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# SOLIDARITY

SATURDAY, JULY THE 31<sup>ST</sup> 1915



SPECIAL NUMBER  
CELEBRATING  
THE TENTH ANNIVERSARY  
OF THE  
INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD

PRICE 5¢

CHAPLINS

FRANK P. WALSH, Chairman U. S. Industrial Relations Commission, Writes On,  
"My Impressions of the Witnesses and Their Testimony"

# The Trend Toward Industrial Freedom

By B. H. WILLIAMS

(Written for the American Journal of Sociology)

WHAT kind of a world does the I. W. W. want? Such, in substance, is the question asked of the writer by the editor of the American Journal of Sociology. Nothing would please me more than to attempt to draw a picture of that world; but space is too limited. I shall, therefore, indicate only some salient features of the I. W. W. forecast and program, which seem to me wholly in accord with scientific principles and facts, and therefore not to be successfully controverted.

In harmony with the theory and the established facts of evolution, the Industrial Workers of the World holds that the general tendency of the organism we call Society is progressive—that is, from lower or less finished forms and functions, to ever higher and more nearly finished forms and functions, approaching the infinity of perfection. In other words, Social Evolution differs in no essential respect from organic evolution.

Applying this evolutionary principle, we discover:

1. That this society which we call Capitalism is a more advanced form of the social organism than was any prior state. Its crowning achievement is the Age of Machinery, bringing into existence an enormous increase in wealth and in the capacity for producing the accessories of an ever-richer civilization; in short, transforming the face of Society in a manner undreamed of prior to its advent.

2. That the manner of producing the social wealth has evolved from an individual or small group form to an ever larger group form, embracing great industries and correlating these industries into what is approaching a world-system of production and exchange. In other words, machinery or the Machine Process has evolved Social Wealth Production, in which, generally speaking, all workers co-operate nationally and internationally in the creation and exchange of the accessories of civilization.

3. That the control or management of this system of production and exchange is not democratic, but autocratic—is in the hands of individuals or groups of capitalists, who claim absolute control over the product of labor as well as absolute ownership of the natural resources and of the machinery of production. In brief, the system of ownership and control is in contradiction to the system of producing and exchanging wealth in accordance with the machine process.

4. That the contradiction aforementioned inevitably keeps alive and intensifies the class struggle between the owners or controllers, and the workers, in which struggle the latter seek (some consciously, some unconsciously) to remove the contradiction by eliminating autocratic, and substituting democratic, control as well as operation of the system of wealth production and distribution, and therefore of Society itself. To put it in another form: The most promising tendency that the I. W. W. discovers in modern society is that toward Industrial and Social Democracy.

This tendency, in our judgment, is the one that should be most emphasized, in the American thought both of the present and of the future. Its goal—the complete democratization of industry—means the freeing of the social organism from economic contradictions, whose social fruitage has been and is: wars between nations, panics or industrial depressions, strikes, lockouts, riots, unemployment, long hours of toil, insufficient wages, excessive labor, prostitution, pauperism, many classes of crimes and diseases, and other evidences of social malnutrition. It means a freer play of individuality, and the unfolding of a social initiative whose fecundity will

make this old Mother Earth as near a paradise as can well be conceived of at present. And for all this and more, we shall still have to thank our old step-mother, Capitalism, for having made us rebels against her crudeness and barbarism.

The I. W. W. wants the world for the workers, and none but workers in the world. "By organizing industrially, we (the workers) are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old."

## The Organizing Stage

Carson City, Nevada, July 12.

Solidarity:

From what I can glean from the I. W. W. and sympathetic press, our movement, after passing through many struggles and internal crises, has arrived at a period of organization.

Under the circumstances the best I can do is to give some advice that may help the active fellow workers.

It seems that in the industrial East our union will become a mass movement, in the undeveloped South and West it will depend upon militant minorities. To prevent it from becoming conservative, the militants of the shop locals in industrial centers should band together in Propaganda Leagues.

Where the movement becomes strong and has job control, they should try to form gymnastic unions or athletic clubs, for the younger members, which would function as social centers and training places for physical manifestations of the class struggle.

Members isolated from local unions should get busy with the Little Green Book, and get subs for our paper, and were not possible do the next best, get subs for friendly papers like the International Socialist Review; this is the best way to lay a foundation for a local union.

Where there are many subscribers of our press, in a given industrial district, it is very easy for an organizer to come along and, with the mailing list, visit the subscribers, call a meeting, and organize a new local or reorganize an old one that had been crushed or disrupted. In large cities, like Detroit, New York, etc., where the local unions are unable to maintain more than one hall, it seems to me that small meetings could be held in the homes of some of the married fellow workers; special invitations could be sent to shop mates and neighbors, thus giving the speaker a select audience.

Wherever it is not possible to hold street meetings, meetings before the factory gates, in the back room of a friendly saloon keeper, or in the back-room of an ice cream parlor, can be used.

And last but not least, get the letter-writing habit, make friends with your shopmates, put their name and address down in your little note book, and when you leave the shop and are far away, write your old shopmate a letter about industrial unionism, try to inspire him with your enthusiasm; and if you want to make some human being happy, sit down and write a letter to some fellow worker in prison. Give him all the news of the movement, don't let him lose hope in our grand and noble cause.

With best wishes and greetings to all.  
JOHN PANCIER,  
Nevada State Penitentiary.

## Solidarity Club Rate

In clubs of four or more yearly subscriptions, the rate is 50 cents each.



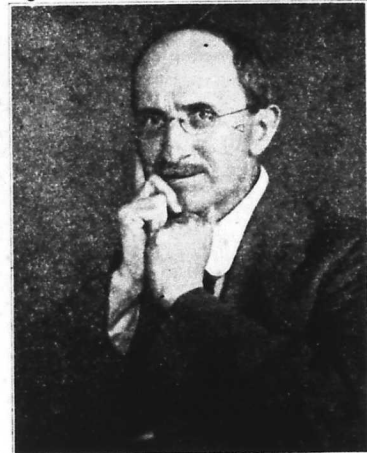
Drawing By Frank Barnes

He Thought He Had Been Fighting For HIS Country

# Solidarity And The I. W. W. Press

By JUSTUS EBERT

THE PRESS—what is it? When we speak of "the press," we generally mean newspapers, though periodicals and books of all kinds are also included. The press, as represented by the newspapers, represents billions of capital, a most modern mechanical equipment, a news gathering service world-wide in its ramifications and using all forms of transmission from the fleet-footed runner to the invisible wireless telegraph—behind it



JUSTUS EBERT

all are brains picked from every walk of life and competent to treat of almost every subject on the shortest notice. The press is more than this—more than a mere combination of capital, machines and men, for the conveying of information—it is a moulder of thought, an inciter to action, an engine of oppression or progress, according to the interests it seeks to destroy or promote. The press influences greatly the trend of events where it does not make them. It is an institution of stupendous power and importance? Who wonders, then, that the I. W. W. has a press, issued in nine languages, the greatest of which is Solidarity, which you are now reading? Without the press there would be no I. W. W., at least, not a complete, well-rounded I. W. W., such as it is aimed to make it.

Much may be said AGAINST the I. W. W. press. It is, compared to the press of capitalism, weak and puny? It is terribly poor; it has no billions back of it. It is wanting in news, because it has no world-embracing Associated Press service, to serve it. It is lacking in ability; the brains of the earth are not at its beck and call "for the money there is in it." It is obscure, unknown and unsung; for it is wanting not only in the means, but in brazen brazenness, to advertise, to flaunt itself to the world and catch the unwary in its coils.

Despite it all, the I. W. W. press is a great press, great in principle and ideals, and great in the men who create it, unappreciated and persecuted by those they serve most. Its principles of industrial democracy, its ideals of a world for the workers, its history and tactics, uncompromisingly working class, have made it feared and respected. The agencies of capitalism read it, the courts cite it and persecute it, the police and militia suppress it, and its enemies in and out of the ranks of capitalism, curse and condemn it—starve and boycott it. Greater glory than persecution, suppression and opposition no press can have! They demonstrate its efficiency and worth; they prove its value and, what is more, its possibilities of greater effectiveness, with greater capital and co-operation on the part of the working class. Let us, reader, give these! Let us see, not how much the I. W. W. press lacks, but how much better WE CAN MAKE IT.

We have nine papers, to improve them all should be our first duty. We all, no matter how humble, can help. You who sell our press, sell more. You who get subs, get more. You who write, write more. Increase the number of sellers, of sub-getters, of reporters and writers, and you increase the number of readers. On our zeal and helpfulness depends the growth of our press and ourselves. Dependent as we are, on our own material and mental resources, it is up to us to utilize these to the utmost and to never say die. Workingclass emancipation is a great goal; but the great effort required to

(Continued on Page Fourteen)

## SOLIDARITY

A Newspaper of the Labor Movement

THE OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE Industrial Workers of the World

PUBLISHED WEEKLY BY THE I. W. W. PUBLISHING BUREAU, 112 HAMILTON AVE., CLEVELAND, OHIO.

B. H. WILLIAMS, Managing Editor

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# Lessons Gleaned From the Kansas Harvest

By W. T. NEF, Secretary Agricultural Workers Organization, I. W. W.

AT THIS writing the Agricultural Workers' Organization, Local 400 of the I. W. W., has been in existence about three months, and has gone through a good school for the coming harvest in the Dakotas. I shall try to point out a few facts regarding its development, that we may profit by the information, and avoid the mistakes of the past.

At the Kansas City conference in April an Organization Committee was elected to take up the outline of action adopted at the conference for the Kansas harvest. They did everything possible under the circumstances.

Soon after the close of the conference in April an agitation was started by a few individuals against the Organization Committee, the secretary, and the newly formed organization, as is always the case when a new move is made for progress in organization. This agitation, however, was soon countered by explanations of the functions of the A. W. O., and by getting acquainted with one another and acquiring a thorough understanding of what was to be done. The sentiment soon changed in favor of the A. W. O., and all went into the field with enthusiasm and with the intention of building the One Big Union. One of the main reasons we were able to work together and to go into the field with practically one idea was the fact that the office was established and most of the members passed through here, and in that way we could size each other up for the big task before us.

## BUSINESS MEETINGS

The original conference decided that there should be no business meetings except there might be urgent need, and then all members would be notified of the same. This, in my opinion, helped the members in the field a whole lot, as it offered no chance for a small bunch of members around the hall to overthrow the plans laid out for the harvest, and to start personal fights with one another.

## STREET MEETINGS

The conference also decided against street or open air meetings in any of the small harvest towns; this with a view to avoid conflicts with the police, etc. This also showed good judgment on the part of the delegates at the April conference, and should be highly appreciated by all members. There were but few violations of this rule, and they were stopped in a short time. There were a few instances where nonmembers assumed to represent the I. W. W., sang songs and held some meetings; but these were soon overdone. The members told them where to head in at. This avoided all kinds of fights that the masters were looking for, and gave the bosses no chance from that source. Meetings require large groups of workers, and that of itself will create more or less trouble and thereby keep the members off the job.

