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## I. W. W. Growing Rapidly in New York City

(Special to Solidarity.)

Brooklyn, N. Y., Nov. 18. The I. W. W. is growing in Greater New York. This fact is well illustrated by the recent activities of Organizer Jos. J. Etor. Last week Etor, besides settling a strike, and addressing three I. W. W. mass meetings, also addressed three meetings of the Brotherhood of Machinists.

This organization is a secession from the International Machinists' Union. It has a membership of 5,000. Etor made a good impression on them, as shown by their close attention to his speech, the questions asked and the discussion which followed. He laid bare the fact that the craft unions and the interests of the working class are identical. That craft unions are business organizations to protect and advance the interests of their own members regardless of those of the other portions of the working class, and most often even to their own defeat and sacrifice. That only one big union of the working class, regardless of skill and craft, could be identical with working class interests, and be sufficiently powerful to overcome every obstacle in the way of their protection and advancement, with emancipation as the final goal.

Etor took the facts of craft unions in the metal and machinery industry to illustrate and develop his argument. At its finish, one Brotherhood member asserted that he believed the I. W. W. to be twenty years ahead of time. That what was needed was to teach the working class to vote for their interests. That such political education would make industrial unionism easier of attainment. In proof of his assertions, the speaker cited his own experience. He could go into union meetings and talk politics amid cheers, but if he dared to talk industrial unionism he would be kicked down stairs. In answer, Etor thought the speaker gave away his case. The unions that would listen to politics and kick the advocate of industrial unionism down stairs were insincere and selfish, and were plainly not to be reached by education along such lines. He further pointed out the fact that without an understanding of the necessity for industrial unity, working class political unity is impossible. In this respect, he argued, the Brotherhood member had got the cart before the horse. In conclusion, Etor called attention to the fact that it was the organized who led the way in industrial unity and strikes; and that, consequently, our main appeal is to them. We are not ahead, but abreast of them.

So much for the Brotherhood meetings; now to those of the I. W. W. again. These were held under the auspices of the tailors and shoemakers.

### Tailors and Shoemakers Growing.

Of the Tailors, it need only be said that they are holding successful meetings. The membership is composed of the best custom tailors in the greater city; who work in fifty avenues and department store shops. The union has the custom department of Abraham & Straus, one of the biggest stores in Brooklyn, "bottled up" by a strike. The membership has grown to the stage where it needs its own organizer to look after affairs. Continued growth is the respect and objective of Clothing Workers' Industrial Union No. 189, of New York City.

It is among the shoemakers, however, that the I. W. W. of Greater New York has done its best. Last night another big meeting was held in the large assembly room of the Long Island Business College, Eighth street, Brooklyn. Besides the resident Joe Marchis also spoke in solidified English and Italian; also fellow singing in Stenzel spoke in Polish, and Ker Sam Posner in Jewish. A

marked feature of this meeting was the attendance of more English speaking, Polish and Jewish workers; and the statements of conditions made from the floor by those present. The shoemakers are getting together regardless of nationality, religion or craft division, and they are speaking out fearlessly in open meeting, as a result.

Etor, as usual, said many things worth listening to. His report of the settlement of the strike in Lattimer's shop bristled with lessons on the difference between craft and industrial forms and methods of unionism, all in favor of the latter. The firm has granted increases ranging from 24 to 28 per cent; machine rate to be the same as hand-work rate; and responsibility for work to rest with the employer when the work passes from the employer's hands into that of the foremen of the departments who accept it as up to the required standard. Etor dwelt on the significance of each of these points; especially on the uniform rate for machine and hand work. He declared more such victories would follow.

Another event of the evening was the reported renewal of the strike at Posner's. The latter discharged two active I. W. W. men on the ground of incompetency; one was in the place seven, the other thirteen years. Evidently it takes Posner a long time to train a "good" workman from a "bad" one. It is believed that Posner had imbued too freely of the cup that cheers when he discharged the two men; and that when its effects wear off he will be willing to settle again. The whole shop crew is out.

A third event was a delegation from Lieberman's shop. The shop recently joined the Jewish Shoe Workers' Union. But, recognizing the necessity for industrial organization they wished to join the I. W. W. How could they do it without \$16 in initiation fees once more? They were told to deposit their union cards with the I. W. W. These would be accepted as transfer cards, without initiation fees; weekly dues of 10c would be all the payments necessary. The Jewish delegation was delighted, and acted at once.

Too much credit cannot be given Etor for the way he does things. He is well informed and experienced. His speeches are good mixtures of theory and fact. There is no "up in the air" philosophizing, with descriptive tendencies; but concrete unifying examples of the conflict between employer and employe, delivered with a wit and frankness that is without either arrogance or effrontery, and decidedly encouraging, stimulating and confident. That is the secret of his success, coupled with a favorable opportunity. Did space permit we would illustrate the point. But this report is already too long.

Etor is going to Paterson, N. J., this coming week. He is wanted there for agitation and organization work.

May continued success be his! The I. W. W. will profit therefrom.

BROOKLYN.

## OLEAN I. W. W. STRIKE

Men Win Partial Victory and Get Busy Strengthening Their Forces.

(Special to Solidarity.)

Olean, N. Y., Nov. 18.

Owing to the low wages and high cost of living, we called a strike here on Oct. 23 against those contractors who were engaged on public works, namely, W. H. Simpson, B. W. Taylor Co., Hickey Bros., C. A. Pratt, for an increase of wages of 5 cents per hour, making 25 cents an hour for all laborers belonging to the I. W. W. On Friday, October 21, four delegates

were sent to the four jobs, and the men were called off and formed in line and marched to headquarters, where we held a short meeting, and resolved to parade the streets next day.

On Saturday we assembled at headquarters, and signs were printed on card board:

"I. W. W."

"Join the I. W. W."

"We Hate a Scab."

We marched by the jobs we had left. There was some talk of arresting us, but no one was arrested. We held out until our resources became exhausted.

On Nov. 2 the strike was officially declared off, two contractors agreeing to pay the 25 cents per hour, and many others, who hire two or three men each, agreed to our terms. We are now hard at work organizing; getting ready to hit them again as soon as our resources will permit. We wish to thank those locals who came to our aid so nobly during the strike.

