were lined up. A member of the District Council was assigned the task of putting the new union on its feet, but immediately the new fellow workers become capable

of running their own affairs he will be withdrawn, and they will proceed by themselves. Work was also started to enroll the printers' ink grinders into the Printing and Publishing Workers, Industrial Union, and after a slight hitch, good progress is now being reported. Many sugar workers have been lined up in groups. The same may be said for the engineers. Efforts are now being directed particularly towards organizing the Negro workers on the job. Most of the industrial unions have already voted to transfer the "Rebel Worker" from the supervision of the recruiting union to that of the council, since the paper is primarily for the purpose of propaganda and organization work.

Although the district Council has applied for a charter it has not yet been granted. The reason advanced by the General Executive Board is that no provisions for such a council have been provided in the constitution of the I. W. W. and no enrolling for the particular charter has been made. The acting general secretary-treasurer states that he is passing the matter over to the incoming General Executive Board, which will probably take action as soon as it is installed.

In the meantime the District Council is going smoothly ahead, organizing here, there, and everywhere within its limits, bringing the message of industrial unionism home to both organized and unorganized workers more forcibly than it has ever been done before, and steadily lining the workers up in the One Big Union.

—N. Y. District Council.

Hotel, Restaurant and Domestic Workers Industrial Union No. 1100

Bulletin No. 3

Chicago, Ill., July 12.

Fellow Workers:—

H. R. & D. W. I. U. No. 1100 is making a thorough attempt to organize the workers in the industry with the immediate view of shortening hours and increasing wages, and with the remote idea of being able to operate the hotels and restaurants. We are including in our program the management of the industry like the other industrial unions so that we can be able to feed the working class when the great hour arrives.

We are depending upon the co-operation with other industrial unions in our efforts to organize this oft neglected branch of workers, and what are you doing to help us, Fellow Workers in 400, 573, 500, 800, etc. We are making a special effort to organize the women workers, and remember Joe Hill's song, "The Rebel Girl."

JOB NEWS

Rockford, Ill.—During the last week the capitalist press made a big noise that the Wobblies had invaded the biggest hotel in Rockford. Some of our delegates have been active around this place and got the workers to demand better conditions and more wages. With the protection of the police and the scab organization A. F. of L., our members did not have success this time, but they are coming back. Watch for Rockford!

Duluth, Minn.—The Duluth district has always been a stronghold for No. 1100, especially among the Finnish domestic workers. Their union is growing fast, and the No. 1100 workers in the nearby towns are lining up solidly into the One Big Union of the I. W. W. We have job control in several restaurants and with a little more energy we will get them all in line.

The great success of No. 1100 in this district has made it necessary to put a paid secretary on the job, to handle all the business for the branches in this district.

Seattle, Wash.—An application for a branch charter of No. 1100 received last week. We all know the splendid work the Fellow Workers in Seattle have been doing in the past, and No. 1100 will surely get a good foot hold in the "crazy Ole's" town.

Tacoma, Wash.—The Fellow Workers in Tacoma are very active in getting out No. 1100 leaflets and literature. In the near future we'll have a branch there and at this place we just need a few active delegates to get things started.

Denver, Colo.—In Denver, as in all other cities, the cards in the windows show the need the master feels for help. In Denver the conditions are unusually bad. All men work from 10 to any unknown number of hours. Women supposed to work eight hour in accordance to the eight-hour law, are compelled to put in about one hour extra on the time-worn excuse of "getting ready"—which, as everyone knows, is not work—oh, no! In view of these facts Denver is ready to receive any means of bettering conditions. Wages \$8 to \$20.

There are four or five LIVE DELEGATES there, but we need more. The hotel industry is all there is in Denver except the packing house, and the workers are ready. All members should take out credentials. Address headquarters or Robert Danley, 2961 Curtis St., Denver, Colo., for further information.

The coal camps of Colorado show excellent spirit—but the ground is all new and unbroken. All No. 800, No. 400, and No. 600 delegates in the field should pave the way for this important industrial organization. No. 1100 offers the first opportunity to miners' wives and daughters to organize in the industrial army with their husbands, fathers, and brothers. "In union there is strength." Some of these women are tried fighters, too.

In organizing this industry, the first idea should be a firm, solid foundation, so our organization will be able to weather the approaching storm. **REMEMBER, WE ARE TO FEED THE WORKERS.**

We are considering the question of sending an organizer east. This part of the country is all split up in all kinds of organizations, all claiming to be the only and right kind of unions. In New York the Hotel and Restaurant Workers are deceived into believing that the International Federation of Workers in the hotel, restaurant, club and catering industry is a real industrial union. But the workers know that only a union with revolutionary ideals, like the One Big Union of I. W. W., can abolish wage slavery and establish an industrial commonwealth of the world's workers. What we need is an educational propaganda, and we ask all the Fellow Workers in the east to write for leaflets and literature.

50,000 new leaflets just off the press. Send in your order today. The price is \$3 a thousand. Also order some of the NOW! NOW! cards. The price is \$3 a thousand.

Don't forget your ballot. Be sure to get it in by July 20th. It is very important to vote.

Send in your contributions to all of the papers. Let the other branches know what you are doing. Also send in some contributions and suggestions for the Bulletin.

All the delegates and branch secretaries must send in their reports at least once a month. Don't neglect that and be sure to fill out the reports correctly.

The signs everywhere are that the work done by the boys in jail has not been done in vain. Remember them the way they like best to be remembered—by ORGANIZING.

But we also need money for the relief and defense work. \$10,000 (ten thousand) is needed within the next few weeks to appeal the Chicago case and for preparing the Sacramento and Wichita cases. What are you going to do? Are you going to let our members rot in the jails? Send in your contributions NOW. Get a relief or organization stamp in your book. All the secretaries and delegates should see to it that every member gets his stamp.

With best wishes, I remain,

Yours for the One Big Union,
ERNST HOLMEN,

Sec'y-Treas. Pro Tem. H. R. & D. W. I. U. No. 1100.