## MAKING OF DEMANDS

Delegates of the A. W. O. were looking over the field about the time the harvest was to start, and came into contact with various groups of men, members and would-be agitators for higher wages, fewer hours of work, etc. Practically all had different wage scales and working hours. Some agitated for \$3, others for \$4 and some even for \$5 a day; some wanted 8 hours, some 9, and some an 8 hour workday; a few were even hollering for six hours work and \$5 a day; and so on along the line. The little country papers and the Kansas City liars saw their chance to use this to try and prejudice the workers against the I. W. W. with its unobtainable demands. Many country papers advertised through their columns that the I. W. W. wanted \$5 a day for eight hours' work, and other like stuff, when there was no such thing considered or dreamed of. Seeing this and realizing the part the Farmers Union was playing, we got busy and circulated a set of demands, which were voted upon by the delegates and members who could be reached. These demands, circulated throughout the harvest towns, met the approval of the workers and they soon looked upon the I. W. W. as an asset and help to them, with the exceptions of course, of the genuine scissor-bills. The demands were as follows:

1. A minimum wage of \$3 a day of not more than 10 hours.
2. Fifty cents for each hour over time worked above the 10 hours constituting a day.
3. Good clean board.
4. Good clean places to sleep in, with plenty of clean bedding.
5. No discrimination against union men (I. W. W.).

The workers were called upon to enforce these demands everywhere throughout the harvest, and in case of refusal by the farmers, to make their motto, "Little pay, little work, or bum pay, bum work."

It was also pointed out to the farmers, on this same circular, that these demands were reasonable, and if granted, satisfactory work would be done.

These demands had the desired effect, and were used as a guidance with good success in several parts of the state.

## SMALL GROUPS BETTER THAN LARGE

When the harvest was about to start, the members went in large groups into Kansas, with the intention of holding together and colonizing a certain section of the harvest belt. This soon proved

to be a mistake, as they always got into more or less trouble, according to the size of the crowd. In one sense large groups are the thing, as they make it possible to ride almost any train, by the sheer strength of numbers. The train crews are very bitter against the I. W. W., as our members are not going into Kansas to dig up to the "shacks" and they know it; so they tried to ditch them on side-tracks. The I. W. W.'s would not get off there,



Drawing by W. D. H. and Chumley

What Will the Harvest Be?

then the shacks started their slugging tactics, getting the worst of it in several places, through no fault of the I. W. W. The train crews brought it on themselves by trying to ditch the men or to get them to pony up some change, which none could do as there was no money in sight and no work for a considerable time either, on account of the rainy weather and the late harvest.

As soon as the harvest was about started these large gangs had to be broken up, since it was easy to get wise to the I. W. W.'s in large bunches. They many went in twos, threes and fours to other towns, on the quiet. Several towns had from 20 to 30 wobbles, although the letters I received stated that there were no wobbles there, while at the same time from five to eight letters in one day went into one town and these always to a group. In this way they got out on the job at once.

## WAGES AND CONDITIONS

Before, and at the start of the harvest, wages were fixed by the Farmers' Union, with the aid of the U. S. Federal Labor Bureau, at from \$2 to \$3 a day. The Federal office was willing and made a strong attempt to furnish all the help the farmers' organization was calling for in order to flood Kansas with men, so wages could be kept down to \$2 a day if possible. They were sending hundreds to southern Kansas and northern Oklahoma by the box-car route. But this soon proved a fizzle, because the men who had been making the harvests in former years lent a willing ear to the A. W. O. of the I. W. W., having been stung before, and these men asked for more wages and fewer hours of work. Then the Federal office announced that they would send no more men unless they paid their fare. They came to the conclusion that the best way to get cheap labor was to have the workers come to the office from different parts of the country and go direct from there to the farmers, so the men had no chance of knowing the conditions. In that way the farmers could pay anything they wanted, as the tickets read "wages from \$2 to \$3 a day." By this method the Federal Labor Bureau was seeking to aid the railroad companies and the farmers, while ignoring the interests of the harvest hands.

For a starter, the Bureau had its way to a large extent in several parts of the state. But as the harvest got well under way, and some farmers got done, these same workers then had to shift for themselves. They found out they had been bamboozled; they did not get the pay expected or what others received who had paid no fare and had sim-

ply taken chances. They also noticed that all their money went for R. R. fares, and if they continued in the same way, at the end of the season they would be in the same fix as at the beginning. So the only thing for them to do was to fall in line with the rest—beat their way—and then at once those pesky agitators got in their work, and found willing listeners after all the hardships experienced. Towards the close of the harvest the Federal office is finding it harder to furnish plenty of servile slaves. They sent out several hurry calls for workers to go to Kansas and to pay their fare, which generally was about \$5 to \$8. There are several places that pay \$3, yes, and many places have paid \$3.50 for the last week, and there will be a lot more before the harvest is finished up. In some places the wobbles who know the harvest life, have things almost their own way, and are bringing good results for their organization. The one lesson we gained in this respect is to lag behind the harvest. The best conditions are then gained and also the best results for the One Big Union in new members and prestige.

## ARRESTS

Over 100 arrests were made in different places in Kansas and Oklahoma, but for the most part the victims were released after a day or two, with the exceptions of about 12 I. W. W.'s, that we know of. At Enid, Okla., one delegate got 30 days for arguing in the park, and is now released. In another place in Oklahoma three wobbles got 60 days, but are out also. At Caldwell, Kan., four men were arrested charged with assault and battery, after two of them got beaten up unmercifully so they have several stitches in their heads. Then the charge was changed and they got 30 days and costs. Two of these men are out, but the two card men are still in jail there. They ought to be released soon, if the authorities don't look for a goat and try to place new charges against them, which is intimated. One I. W. W., named V. J. Bradley, was killed on the 23d of June near Arlington, Kan., presumably by a bunch of railroad men or some other enemies of the I. W. W. Four wobbles were thereupon arrested, charged with the murder of Bradley to give the I. W. W. a black eye before the workers. The four men were released some time ago.

In conclusion I wish to state that, looking over the whole field, everything went about as well as could be expected and the A. W. O. still stands in the forefront. The sentiment for the organization is good. Many workers are lining up with the I. W. W. now, for a better fight in the future for more wages and fewer hours. The membership acted well as a whole, and they will be surely equal to the bigger task of the northern harvest.

The members did not stay in the jungles as in the past, raising the pay for the scissors, but went out on the job themselves and made conditions whenever the labor market warranted it. At this writing most of the members of the A. W. O. are working and many are getting \$3.50 a day until the harvest is done.

Into the northern harvest the members and delegates are going in small groups on the quiet as this has proven the best.

On with the good work started by those interested in the One Big Union, to make it a powerful organization able to shorten the workday and raise the pay for ourselves.

Line up! Initiation fee \$2 all over the middle west; dues 50 cents a month.

One Union! One Enemy! United we stand, divided we fall!

## Why We Are What We Are

(Continued From Page Seven)

mind—bourgeois reformists? ONE BIG UNION of all workers, headed squarely on the CLASS STRUGGLE and INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM.

Every exploited toiler, every degraded woman, every starve-stunted child, is a REASON that cries aloud for MORE POWER to the ONE BIG UNION. East, West, North and South the units of the I. W. W. have given their lives and liberties for these oppressed. We have fought the masters on street and in shop, mine and factory, till the bare mention of our initials brings convulsions of hatred and terror to the capitalist.

WE ARE THE RED SPECTER KNOCKING AT THE GATES. David with his sling is out-daubed by this ten-year-old infant with his little WOODEN SHOE.

We are paving the way with Class-CONSCIOUSNESS, cemented by the cohesive power of ONE BIG UNION. "EACH FOR ALL AND ALL FOR EACH;" and, though prophecy be dangerous, yet I foresee this infant shaking the world ere many years be gone; shaking the world and making the world—making it fit to live in for everybody. JOIN THE I. W. W.!

The British and Australian I. W. W. movements report much activity and progress. Each is developing a press of its own, and together with the American movement, are covering the English-speaking world with One Big Union propaganda.

# Industrial Communism

By JOHN SANDGREN

**T**HE THEORY of evolution established by Charles Darwin in the realms of plants and animals, applies also to the social institutions of that animal called man, both to the different individuals as separate units and to society as a whole.

While we frequently hear and read of "social evolution," this expression is mostly used in a general way, without detailed particulars put into system.

The most complete attempt at sketching the evolutionary types society has gone through we find in Paul Lafargue's immortal work, "The Evolution of Property." The manner of owning and operating the means of production and distribution being the basis of social organization, Lafargue might to greater advantage have called his classical work, "The Evolution of Society."

But Lafargue's active years were almost spent before the present stage of capitalism had worked out its form in clear outlines. His comments thereon strike us as rather naive. His range of social vision open to Lafargue did not advance him beyond the views of political socialism. Nor does it seem to have occurred to him to draw the full and natural consequences of his great discovery and construe the full cycle of social evolution. With the data now at the disposition of the social thinker we can just as easily construct a panorama of social development in past, present and future as the paleontologist with only the thigh-bone of a dinosaur at hand can reconstruct that huge prehistoric beast in fairly minute details. All the necessary data and social phenomena are at hand.

After having in a masterly manner demonstrated the evolutionary birth of the four first types of society, namely, primitive communism, family collectivism, feudalism, and private capitalism, Lafargue drops you rather abruptly in the maze of present day society. But the lover of truth cannot stop there. Fortunately, Lafargue's exposition enables you to see for yourself present day society in bird's-eye perspective and gives you, with little mental effort, a wide view into a more or less distant future.

Incidentally we might remark that this work of Lafargue's had the same bomb-effect on the hired liars and quacks of social history at the universities as Karl Marx' "Capital" had on the political economists. It just put them out of business morally. Their main efforts are still devoted to letting themselves and their "sciences" down easy.

To continue. Using the terminology adopted by Lafargue we may without hesitation name the present stage of capitalism "collective capitalism," as being more comprehensive, including as it does both the stock company, the trust, the combination of trusts and, eventually, a possible attempt of social democrats to run the industries through a political government, much as the postoffice, the navy, government railroads, etc., are now being run.

This latter eventuality is here tentatively mentioned in view of the fact that the public debt of European states on account of the war is approaching such tremendous proportions that the most intensified industrial exploitation will hardly more than pay the interest on that debt. In other words, there is a possibility that the capitalist class, after having caused the states, the governments, to be indebted to them to such an extent that the interest on the debt will devour the whole of that part of labor's product not paid as wages, will be glad to turn over the means of production "to the people," throwing it to them like a squeezed-out lemon, after taking the necessary military precautions to guarantee them the interest on the public debt, which of course is much more "safe and sane" than hazarding their capital in industrial enterprises. With the knowledge we now possess of the spirit of social democracy, we are justified in believing his servants, the social democratic politicians, would be ready to strike such a bargain, thus in fact becoming the marionette actors in the culmination of collective capitalism, while fooling the people that they are inaugurating the long promised "socialist republic."

At all events we may expect some such attempt at social readjustment as a transition stage to the sixth type of social evolution embodied in the program of the I. W. W. and its brother organizations throughout the world—namely, Industrial Communism, based on the organization of the productive forces into industrial unions, forming one great world household—without any intention of supporting a parasite class by paying interest on "public debt."