We need some "soap boxes" here. The headquarters have been changed from 230 1-2 N. Union to Coast Hall. Regular meetings every Monday night. Yours for steak, not liver.

HENRY McGUIVERSON,

Secretary I. W. W.

## EXPRESS WORKERS' STRIKE

A. F. of L. Tactics Result in Defeat and Discouragement.

(Special to Solidarity.)

Brooklyn, N. Y., Nov. 11.

It began with the U. S. Express Co. The helpers went out first, and the drivers followed. The Wall, Fargo Express Co. helpers went out next day, the drivers following. The Adams Express Co. helpers went out; drivers following. The American and National Express Co. drivers and helpers joined the strike next.

Their stables are in Jersey City and Hoboken. They all joined the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. Many local express and department store wagon drivers and helpers joined in the strike. Some won at once, whether they joined the union or not. Others are still out; others going back as soon as their enthusiasm cools down.

White's Express Co., for which I work, has two stables, one in Manhattan, at 468 West Broadway, and one in Brooklyn, at Park avenue and Raymond street.

The Manhattan stable employs about 20 drivers and 25 helpers. The drivers receive weekly \$15 for one horse wagon; \$15 for two horse wagon. Helpers receive weekly \$6 on one horse wagon; \$7 on two horse wagon.

The Brooklyn stable has 27 drivers and 20 helpers, one wagon never having had a helper.

The drivers receive the same pay as the Manhattan or New York drivers, but the helpers get \$2 a week on a one horse wagon and \$3 on a two horse wagon.

I work in the Brooklyn stable on a two horse wagon, or "double," for \$6 a week. I have been there nine months. Other boys have been there as long as two and one-half years. Any raise they get is in driving—a jump from \$5 or \$6 to \$15 or \$15.

One year before, there had been a strike in the Brooklyn stable. One driver wore a union button. The boss told him to take it off; he refused; was discharged. The other drivers went out on strike in sympathy, taking the helpers with them. The New York stable were not union men. The Brooklyn drivers were reinstated. The rest of the drivers went back to work; the helpers kept out until they would get less hours and a raise. Most of the Brooklyn drivers were not union men, but did not like to see a co-worker discharged.

The New York stable kept on working

(Continued on Page Four.)

## WORLD OF LABOR

The belief is expressed in Wall street circles that the next two months will be marked by numerous strikes.

Many contracts with labor organizations will expire, and it is believed that attempt at renewal will cause friction.

Trouble is also expected on the railroads in December. Sixty-five thousand employees, led by the engineers, demand an increase of wages, which is denied as excessive. A difference of 7 per cent divides the two sides.

At present the labor situation seems to have got beyond the control of Gompers and his co-workers in the gentle art of Civic Federationizing the men and women who toil.

Sympathetic strikes are the rule to-day. In the New York teamsters' strike, the longshoremen took such a decided stand in their behalf, refusing to handle express company freight, that it was feared railroad and steamship freight traffic would be tied up.

While many strikes to-day take on an industrial aspect, because of their extensive and sympathetic character, they are mostly of a craft nature when it comes to the matter of settlement. It is here the Gompers' element wins out.

In the New York teamsters strike the teamsters made settlements, without regard for the other organizations helping them.

On January 1 the New York longshoremen will present increased wage demands. The settlements made by the teamsters will prevent the latter from siding with them.

In the Bethlehem strike, it will be remembered, the machinists sacrificed all the other crafts involved, to their own selfish craft interests.

In the Otis Elevator Co. strikes at Buffalo and Yonkers early last summer the machinists did the same thing on the electrical and other workers involved. Now, the latter are retaliating.

Jack London, in his novel, "The Iron Heel," depicts O'Connell's machinist organization as the betrayer of the coming social revolution. His imaginative future is evidently based on the reality of today.

Industrial strikes, with anti-industrial settlements, such as craft contracts and scabbery, "preferential union shops," sell outs by the Reickerts, etc., this constitutes the "industrialism" of the A. F. of L. of to-day. And O'Connell's machinist organization is the leading exponent.

Away with such "industrialism!" On with the I. W. W.!! Let the workers win for a change!!!

## IN THE STEEL INDUSTRY

The Republic Iron & Steel Co. will remove its general offices from Pittsburgh to Youngstown next July, as the result of the action of board of directors last week.

The offices to be removed include those of John A. Topping, chairman of the board; President T. W. Guthrie, Superintendent; T. B. Atkin and the general sales, traffic and purchasing departments. Centralizing of the big plants of the company there, it is stated, and building of new plants, makes this necessary.

The Carnegie Steel Co. has purchased about 100 acres of land adjoining the

Schoen steel car wheel works, owned by the Carnegie company at McKees Rocks. The output of the works is limited, and for some time the company has been using the armor plate works at Homestead in turning out steel wheels. It no doubt means that the steel car wheel works at McKees Rocks is to be made large enough to handle the steel wheel business, and that the Homestead mill is to be used for other purposes.

The \$5, 40 and 75-mesh plate mills at Homestead, Pa., resumed in full recently, after being idle three weeks. While it was intimated at the time of the shutdown that suspension was ordered to make repairs, it was a fact that the mills were well up on orders. The open-hearth department, No. 4, also started up at the same time.

Many new contracts for plate have been placed lately, and specifications on old orders are also improving. The plate mills of the Homestead plant will be kept busy for the balance of the year.

One of the stacks of the Carnegie Steel Co. at Duquesne has been blown out for repairs during the past week. It is expected to resume soon.

## UTAH AND NEVADA

Conditions Among the Miners and Railroad Construction Workers.

(Special to Solidarity.)

Bingham, Utah, Nov. 9.

Being in a position recently to consult many old-time miners, I find the spirit among them rather gloomy. Their continual cry is: "There is no use trying; we have met defeat after defeat in recent years, and it is hard to raise the sleeping miners to action."

Most of the old veterans are dormant. In fact a great many of the best fighters have drifted, and left the union in the hands of the ignorant and conservative element, especially here in Bingham.