HOTEL, RESTAURANT AND DOMESTIC WORKERS' INDUSTRIAL UNION No. 1100

Financial Statement for Month of June, 1919

RECEIPTS

Initiations	\$144.00
Due Stamps	263.50
Relief Stamps	1.00
Defense Stamps	7.00
Organization Stamps	10.00
Buttons	17.00
Literature	56.55
Credit Acc't of Cash Balance.....	176.42
Receipts from Meetings, Collections and Donations	320.29
Total	\$996.26

EXPENDITURES

Gen. Headquarter, Per Capita.....	\$ 30.00
Gen. Headquarter, Supplies.....	12.75
Subscriptions	1.75
Literature, Leaflets, Etc.....	133.10
Wages, Branch Sec., Organizers and Deleg.	137.31
Mileage	82.16
On Hand of Branches and Delegates.....	330.36
Rent, Light, Heat.....	36.14
Stationery and Fixtures.....	19.45
Postage, Express and Wires.....	22.47
Main Office, Salaries	68.00
Business Done by Other Unions, Allowance	53.65
Total	\$928.14

RECAPITULATION

Total Receipts from June 1-30.....	\$996.20
Brought Forward from May 31.....	225.85
	\$1,222.11
Total Expenditures from June 1-30.....	\$928.14
Cash on Hand June 30.....	\$293.97
Yours for Industrial Freedom, ERNST HOLMEN, Sec'y-Treas. No. 1100.	

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

Financial Statement for Month of June, 1919

CASH RECEIPTS

June	
2, Delegate X47, report	\$ 5.50
Delegate X143, report	3.95
Delegate X194, report	4.50
Delegate X1, report	30.00
Delegate X47, report	1.19
Jas. H. Kelley, report .....	.25
3, Delegate X38, report	14.25
Delegate X48, report	3.25
Delegate X9, report	11.50
4, Delegate X214, report	1.35
Smoker held at Chicago by No. 600.....	66.58
5, Delegate X3, report	6.71
Office receipts, Donation relief	2.00
Geo. H. Ricker, Acc't No. 500.....	.50
Delegate X10, report	20.00
Delegate X1, report	13.90
Delegate X1, report for G. R. U.....	15.00
7, Delegate X193, report	6.00
Office report	2.00
8, D. Nickoloff, report for No. 300.....	2.00
9, Delegate X48, report	4.00
10, Delegate X148, report .....	.45
11, Delegate X50, report	10.00
Delegate X136, report	2.00
12, Delegate X261, report	1.44
13, Delegate X192, report	8.50
Delegate X6, report	1.00
14, Delegate X7, report .....	.60
Delegate X47, report	1.44
Office receipts, Donation relief	2.00
16, Delegate X3, report	2.25
Delegate X6, report	3.00
17, Delegate X44, report	18.00
Delegate X 214, report	1.20
Wm. Clark, report	5.00
18, Geo. H. Ricker, Acc't No. 500.....	.25
Delegate X261, report	1.00
Jas. H. Kelley .....	.50
Delegate X193, report	4.00
20, Delegate X48, report	2.00
Delegate X231 report	11.00
21, M. K. Fox, Acc't No. 400.....	7.00
Delegate X50, report	6.00
Delegate X136, report	12.50
Delegate X192, report	2.20
23, Delegates X139-X246, reports.....	5.00
Delegate X2, report	5.00
Delegate X47, report	1.44
Thos. McKinley, Acc't No. 325.....	1.00
Office report	3.00
24, Geo. H. Ricker, Acc't No. 500.....	1.75
25, Geo. H. Ricker, Acc't No. 500.....	19.50
A. S. Embree, Acc't No. 800.....	22.25
Delegate X148, report .....	.45
26, Delegate X47, report	1.44
27, Delegate X231, report	6.50
28, Delegate X143, report	3.00
Delegate X214, report	1.90
Delegate X36, report	3.00
Office report	3.00
30, Office report	3.50

Total cash receipts, June.....\$399.49

CASH EXPENDITURES

June	
2, Postage stamps rec'd and exchanged.....	\$.25
5, Office postage	10.00
Gen. Hdqts, office rent for May.....	16.66
New Solidarity, Subs.	3.00
O. B. U. Monthly, Subs.....	6.00
Office expenses, twine, wrapping paper, ink, stencils, mimeograph paper, etc.	13.00
Geo. H. Ricker, acc't No. 500.....	1.00
Geo. Apt. Bookkeeper, office, wages.....	9.00
C. N. Ogden, wages, bookkeeper.....	21.00
7, Geo Apt, wages, bookkeeper	6.00
8, Adv. to Geo. Apt. Organization exp.....	25.00
9, Adv. to H. E. Trotter, Organization expenses	30.00
14, New Solidarity, B. O. for May.....	37.15
New Solidarity, Subs. ....	.75
O. B. U. Monthly, Subs.....	2.25
Int. Ptg. & Typesetting Co., Ptg. Ballots C. N. Ogden, office wages	9.80
C. N. Ogden, office wages	21.00
17, Postage stamps, rec'd & exchanged.....	.25
18, Postage stamps, rec'd & exchanged.....	.50
21, Horder Stationery Co., Signature Stamp C. N. Ogden, office postage.....	1.25
The Rebel Worker, B. O.....	10.00
C. N. Ogden, office wages	3.00
C. N. Ogden, office wages	21.00
24, C. N. Ogden, office postage.....	5.00
Adv. to Geo. Apt, by M. O. Org. Exp.	25.00
25, O. B. U. Monthly, on acc't B. O.....	35.00
27, J. Scott, acct, Mt. T. W.	2.25
28, Int. Ptg. & Typeset. Co., Ptg Pluggers C. N. Ogden, office wages	4.10
C. N. Ogden, office wages	21.00
30, Adv. to A. E. Reese by wire, Org. Exp. Cost of wire to A. E. Reese.....	10.00
Adv. Geo. Apt, M. O. Org. Exp.....	1.32
Adv. Geo. Apt, M. O. Org. Exp.....	15.00