Such is the natural course of social evolution. The powers of evil, the enemies of mankind, may yet hold it back for awhile, but come it must. And when will it come? Shall we wait for a Messiah to do it, fatten by capitalism tell you so, knowing that by this method they can put off the change, until they feel like changing spirit, which will happen on the same day when we have taught cattle to use a typewriter. No, like all previous social changes it will have to be brought about through the organized power of the rising social element—the actual pro-

ducers, the wage workers.

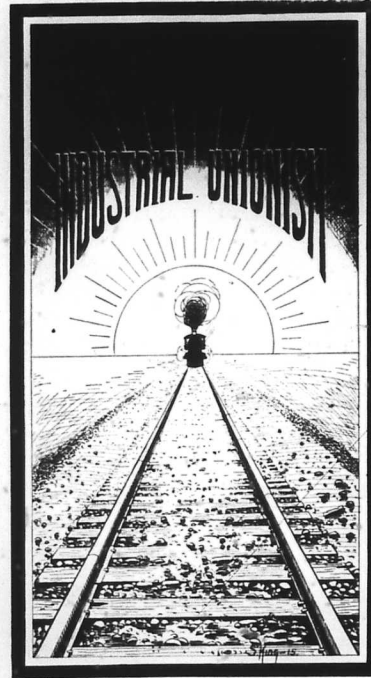
Whatever ethical and spiritual changes are in store for us they will, just as in the past, be a reflex of the economic structure of society. The question is a purely economic one. It must be solved on the economic field by economic organization, and not by politics, religion or eugenics. Attacking it in any other manner will be like putting the cart before the horse.

Reviewing the above, and reconstructing the social cycle as the powers of destiny seem to have intended it, we get the six following stages in the evolution of society:

Primitive communism.  
Family collectivism.  
Feudalism.  
Private capitalism.  
Collective capitalism.  
Industrial communism.

This is no mere social weather forecast. As any honest student of sociology must admit, this result is arrived at almost in the same manner as the astronomers predict an eclipse of the sun, the passing of a comet or figure out the location of an undiscovered planet, direct their telescope on that spot and find the new celestial body.

INDUSTRIAL COMMUNISM being the program of the I. W. W., we are working in harmony with



Drawing By S. King

The Right Of Way

nature, and we can placidly smile at those who jail us and kill us for carrying the message of hope to mankind. Galileo was put on the torture bench by the priest for maintaining that the earth moves round the sun. We are kept in the "cooler" for maintaining that the theory of evolution applies to society and for organizing mankind to create order out of chaos, in consonance with evolution. "Eppur si muove."

The I. W. W. has had its ups and downs during the past ten years. But what do temporary and local ups and downs concern us? We have reason to be jubilant over the progress of our ideas throughout the world. In years our movement is only a child, but in size a giant. Read Andre Tridon's book, "New Unionism" for information as to the size and proportions of this giant child up to the time shortly before the war.

Fellow workers, the world is gone mad. We are the only sane people on earth. The future belongs to us. The world is ours through industrial communism.

"Though cowards flinch and traitors sneer,  
We'll keep the red flag flying here."

Ten years young, and just beginning to live—the Industrial Workers of the World.

Ten years of victories and reverses—and still we grow once more. We are a necessity; and necessity knows no law, especially of precedent.

# Arms and Ammunition

By M. G. R.

**I**DYWOOD avenue must go. Of course we are very sorry about tearing up the houses and making those poor people move, they seem to be very much attached to their old places, with their vines and rose bushes and geranium beds, and all that sort of thing. One old woman cried when she had to sign her name to the bill of sale. She was born in that house, as were her parents, and she was a long time deciding about giving it up. But we told her that the place would be worthless when surrounded by the new plant; and then, too, we paid more than the old shack was worth, any way. We had some trouble in getting started. Thought we would lose the contract. But everything is running along smoothly now. We are tearing up as fast as we can, and in three months from now the new factories will be puffing and turning out millions of shells. Of course, we are investing heavily, but the return will be large; very large. Think of it! Our city from being merely the brass center of the United States will become the greatest arms and ammunition depot in the world. Indeed this war is a godsend to us. Who would have thought that the European war will put Waterbury into its magnificent position? Wonderful changes! Wonderful changes!

The change of a wide, shady, quiet street into a mass of wreckage was unbelievable. The magnificent old trees, that for decades waved their green boughs and made a canopy of rich green overhead, fell to the decree of the new factory. The houses are deserted; some were razed to the ground and others moved. The cozy verandas with their restful curtains of honeysuckle and rambling roses are gone. Gone are the flower beds, the spacious lawns, the frolicking children. Industrialism has laid its ugly hand of destruction upon all.

Men work with pick and shovel, sweltering in the hot July sun; overseers shout and swear; horses drag heavy loads of brick and iron; the air resounds with the clang and puffing of steam excavators and derricks. Idylwood avenue, the prettiest street in town, shows no more. The American Arms Company is enlarging its plant.

It is noon; a breathless July noon. Across the railroad tracks from the American Arms Company's old plant, in the shade of a chain of freight cars a group of hundred men are scattered in groups, eating their dinner. Bottles of milk; tin pails; greasy newspapers; thick slices of bread with dark looking meat between them; grimy, bruised hands carrying unpalatable food to faces red with heat, pale with exhaustion, furrowed by toil and grime. A constant chatter is going on, a joyless, spiritless babel of tongues. But one word, though spoken in different tongues, seems to connect this heterogeneous mass. "Work!" the link holding together these toilers of many lands, many races, many creeds.

"Gee whiz, what does that damn boss expect from the gang for a dollar and a half a day? He's yellin' and swearin' all the time, and us workin' to beat the band, with the sun so hot that it burns the shirt off yer back. And how he does swear at them Eytalians, and them Polders! I told him yesterday, I told him: 'You ain't got nothin' on me, you ain't. I work every minute of every hour in the ain't, and if you want to I'll get my time. I will.' He just cussed and walked away. But he'll be back. He's always after a fellow's hide, he is. He's one of them smarties that squeeze a fellow till he ain't got no time to spit. I s'pose he gets a big rake off. But I don't see where ours comes in. They were talking about the big times that we was going to have, and a raise of wages, and all that. I don't see nothin' like that even if they do get big orders from Europe for guns and shells, and everything. Hey, kid, 'd you get fired along with them eighty men for spollin' work? What 'd they do, put too little powder into the shells? Gee, that was some darn mix up!"

A pale-faced Italian boy with a pair of wistful eyes, who was lying on his back and looking up at the sky, turned on his side and looked at the speaker pityingly. A smile curled his lip.

"You American peep you no can stick. Italian peep he stick. He say, 'We stick, we get two dollars, nine hours—bimeby.' Merican he say, 'Aw, gwan, you dago, you want strike? What you want? Gwan back to Italy. You no need more money. You eat macaroni; live cheap.' Bimeby he tell boss, boss fire Italian peep. Sure, just like that."  
"Aw, what you talkin' about, anyhow. Betcha dollars to doughnuts you was one of them fellows that spoilt some of them shells and cartridges, 'cause you were sore on the boss. You're all soreheads; that's what the boss said, anyway. He said you wanted more money, and they wouldn't give it to you, so you hid the work. Gee, that was some splash! Seventy thousand gone up in smoke! There's the whistle."

Gangs of men were again scrambling like ants. Digging, carrying, pumping, dredging, draying. Foremen were shouting their orders in loud voices, hurrying the gangs, scowling, scolding, and all the

(Continued On Page Thirteen)

# Wall Street in War Times

(Continued From Page Four)

is serious, can be best understood with the statement made very recently by Chas. M. Schwab, who said that he would not trust any of the belligerents on any other basis than that of C. O. D. At the outset of hostilities last summer, our financiers did not make a very accurate guess as to the resources of the countries then embarking in war; but now that the international relations are so strained in a commercial and financial way, guesses have no longer any place in the situation—and facts are in their possession. And they point but one way—either go absolutely bankrupt, or stop the war.

As long as Wall Street knows that England is seeking to sustain her money's exchange power by every means at her command and not succeeding, then bankers figure it's a question of just how much rope is necessary to complete the job. England's present attitude is costing her dearly in money and lives. Then again, the labor situation has been a bed of torment to her bankers. And it has sent shivers down the backs of our capitalists also. Never has Wall Street been so concerned over the labor outlook as at present. The writer spent a whole evening at one of the biggest clubs in New York recently, and the all-absorbing topic of the night was as to whether or not American labor would take a leaf from the activities of their English brothers and lay down on the job. The Wilson administration is very anxious about the situation, so much so that it is common report in Wall Street that the President would, and finally did, "settle" the Chicago strike. He took this step on the advice of well-posted men who feared it might lead to trouble throughout the country. Of course, no intelligent radical shared for a moment their fears, because we know that the leaven of labor solidarity has not yet worked out in America.

The conditions that concern Wall Street financiers at this time, are:

1. How can our immense and record breaking bank deposits be used?
2. How far can we go with the warring countries in extending credits after their surplus of cash is exhausted?
3. How far can the cost of living go up, without strikes and labor troubles being developed?
4. How far can we go in tapping a trade outlet in South America and China?

Regarding the first condition, under the new Federal Reserve act credits based on the present record resources of the national banks of the United States, new credits have been established, amounting to about three billion dollars and the total resources of these institutions are about \$11,842,354, 995. Loans and discounts are now at \$6,643,

887,951, an increase over last March of \$143,923,246, and over the same period in 1914 of \$214,600,000. Deposits on May 1 last were over eight billions of dollars. Never before in American banking history has there been so much idle money in the bank vaults of the country. Virtually an immense Frankenstein is for a time at least in the hands of the nation's bankers, and while it is true a great deal of that money has come to us because of the very large purchases by the warring nations, yet during the whole present administration, Wall Street has been accumulating money as never before.

Of course, they (the bankers) deny it was for the purpose of an object lesson to labor—since business conditions ever since Wilson took office have been in fits and starts. No definite tendency has been shown and while there has been a great abundance of actual money, credit was almost impossible to get. The Stock Exchange cannot be accused of absorbing the banks funds, because it was closed for over four months last year, immediately following the outbreak of war, and even before that business was at such a low ebb, that a brealdine was almost in vogue, on the part of Stock Exchange members. Never in my long experience in the financial district did I ever see anything approaching it; so that the stock exchange did not get the money. Neither did the business men of the country, as witness the piling up of ready cash in the banks throughout the nation.

As a matter of common knowledge, the Stock Exchange was closed by the order of the big banks in New York, who would have been bursted in the event of the Exchange keeping open another 24 hours? All of the moneys belonging to depositors were loaned out on Stock Exchange securities, and if any of the Metropolitan dailies had been allowed by their owners to print quotations of stocks, then dealt in in the middle of New Street, which were from 20 to 40 points below the official closing on the exchange, a panic would have broken through the country that would have made the 1907 panic look like a Salvation Army prayer meeting. All the banks in New York the morning of the closing of the Exchange, were almost ruined and they surely would have been, but for the drastic action taken by the Exchange authorities, who in turn were ordered by the New York Clearing House Association to take such action.