A short time ago the Greeks working in this camp arose in rebellion and wanted to make a stand for a few more crabs. They were unorganized at the time. So the W. F. M. took them as to going on strike, the star-spangled, scabby American element led their prejudice get the best of them as usual, and would not strike under any consideration, for fear they might cause their masters some inconvenience, and probably lose their job which they don't own anyhow. The Greeks left the Miners' Union, because of this refusal of the miners to walk out with them.

The W. F. M. is all shot to hell; it will go down, and make way for a real union.

This is the cheapest camp in the country; the slaves have made no move for better conditions for five or six years. Yet the price of living goes ever upwards, and the killed and injured are numerous, on account of human slaves being so much cheaper than timber in the mines.

If the wage-slave class is going to wait till they have a full bank account before fighting their masters we might just as well quit now. My, but you workers are such easy marks; it is a damn shame not to skin you!

Look at the battles won recently in McKees Rocks and other sections of the East. Did those slaves have a full treasury? Not so you could suppose it. Yet they were better conditions.

Oh, if you workmen would only get wise, and study up to date tactics, you would amount to something. Read, think and act. Don't be led around by the nose

Continued on Page Four.

SOLIDARITY

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INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD General Headquarters—518 Cambridge Building, Chicago, Illinois.

GENERAL OFFICERS Vincent St. John, General Secretary Treas W. E. Trautman, General Organizer

GENERAL EXECUTIVE BOARD J. J. Entor, Chas. Scourie, C. H. Axelson, Francis Miller, George Speed.

THE ELECTION. The results of the Nov. 4 election are now known and are causing varied comments from the different elements involved.

Perhaps the most amusing feature of the whole performance was the decisive manner in which the much-feared-by-the-socialists Roosevelt was snatched off in New York State.

This Roosevelt incident is worth noting, as it shows how completely the economic masters in Wall Street are in control of the political situation.

Once more, in this election, the middle class is thwarted in its attempt to dominate the political situation.

The socialist vote went up a notch, and there is great rejoicing in that quarter.

For instance, in California, the Japanese question is a burning one; especially with the middle class, who are being ousted out of various lines of small business by the enterprising Japs.

their stand upon that question. The Socialist Party candidates (with a few exceptions who failed to reply) alive to its political possibilities, returned "satisfactory" answers to the question of Asiatic exclusion.

Even more suggestive "bait" was dangled in front of the workers' noses by the Chicago S. P. With the garment workers' strike in full blast, a cartoon in the "Daily Socialist" of Nov. 6 pictures a voter holding in his hands a socialist ballot, at the bottom of which one reads the following inscription:

Victor Berger, who expects to rival Schiliz in "making Milwaukee famous," was the lone star socialist elected to Congress.

The Socialist Labor Party vote has not yet been reported, but it is quite probable that that "party's" little sectarian vote remained stationary or declined slightly.

"Organized labor" a la F. of L. received severe blows in several quarters, notably in Ohio, where Governor Harmon, of Columbus strike fame, was triumphantly returned to power.

THE INDUSTRIAL UNION. NOW MORE THAN EVER, IS SEEN TO BE THE ONE ESSENTIAL MEANS BY WHICH THE WORKING CLASS WILL ADVANCE TO BETTER CONDITIONS AND TO FINAL FREEDOM.

THE I. W. W. PRESS. A great many members of the I. W. W. have expressed surprise at the great difficulty which our organization has encountered in its efforts to build up a press and to establish and maintain a widespread propaganda of industrial union principles.

The reason for our difficulty has never been set forth with sufficient clearness. It is chiefly because the I. W. W. is not a "sect" or "speculation" organization.

The I. W. W. organizer appeals to the workers to join the organization, not because of a "faith" in its all-embracing declaration of principles.

On the contrary, the workers are urged to join a union to fight the boss for better shop-conditions. The appeal is simple—the winning side is victorious—stand at the point of production—through the wage system.

workers may hold upon any subject whatsoever. Nor is it a matter of concern to the workers whether or not "public ownership of public utilities" is preferable to private ownership, or whether or not at some future time the idea of "voluntary co-operation" will supersede the idea of "collective ownership and control of industries."

So the I. W. W. organizer or speaker shows the workers how by joining with his fellows in one big union, he may get more bread and butter, a shorter work day, more of the good things of life—knowing that as experience in organization grows, the worker will gain a broader and deeper understanding of his class interests, and finally reach out for the complete control of industries by the working class.

It is, therefore, on the basis of economic interests that the I. W. W. appeals made. Ideas of "religion," "politics," or the "ultimate shaping of social forces," are secondary matters, worthy of speculation by those who care for such things, but non-essential for the immediate purpose of improved shop and life conditions.

Nevertheless, the new recruit should be made to understand the importance of the I. W. W. press as a means of information and communication between the organization and its members.

Let us, then, impress upon our membership the importance of supporting the I. W. W. press, of increasing its circulation, and of using it as a means of recruiting members to the I. W. W.

ANOTHER CRAFT-UNION TRAGEDY.

The attention of our readers is called to the account elsewhere of the express workers' strike in New York, which was officially called off last Saturday.

That express strike, like other recent big strikes in the same section, has been heralded far and wide as a conflict showing the awakening solidarity of the workers.

After es machts nichts aus. No one in America who is at all posted on the situation, can any longer be deceived as to the outcome of craft union tactics.

"Craft autonomy" comes into play always as a first consideration. The "skilled craftsmen" must be attended to; "after that we will look out for the unskilled."

Local Industrial Union No. 26 has just re-established headquarters and a reading room at 1109 18th St. Public meetings will be held every night at the hall, and at the corner of 17th and Market when Thursday night. All meetings start at 7:30 p. m.

conditions a lot of "inferior helpers." So the latter are left in the lurch to face the same or worse conditions, while their leading spirits are victimized by the boss.

The craft union in America throbbles the spirit of the labor movement. It turns victory into defeat; strangles the aspirations of the workers, and leaves them, after their struggles, with an utter sense of helplessness in the presence of their enemy.

FREE SPEECH FIGHT TO CONTINUE. General Headquarters, Industrial Workers of the World, 518 Cambridge Bldg. Chicago, Ill., Nov. 10, 1910.

Local unions of California have decided to carry on the fight for free speech at Fresno, Cal., until the fight is won.