Total cash expenditures, June.....\$366.53

SUMMARY RECEIPTS

81 Initiations	\$162.00
446 Due Stamps sold	223.00
Relief stamps	1.00
Organization stamps	7.00
Day wage, and defense	10.00
Buttons, Pins and duplicate cards.....	12.75
Literature, papers, O. B. U. mag. ect.....	91.50
Papers and Magazine, subs.	9.00
R. R. Mag. stamps	14.00
Gen. strike victims stamps	2.00
Donations and smoker receipts	68.58
Branch & Del. acc'ts	99.34
Ind. Unions acc'ts	29.50
Personal deposits	3.50

Total\$733.17

SUMMARY EXPENDITURES

Gen. Hdqts, Per capita	\$ 4.50
Gen. Hdqts, supplies	1.50
Papers and Magazines, B. O.....	75.15
Papers and Magazines, subs.....	12.00
Del., Com. lit. & init.....	25.35
Organizing wages	120.00
Organization mileage	55.95
Main office wages	99.00
Rent, Heat and Light	16.66

Stationery & fixtures	14.25
Postage, express and wires	33.39
Printing	13.90
Literature, A. F. of L. cards exchanged.....	4.00
Ind. Unions, allowance on supplies.....	49.50
Ind. Unions, acc'ts	37.75
Branch & delegates acc'ts	137.31
<hr/>	
Total	\$700.21

RECAPITULATION	
Total receipts for June.....	\$733.17
Bal. cash on hand June 1.....	174.11
<hr/>	
Grand Total	\$907.28
Total expenses for June.....	700.21
<hr/>	
Bal. cash on hand July 1.....	\$207.07
C. N. OGDEN, Sec.-Treas. R. R. W. I. U. No. 600.	

Metal and Machinery Workers Industrial Union, No. 300

Bulletin No. 3

The Organization Committee will meet here Thursday, July 10. After their conference they will immediately go into the field for the O. B. U. The following is the result of the referendum:

Secretary-Treasurer

E. R. Thomas.....	195
A. Axelrod	51
Rona De Guerre.....	40

Organization Committee

H. L. Varney.....	223
Mike Chik	199
Jack Friedrich	190
O. Bartson	131
Leon E. Shuff.....	105
Chas. Stephenson.....	96
(Declined)	
F. W. Johnson.....	92
S. Ratnofsky	87
John Draganoff	81
Lee McClellan	66
(Declined)	
Frank Honey	53
Eric Quist	46
Ray Ferrin	38
Glenn B. Fortney.....	34

Organization Committee Elected

H. L. Varney	223
Mike Chick	199
Octave Bartson	131
Leon E. Shuff	106
Jack Friedrich	190

By-Laws

By-Law No.	Yes	No
1	298	0
2	286	11
3	293	2
4	292	5
5	294	2
6	294	0
7	290	7
8	292	4
9	291	6
10	289	7
11	292	3
12	287	8
13	291	5
14	295	0

By-Law No.	15	288	0
	16	289	5
	17	291	2
	18	293	1
	19	291	5
	20	289	6
	21	294	2
	22	293	3
	23	293	2
	24	290	6
	25	294	2
	26	290	4
	27	293	3
	28	285	2

On account of circumstances over which E. R. Thomas has no control, he has been compelled to resign, thus leaving the office of secretary-treasurer vacant. The incoming organization committee will have to elect a chairman who will automatically become Secretary-treasurer as per By-Law No. 10, which states that "In case of vacancy of the office of Secretary-Treasurer the chairman of the Organization Committee shall automatically become Secretary-Treasurer."

One of the big drives, which is to make the Metal and Machinery Workers' Industrial Union No. 300 the biggest obstacle in the path of the steel trust.

Yours for Industrial Freedom,
E. R. THOMAS,
Per I. F.

July 8, 1919.

METAL AND MACHINERY WORKERS' INDUSTRIAL UNION No. 300

June 1 to June 30, 1919

RECEIPTS:

June, 1919	
Brought Forward from May.....	\$272.89
2, Glenn B. Fortney, report.....	12.50
Rona De Guerre, report.....	4.00
3, Simon Grobosky, report	10.00
Vaine Kongo, report	5.50
Martti Lemberg, report	10.50
M. Kalinin	2.50
Peter Pek, report	9.00
6, H. Van Dorn, report	20.00
7, Glenn B. Fortney, report	1.75
Harry Karnstrom, report	31.50
9, Charles Stephenson, report	1.50
G. Litavsky, report	46.25
G. Litavsky, report	12.25
G. Litavsky, report	15.25
11, R. O. T. Brown, report	6.00
Rona De Guerre, report	10.00
Geo. Ricker, report	1.00
13, M. P. Eargoff, report	6.75

16, G. Litavsky, report	44.57
Rona De Guerre, report	6.00
William Landgraf, report	15.00
17, O. Bartsom, report	25.00
Vaino Kongo, report	5.00
18, Clyde U. Smith, report	10.00
Henry Van Dorn, report	10.00
19, M. Stefanko, report	5.00
R. Lerch, report .....	.50
A. Newman, report	1.00
21, Fred Jacobs, report	1.00
23, Simon Grobosky, report	10.00
John Dimoff, report	22.00
Steve Korhetz, report	21.40
24, Oliver Lowder, report	1.50
Al. Holger, report	11.00
25, Tom Linkecs, report	89.03
G. Litovsky, report	43.00
G. Litovsky, report	11.19
Peter Petaja, report .....	.75
27, S. Hogas, report	19.00
S. A. Krieger, report	10.00
26, E. R. Thomas, report	6.00
28, I. Weinstein, report	3.00
John Edonstrom, report	39.61
John Edonstrom, report	40.47
John Edonstrom, report	15.40
E. R. Thomas, report	3.50
Total	\$948.56