Every newspaper man of any experience, committed sabotage on news, during the early days of the war, to the queen's taste. They worked overtime to keep up the courage of the investing public, not to say anything about a run on the savings and other banking institutions throughout the entire nation.

All the papers had to do was to print quotations of the various railroad and industrial concerns traded in on the stock exchange, and it is a safe prediction to make that the men and women holders would have pelted one another with said securities in the middle of the street. For, bear in mind, not a single bank in the country could advance a cent on them as collateral.

The Call was told the above situation by several men in the financial district, who vote the socialist ticket, that here was an opportunity of a lifetime to really flood the Wall Street banking section with papers carrying the quotations of the stocks, then being dealt in, and aid in bringing down on the heads of our financiers the biggest contract of their lives to combat. But, the board of managers of the Call, middle class expression that they are, could not see it that way, hence losing the greatest chance of their lives. So the men who understood the conditions that confronted the capitalists, and the fine kettle of fish they were then in, were unable to get even the Call, that boasts of its free and unbiased columns, to bring to a focus the most wonderful conditions that ever confronted our captains of industry.

Of course, it may be that the Call's managers did not dare to take that position for fear that the shares of the Burns Bros, the New York end of the coal trust, might have fallen in value. This is the stock of the company that Morris Hilquit, who signs protocols on one hand and who plays the role of a pope on the other, was caught with in the failure of H. B. Hollins & Co., a stock exchange firm, a few years ago. The stock of the Burns Bros. is still traded in on the floor of the exchange, and in the general smash that would have taken place in the wild time that was bound to ensue, it would no doubt have suffered a big reaction.

So, between the banks through their newspapers on the one hand not keeping the people advised as to the financial affairs of the country, which have a bearing of no mean importance to the laboring class, and the actions of a paper that like the Call, which announces that it is a working class paper, not printing the facts regarding such a crisis in the country's financial, industrial and political affairs, is it any wonder the worker doesn't know where he is at?

Surely this is a lesson for a very thorough-paced understanding as to why our movement should have such a press—what happened in Wall Street without the worker ever hearing of it must be taking place in various industrial centers of the country, and the readers of Solidarity should be kept posted re such events.

(Further installments of this interesting survey of Wall Street affairs will appear in succeeding issues of Solidarity.—Editor.)

## Arms and Ammunition

(Continued From Page Twelve)

time watching the bent backs and movements of the workers. Boys were carrying water in tin pails with tin dippers, out of which the men drank eagerly. There was something picturesque in the disorder and noise, something grim and discouraging in this aggregation of human ants.

Lucien Trueville has just dismissed the purchasing agent and stood at the window of his private office, looking out at the mass of wreckage before him, the toiling backs, the steaming engines, and saw the new factory that was to be rising in its massiveness of smoke stacks and whirling machinery. "If everything goes through as planned, if the contractors rush the work, if the foremen rush their gangs, if no strikes occur,—if but everything will be all right; it must be all right."

The company of which Lucien Trueville is president got the biggest order from Europe since the war broke out.

"Shells and shrapnel, arms and ammunition! What enormous orders keep coming. If we could only supply the Germans, too! We must make our city the Essen of America. We can and must out the Kruppis into a secondary position. American capital, American enterprise, American neutrality will do it. We don't want to go to war. We're making money now. When this war is over, there will be another. Arms and ammunition will always sell."

Then he thought of his lunch, his new touring car, the list of charity subscriptions he had to meet, the donation of a new set of dimes to his church, and his face relaxed into a broad smile.

"Yes," he was speaking to a fellow-capitalist over the telephone. "I'll play golf with you this afternoon. I'm pretty tired with the work here. Yes, we got the order. Oh, yes, great business this war. This country is sure to lead the world in the production of arms and ammunition. We've got the men and we've got the capital. Oh, no, there is no danger of any strike. The Polanders tried to cook up something, but we fired a lot of them and the rest are scared to breathe. Be as discreet as possible about that spoiled order. We're investigating the matter. Yes, put too little powder into the shells. Badly loaded. German spies? Perhaps. We doubled our watch. Protection by the police? Well,

I should say so. There is very little that the A. A. C. can't get now from this city. Police department, council, newspapers, everything on our side. Great business! Great business! Good-bye. See you at the links. Good-bye."



JOHN PANCNER

Another one of the "old guard," now serving 18 months in Nevada State Prison as a result of organizing activity in Goldfield.

Remember him along with Ford and Suhr, Rangel and Cline, Joe Hill et al., when on the job.

## The Way of Victory

By JOSEPH O'CARROLL

A thousand years may come and go,  
And deeds of foulness yet transpire,  
Before the cup of shame o'erflow,  
And we give outlet to our ire,  
But long before that day'll have faded,  
When we'll have broken masters' laws,  
The thought of those who died and dared  
Will nerve us in our righteous cause;  
And though eternally they sleep,  
Their memory alive we'll keep.

The men they shot, the men they hung,  
And those who in their dungeons died,  
Because they would not still the tongue  
That fearlessly for freedom cried,  
Left debts of vengeance to be paid  
Against the class which stilled their brain;  
And those who would not be afraid,  
Can emulate their deeds again;  
And with the consciousness of right  
Will with their fellow slaves unite.

And those who fight and never yield,  
With whom repulse is not defeat,  
Shall yet be victors in the field,  
Their enemies shall soon retreat,  
And union spells victory.  
The union of the working class,  
For allied with the bourgeoisie,  
We are betrayed at every pass,  
For we alone can solve our fate,  
Alone ourselves emancipate.

"The I. W. W. is more of a national force than a labor organization."—Helen Marot.

Ten years young, and the longest-lived progressive labor organization since the K. of L.—the I. W. W.

Rejoice, all ye who toil and are heavily laden, for the I. W. W. still lives to give you leisure and a lift.

Anarchists knock us, socialists knock us, capitalists knock us, editors knock us—but, what is life without knockers? They are necessary to a virile existence; and the I. W. W. is virile, if anything!

## How About Joe Hill?

Joseph Hillstrom, better and widely known as Joe Hill, I. W. W. rebel and song-writer, is under sentence of death in the Utah penitentiary. He was accused of having shot and killed a merchant in Salt Lake City about a year ago. The only evidence the prosecution had, was that on the night of the murder Joe Hill applied to a physician in another section of the city, and had a bullet-wound



Joseph Hillstrom

attended to. He refused to give particulars as to where he got the wound, claiming only that it occurred in a fight over a woman, whose name he would not divulge. Not a shadow of other "evidence" was produced to connect Hill with the crime for which he was charged. But Hill had been an active I. W. W., much hated and feared by the Utah Construction Co. and other corporations in that benighted section. So he was convicted by the lower court, and sentenced to death.

An appeal was taken, however, and the execution stayed pending the outcome of this appeal. The Supreme Court of Utah passed upon the case, and although the prosecution was plainly unable to connect Joe Hill with the crime, this higher court sustained the verdict of its predecessor, confirming the sentence of death. Under the Utah law, a prisoner condemned to death may choose the manner in which he is to be "legally" murdered. Hill has chosen to be shot.

There is still one possible hope. An appeal may be taken to the United States Supreme Court, on a writ of error. Steps are being taken to that end. But it will require considerable money to carry this through successfully. That money must be raised by workers everywhere. Will you, reader, be one to help save the life of this innocent worker, who is so much needed in the labor movement of our time? If so, act quickly. Send a dollar or more today, to Geo. W. Child, Treasurer, Hill Defense, 215 E. First South St., Salt Lake City, Utah.

The I. W. W. and other labor organizations have many prisoners of the class war in the bastilles of capitalism. They are there because they fought for labor. Remember, they fought for us; shall we forget them?

## The Onward Sweep of the Machine Process

(Continued From Page Six)

began to form organizations also, till today we have the employers' organizations—the trusts and the merchants' and manufacturers' associations. Since the time when the first machines made the workers get together, they have kept on getting together—and are still at it.

At first the shoemaker stood alone, competing with the other shoemakers. Then came the organizing of these "shoemakers" or shoe manufacturers, in order to uphold their interests. Today no shoes—or very few—are made by hand. They are mostly made in big factories, employing thousands of men and women. Not one of these workers could make a whole pair of shoes if he tried to. Everything is specialized; each worker does one little part of the whole, then it goes to the next, and so on down the line. The human being gets so used to the movements that his body becomes formed accordingly—he becomes a living mechanism of production.

**THE SKILLED MAN—THE MOLDER**  
Of late years machinery has been installed rapidly. There isn't one line of work which cannot be done, to some extent at least, by machines. Take the molder's trade for instance. No molder of 25 or 30 years ago dreamed that there would ever be any machines doing molding. He knew that it required the sensitive touch of the artist to finish a mold; he knew that the sand had to be just so hard, and never did he think that a dead thing, a machine, could pack the sand just right. But today there are foundries having machines which ram the sand for more than fifty men. Five men can do more work with these machines than could sixty by hand. Everything fits together, and there is hardly a sensitive touch by the human hand needed any more. The sand is shoveled in (in some foundries the sand comes down from above and no shovel is needed, either); the flask is put on a "bumper" (name of one kind of machine used for heavy work), the molder turns a handle, and the machine gives a jerk which packs the sand together; the molder counts the jerks and, what would perhaps have needed all day to do by hand, takes only a couple or a few seconds to perform with the machine.

And there are dozens of different molding machines. Some small ones, used on bench work, make one mold every minute. So, this trade, which used to take (and is still supposed to take of course) three or four years to learn, can now be picked up in a few days, a few weeks or few months at the limit. Now in case the molders go out, a few unskilled can soon be broken in to do the work. As old molders usually say: "Nowadays they bring him in at seven in the morning and at ten he is a molder." Of course there is still some molding that requires skill, but it is getting less every year, and will soon be a thing of the past. And so it is in every line of work. "The machine of wood and iron is taking the place of the machine of flesh and blood."

When the machine first appeared, the workers began to organize in small bodies—just big enough to fight the small masters of those days. As these masters began to get bigger, it was a natural consequence that the workers' organizations had to get bigger also. And as the employers began to organize to get control, not only of one shop or a few shops, one town or a few towns, but of the industries from coast to coast, from one land to another, the workers saw that the only way to fight them would be by organizing on the same lines as they did. Therefore the workers' organization grew from the small one to the big body of men—with units in every part of the country and with similar organizations seeking to form an international.

In the beginning, when the masters were only partly organized, an organization of the workers by craft was apparently sufficient to safeguard their interests. Within the limits only of each separate trade or craft these unions organized (and still organize) the workers; each one of these unions pulled each in its own direction, and solidarity of labor was an impossibility.

Another thing was that the masters got together in big industrial organizations; it began to be hard for the craft unions to cope with the situation—and so the industrial union was born. In this union all the workers in any industry stand together side by side, and strike together so as to completely stop the production of the shop or of the entire industry, when strikes are necessary.