Since the starting of the fight on Oct. 15th 55 members have gone to jail. Others on their way, but distance and the fact that the "bulls" all along the line were watching for them had delayed them from getting on the ground.

Every local union should send all the men possible to help. This fight means the very life of the organization in the State of California.

It must be won! It can be won! It will be won! One member of the Fresno Local, Fellow Worker F. H. Little, served a 25-day sentence in a dark cell on bread and water.

Local Union No. 175, of San Francisco, is going to co-operate with the Fresno Local in carrying on the fight. For tactical reasons this is necessary.

Local Unions should collect funds and send the same to the Secretary of Local 175, Bernard Kaller, 909 Howard street, San Francisco, Cal.

This is the program for the fight. Flood the San Joaquin valley with rebels. If this fight is won it will mean that the I. W. W. will be able to organize the great bulk of the unorganized in the State of California.

Let every local do its utmost to help out in this fight, and victory is assured. Yours for Industrial Freedom, VINCENT ST. JOHN, Gen. Sec. Treas.

I. W. W. IN CHICAGO.

Local Union No. 83, branch 2, English speaking, has rented a room on the second floor at 436 North Clark street, which will be kept open daily as a reading room, and although the place is not as large as it ought to be, will use it at least temporarily for propaganda meetings as well as for our regular business meetings.

You will also note the change in the office of the Recording and Corresponding Secretary, the undersigned having been elected to fill the office for the remainder of the present term.

Denver, Colorado. Local Industrial Union No. 26 has just re-established headquarters and a reading room at 1109 18th St.

Business Agent. Join the I. W. W. Secretary of St. JOHN, No. 111.

"The time will come when our silence will be more powerful than the voices you strangle here today."

With his foot on the scaffold and his neck in the noose, on that memorable day 23 years ago, August Spies uttered the above inspiring words. He and three other companions were about to be legally killed in accordance with the decree of a Chicago court obtained after one of the most prejudiced and vicious trials in the history of jurisprudence.

These men, August Spies, Albert B. Parsons, Geo. Engel, Adolph Fischer, together with Louis Lingg who committed suicide in prison some days before the date of the execution, were representatives of the working class. They were clean, strong men, agitators dangerous to the forces of reaction—apostles of the then widespread movement for a universal eight hour work day.

That strike, big as it was, showed that the workers were not sufficiently united to carry the movement to a successful termination. "Leaders" like Powderly turned a cold shoulder to the proposal for a "general strike throughout the country for an eight hour day."

"The eight hour movement may grow; something must be done to stop it," so thought the employers. In the great Chicago strikes that followed the first W. M. movement, the police of that city were brought into action with more than usual brutality.

On the 4th of May, 1886, following these brutal displays of violence by the police, a meeting of protest was held in the Haymarket, a public square in the heart of Chicago. Parsons, Spies and Fielden made stirring speeches to a vast crowd.

When the meeting was nearly over, a squad of police suddenly burst out from the Des Plaines St. station near by and charged down upon the assembled crowd. Suddenly a bomb was hurled from the midst of the crowd by some unknown person, and eight policemen were killed by the explosion.

In addition to the five men above mentioned, three others—Samuel Fielden, Michael Schwab, and Oscar Neebe, were arrested, charged with "conspiracy" or complicity in the crime.

Not a scrap of evidence was produced in the trial to connect these men with the affair of the bomb. But the jury was puffed; the judge did not attempt to conceal his prejudice; the prosecuting attorney played to the galleries (the employing class); and "public sentiment" clamored for the lives of these "dangerous agitators."

They were convicted, and all sentenced to hang except Neebe, who was given 15 years in the penitentiary. Lingg subsequently committed suicide with a "loaded" cigar, in prison; the sentences of Fielden and Schwab were commuted to life imprisonment and six years later, with Neebe, they were pardoned by Governor Altgeld.

The eight hour movement in America was laid low for a time. But two years later (1889) a labor congress in Paris decreed the First of May as the International Labor Day on which labor should assemble and lay plans for a universal eight hour movement throughout the world.

Thus, to paraphrase the last words of Albert Parsons, "The voice of the People is being heard," and of August Spies "The time has come when the silence of the Chicago martyrs is more eloquent than their voices strangled by reaction on the 11th of November, 1887."

Join the I. W. W. Secretary of St. JOHN, No. 111.

TRAUTMANN'S REPORT

As General Organizer, in Fifth Convention of the I. W. W.

(Continued From Last Week)

There was hardly an industrial conflict in the year passed in which the Industrial Workers of the World was not directly or indirectly involved and interested. And every strike in which the coldly-determined influence of the American Federation of Labor was not permitted to divide the workers into warring craft union segregations, ended with success and with achievements gained by the workers by their own efforts.

Montana Lumber Workers.

In the big strike of lumber workers of Montana, although making an admirable fight for more rights and better job-conditions, the workers could not gain more, and had to lose everything again, because the American Federation of Labor helped the employers to get strike breakers and organized them into a union engineered by the faithful lieutenants of the master class, a union to be controlled by the employers of labor.

Pressed-Steel Car Workers' Strike.

In the strike of the 6,000 workers employed by the Pressed Steel Car company at McKees Rocks, Pa., in which, through urgent calls of a few Russian revolutionists, the Industrial Workers of the World helped to direct the fight, it was again the treacherous and seal-protecting work of union men connected with the A. F. of L. and employed in the same plant in the construction of the passenger cars of the Hudson River Tunnel company (backed by the Pennsylvania railroad system), which deprived the strikers of one of the most powerful means and forces to win the strike quicker.

When at last, by the immense pressure brought to bear by the direct methods of the strikers, these licensed union scabs suspended work on August 7, after the strike had been on more than a month, the powerful political interests that would have compelled the Pressed Steel Car company to make a settlement sooner, had re-arranged matters among themselves, and the remainder of the conflict had to be fought out on purely industrial lines.