CASH EXPENDITURES

June, 1919	
2, Gehrig Studio, Photo, Advertising.....\$	2.00
Irving Freeman, Office, Wages	3.50
3, Western Union Co., Wire.....	.70
5, F. Dewey, Fixtures.....	.25
6, Irving Freeman, Office, Wages.....	10.50
H. E. Trotter, Refund.....	5.22
7, Glenn B. Fortney, Office, Wages.....	21.00
E. R. Thomas, Office, Wages.....	28.00
Helen Bowlen, Office, Wages.....	21.00
Inter. Print. & Type Co., Printing.....	5.80
Matt Fox, Joint Office Expense.....	13.00
P. O. Station No. 176, Postage.....	3.00
12, P. O. Station No. 176, Postage.....	1.00
10, Glenn B. Fortney, Office, Wages.....	7.00
14, Helen Bowlen, Office, Wages.....	19.25
E. R. Thomas, Office, Wages.....	28.00
Horder's Stat. Store, Stat.....	11.97
William Landgraf, Advance	15.00
liter. Print. & Type Co., Printing.....	20.35
16, Thomas Whitehead, Charter	60.00
18, P. O. Stat. No. 176, Postage.....	3.00
J. A. Foley, Fixtures.....	.15
21, Helen Bowlen, Office, Wages.....	21.00
Inter. Print. & Type Co., Printing.....	12.50
E. R. Thomas, Office, Wages.....	28.00
24, Thomas Whitehead, Charter	10.00
A. Newman, Hungarian Subs.....	21.00
25, P. O. Station No. 176, Postage.....	1.00
28, P. O. Station No. 176, Postage.....	3.50

Helen Bowlen, Office, Wages.....	21.00
E. R. Thomas, Office, Wages.....	28.00
Irving Freeman, Office, Wages.....	15.75
Total	\$441.44

TOTAL RECEIPTS

Personal Deposit, John Edenstrom.....	\$ 39.61
Initiations, 237	474.00
Due Stamps, 1,094	547.00
General Organization Stamps	24.00
Class War Relief Stamps	2.00
Buttons	11.50
Literature	27.83
Credit Br. Sec'y and Br. Del.....	328.51
Donations	46.46
M. & M. I. U. no. 300 Stamps.....	8.00
Subs.	8.00
Hall Rent	26.00
Refunds	45.00
Duplicate Cards .....	.50
Charter Fees	30.00
Misc.	1.41
Total	\$1,614.82

TOTAL EXPENDITURES

General Office, Per Capita.....	\$ 4.00
General Office, Supplies	90.75
General Office, Literature	39.15
General Office, Subs.	21.00
Br. Sec'y & Del. Wages	187.25
Br. Sec'y & Del. Mileage	48.21
Held on Hand by Br. Sec'y.....	229.30
Supplies	4.00
Advertising	15.75
Advanced	35.00
Main Office Wages	252.00
Rent, Heat and Light	270.29
Stat. and Fixtures	53.81
Postage	28.93
Photo	2.00
Picnic Expense	10.00
Allowance to G. R. U.....	24.75
Donation	11.00
Loan	13.00
Charter	10.00
Printing	12.50
Organizing Expense	1.50
Misc.	2.40
District Council of N. Y. C.....	1.00
Total	\$1,380.59

RECAPITULATION

Total Receipts from June 1-30.....	\$1,614.82
Brought Forward from May 31.....	272.39
Total	\$1,887.21
Total Expenditures from June 1-30.....	\$1,380.59
Cash on Hand June 30.....	\$506.62

AGRICULTURAL WORKERS INDUSTRIAL UNION No. 400

FINANCIAL STATEMENT

Personal Deposits	\$ 100.00	Monies paid on acc't Br. Sec'ys & Dels.....	724.75
314 Initiations	623.00	Monies paid on acc't supplies	29.50
2,234 Due Stamps	1,117.00	Subs.	2.00
Relief Stamps	220.00	Miscellaneous Receipts	55.63
Organization stamps	194.00	C. W. I. U. 573 Dues.....	102.00
General Defense Misc. Receipts	49.75	C. W. I. U. 573 Initiations.....	42.00
General Defense stamps	149.00	L. W. I. U. 500 Dues.....	15.50
Buttons, Pins, etc.	17.75	L. W. I. U. 500 Initiations.....	6.00
Literature, card cases, dup. cards, etc., etc	323.70	R. R. W. I. U. 600 Dues.....	12.50

R. R. W. I. U. 600 Initiations.....	4.00
O. W. I. U. No. 450 Dues.....	29.00
O. W. I. U. No. 450 Initiations.....	20.00
G. R. U. Dues.....	7.00
M. M. W. I. U. 800 Dues.....	9.50
M. M. W. I. U. 300 Dues.....	5.00
H. R. D. W. I. U. 1100 Dues.....	1.00
M. T. W. I. U. 700 Dues.....	1.00
S. B. I. U. No. 325 Dues.....	1.00
Grand Total	\$3,866.58

DISBURSEMENTS

Gen. Hdqtrs, Per Capita	\$ 7.50
Gen. Hdqtrs, Acc't Supplies	25.50
Bundle Orders, Papers & Lit.....	314.59
Br. Secy's & Del. Wages and Comm's...	1,002.60
Mileage	147.93..
Monies held by Br. Sec'ys and Dels.....	673.51
General Defense	45.00
Main Office Salaries	260.00
Rent, Heat & Light	243.50
Stationery and Fixtures	76.99
Postage, Wires and Express	180.06
International Printing Co.	37.96
Internal Revenue Office (Fine).....	2.92
Adding Machine Co. (Repairs).....	2.03
Allowances to other unions	98.24
Total Expenses	\$3,119.15

RECAPITULATION

Total receipts	\$3,866.58
Cash on hand June 1.....	964.57
Grand Total	\$4,831.15
Disbursements	3,119.15
Cash on hand July 1.....	\$1,712.00

CASH RECEIPTS MAIN OFFICE A. W. I. U.
No. 400. JUNE, 1919

June		
2, 2159	\$	8.50
531F		16.50
3, 15F		1.50
W. B. Dixon		5.00
98F .....		.50
J. Slightam		1.00
25F		3.00
4, 5F		33.00
41F		5.00
2T60		8.85
374		10.00
140F		10.50
42F		50.00
532F		25.00
New Bremen S. P.		10.00
C. N. Ogden		13.00
E. Holmen		22.20
5, 2002		18.00
6, 705F .....		.25
2124		6.50
263F		5.00
501F		20.50
257F		50.77
500F		50.77
500F .....		.50
7, 304F		6.92
E. R. Thomas		13.00
116F		4.00
9, 502F		19.55
265F		1.00
848		20.00
262F		14.00
37F		19.00
305F .....		.50
531F		22.50
258F		9.50