Unfortunately, we still have the craft organization, as well as the contract system. The workers are split up, so that when the miners, for instance, go on strike in one place, or one part of the country, other "organized" miners in other parts of the country are working overtime to fill the orders. They have signed a "contract" (a piece of paper which "binds" them together, though it never binds the employers) so they can't help each other or get unity of action. But there are thousands of workers who are beginning to realize that there is nothing in common with the one they are working for. While the craft unions (the American Federation of Labor) says that the workers must organize to get a "fair share" of what they produce, the industrial organization (the Industrial Workers of the World) says that the workers must organize to get all they produce. The I. W. W. also says: "The workers made the machines and the workers run the machines; therefore, by God, the machines should also belong to the workers."

### THE FUTURE

The number of those making millions out of the hides of the workers is increasing, at the same time

as the number of those starving is increasing. In 1861 there was only one millionaire in the United States; today there are over 40,000 of them, with a good many owning hundreds of millions.

The number of parasites is increasing constantly and at the same time the bread lines are getting longer and larger. No longer are there individual shoemakers, or fifty or a hundred men only thrown out of work—but today we have the whole of organized society, with its murderous institutions, jails, pens, militia, armies and navies, pitted against the men and women who are closed out because of modern machinery. In order to change this and to do away with the misery, injustice and degradation caused by this grinding "civilization," the workers must organize on such lines that they can all stand together and meet the organized masters with a union just as widely, well, and powerfully organized as is their enemy's; and thus, by tying up ALL THE INDUSTRIES at once, change the whole to a better world—a world of the workers.

That is what the workers of all ages have been after—a better world. No one knows the suffering better than the slave himself, and therefore it must be he who must free himself from the lash of the masters. Nothing can be stronger than the working class, when all the workers are properly organized; when they all stand together, the same as the masters do today. And none are higher and better than the ones who produce everything needed in sustaining life.

The machines are today used to enslave the workers, while they could be used to help the workers and society as a whole. Practically all inventions and everything worth while are made by the workers; and as soon as they wake up to the fact that everything—machines, industries and all should belong to those only who produce and do useful labor—then they need not suffer any longer, because then the machine—the real organizer—will be a blessing to the human race, instead of a curse as it is today.

Then will come the time about which poets all through the ages have dreamed; the time which broken-hearted, sweating toilers, men and women, have suffered for; the time which the Industrial Workers of the World is fighting for, and will fight for until the workers come to their own, and the master and the slave shall have disappeared from the earth.

## Solidarity and the I. W. W. Press

(Continued From Page Ten)

attain it, has not yet been put forth. Nay, the working class has not yet freed itself but feebly in that direction. The sacrifice of Calvary was small compared to the sacrifice that the inauguration of the new era will require. Let us do our share and leave the rest to those who come after us.

A final word in behalf of Solidarity. Does not this 16-page magazine issue enthrall you? Does it not reflect our latent possibilities? Solidarity has done many great things before, but this is the greatest. Take a file of Solidarity, and note the wide variety of subjects treated, of the news from many countries, and the great number of industries reported; not to mention histories, poems, stories, etc. Solidarity contains many good things—and four men get it out, in addition they run a printing plant, publishing leaflets and pamphlets and sending them out: They work well and get more kicks than boosts. The writer has edited papers; he has written books and seen them published; his is expert testimony. He is of the opinion that all conditions considered, Solidarity is a good paper. It remains for its readers to give Editor Williams and his three assistants, Moore, Torn and Walquist, more support in order that they may make more improvements. "Give a push"—up, not down!

In conclusion—the I. W. W. press grows. When the I. W. W. was launched, its press was in the control of other organizations. They were few in number. Now, the I. W. W. has nine papers of its own, and the support of many sympathetic weeklies and magazines in addition. Need more be said? Yes; improve them and increase their number. Begin by building up Solidarity.

## Reversal in Cline Case

San Antonio, Texas, July 11.

Solidarity:

Reversal in Charles Cline case handed down by Court of Appeals of Texas.

Introduction of I. W. W. Preamble, Constitution and other matter at trial, tending to prejudice the jury, given as cause.

The committee in charge of defense are well pleased over the results, have counsel engaged and hope to make a good fight. Sentiment is believed to be gradually changing in our favor.

The imprisoned comrades wish to express their appreciation for the assistance given them and to ask for the continued support of all comrades and friends in their struggle for equity and justice.

RANGEL-CLINE DEFENSE COMMITTEE,  
Vera Mayfield, Sec'y.

How would you like to see Solidarity appear in its present form every week? You can help us to do it, by sending in a few subs or a donation.

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What Every Mother Should Know	.30	
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**SOLIDARITY**

A Newspaper of the Labor Movement  
112 Hamilton Av., Cleveland, Ohio

**The \$1,000 Fund**

The above-named fund was started some months ago, as a move to help sustain this paper, and aid in building it up in size and improved contents. Although it has helped greatly in that time, the amount asked for did not come quickly enough, and we are now asking those who read this special number of Solidarity—and see what we might do with a little more financial support—to send us a donation without delay. A THOUSAND DOLLARS MORE received in donations in the next few weeks, would enable us to add to our mechanical equipment, so we could handle a magazine issue of this kind every week. Add to these donations, a sub-getting campaign, that would bring at least 300 new subs to Solidarity each week, and the magazine undertaking will be possible.

What do you say, readers of Solidarity? Don't you think it worth while to get out and dig a little for your press? If so, we shall expect to hear from you by mail in a few days, and with a little blue slip of paper or a green-back in your envelope.

Total July 14 . . . . .	\$961.37
Wm. Beck . . . . .	1.00
C. H. Fisher . . . . .	1.00
W. T. Nef—dimes received . . .	3.33
R. J. Blaine . . . . .	1.75
C. A. Wells . . . . .	1.00
Ted Fraser—Collected . . . . .	2.00
Pierce C. Wetter . . . . .	.30
David Hallberg . . . . .	.40
Archie R. Sinclair . . . . .	2.00
Alex Sholdra . . . . .	2.00
John Hayes . . . . .	2.00
S. Boris . . . . .	1.00
J. U. . . . .	1.00
Morris Odess . . . . .	.50
H. W. Anderson . . . . .	1.00
Michael J. Grusheski . . . . .	.50
Local No. 61 . . . . .	.50
H. G. . . . .	1.00
Jos. J. Ettor . . . . .	.50
David Evans . . . . .	.25
Wm. Beck—Result of Cake Raffle by Youngstown Local	2.31
Victor Erickson . . . . .	1.00
Stanley Winarski . . . . .	.25
Two Rebs . . . . .	1.00
W. T. Nef—Dimes received . . .	4.00
Dave Inger . . . . .	.70

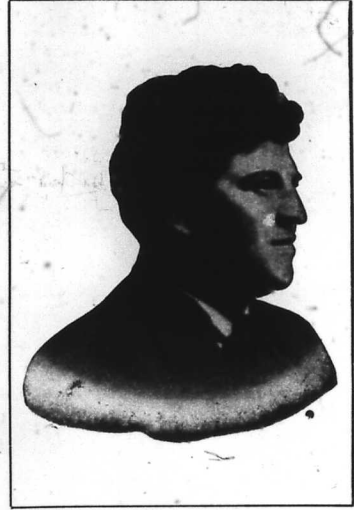
Total July 24 . . . . . \$993.66

A correspondent writing to Solidarity from New York City, July 22, states that things are moving now for the I. W. W. along the water front of the metropolis. A strike of 1,000 longshoremen broke out there on the 20th, and three of the piers of the Clyde and Mallory companies are completely tied up, with two others partly so. The demands are 33 cents an hour for day work, 50 cents an hour for night work and 60 cents for Sunday and holiday work. Meetings of strikers are being addressed by I. W. W. speakers, and every effort made to bring about united action of all the waterfront workers in the port.

For the benefit of members and others interested, who will pass through different sections of the Northern harvest belt, we give herewith the addresses of



Wm. D. HAYWOOD



JOS. J. ETTOR

I. W. W. locals in that section: Minneapolis, 232 Cedar Ave.; Kansas City (headquarters A. W. O.) 20 W. Missouri Ave.; Omaha, 1301 Douglas St.; Sioux City, 310 Fifth St.; Des Moines, 436 E. Grand Ave.

The secretary of the Wheatland Hop Pickers' Defense at Sacramento, Calif., asks Solidarity to state that there will be no picket line in the hop-fields this year, as there was in the season of 1914; but that the members are expected to get to the hop fields and use their own judgment there. The reported sale of the Durst ranch, where the Wheatland incident occurred in the season of 1913, is also a false rumor, intended no doubt to offset the agitation against him and

his property.

The delegates and organizers of the Agricultural Workers' Organization, Local 400 of the I. W. W., are now preparing for the northern harvest, in the Dakotas, Minnesota, etc. The I. W. W. has put a scare into the hearts of the farmers and their allies everywhere this year, with the result that wages have not been lowered, but in many instances raised, in spite of the general unemployment and misery of the working class. If such can be done on a small scale, what may you workers not expect when you organize your power on a large scale, in all industries? Join the I. W. W. today, and get busy with your own interests.

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## THE PREAMBLE

Of The Industrial Workers Of The World

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.

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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 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.

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"Dr. Gorter has written several books for socialist propaganda. His 'Socialism and Anarchism' arose from the older fights with anarchism; his 'Principles of Socialism' belong to the best of our propagandistic literature; his work on the 'Materialistic Conception of History,' has been translated into German and has been sold there in many thousands of copies because it is the best popular explanation of this Marxian theory."

The S. D. P. of Holland, of which Dr. Gorter is a member was the special organization of the same tendencies that constituted the Left Wing in Germany. The NEW MANIFESTO of the rising revolutionary socialism originated in Holland.

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SIXTH YEAR

CLEVELAND, OHIO, JULY 31, 1915

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"Solidarity"

**Y**OU have bade a jaded world regard and wonder.  
From your matrix you have birthed a mighty thing  
Horrid, red lipped, with a fang for plunder  
Monstrous, hateful, through your transforming.  
Not a bondsman, bonded to your sorrow;  
Not a bondsman; nor a slave to yesterday  
But the singing, hopeful heir of the tomorrow,  
And the singing ragged fighter of today.  
Ragged, hopeless,—and you asked surrender  
To your keeping, youth and youth's desire!  
In return you visioned a world's splendor—  
Quickened every pulse with avid fire.  
You have bade a jaded world regard and wonder!  
From your matrix you have birthed a mighty thing!  
From the abyss of our sleeping we shall thunder—  
We shall issue victors through your transforming.  
JOSEPH E. O'CARROLL.

**T**HOUGH not always the case, on this occasion, of our Tenth I. W. W. Anniversary Number, it has been impossible for Solidarity to supply an outlet for the enthusiasm of its many writers. We simply could not find space for nearly all the excellent articles sent in to us. Articles just as good as—we will not say better than—those appearing in these pages, were sent in by Haywood, Ettor, Fisher, Condit, George, Ashleigh, and others. The only thing the editor could do, in the circumstances, was to select those which arrived first, with due consideration of their merit, and to try to find

space for all those which had been previously announced. Even in this last instance, we failed—having to omit among others the one-act drama, "Solidarity," by Phil. Engle. We warned all writers personally against too great length, and we think few of them have exceeded reasonable limits in their articles. But the fact remains, that the editor was swamped with copy.