In due justice to the working class organizations of Austria-Hungary and their organs, as well as to the socialist deputies in the parliaments who stirred the old countries by their exposures of the awful conditions existing in the steel mills of America, we should not forget to give credit for that co-operation which in this struggle, more than any other agency, forced the trusts to terminate the conflict. Powerful steamship interests and the steel trust felt the immense injury resulting from these exposures and descriptions of the carnage in the mills. In the Austrian, Servian and Bulgarian labor press the accounts of the horrors of industrial slavery in the trust owned mills of the United States, practically stopped immigration. In many districts of Pennsylvania a shortage in labor supply ensued and the corporations were compelled to offer more inducements in the shape of higher wages to get people to come to this country to take work in these places. And fearing that a continuation of the struggle in the plants at Shoemville and McKees Rocks would tend still more to influence conditions in the labor market disadvantageous to the corporations, they decided rather to end the conflict in McKees Rocks.

They hoped that with the end of the fight agitation would cease, and that while in McKees Rocks perhaps most of the evils that caused this revolt would be eliminated, the corporations would be immune from further searching investigations of the criminal conditions they impose upon millions of workers here in this country who came from Austria-Hungarian crownlands and from the northern Balkan Kingdoms. These corporations went even further, he by the contaminating influence of strikers who had worked in McKees Rocks and for the first time had felt the influence of concerted action, upon the workers in other plants and mills, immediate increases in wages, abolition of Sunday work, consideration of other grievances by subordinates were ordered in most of the mills where it was known that the influence of the workers had nearly

that is great, exploitation of the tolling solidified, ringing in

ers, would in sum total about express the result of the upheaval of workers in McKees Rocks.

To this quick grasp of the situation by the corporations to prevent a further extension of revolts to other and larger mills and plants, and mines, also, must be attributed the failure of the I. W. W. to make quicker advances in organizing the workers in the Pittsburgh and other Pennsylvania districts, which many might have expected after the successful struggle in McKees Rocks.

Other capitalist concerns, not in the steel or Standard Oil trusts, drew their object lessons from the revolt at McKees Rocks. They apprehended that the marvelous industrial solidarity displayed by the workers of that place would agitate other workers to follow the example. And a few of these benevolently inclined capitalists remembered that Marcus Aurelius Hannu had paced the road for them. In the face of a splendid awakening of the workers, they discovered their love, one last for the craft union leaders and the form of organization that would prevent the coming together of all workers into one union. Large portions of employees of some of these capitalist concerns were forced by orders from the office to join the various craft unions. Contracts were made covering some crafts before even one of the workers had been organized in the union closing such contracts. Thus, in more than a score of instances, in the Pittsburgh district alone, the employers prevented the strikers from voluntarily organizing in a union of their choice. This is why the workers of the American Locomotive company at Pittsburgh and subsequently at three other places were divided up into powerless craft unions by order of the company officials in September, 1909. This was done after a few I. W. W. members (blacksmiths) had been instrumental in getting a 12 per cent increase in wages for all workers in that department. The craft union once established, the leaders in the move for better wages were summarily discharged, with the approval of the officials of the Blacksmiths and Helpers' Union, on October 2, 1909.

Fake "Departments" of A. F. of L.

In the strike of machinists and boiler-makers in the plants of the American Locomotive Co., in November, the American Federation of Labor's "Department Organization" exploded as a hollow affair. One craft union tried to scab upon the others, under orders from the leaders. All efforts of the I. W. W. advocates called on the scene of these chaotic conditions to inject the feeling of industrial solidarity among these workers failed. The organizers of the various craft unions made threats that other union men would be secured to fill the places of craft unionists striking in violation of time contracts. And when all the crafts stood together in violation of time contracts that were made six weeks prior to the walkout of machinists, boiler-makers and others, the strike was repudiated by all the national officers of the various trade organizations involved.

Another Case of Strike Breaking.

This policy of strike-breaking was again repeated in the strike of workers in a big plant of another trust, the Sanitary Manufacturing Co., makers of bath tubs and other enamelled ware.

The Industrial Workers of the World, by request of the strikers, took charge of the affair. While the Hungarian and Slovak iron molder, not organized at all, made common cause with the workers in the enameling department of the plant, the organized molders, members of the Molders' Union of America, were ordered temporarily by their national and local officers to remain at work, under penalty of being expelled if they should walk out and violate their agreement with the Foundry Employers' Association, of which the concern involved in the strike is a part. Though this strike ended with a favorable compromise, and a temporary organization of 200 workers was effected, permanent results could not be achieved, because all the active and progressive men who had conducted the strike left the employ of that company soon after the strike had been settled.

(To Be Continued.)

NOTICE.

New Constitutions are ready for delivery. Polish leaflets, "Address to Wage Workers," \$3.50 per 1,000.

Italian leaflets, "Address to Wage Workers," \$3.50 per 1,000.

Polish pamphlet, "Revolutionary Unionism." (Dela) \$0. per 100. VINCENT ST. JOHN, Gen. Sec., 518 Cambridge Bldg., Chicago, Ill.

FRANCE AN UNDEVELOPED COUNTRY

(Note by Editor.—The following is part of Fellow Worker Foster's account of the French railway strike, dealing with its close, and the alleged defeat of the strikers. It seems the strike was not as extensive as reported in the American press, only two roads being tied up. Following the mobilization order by Premier Briand, and the campaign of lying by the capitalist papers, the strikers started to break ranks, and the strike committee, in order to save the organization, called the strike off. That appears to have been excellent tactics, and the effect of the strike was in fact a victory. The employers have promised to grant to grant the increase in wages demanded, to take effect Jan. 1. On account of the length of our correspondent's letter, we omit the details of the affair, and publish only that part which refers to the industrial and political situation in France.)

Paris, Oct. 20, 1910.

Although France is regarded as one of the greatest of capitalist countries, her industries have not reached such a high state of development as have those of other England, Germany or the United States. In fact, France still is a typical middle class country, and exhibits the same phenomena that all countries in this stage of development do.

Compared to the highly developed methods of production in the United States, small production may be said to reign supreme in French industry. Except in very rare instances capital has not yet grouped itself so as to produce the powerful monopolies and ultra capitalists so common in the United States.

The working class simply reflects the development of the capitalist class. The thousands of petty merchants, manufacturers, farmers, etc., have not yet been pushed down into the working class, where they will go when the ultra capitalists get more power. Until this takes place, French society will not have the capitalist and working classes so clearly marked economically—nor socially—as they are in the United States.