10, Geo. Blair .....	.25
146F	3.50
5F	44.51
178F	76.50
98F	21.00
122F	1.25
11, 313F	4.00
4F	8.00
33F	14.25
24F	7.50
40F	4.00
42F	120.00
12, 261F	8.50
Friend	20.00
J. Stewart .....	.25
42F	5.50
3001	2.50
13, 182F	10.00
500F	15.00
290F	22.25
16, 462F	3.50
Geo. Ricker	26.49
44F	8.50
400F	4.50
F. J. Nelson	50.00
M. O. Shea .....	.25
37F	10.50
17, 556F	5.00
232F	5.00
5F	20.00
42F	148.14
18, 501F	15.50
495F .....	.50
G. W. Wilson	7.00
18, 181F	4.00
492F	2.30
19, 505F	10.50
41F	12.50
316F	15.00
2042	42.50
20, W. Wadsworth .....	.25
A. C. Grant .....	.25
2160	18.00
400F	7.00
261F	10.50
21, 497F	6.50
304F	4.92
596F .....	.50
D. Mathison .....	.25
500F	92.00
23, 860F	7.00
4F	5.00
136F	4.25
389	4.30
123F	2.00
110F	12.00
24, 230F	15.00
47F	10.85
23F .....	.60
507F	10.00
25, J. Downs .....	.25
J. Hoag	7.50
454F	4.00
E. Kivett	1.00
498F	5.50
780F	7.50
382F	2.50
A. S. Embree	10.25
5F	15.00
17F	5.00
98F	3.00
Chas. Newman .....	.25
42F	170.58
261F	11.50
26, 178F .....	.25
146F	1.00
531F	15.00
578F	12.50
458F	5.00

27, 377F	8.75	16, Jack Ward on acc't	30.00
313F	5.50	Tom Whitehead, Rent	100.00
268F	11.50	18, Adder Machine Co. (Repairs)	2.85
W. W. White	13.00	Towel Supply Co.	1.50
500F	17.18	19, Tom Whitehead (Balance due on O. B. U. Magazine)	144.95
500F	2.00	21, E. Holmen acc't No. 1100	3.00
28, 780F	7.50	E. R. Thomas acc't No. 300	2.50
706F	9.00	Geo. Ricker acc't No. 500	9.25
780F .....	.25	W. W. White acc't No. 573	46.74
532F	14.00	International Printing Co.	31.05
2002	16.00	Mat. K. Fox acc't wages to date	28.00
717F	13.50	D. N. Simpson acc't wages to date	28.00
2042	6.00	C. N. Ogden acc't No. 600	7.00
30, 377F	17.50	26, C. E. Smith Relief at Great Bend	3.00
493F	5.00	D. N. Simpson Postage stamps	40.00
719F .....	.25	D. N. Simpson Postage stamps	1.00
150F	6.00	27, Geo. Allridge Relief Allridge and Terrell	5.00
2159	6.00	Mat. K. Fox acc't James Cronin	30.00
703F	3.50	Mat. K. Fox acc't Albert Bare	150.00
57F .....	.25	C. E. Payne Solidarity to date	106.74
705F	17.50	Mat. K. Fox acc't C. E. Smith	50.00
387F	9.50	28, D. N. Simpson acct. wages	28.00
146F	4.50	Mat. K. Fox acc't wages	28.00
Office Receipts	1.30	Eva Serviss acct wages	15.00
Total Cash	\$2,011.28	International Printing Co.	23.10
		Mat. K. Fox Stamps rec'd during June	3.00

CASH DISBURSEMENT

2, George Allridge on acc't	\$ 30.00	Cash Disbursements	\$1,263.85
D. N. Simpson, acc't Postage stamps	30.00		
3, Jack Ward on acc't	30.00		
7, D. N. Simpson wired to Joe Higgins	40.00		
D. N. Simpson acc't wages to date	28.00		
Mat. K. Fox acc't wages to date	28.00		
Henry Matta acc't wages & R. R. Fare	34.29		
International Printing Co.	37.96		
12, Jack Gaveel Relief at Hutchinson, Kas.	3.00		
E. M. Boyd on acc't	20.00		
Rebel Worker, Mpls. Bundle Orders	6.00		
J. T. Smitanka (Internal revenue fine)	2.92		
14, Mat. K. Fox acc't wages to date	28.00		
D. N. Simpson acc't wages to date	28.00		

RECAPITULATION

Total cash receipts in June	\$2,011.28
Cash on hand June 1	964.57
Grand Total	\$2,975.85
Total cash disbursements	\$1,263.85
Cash on hand July 1	\$1,712.00

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

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

Bulletin No. 43

July 7, 1919.

The G. O. C. have met. They held their first meeting, took up matters of interest to C. W. I. U. and the organization as a whole, they have audited the books of the outgoing secretary and checked up the supplies and stock and started the incoming secretary off with a correct statement of stock on hand. They also mapped out the line of action to be followed out by the committee and the different parts of the country where each will go, in which they will act as traveling delegates to place credentials into the hands of as many of the members as possible.

A job organization is what the C. W. I. U. is striving for and members on the job should bear in mind that it is to their interest to line the worker up in the One Big Union. The delegate is doing his bit and we ask that you give him all the co-operation possible.

During the past few months all the unions have had their hands full preparing for a drive in their respective industries and as a result there has been very little raised for the defense and relief of our

fellow workers, who are in the jails throughout the country. The lawyers have been on the payroll continuously and have been doing work on the various cases. The general office has had to meet these expenses and with practically nothing coming in, it has been a continual drain, and it has reached a point where it must again appeal to the members of the I. W. W. as it never did before.

Within the next six weeks \$3,000 is very necessary for the Sacramento cases and \$5,000 is needed in order to give the men in Leavenworth on the Chicago Indictment a chance to reverse the verdict passed on them. This last amount is necessary in order to give the men who are not citizens of this country the same chance as those who are.

The Wichita case is due to come up for the third time next September and lawyers are busy on the preliminary work and will be until the case is called. Every possible way to raise money from outside sources has been used and this has been drained. It is up to the members to come to the relief of their fellow workers.