All we can do is to announce an "overflow meeting." That is, the rest of the articles will be published in succeeding issues of Solidarity, wherein we shall also resume our regular news and other features. All readers of this number, who wish to get ALL the good things and more, that were intended for this occasion, would do well to enroll on our list of subscribers at once.

**E**LSEWHERE will be found a picture of Joseph Hillstrom, better known as Joe Hill, I. W. W. rebel, poet and song writer. He lies under sentence of death in the Utah States Prison. He is innocent of the crime charged against him, but the supreme court of that state has just upheld the decision of the lower court in his case. An appeal must be taken quickly; money is needed for the appeal. The following letter from Joe Hill to his attorney, O. N. Hilton, Denver, Colo., speaks for itself:

Salt Lake City, July 14 1915.

O. N. Hilton, Denver, Colo.:

Dear Judge: Yours received O. K. Was removed to the state prison immediately after the decision was handed down, where I am now. I realize full well that there is only one problem to consider at present and that is the financial one. If I'd had the money to begin with I would not have had to depend on "charity attorneys" and consequently would not be where I am now.

I am not very well posted on matters concerning the U. S. Supreme Court, but I have been told that it would not be necessary to have an attorney in Washington, D. C., for the purpose of delivering an oral argument, and if that is a fact it seems to me the cost of the appeal would be reduced to some extent by cutting out R. R. fares, etc.

If the case cannot be appealed without having an attorney in Washington, D. C., then I am afraid we'll have to let it go as it is—because I cannot expect my friends to starve themselves in order to save my life.

I would of course like to have the case appealed, if the cost is not prohibitive; and if the case is appealed I would not have anybody but you preparing the appeal, because I've had my fill of "tin horn shysters." If you could give me the approximate cost of an appeal to the U. S. Supreme Court, and also tell us if you could handle the case yourself, from your Denver office, we would know better what to do. Wm. D. Haywood and Ed. Rowan would of course be the parties to inform about all financial matters concerning the case.

Of course I am not in a position to know if anything is being done or not, but from previous experience, I draw the conclusion that if you don't do anything for me, it won't be done.

But I also realize that you are not in the business for your health, and I also know that you, unlike many others in your profession, have only one way to get money, and that's from your clients; and if the client cannot produce it, you'll of course have to drop his case.

Well, Mr. Hilton, if circumstances are such that nothing can be done, I want to thank you for what you have already done for me. And you can just bet your bottom dollar that I will show this gang of highbinders, that are operating here in the name

of Justice, how a MAN should die.

Respectfully yours,

J. HILLSTROM.

Fellow workers, we must appeal this case. Raise the money TODAY, and send it to Geo. W. Child, Treasurer Hill Defense, 215 E. First South St., Salt Lake City, Utah.

**S**ECRETARY Lewis K. Brown of the U. S. Commission on Industrial Relations, announces that the Commission goes out of existence on August 23, 1915. We are also informed that the members thereof are preparing their report for Congress. In connection with this matter, the suggestion comes to Solidarity, that the labor press of the United States should at once start an agitation for the complete publication of this Commission's report. This is a timely suggestion. The many revelations of capitalist society brought out in the testimony at the hearings of this body, should be made accessible to the public. The capitalist press has largely ignored or distorted this testimony, while centering its many and vicious attacks upon Chairman Frank P. Walsh, who had the energy and the courage to insist upon a thorough investigation of the various subjects and institutions brought within the scope of the Commission's hearings. Let us fight now to see that the government makes public ALL the proceedings of its Commission on Industrial Relations.

**I**N THIS issue of Solidarity the space devoted to advertising is limited to a minimum, and the advertisers selected with the purpose in view of rendering a real service to our readers. We will unreservedly vouch for each of the advertisements. The periodicals selected are the best published in their respective fields, you do not have to agree with all or any of them, but you should read them all to gain that breadth of view necessary to understand clearly the now very complicated trend of world events. If you are not already a subscriber to these publications, become one at once, either directly or through our combination club offers. Your subscription to Solidarity may be extended a year to take advantage of these offers, or sent to a friend.

The People's College is one of the new developments of the working class movement—a college owned and controlled by workers, as against the privately and state owned institutions which are all subversive to our master Capital. Though young, it has already passed the experimental stage and now offers complete resident or mail courses in Law, Public Speaking, Plain and Advanced English, Shorthand and Typewriting, Elementary and Complete Arithmetic, Elementary and Complete Bookkeeping and Penmanship. One or more of these excellent courses would certainly be of great benefit to you. Give them the opportunity of sending you additional information and rates free. Write them today.

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Just as we close our forms on this issue of Solidarity, comes a detailed report of the big strike of longshoremen in New York City; 2,400 men are out, and have tied up several big docks of the Clyde and Mallory companies. The strike is in charge of the I. W. W. Full particulars next issue.

# Wall Street in War Times

By "JOHN D.," Solidarity's Wall Street Correspondent

THE PRESENT situation in Wall Street is one that bears out very strongly, the oft-repeated statement made by socialists' writers, that the capitalist class of this country were mentally bankrupt. How true this is can be borne out by any of the reporters who have dealings with the big financiers of the United States.

Since the European war broke out, every one of the big men of industry, from John D. Rockefeller, Sr., down to the gutter snipe of a curb broker, confess that they are unable to throw any light on what is likely to happen in the immediate future. J. P. Morgan admits openly that he "would not dare to express any opinion re the outlook for fear that within 24 hours he might be forced to take it back," etc. And Morgan is a reflex at this time of the average Wall Street capitalist. They simply are astounded by the big problems developed by the immense struggle now going on in Europe. Though long looked for, the war burst upon them with a suddenness that was of such a character it carried them off their feet. And they have not as yet gained their underpinnings. No two of them agree as to how the international monetary and industrial questions, brought forth by the catastrophe, can be settled.

Here are a few of the most troublesome ones: Great Britain wants to float a war loan of five billion dollars, half of it in America; and since J. P. Morgan & Co. are acting as the Allies' fiscal agency and buying for them at a commission of 2 per cent, powder, firearms of every description, parts of submarines, horses, auto trucks, etc., England wants Morgan to float half of what is the biggest war loan on record in America. France is also authorizing a war loan of three billion dollars, and the Frenchmen would like the big banking firm to aid them in getting rid of at least one billion dollars of it in this country.

But the conservatism of American investors in avoiding foreign loans is now spoken of as remarkable foresight as to the dangerous lengths the war-ridden countries would go in the matter of inflation. Wall Street says it is now as certain as anything can be that the American investor will touch no more foreign loans issued by the countries at war unless they are secured by securities of AMERICAN RAILROADS such as have not for years defaulted on their interest and on the shares of industrial corporations that also have a good dividend record.

At the present time not a few of the best issues of American stocks and bonds are not a great ways above the levels reached in the panic of 1907, and already since the war broke out or in the past ten months American capitalists have been forced to take back from Germany, England, France and Russia, securities to the value in round figures of about \$2,724,000,000, out of a total of approximately five billion dollars, held by the warring countries just prior to the declaration of war.

All of the above named countries with the possible exception of Germany, need cash from America at the present time, and if Wall Street financiers are correct in their conclusions, they need it badly at this writing.

Germany has never been much of an investor in American railroad securities, aside from the purchases made by the banking firm of Von Bleichroder & Co. and the Nord Deutscher Bank, whose agents in Wall Street are supposed to be Speyer & Co., Ladenbrag, Thalmann & Co., and the Edward D. Adams. The investors in the Fatherland have been more prone to put their funds in Mexican investments, their holdings in the troubled republic teing on a very heavy scale. Besides that, Germany has put millions of marks in Central and South American lands, mining grants, railroads, water power concerns and other business ventures.

Wall Street had a table of the holdings of steamships now interned in this country made about a month or six weeks ago, and it footed up a total of \$250,000,000. Holdings of other equities in this country, such as buildings, real estate, mortgages, etc., amounted to several hundred million dollars, making a total of four hundred million dollars worth of property that our capitalists were licking their chops to get in the event of the United States declaring war on the Kaiser.

The above sum, while large, makes but a poor showing as compared with the others. At the debates held in the Chamber of Commerce during the past winter, the shipping men, such as E. H. Outerbridge, laid quite some stress on the fact that the seizing of the interned vessels—the property of the Germans—was a splendid nucleus for our much-valued merchant marine. This is the element that has been the greatest shouters for war, over the sinking of the big Cunarder, in the early spring.

German investors have generally taken a pro-national attitude, in the matter of putting out their funds, and are now and have been big holders in the Krupp steel works and other businesses organized and managed by their own kinsmen. No other country has done so on any such scale as the Teutons. For instance, Ireland holds more stock in the U. S. Steel Corporation, than do the investors of Germany.

Therefore the Germans must depend on their own resources more than any of its enemies since

they can at least get rid of some of the remaining securities now held by them. As a matter of fact, France is already putting up in escrow millions upon millions of such stocks and bonds in the hands of a big banking syndicate headed by J. P. Morgan & Co. Of course, France will not be able to sell every last dollar of her holdings of Americans, even if we could buy them back, which we could not, because millions of them are held by life, fire, casualty companies, and many more millions are tied up in the vaults of the leading banks



Drawing by Frank Barnes

## Sacrificed on the Altar of Capitalism

of the Republic, as collateral pledged for business loans.

Besides, France, in order to prevent its investors in America from scindling it out of its income tax, changed the denomination from American dollars to francs, which while a good thing for the French government when it was introduced, now proves to be a boomerang, because it prevents the Frenchman from selling his American securities on the greatest stock market in the world—the New York Stock Exchange. This lack of being able on the part of France to dispose of its American securities, forces England to take reams of them, as did Morgan, as collateral for war advances, since John Bull cannot sell them on his Threadneedle Street Exchange either. England is carrying the bag now for all of her Allies, since Russia, through her grafting officials (and Wall Street says they have Tammany tied to a post) is in anything but a good financial position. She has never recovered from the Japanese war, and for the past five years it has been common report in New York's financial district, that the Standard Oil group of capitalists would not have any big long time business contract with her. They said that Russia was backward and very coarse in her dealings with her working people and that they did not intend to put any money in there, while the Czar could put a man in Siberia for looking cross-eyed at him. They said that the Russian people must establish a railroad system to tap both of its coal deposits and immense oil lands before they would put a cent of their money in it.

And mark you this was stated time and again, within the past five years, thus showing how far advanced the 26 Broadway capitalists were in their understanding of the situation in the benighted Russias.

France can't command any long-time financial aid from our capitalists, because she has a low birth rate and an ever increasing death list. So, from a Wall Street standpoint, she is on the downgrade. Financiers don't put it in just the way I do, but that is the essence of what they say regarding the French Republic.

Italy has never been able to get much money from America, except to move her olive and kindred crops. The only sections of Italy that Wall Street has been interested in for several years is the Pope's strongbox. This now contains large in-

vestments in U. S. Steel and in many railroad and industrial shares, if "insiders" in the financial district are correctly quoted. When Morgan the elder lived it was common property in New York, that after every Peter's Pence collection, the "Sub-King of America," as the old man was dubbed, invested the proceeds in some dividend-paying stocks for the "Master of the Mother Church."