Strong Government.

From this middle class society comes the government, representing of course only the interests of the capitalist or master class, such as it is. This government is strong, and its mandates are obeyed not only by the workers, but also by the capitalists themselves—excepting of course in the case of those laws whose application would benefit the workers, these being "sabotaged" by the masters in the orthodox way. This is because no small clique of capitalists has reticqued sufficient power to set aside the laws of the rest of the capitalist class, such as we see the trusts doing in the United States. These latter have reduced the United States government to simply a toy in their hands, and, in consequence, it and its laws have suffered a great loss of prestige amongst all classes. An American court or legislature is becoming to mean to even the working a grafting institution entitled to no respect whatever.

But this fuller development of capitalism has not yet taken place to any appreciable extent in France, and the government and its functionings still reflect the wishes of the mass of the comparatively embryonic capitalist class. Of course the vast majority of the workers are deluded with the belief that this government represents their interests also, and seeing the capitalist respecting the laws—at least to a much greater extent than in the United States—they proceed to follow suit. As a class, they consider law as a sort of sacred command to be implicitly obeyed. If the laws seem hard, they can change it, etc.

Intense Patriotism.

Again, patriotism in France is of the most virile type, of a sort of "do or die" order. The Franco-German war is not yet finished. According to all the capitalist papers the Germans are ever knocking at the gates of France. A moment's lack of vigilance will put France beneath the hated yoke of Germany. To prevent this terrible calamity an intense patriotic campaign is continually carried on. Certain journals and magazines devote themselves to it entirely. Floods of literary tears are shed over the sad fate of the lost provinces of Alsace-Lorraine. These must be won back at any cost, and the stain on France's glory thus removed. Paid patriots rack their brains to devise mushy poetry to decorate the sickly sentimental patriotic post

I. W. W. PREAMBLE

The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of working people and the few, who make up the employing class, have all the good things of life.

Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and abolish the wage system.

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

Knowing, therefore, that such an organization is absolutely necessary for our emancipation we unite under the following constitution.

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cards with which the shops are cluttered, etc.

Of course the government takes part in this laudable work, and not only hammers patriotism into the millions of impressionable young men during the two years they must serve in the army, but also whenever opportunity presents itself it educates the general public. Here are a couple of instances out of many: At the Place de la Concorde, at intervals about the square are placed large statues representing the principal cities of France. The one dedicated to Strasbourg (principal city of the ceded territory) is kept continually covered with flowers to show France's constant sense of loss. The effect is obvious. Again, at the vast museums of The Invalides, France officially weeps over the sad disgrace of the Franco-German war, and one can see hundreds of workers gazing at the relics of the war, and, no doubt, imbibing much of the spirit they are intended to engender.

The extent of this systematic campaign of patriotism is difficult of comprehension by an American accustomed to his garden variety of bragging patriotism. The effect of it on the workers must be profound. It is the cause of the patriotic working class children playing at military games, fencing, singing songs to the tunes of bugle calls, etc. To offset this patriotic campaign, the syndicalists carry on a vigorous anti-patriotic propaganda.

The Working Class Movement.

Another factor in the French social situation is the peculiar nature of the working class movement. The working class movements of the world may be classed under three general heads: First, those that are being retarded by their "leaders." Second, those that are developing freely, their "leaders" keeping pace with them or even stimulating them in their course. Third, those that are being really "led" or educated by their "leaders."

The American labor movement, or A. F. of L., is perhaps the best example of the first class. The various unions composing it are reactionary and the clique controlling them are doing their best to keep them so. Time after time these cliques have frustrated the attempts of progressive members of the rank and file to make the organizations more in accord with modern conditions. So strongly are the cliques entrenched that in all likelihood their organizations must perish, being incapable of evolution. This movement accepts capitalism as a final, and legal, fact.

(Continued on Page Four.)

SOLIDARITY

THE "WORKIN' STIFF"

"Saturday Evening Post."

Note—The United States Census says there are ten million casual laborers in the United States—that is, ten million men who work at temporary or "short-time" jobs. To the underworld these men are known as "workin' stiff's."

They asked me, "What is a workin' stiff?"

And I told 'em the best I knew. Though all I got was a dobbing stiff And a titter when I got through; But I told them straight as the bow of Fate, The same as I'm telling you.

A workin' stiff is the lad that toils On the tracks ere the trains go by, And he is the victim and they are the spoils;

And the victor—you and I. He levels the path for the engine's wrath and stretches the strands of steel; But he always rides where the ballast glides, By the roar of the brooding wheel.

For his is the brunt in the serried strife, The brow of a moment's breath; And he lies in the places far from life And only an inch from death. He must blind his brain for his body's gain

And live in the seconds bought—So his work is long as his arms are strong, And his pleasures as swift as thought. Would you sander the wall of a basalt chaw

To a river of grinding rage? And lead it out like a conquered brute From the path of pre-Cambrian age? Would you Eden breed from a desertseed, Through the bowels of a barren cliff? Promote it a bit, and the granite will split at

The tread of the workin' stiff. When the wheat is ripe on the standing grain He crawls on the steam-wrapt blind, And, haggard, sways to the trembling train

As it swings through the rough night wind. Then—the endless days in the header's haze

And the breathless, boiling heat, A bleary blink, for all an' right bank, And then—let him beg on the street.

Does a city shake to a broken shell? Does it turn to a blackened heap? Does the ocean rattle a whirling hell That buries it dead in the deep? Will you build it new with the famished few

That foster the wasted veins?—As the field is born from the blasted corn That fell in the April rains! On the road, he's a cat and a bloody fink, And a scissor-blind to boot; And bindle-stiff is a gentle link In the names that he must bruit.

For, the lowest bum and the foulest scum Are higher than such as he, As the stars in the sky are lifted high From their brothers in the sea.

He's a workin' stiff—ergo, he works. He's a stiff—infest, he's broke. He hasn't the sense to play the finks, And he hasn't the brains to mope—Which is to observe that he hasn't the nerve

Required of those who steal, And equally lacks in the mental tasks Inseparable on begging a meal. When he's off the road he's a nasty tramp;

If he's working a fly-by-night; If he lands in court he's a vagrant scamp, And a couple of months is light. But, nevertheless, he may progress to the ranks of the Johnny Yegg;

For the name and the game, and the game and the name, are only dissevered's peg. And truth of it is that he's neither a tramp, Nor a fink, nor a Johnny Yegg, Nor a fly-by-night, nor a vagrant scamp, Nor much of a fellow to beg.