Day Pay Stamps were called in because there were too many stamps in the field, but this summer every member of the C. W. I. U. is asked to

donate at least one day's pay to help the Class War Prisoners. You do not have to give this money to the delegate. Send it direct to this office and we will furnish you with a receipt and your name or card number will be published with the amount given along with the financial statement at the end of the month.

Just received word from Seattle that Judge Smith granted an injunction against Chief Warren, restraining him with interfering with the hall. That means that the Seattle Hall at First and Columbia is open. Members in Seattle should make this their headquarters.

The card of M. E. Logan, No. 451053, was found and turned in by Delegate E410. Same can be had by writing to this office.

JOB NOTES

Hopkins Lake, Minn.—Klarquist & Co., Contractors. Building work, sanitarium. Five cents carfare from town, wages 40 cents per hour, 9 hours Board and room at hotel in town. Slaves are discontented on this job. Delegate could do some good work here.

Savanna, Ill.—Sutherland Building & Construction Co. Shed building, 400 men employed, about 12, members of the O. B. U. Wages: teamsters \$3.60 per day, laborers 45 cents per hour, 8 hours, sanitary conditions fair, boarding contractors do the boarding of men; could be improved. They hire everyone that comes along and job will last one year. Get busy and make this job safe for the workers.—Del. E450.

Marshall, Minn.—Street paving. Teamsters \$4.50 per day. Laborers 50 cents per hour. There is a team camp 9 miles from here. Wages \$60 per month.

New Ulm, Minn.—Swan Ferguson, 5 miles south. Wages, skimmers \$3 per day and board, 9 hours' work. No Wobbs on this job.

These jobs were taken from a letter to another industrial union. 573-members in this vicinity should see to it that a C. W. I. U. delegate makes these places. Send in for credentials.

Madison, Neb.—Montery Peterson. Wages \$3 and board.

Lincoln, Neb.—Ralph Dutchen, 7 miles out. \$3 and board.

Laurel, Neb.—Art Leach. \$3 and board, 12 hours. All Colored workers. Will not let delegate light if known.

Wayne, Neb.—Miller. \$3 and board, bum board. All of these jobs need attention.

Fulton, Ill.—Government job, Rip Rap. Eight hours, wages \$2.50 and board. Sanitary conditions good, board good. Twenty men employed, sentiment towards the O. B. U. good.—Del. E164.

Just received a letter with a job report from **Grangeville, Idaho**, which reads:—J. Hoskins, Contractor, highway work, 8 hours, wages \$4 up. Teaming, rock crusher men and hammer men. One hundred and fifty men employed, about 90 members of the O. B. U. Board \$1.20 per day, \$1 hospital

fee. There are several camps on this work and as the sentiment towards the O. B. U. is good there should be some good work done.—Del. E27.

We wish to make this bulletin a medium of news between the jobs and the office and between the different jobs. We ask the members to send in accounts of conditions on the job. State facts as they are, do not exaggerate.

Yours for the O. B. U.,
BERT LEWIS,
 Sec'y-Treas. C. W. I. U. No. 573.
BOB NELSEN,
 Chairman Org. Committee.

**FINANCIAL STATEMENT C. W. I. U. No. 573,
 I. W. W., JUNE, 1919**

Personal Deposits	\$ 18.31
Initiations	1,040.50
Dues	2,161.00
Organization Stamps	356.00
Jail Relief Stamps	281.00
General Defense Stamps	94.50
General Defense, Misc.	87.35
Buttons	97.00
Literature	481.14
Money Refunded	46.57
Misc. Receipts	71.28
On Account Supplies	2.00
On Acc't Branch Sec'ys & Delegates.....	886.89
A. W. I. U. No. 400 Initiations.....	10.00
A. W. I. U. No. 400 Dues.....	21.00
L. W. I. U. No. 500 Initiations.....	2.00
L. W. I. U. No. 500 Dues.....	18.00
R. R. W. I. U. No. 600 Initiations.....	4.00
R. R. W. I. U. No. 600 Dues.....	1.00
H. R. & D. W. No. 1100 Initiations.....	2.00
H. R. & D. W. No. 1100 Dues.....	4.00
M. T. W. I. U. No. 700 Dues	4.50
M. M. W. I. U. No. 300 Initiations.....	2.00
M. M. W. I. U. No. 300 Dues.....	1.00
M. M. W. I. U. No. 800 Dues.....	2.00
S. B. I. U. No. 325 Dues	1.00
G. R. U. Dues.....	4.50
Grand Total	\$5,700.54

DISBURSEMENTS

Personal Deposits	\$ 68.31
Headquarters, Per Capita	45.00
Headquartes, Supplies	612.25
Literature	397.53
Subs.	8.85
Wages Br. Sec'ys & Delegates.....	1,820.97
Mileage	120.01
Allowance other Unions	92.00
Money held Br. Sec'ys & Delegates.....	1,036.12
Relief & Defense	194.71
Main Office Wages	229.00
Rent, Light, Heat, Etc.	93.73
Postage, Wires & Epress	186.32
Leaflets	56.20
Stickers	41.00
Power of Att'y P. McGovern.....	2.50
Del. E370 Report per Seattle Dist.....	2.00
Total Disbursements	\$5,331.24

RECAPITULATION

Total Receipts	\$5,700.54
Cash on hand June 1.....	2,697.22
Grand Total	\$8,397.76
Disbursements	5,331.24
Cash on Hand July 1	\$3,066.52