Ever since Austria took a large slice of Italy the moneyed men of this country have refused to consider the "Sunny Country" a good investment. And then again, the syndicalist movement with all that it portended was not the making of a good investment.

As far as Wall Street is concerned, its relations with Austria-Hungary and Turkey have not at any time in recent years been heavy. Turkey is a factor only in that the Russian wheat crop is now tied up in the Turkish ports, which seem almost impossible for the Dreadnaughts of the Allies to break through. The release of these vast stores of wheat into the hands of the Allies, would at this stage of the war be very serious for the German allies, more particularly for the Fatherland, since crops there have not been good.

Financiers here are very much interested in footing up the army and navy budgets of the Allies and of Germany, and a table recently compiled shows the budget of the central powers to have increased in the past ten years from \$332,000,000 to \$753,000,000, an increase of 130 per cent. Within the same period the combined powers of France, Great Britain, Russia, Italy and Serbia have increased their army and navy budgets from \$851,000,000 to \$1,331,000,000, an increase of 56 per cent. Wall Street, following the same lines, figures that in normal times, the European countries now at war, spent in preparing for the fray two billion dollars annually on their army and navy, this sum being nine hundred million dollars more than was expended for the same purpose eleven years ago.

Besides, the gigantic amounts paid for maintaining the armies and navies of the warring nations, their combined debt was over eight billion dollars for the Germanic allies, an increase of over two billions since 1904. The combined debt of the powers led by Great Britain is now \$17,581,000,000, while in 1904 it was \$16,826,000,000. This means that during the past decade the governmental debt of the European belligerents has been increased by about three billion, or about 14 per cent, and the interest charges have been increased over \$200,000,000 per year. Today, financiers estimate that Great Britain is now spending for war purposes about \$15,000,000 a day. Expert statisticians have figured out that if the value of life, destroyed property, and loss of production is included, the total direct and indirect cost of the present war will reach the stupendous figure of almost fifty billion dollars yearly.

How much the above figure means can be better realized if we know that at the European wars carried on during the last century cost only seventeen billion dollars, or considerable less than the actual cost of one year of the present warfare.

Wall Street is very much interested in what is being done by the different countries to finance the war. And in this connection it is calling attention to the enormous increase in the circulation of and deterioration of the various moneys of the warring nations. All of the mediums of exchange of these troubled countries have already begun to show quite serious declines; for instance, England's equivalent to an American dollar has fallen in value a third over two cents. That is, for every dollar's worth of goods bought in America today by John Bull, he must pay \$1.024, besides the usual profit exacted by the merchants. In its dealings with J. P. Morgan & Co. the British government, besides making up the deficit in the regular coin, has also to pay the banking firm a commission of two per cent. That this is a very serious loss can be figured out when it is remembered that Great Britain is purchasing millions of dollars worth of commodities, etc., in America's market and the tendency is from present outlook towards still lower figures.

All of England's allies are in the same position regarding a curtailing of their dollar's purchasing power. France is now forced to five francs and 65 centimes to buy one of our dollars, whereas normally five francs and 18 1/2 centimes are required. Russian currency has also begun to slump badly in an international sense and the money of Italy is in a state almost bordering on absolute demoralization. Never in the history of the affected countries have their monies suffered such slumps, and almost daily new low records are being reached. Predictions are being made by foreign money experts that if the war lasts until next September all the warring countries will be on the verge of bankruptcy.

Germany, during the past week (of July 1), has begun to show for the first time that she, too, is weakening, since marks dropped to 81 1/4 or nearly 19 cents off from its normal parity with the American dollar.

The Fatherland has been an increasing seller lately of all American bonds it could possibly get rid of, and financiers are of the opinion that it is the forerunner of a big war loan almost immediately. That our country's bankers think the situation—in the only terms they think in, dollars and cents—

(Continued On Page Thirteen)

# Ten Years of The I. W. W.

ON THE 7th day of July, 1905, a convention of some 186 delegates, some coming as individuals, and the others representing various labor bodies throughout the United States, had just about completed its ten days' labors, and had given a name and a definite setting to a certain more or less vague tendency in the American and the world's labor movement. The name was the Industrial Workers of the World, and the tendency it sought to express in definite form was the growing aspiration for industrial democracy—visualizing the complete control of industry and society by the producing class.

For some years prior to the assembling of this convention, many reasons for the definite planting of such an organization, had been suggesting themselves to various active spirits among the American working class—for instance: the growing power of the employing class in contrast to the very slow advance of the existing craft unions; the many defeats of the workers in different industries due to inferior organization; the apparently losing struggles of independent unions like the Western Federation of Miners; and above all, the vision of a new society, wherein the toilers should become complete masters of the means of life and labor—the vision of a new system of production for use and social well-being, in place of the existing system of exploitation for the private profit of a small class of parasites. The two leading ideas of the new movement were expressed by one of its promoters in a sentence something like this: "It must be founded upon the class struggle, and develop into the economic organization of the working class."

It is not my purpose to point out in detail the errors and illusions obtaining among the rather motley delegation of varied social theorists who appeared to dominate the smaller number of practical or experienced unionists, at the first I. W. W. convention. It was natural, where nativist socialists whose chief experiences had been outside the actual struggle in the workshops and who, moreover, were divided into two hostile groups, rubbed elbows with trades unionists of the old types, and others who had taken part in the struggles of the American Railway Union, the Western Federation of Miners, the Knights of Labor, and other historic labor organizations—it was natural that there should be much confusion of thought and purpose. And so there was, resulting in errors of structure and tactics fastened upon the new organization, hampering seriously its development and necessitating painful readjustments later on.

But, without enumerating these details, which the limits of this article will not permit, we cannot doubt that the basic principles of the I. W. W. were sound; and the ten stormy years of its existence have in that respect amply justified the wisdom of the first convention. The organization started out with a bold and unmistakable recognition of the class struggle: "The working class and the employing class have nothing in common," were the opening words of its Preamble. The conditions that now confront the working class can be changed 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—a most comprehensive declaration of working class solidarity.

Thus, INDUSTRIAL unionism was, for the first time, formulated scientifically—not as a question of structure only, but with the necessary accompaniment of revolutionary purpose and methods. The challenge was hurled not only into the teeth of the employing class, but also at those "normal" trade unionists who had, some consciously, some unconsciously, been most potent allies of the masters in keeping the working class divided; as well as at the "political saviours," who would have the labor movement place its destinies in their incompetent hands.

And the challenge was accepted, almost from the start. One after another, in the first few years, and all in a bunch, the last few years, the I. W. W. has encountered these various opponents in a struggle in which no quarter has been asked, or given. The enthusiasm of the first year turned into a bitter struggle of two factions, following the 1908 convention. Former officials, deposed by that convention, seized the Chicago headquarters by force, and held on to the property and records of the organization, compelling an entire new start by the majority that supported the convention. This controversy raged for about a year, only to be succeeded by a still more bitter and harrowing conflict over the question of "political action," which was finally brought to a head in the 1908 convention, by the elimination of the political sectarians and by the amending of the Preamble, cutting out its ambiguous clauses. This controversy, combined with the widespread unemployment following the panic of 1907, had seemingly well-nigh destroyed the I. W. W., and our enemies then formed the habit (which still persists) of congratulating themselves on the "demise of this utopian movement."

The battery of choice phrases turned upon the I. W. W. at this period, would fill a new slang book. But this readjustment, on the contrary, proved to be the real beginning of the I. W. W. Freed from the incubus of sectarianism, it began to take interest in the actual work of organization. The great steel car workers' strike at McKees Rocks, Pa., in 1909, resulting in a victory within six weeks, demonstrated the fighting efficiency of the new or-



By B. H. WILLIAMS

ganization, even when dealing with a great body of unskilled workers, without previous experience in unionism. That fighting efficiency was subsequently tested on a still more conclusive scale in the Lawrence and Paterson textile strikes of 1912 and 1913.

At about the same period, another interesting development was taking place in the West. I refer to the so-called "free speech" fights, a unique form of "direct action against the state." In different Western cities, laws or ordinances were at times deliberately passed to interfere with or prevent entirely the meetings of labor organizations on street corners. Previously, such ordinances had been tested in the courts, and after long and expensive procedure, were either upheld or declared unconstitutional. In the fall of 1909 in the city of Spokane, Wash., such a law was passed, as an obvious move to prevent the I. W. W. from carrying on its agitation. The local at that place, aided by its organ, the Industrial Worker, issued a summons to all I. W. W. rebels everywhere, to come to Spokane, to test the ordinance openly by attempting to speak on the corners, and to fill the city jail to overflowing, if necessary, until the obnoxious and discriminating law should be repealed. The result was a bitter fight, lasting some three months, in which 500 men and women were jailed, several members killed, nearly all others beaten up at different times between them and a large number having endured the pangs of a hunger strike. Finally, following a lull in the fight, a threat to renew the battle later on, brought the Spokane authorities, who had expended over \$20,000 in their war upon the I. W. W., to a readiness to compromise. A conference between them and a committee representing the I. W. W. brought the fight to an end, resulting in the I. W. W.'s being allowed once more to use the street corners for meetings. They have never since been molested in that city. This Spokane free speech fight, probably more than any other previous event, tended to emphasize the theory of "direct action" and to cause its general acceptance by I. W. W. men. Many subsequent free speech fights only strengthened the theory, against which there has not since appeared any possible reaction. In fact, "direct action" is now taken for granted in I. W. W. circles, as the general method of labor's campaign against the employing class and its governmental allies. In the specific form of sabotage, direct action is now being advocated and made use of, even in individual cases of persecution, in lieu of the more costly and less effective methods of court procedure. But it will not do to say that the I. W. W. has not given the "indirect method" of legal chicanery a fair test also; the organization has raised at great sacrifice and paid out to lawyers many thousands of dollars for "legal defense" in its ten years of existence. But the conviction is growing, that this cost should be charged in future to the account of the masters themselves—by direct action on the job, in cases of attempted or actual persecution.

This ascendancy of direct action in the I. W. W., following the historic Fourth convention, and the McKees Rocks and Spokane fights of 1909, resulted naturally in bringing over the heads of the membership the wrath and execration of all "political saviours." The fossilized socialists, promulgating a small sect under the name of the Socialist Labor Party, with an extra "mail box in Detroit," and whose propaganda had been reduced to a series of cut and dried "revolutionary" formulas, were unable to coin phrases against the I. W. W. fast

enough to suit their well-developed taste for "billingsgate." They did, however, succeed in evolving a few choice epithets, which have since been borrowed and used with little variation, by other hostile elements. The "direct action" propaganda carried into the Socialist Party also, and resulted in a bitter controversy between two elements, finally culminating in the famous "Section 6" clause in the S. P. constitution, which forbade the advocacy of sabotage by any member of the party. The triumph of the "yellows," as they were called, seemed to result in taking out of the S. P. propaganda what little revolutionary "tang" it formerly possessed. The "soul now seems dead within."