He works when he can, like another man, And quits when the job is done; But the jobs are short and away apart, And most of the time are none.

So he works the while that there's work to have, And goes when the work is gone; For work is the master and he the slave; And The Master's will be done. And sometimes he drinks; but he never thinks— And the cause redeems the end;

Since the mind must bind as the back's inclined, And the back must ever bend. Ay, the workin' stiff is the lad that plods Up the tracks as the trains go by; He builds the railroads and rides the rods, And his cities read the sky. But he's never a bed to lay his head, Nor a roof to hide his grime; He harvests the wheat that the world may eat, And—goes hungry most of the time.

Express Strike

Continued From Page One.

as if nothing had happened. The Brooklyn helpers stayed out a week. Some went to look for a different employer; others were arrested on various excuses. Many became discouraged and returned. The helpers' strike was lost.

If the drivers had gone with them they would have won, but no, they were not bitten; they had no reason to strike for more pay and shorter hours. The hours had been last year and were until we went out this year from 8 a. m. until 8, 9, 10 and 11 p. m. daily, according to the route a man or boy was on. There were no wagons through before 8 p. m. except on Saturdays, when most stores and factories and warehouses closed at 1 p. m. Then we were done about 5 o'clock.

After the big express companies and department stores drivers and helpers went out on strike, White's Express employees talked strike.

On Friday, Oct. 28, at about 8:30 p. m., I saw Louis Brown at the door. He is president of Local 645, International Brotherhood of Teamsters, affiliated with the A. F. of L. He is also an organizer. He works for the New York Transfer Co., who are carriers of baggage only. He is a driver there and has a helper. Every wagon in the New York Transfer Co. carries a driver and helper. I worked with Mr. Brown for two years, nine months as helper, leaving my employment when I was refused a change to driver.

I surmised he was there to get White's Express drivers in the union. I guessed right. That night I helped him get 19 names and addresses of drivers. Next day I help him get five more.

Quite a few drivers said: "If the rest go, I go with the crowd." I asked this organizer: "How about the helpers, platform men and stable men?" He said: "First we will attend to the drivers, after they get what they want then we will take care of the others." I tried to show him, and did, that he was cutting his own throat and was knocking us down; playing into the employers' hands, etc.

He did not want to listen, he told me. He believed in organizing one group of employes at a time. He said: "You helpers help the drivers win and then when you organize and strike the drivers will help (?) you." I still thought he would organize the helpers. The helpers in other companies were taken into the union. Why not us?

He called a meeting for 9 o'clock. Eight drivers showed up. He put it over for Sunday, and told the eight who showed up and three helpers, who were there to notify the rest. Sunday ten showed up. They all paid their initiation fee and received a dues book and a button.

On Monday morning, Oct. 31, he told the helpers not to go to work unless their drivers belonged to the union. We did as he said, thereby making 20 drivers join the union, seven drivers refusing to join. Almost all the helpers then went back to work.

Monday night the 20 met, drew up demands and decided to work on Tuesday, present the demands through the organizer Tuesday night, whether the seven joined them or not.

After they were through with the meeting, we helpers walked up to the organizer and said: "Take us in; we will pay a fee and dues the same as the drivers. We don't want any double crossing."

He said before he could take us must all be over 18 years of age. A couple of us were over 18, the rest ranging from 15 up. We said: "Take 12 in." He said: "You help the drivers win. Get all 18 years or over to work with you, then come in." I said: "Take us all or else tell the drivers to refuse to work with any boy under 18."

He simply would not stand by us. On Tuesday morning the helpers would not work. The drivers worked without helpers. I turned in a type written paper with the helpers' demands on it and asked the boss to sign. Twenty-three helpers, including myself, read the slip and agreed

to stick by it. One helper kept at work. He had been in last year's strike, and the drivers went back on him. Two others did not show up since Tuesday morning. Wednesday the drivers, not getting what they wanted, struck.

Drivers' demands—Same pay; eleven hours to be a day's work, with one hour out for dinner. Over time to be paid at the rate of 25c an hour.

Helpers' demands—A \$2 raise; wages formerly \$3 and \$4, now \$7 on one horse wagon, \$8 on two horse wagon. Eleven hours to be a day's work, with one hour out for dinner. That is, from 8 a. m. to 7 p. m., one hour in between for dinner. Overtime to be paid at the rate of 50c an hour.

The Manhattan or New York employes went out independently of the Brooklyn stable.

The drivers asked the same as the Brooklyn drivers, the helpers for \$7, \$8 and \$9, according to the wagon, some handling more and heavier freight than others. Overtime 25c an hour. Three Brooklyn helpers, of which I was one, went to them and tried to get them to strike, win or lose, as one. But they would not listen. They wanted a man (I am only a boy) to speak to them. I went to the New York Call, a Socialist daily paper, and told them about the situation. One of the editors told me he would ask Ashton or Hoffman, the A. F. of L. organizers, who were handling the big strike, to look after the helpers of White's Express.

I also saw Joseph J. Ettor, of the I. W. U., and asked his advice. He told me it would be very hard to have two hostile labor organizations in the one stable; we would always quarrel and always be on bad terms.

He told me if the helpers in Brooklyn were still sticking I should call him, and he would speak to them.

Thursday the rain came down strong; many drivers and helpers not showing up. The company closed down tight in both New York and Brooklyn.

Friday I went to the New York Call and was told that Ashton and Hoffman were very busy attending to the strikers of the five big companies, and as soon as possible they would attend to us. Not being able to make the helpers stick around till I should come back, I decided not to call Ettor.

I also went to the strike headquarters on Eighth avenue, between 40th and 47th streets, Washington Hall, and saw a man there entering names of all strikers who wanted to join the union. I asked if I must be over 18 years or under, and was informed that if I was a striking helper I could join, no matter what my age. He entered another helper's name, who was with me, and told us to bring the other helpers.