CASH RECEIPTS		Office Rec.	
June			15.50
2, E289, report	\$ 20.45	E142, report	13.00
559, report	5.00	E271, report	10.50
E24, report	50.00	30, E24, report	40.00
E584, report	3.00	E271, report	15.32
3, E405, report	20.00	E25, report	6.00
E71, report	9.50	Office Rec.	1.00
F5, report	25.00		
6, E23, Seattle Dist.	543.88	Total Receipts	\$1,664.49
7, Office Receipts	12.50		
9, E551, report	3.75	CASH EXPENDITURES	
E37, report	12.00	June	
E271, report	16.65	2, Russian Paper B. O.....	\$ 6.40
E17, report	1.00	Thos. Whitehead, Charter	10.00
E156, report .....	.70	4, Wire to Seattle	1.00
10, E264, report	1.00	5, Hungarian Paper & Pamphlets.....	10.80
E31, report	6.00	New Solidarity B. O.....	81.76
F5, report	30.00	7, W. W. White, Wages.....	28.00
11, E262, report	11.65	Postage	10.00
12, E209, report	33.00	International Print. & T. S. Co.....	41.00
E39, report	5.40	13, J. Cully Donations received	50.00
E34, report	4.50	W. W. White, Wages.....	28.00
E25, report	6.00	International Print. & T. S. Co.....	38.70
E81, report	25.00	M. Johnson, Wages	21.00
15, E24, report	50.00	O. B. U. Monthly March, April, May	188.30
D598, report	2.00	17, M. Johnson, Wages	21.00
Office Receipts	6.75	E. V. Wallis, Wages	12.00
E213, report .....	.50	W. W. White, Wages.....	28.00
16, E35, report	8.50	Postage	10.00
E586, report .....	.50	23, Mike Quinn, Ballot Comm.....	6.00
17, E401, report	11.50	Louis Miche, Ballot Comm.....	6.00
E435, report	3.00	Thos. Whitehead, Acc't Supplies.....	600.00
L266, report .....	.75	Geo. Allen, Ballot Comm.....	6.00
F5, report	15.00	Joint Office Expenses	13.00
18, E21, report .....	.50	Wires Seattle and Portland	5.00
E289, report	73.00	W. W. White, Wages.....	28.00
23, E24, report	70.00	M. Johnson, Wages	21.00
E404, report	11.00	E. V. Wallis, Wages.....	24.00
E164, report	5.42		
I. U. 325, report	1.25		
24, E405, report	10.00		
E445, report	22.75		
I. U. 500	3.25		
E20, report	1.50		
25, I. U. 800	6.00		
E92, report	10.00		
F5, report	5.00		
I. U. 500	7.00		
E23, Seattle District	353.82		
26, E72, report	3.00		
27, E30, report	10.20		
E25, report	5.00		
E238, report	20.00		

RECAPITULATION

Total Cash Receipts in June.....	\$1,664.49
Cash on Hand June 1.....	2,697.22
Grand Total	\$4,361.71
Total Cash Disbursements	1,295.19
Cash on Hand July 1.....	\$3,066.52

BERT LEWIS,

Sec'y-Treas. C. W. I. U. No. 573.

Industrial Workers of the World—General Office

BULLETIN

Chicago, Illinois.
July 12, 1919

Fellow Workers:

The appeal in behalf of the members who were railroaded to the penitentiary almost one year ago is being perfected as rapidly as the finances of the organization have permitted.

Last week the Appellate Court ordered that the Bill of Exceptions be printed at the expense of the Government; but only in the cases of American citizens.

This means that the cost of printing, and other court costs, on behalf of our Fellow Workers who

are not citizens of this country, will have to be met by the organization, or the appeal, in so far as it affects these members of our class, will go by default.

As shown in New Solidarity of July 12 issue, by an exact cut from the Clerk of United States Circuit Court of Appeals, the estimated cost is named as \$4,300, but the time for depositing same was extended to August 1.

The trial of our Fellow Workers under indictment in the Kansas district, known as the Wichita indictment, will come up in the September term of court.

You are familiar with the manner in which these members of the organization have been hounded and

persecuted by the Corporation of the Oil, Coal, and other interests in the middle west section.

It is necessary to have additional funds with which to meet the cost of defending these men at the coming trial. It is necessary that the finances for this purpose be forthcoming at the earliest moment, as a proper defense cannot be planned in their behalf unless the money to meet expenses is available.

Remember, these men under indictment in Kansas have been in jail twenty months under the most horrible conditions. Remember, they are behind jail doors because they were active in carrying on the work of organization and education. Remember, we owe it to them to defend them to the last dollar that we can dig up in their defense. Remember that as we fail to protect those who have fought for and with us in the battle for Labor's Emancipation, the road to freedom will be longer, and harder, in the future; the enemy will become more bold and relentless. Remember, if we fail in this duty to them, we fail in our obligations to ourselves as well.

We can do no less and remain true to the cause of Labor's Freedom.

All Industrial Unions Secretaries are asked to forward each month, funds collected from sale of Defense, Relief, and Organization Stamps, to the General Office. If this is done regularly we can meet our bills, without showing monthly deficit. — Study the monthly financial reports, and act accordingly.—

Collect funds! Buy Defense Stamps! Act without delay! There is no time to be lost! Send all funds to Thos. Whitehead, Acting Secretary-Treasurer, 1001 West Madison Street, Chicago, Ill.

Chicago, Illinois, July 12, 1919.

Supplemental Bail Matters Report.

1. \$7780 in cash and Liberty Bonds deposited for Haywood and additional \$6000 surety.
2. Ralph Chaplin bond completed with Lloyd as first surety. District Attorney refuses to O. K. for reason that Lloyd is on over \$300,000 worth of bonds. This matter will be submitted to the court for decision.
- 3.— Olin B. Anderson: Schedules from Kalispell, Mont., justifying in \$30,000 received, but schedules returned for more complete legal description. These should be here in a day. Since returning of the Kalispell justifications a bond and justifications received from Rexford, Montana, for Anderson scheduling \$20,000. Anderson's bond ought to be approved early in the coming week.
4. Charles Bennett: Liberty Bonds deposited to the extent of \$5000. Five Thousand more needed.
5. Received yesterday schedule from Jos. Clark for Ray S. Fanning. This schedule is now properly executed. The District Attorney said that Mr. Spears would be accepted as second surety and Mr. Clark on the face of the justification appears to be a good first surety. This bond ought to be approved the early part of next week.

6. Nef: The District Attorney has received reports on value of New Hampshire property scheduled for Nef and the surety scheduling this property meets with his approval. No answer has been received by the District Attorney to his letter to the County Recorder as to the Philadelphia property scheduled by Mrs. Evans. Have suggested to the bail representatives of Nef at Philadelphia that they have the County Recorder send in a letter as to ownership and value of the Evans property.