Friday it also rained, and when the other helper, J. Reese, and I came back the helpers that were waiting would not go to New York and enroll. They had no car fare, (neither had we) and would not walk four miles in the rain.

Saturday we received our pay, and I had an idea that the boss would pay us in the morning, as we were not working, and I would bring the helpers over in New York, register, pay our fees and receive a dues book and button. But the boss would not pay us until 7 p. m. Meanwhile the New York drivers won their demands and went to work, leaving the helpers in the cold, some going back, others hunting something else.

Six Brooklyn helpers went to ascertain if the New York men really won. When we returned, the Brooklyn drivers had won their demands and returned to work.

Most of the helpers were working. The boss promised the helpers he would attend to their grievances one at a time. Those who were worth more he would give more, taking back those whom he chose, he to be the judge of the worth or worthlessness of a helper.

Those whom he would not take back because we were "leaders" know what all this means. Any helper daring to ask for a raise will be discharged. These same drivers who have "won" an 11-hour day, with one hour for dinner, will one at a time drop out of the union, as they have done before.

One express company boss told his men to go to work. He said: "If White's Express men win I will give you the same raise; if they lose, you remain at the same wages." They will also get overtime, but where there is no power to bind him the employes will be hit and hard.

MORRIS MESSINKOFF, Brooklyn, N. Y.

Activity in Denver.

Denver, Col., Nov. 6.

Solidarity:

Local 26, I. W. U., is regaining some of its former activity, and is larger in membership than ever before. We have a smaller hall than formerly, but it is closer to the business section and only two blocks from the employment sharks' offices. Fellow Worker Jim Corbin is doing a great deal of rustling and, as a consequence, we are making gains in membership. On account of the number of floaters, however, our membership in town remains about stationary.

Our local urges that all secretaries notify locals of the transfer of members, immediately upon such transfer taking place, in order that books may be properly kept. A notice to the effect in Solidarity might wake some of them up.

Covington Hall has gone to Dallas, Texas, for the winter. He was engaged, with Corbin and myself, in writing a pamphlet, and on account of having to finish it independently and then compare notes, we will probably be delayed until after the first of the year. We hope to produce something worth while.

Yours for the I. W. U.

WALKER C. SMITH.

FRANCE UNDEVELOPED COUNTRY.

(Continued From Page Three.)

movement in the second class. We see the organized working class following its own natural bent, forming broad and better direct action organizations, but depending for final emancipation upon the enticing bait, which the workers have not yet come to understand. A movement accepting the government, as an institution, and employing only legalized tactics in its daily struggles. The movement is being encouraged in this course by its political socialist leaders—whether from selfish motives or not is a matter of question.

The C. G. T. of France furnishes the almost unique example of a labor movement of our third class—one that is being "led" or "steered," a labor movement in the hands of men who are doing all in their power to keep it from following the natural course of the German movement. They are attempting to force the French labor movement to do for itself what the capitalists did for themselves in Japan. Simply by profiting by the experience of others, they avoided the long, slow evolutionary process of industrial development, and took a revolutionary short cut to the desired end. They skipped a rung in the evolutionary ladder, and became a modern capitalist class almost overnight.

The anti-statism leaders of the C. G. T. would have the French labor movement act as intelligently. Perceiving the worldwide, disastrous effects of governmental interference in working class affairs, and the futility of the working class trying to in any way derive benefit from this capitalist institution, they are advocating the abstention of the working class from all political activity, and the adoption of the dreaded direct action tactics entirely. The government's laws should be entitled to no more consideration than the rules of the factory; if they oppress the workers, it is the workers' privilege to break them in any manner in which they see fit or are able to. This contempt for the "sacred" government has outlawed the anti-statism leaders of the C. G. T., and with them the organization of which they are undoubtedly shaping the policies.

Thus we have the outlawed French labor movement, dominated by "dangerous leaders" who are attempting to force a largely reluctant and ignorant rank and file to adopt the most approved methods of class warfare.

UTAH AND NEVADA.

(Continued From Page One.)

by labor fakirs. You must study and educate yourselves; not until you do can you cope with present day conditions.

Have the masters inside a success of industrial unionism? You know they have. You workers have the world in your hands when you study how to use your power, and then get busy.

Fellow workers, stay away from railroad work in Nevada, where the Southern Pacific R. R. Co. is building about 80 miles of new track. Wages are \$2 for 11 hours; board on the bum, and accommodations poor. Armed guards are around side doors. It is impossible to get on a freight train ride even a freight out of there. Thousands of men are starving in Nevada. In fact there is a graft going on between the employment shark and the contractors; they don't want men to work steady. I know of men who worked a week and yet owed the company more than was coming to them.

Yours for the I. W. U. LEE PRATT.

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HOW TO JOIN THE I. W. U. Any wage worker, wishing to become a member of the Industrial Workers of the World, may proceed in the following manner: 1. If you live in a locality where there is a union of your industry or a mixed (reputable) union already in existence, apply to the secretary of that local union. He will furnish you with an application blank containing the Preamble to the I. W. U. Constitution and the two questions which each candidate for admission must answer in the affirmative. The questions are as follows: "Do you agree to abide by the constitution and regulations of this organization?" "Will you diligently study its principles and make yourself acquainted with its purposes?" The initiation fee is fixed by the Local Union, but cannot be more than \$5.00 in any instance, and is usually \$1.00 or less. The monthly dues cannot exceed \$1.00 and are in most cases from 35 to 50 cents. If there is no Local Union of the I. W. U. in your vicinity, you may become a Member-at-Large by man the application to the General Secretary, address is given below. You are required to answer affirmatively the above questions, and pay an initiation fee of \$2.00. The monthly dues are \$1.00 for Members-at-Large. 3. Better still, write to the General Secretary for a Charter Application Blank. Get no less than TWENTY signatures thereon, of bona-fide wage workers in an industry (for a Local Industrial Union) or in several industries (for a Local Mixed Union) and send the application with the named organization's Secretary, with the necessary instructions. Supplies, constitutions, and what you will then be sent. You can proceed to organize a new local union. The address of the General Secretary of the I. W. U. is VINCENT ST. JOHN, 518 Cambridge Bldg., Chicago, Ill.