7. Forrest Edwards: Schedules justifying in the amount of \$8700 clear and \$2500 in mortgaged property have been received. Also One Thousand in Liberty Bonds, which have been deposited with the Clerk of the Appellate Court.

8. Chas. Ashleigh: Schedules justifying in \$3900 in mortgaged property and \$1100 in clear property received.

9. Francis D. Miller: Deposited \$2459 worth of Liberty Bonds received from Mr. Reichman for his bond. Mr. Reichman previously reported to me that he had deposited \$2000 and he states that the balance should be on from New York in a few days.

10. Albert Prashner: Regarding status of Albert Prashner, bond, the copy or report made to Mrs. Prashner, which I handed Mr. Whitehead a few days ago, gives completely the results of the District Attorney's investigation covering this matter.

Otto Christensen.

STATEMENT SHOWING CONDITION OF PUBLICATIONS

July 1, 1919

New Solidarity:

Deficit on June 1, 1919	\$2,816.18	
Expenditures:		
Subs.	1.75	
Press Campaign	10.40	
Wages	225.25	
Printing	475.61	
Cuts	20.11	
Express and Postage	171.30	
Office Supplies	3.10	
Total	\$ 907.52	
	\$3,723.70	
Receipts for June	1,937.46	
Deficit on July 1, 1919		2,686.24

One Big Union Monthly:

Deficit on June 1, 1919.....	1,080.29	
Expenditures:		
Wages	\$ 172.00	
Printing	468.77	
Cuts and Supplies	109.50	
Subs. and Supplies	109.50	
Sub. to Leiserson .....	.75	
Ad Swedish Tribune .....	.84	
Express and Postage	92.27	
Advanced to G. Byman	7.50	
	\$ 851.63	
	\$1,931.92	
Receipts for June	1,084.90	
Deficit July 1, 1919		847.02

Italian Paper:	
Deficit on June 1, 1919	\$1,246.98
Expenditures:	
Wages	96.00
Printing, Issues	351.28
Nos. 17-20	200.00
1000 I. W. W. Trial	647.28
	\$1,894.26
Receipts for June, 1919	464.50
Deficit July 1, 1919	1,429.75
Swedish Paper:	
Deficit on June 1, 1919	974.28
Expenditures:	
Wages	128.00
Printing, 19-23	366.94
Expr. and Postage	3.69
Ad New Sweden	4.00
Bal. on Machine	27.50
Bal. on Machine	27.50
	\$530.13
Receipts for June, 1919	389.91
Deficit, July 1, 1919	1,114.50
Spanish Paper:	
Deficit on June 1, 1919	\$1,011.64
Expenditures:	
Wages	84.00
Printing	134.88
Bal. Due on Machine	54.50
	\$273.38
Receipts for June, 1919	70.48
Deficit on July 1, 1919	1,214.54
Lithuanian Paper:	
Deficit on accounts of cuts	3.40
GENERAL HEADQUARTERS, I. W. W.	
SUMMARY OF RECEIPTS	
for June, 1919	
Due Stamps	\$2,430.65
Organization Supplies	627.05
Literature	199.44
	3,257.14
Receipts from Publications	3,969.46
Assessment Stamps	1,270.50
Office Rent from Unions	116.66
January Check lost in mails, cancelled and credited to rent	250.00
Auto Service, Parts Sold	5.00
Refund on Parcel Post and Ex- press for Papers	27.43
Miscellaneous receipts and cash discounts	6.53
Contributions:	
General Defense	372.20
Relief Fund	1,294.95
Printing Press Fund	10.75
Organization Fund	713.34
Lawrence Strike Fund	1.00
	2,392.24
Deposits:	
General Recruiting Union	949.26
Joint Sec'y Throop St. Hall....	298.16
Industrial Unions	100.25
	1,347.67
Received on personal accounts....	455.41
Deposited for Bail during month of June	2,636.81
Deposits for publication of Sac- ramento Court Proceedings....	200.00
	\$15,932.85

SUMMARY OF DISBURSEMENTS:

for June, 1919	
Office Expenses:	
Rent	\$ 250.00
Light and Heat	11.18
Wages	663.00
Supplies and stationary	34.73
Telegraph and Telephone	49.71
Postage	36.00
Express and Parcel Post	76.94
Ice Service: May and June	3.50
Towel and Window Service	4.30
Supplies for Cleaning	5.40
Shades and Castors	12.58
Plumbing Repairs	7.65
Repairs on Freight Elevator	122.68
Repairs on Typewriter	1.00
	1,278.67
Auto Delivery Service to be dis- tributed against the papers....	64.64
Bail Funds turned over	954.45
Convention Expense Mileage and auditing books	88.79
General Defense:	
Wages	\$ 163.00
Typewriter Repairs	1.00
Telephone and Telegraph ser- vice for attorneys	47.82
Counsel Fees and Expenses	1,543.25
Court Fees, Appeal	82.25
Remittance Acc't. Lawrence Strike	1.00
	1,838.32
Relief Disbursements	1,207.49
Troop Street Hall,	
Account of Joint Work:	
Rent	100.00
Light and Heat	30.24
Literature and Bundle Orders	49.78
	180.02
General Recruiting Union:	
Remittance for Br. charter ref.	10.00
Wages, Bookkeeper	92.00
Supplies	208.50
Bundle Orders	389.15
Initiation and Dues	267.00
Iniations and Dues	267.00
	966.65
Organizing Expenses:	
Mileage	74.76
Printing and Shipping Ballots	223.20
War Tax on Picnic Tickets	17.61
	315.57
Organization Supplies:	
General Defense Stamps	18.83
Buttons	636.57
Miscellaneous Supplies	974.42
Literature	926.17
Publishing Bureau Note	200.00
Disbursements to Unions, Acc't.	
Deposits, etc.	126.52
Disbursements to publications, Wages, Printing, etc.	
	4,430.69
Advanced for Defense, not dis- tributed	825.00
Executive Board Wages	30.00
Disbursements on personal acct's	275.35
	\$15,338.17
RECAPITULATION:	
Cash on Hand, June 1, 1919	\$5,268.42
Total Receipts for June, 1919	15,932.85
	\$21,201.27
Total disbursements for June, 1919	\$15,338.17
	\$ 5,861.70