"Political saviours," however, were not the only hostile elements stung into action by the propaganda and the direct action of our organization. The Lawrence strike of 1912 brought the I. W. W. suddenly into the limelight. The magnificent solidarity of those thousands of textile slaves, coupled with stupid and brutal police methods, helped to bring the name and the idea of the One Big Union into every city and hamlet of the United States. Employers of labor everywhere became alarmed. Then and there began, on their part, one of the most relentless campaigns ever carried on against a labor organization in this country. The economic master sent in the I. W. W. the greatest menace that had so far appeared, to threaten their social supremacy. All the mouthpieces of the capitalists took up the cry, repeating the phrases which craft unionists and political socialists had previously mouthed, and adding new ones of their own. According to reliable evidence, the corporations also spent much money in various localities, to bribe and stool pigeons, wherewith to prevent the One Big Union from getting a foothold in organized form. The arrest of Ettor and Giovannitti during the Lawrence strike, on the fake charge of "accusing before the fact" was not merely a move to break the strike. It had also as its objective, to draw attention away from the organization of the textile industry. At the same period, and for months afterward, the steel trust spent thousands of dollars to keep the I. W. W. from spreading to the Pittsburgh district. The Illinois Manufacturers' Association formulated a resolution, "Viewing with apprehension the rise and development of the anarchistic and un-American I. W. W.," and sent out warning circulars regarding the I. W. W. to all the merchants and manufacturers of that state. All over the country, I. W. W. organizers were arrested on trumped-up charges, or for crimes committed by tools of the employers, such as Ford and Suhr, for instance, in connection with the riot in the summer of 1913 in the hop fields at Wheatland, Calif., which was caused by drunken deputy sheriffs firing into a peaceful assemblage of men, women and children. Two officials and two hop pickers were killed in the fight; and Ford and Suhr subsequently convicted of the murder which they admittedly had nothing to do with, and sentenced to life imprisonment. All over the country, in press, pulpit, court, jail, and in the inner sanctuary of the employing class itself, a universal conspiracy of the ruling class to destroy the Industrial Workers of the World, was in evidence, and is still in evidence. The I. W. W., comparatively insignificant as to numbers, but founded upon the rock of the class struggle, and relentlessly pursuing the methods of that struggle in its daily routine; moreover, through its form of organization, summoning the working class to industrial solidarity—had become a "national force," as one observer described it.

Nor did the I. W. W. lie down in the face of this storm of capitalist oppression, following the great Lawrence strike. On the contrary, it went right on, developing its revolutionary tactics and program. Ettor and Giovannitti were freed from the clutches of the textile owners, by one of the most effective campaigns of agitation ever carried on in this country. The demand for the release of Ford and Suhr was carried in the season of 1914 into the hop fields of California, and the action there is said to have caused a loss of at least one million dollars on that year's crop. While the Ford and Suhr case is still hanging fire, waiting for a pardon from the governor of California, the merry work of the "Sab Cat" goes on. "Direct action on the job" is the answer of the I. W. W. rebel to the desperate attempts of the masters and the lackeys to destroy our organization by "legal" chicanery and by open violence.

"Ten years of the I. W. W." cannot be adequately outlined even, in an article as brief as this must necessarily be. Suffice it to say, then, in conclusion, that no matter what may be the particular task engaged in by our organization—whether it be the carrying on of strikes of unskilled workers; the waging of fights for freedom of speech; the conducting of legal battles in the courts; the use of direct action tactics on the job; the lining up of the unemployed to demand rather than merely beg for the chance to exist; or the many other forms of activity—looking to the complete organization of the working class—the I. W. W. has demonstrated its efficiency as a fighting organization. It has very much to learn in the line of sustaining its attacks; in following up its advantages; in establishing firmly its organization. But, like the particular task of the proletariat, which it typifies in these respects, the I. W. W. will learn these things in time, and the complete undoing of the capitalist system, and the planting in its place of the Industrial Commonwealth—the next logical step in social evolution.

# My Impressions of the Witnesses and Their Testimony

By FRANK P. WALSH, Chairman U. S. Commission on Industrial Relations

AMONG the thousand witnesses who have appeared before the Commission, two stand out prominently before my mind's eye. One is William D. Haywood, the rugged intellectual, with his facility of phrasing, his marvelous memory and his singularly clear and apt method of illustration. The other is George H. Speed, who spoke of the aims of the I. W. W. and the woes of the itinerant worker while before the Commission in San Francisco last August.

Haywood testified before the Commission for about three hours. In that time, through questioning and in recital, he was dragged forth and back upon an exhaustive examination of the history of the Western Federation of Miners. There was before me a history of the organization. Throughout the questions, Haywood answered, never once missing a date, a number or deviating in the slightest detail from the written data of the body. There flowed from him a constant stream of philosophy; coolly and calmly, he went through an ordeal that few men could withstand without breaking; patient under a cross fire of questions, gentle under an examination which sought to pick a flaw in an organization which is equivalent to his soul. Haywood, of course, was fortified by a lifetime of study; by years of association with thinkers, by the bracing of a long period of initiatory labors, by countless arguments and by an ease peculiar to speakers alone.

Because of these advantages which Haywood has enjoyed, Speed remains in my mind by contrast. With none of the advantages of extended education, he talked like the philosopher he is. While to the unthinking mind his views may appear destructive, there was underneath it a sincere and lasting love of mankind, a judgment of fundamentals and a Socratic calm, that added much to his appearance and gave force to his ideas. His bent shoulders, his seamed face and the blazing, unquenchable light in the eyes of a true fighter warmed one to this taken, but never insincerely so. There was too much breadth, too friendly a tolerance, too universal a feeling and too cheerful an acceptance, even while fighting them, of the obstacles in the way of the worker, to believe that he had done less than consecrate all his energies to the betterment of mankind, according to his views.

His philosophy, personal and professional as a member of the I. W. W., showed plainly in his testimony. For that reason I may be pardoned for giving some of it here. Mr. Speed had told of his work as a lumber jack, of how employers had succeeded in reducing wages in logging camps by forcing workers to bid against each other for jobs.

Disagree with the Speeds if you will, but contact with men like them, with their wholesome earnestness, their very appearance seeming to embody a



FRANK P. WALSH

lifetime of sacrificial struggle and rugged resistance to wrong, cannot but be beneficial.

He spoke of unemployment: "I believe under present conditions the unemployment problem is an unsolvable problem. I believe the only thing the unemployed worker can do, as they have nothing to lose but misery and they are up against it and everybody's hand is turned against them, is committing some petty offense and make the state look after them. This Commission, nor any other Commission, cannot solve the problem that is confronting the world. There are two economic classes (labor and capital) whose interests are diametrically opposed and between the two classes the struggle must and will go on. In that struggle there is no compromise, nor arbitration, nor anything that can solve or settle it; either labor has to come into its own or go down."

"Political power is a reflex of economic power. Those who control the economic power of a state control its political power. This migratory working class has no political power or influence. The only political power it can possess is a thorough, compact organization and forcing its measures upon that part of the people who control their lives by controlling their industries. There is no equality before the law, no justice in the courts. I hold this, that the best law made, was made by labor itself. The building trades like we have in this city have an

eight hour law, a Saturday half day law; they don't have to go before some court and establish that law or go into court and inquire if it is constitutional. The legislatures are the places where the members of the prosperity classes can get together and pass their laws. I hold it is to the interests of the unions to organize and in their unions make their laws and enforce them on the job. There are two warring classes and each should have their own Parliament. They should make laws and enforce them to the best of their power. Power, in the last analysis, determines everything."

A member of the Commission asked Mr. Speed if it is not to the interest of Labor that we have industries. He replied:

"Well, labor is capable of running enterprises; give it a show."

"Do you think that labor, and labor alone, without capital, could start and run enterprises?" he was asked.

"What is capital but unpaid wages?" he retorted.

"Could you start an industry without capital?"

"No," he replied; "we have got the industries. All we want to do is to take hold of them and run them."

"Is it my understanding that your philosophy is to go out and take possession of industry?"

"When we get the power; certainly," Mr. Speed replied.

"No matter whether it is against the law of the land?"

"Yes; the fellow that owns the property makes the law and consequently he makes the law in his own interest. And that is against me and if I obey it, I cut my own throat. In other words, any act of the working class that will in any way conflict with or destroy the material welfare of the property owning class, that is, of necessity, an illegal act in the eyes of the property owning class. And when we see strikes and we see men out on strikes, what do we find? We find them jailed the same as they were jailed in Aberdeen. We find they hire 200 field detectives to beat men up, to arrest women because one protested against a man getting beat up. They have kidnaped men and the chief of police stands looking on. Now, that is the law from their viewpoint. They have the power to make the law, likewise they must have the power to break the law when it is convenient to their economic interest."

"Well, then, summing up your philosophy, Mr. Speed, it really amounts to this: that in your opinion might makes right?" he was asked.

"It certainly does make right," he replied. "Sentiment, feeling, emotion, all those things are very fine, but it stands to reason that the fellow who has the big club swings it over the balance. That is life as it exists today. How can a man without anything make law? We (labor) are a commodity that is bought and sold like a sack of spuds."

## The Onward Sweep of the Machine Process

By NILS H. HANSON

IN THE good old times, when the machine was just beginning to come in to do the work done by the human hand, it happened something like this:

### THE PAST

Mr. Jones is a shoemaker employing 100 men. Mr. Smith owns another factory employing the same number of men. In both these factories the shoes are made by hand. No machines are used. Every bit of leather is cut by hand, and every stitch made by hand. All polishing is done by hand, and one man makes the whole pair of shoes. He takes the piece of leather, cuts it, sews it, puts it together, and finishes the shoe. He gets hold of more leather and makes another pair, and so another and another. He keeps it up, fitting, nailing, sewing, and brushing pair after pair.

There are no big factories. Most work is done in small shops, and by individuals, one or two or a few men perhaps being hired. This holds good not only in the process of making shoes, but also in other lines of work. We see the dressmakers and the tailors sitting sewing clothes by hand, with a few men or women helping them, besides some apprentices learning the trade.

In these days there is no machinery at all. We hear no factory whistles blow; no trains send their shrieks through the mountains; no street cars clang; and no trucks rumble along loaded with the necessities of life. Transportation is done by horse teams. Everything is done on a small scale. Most stores are small mixed stores, about the size of the country grocery of modern times.

### A CHANGE

But while everything is going on so slowly, and the people are living quietly, there comes the invention of machinery. Someone, for example, saw it was easier to turn a rock with a bar than by hand. He began to figure whether or not that couldn't be used to a larger degree in different walks of life. The idea spreads out and like wildfire it seems to be apparent most everywhere at once. Instead of the old horse back methods, stages, and the

slow transportation, trains are beginning to run and the factory whistle blows.

Instead of making shoes by hand the machine comes in to do the greater part of the work. And, to use the illustration we started with, Mr. Jones, having a trifle more cleverness than his rival, installs some machinery. He rubs his hands with delight on finding that with the machine he won't need more than half of the men he now employs. The machines in his factory, he lays off fifty of his men, because he can now get as much work done by fifty as before by a hundred hands. Also he can make his shoes cheaper than can that other fellow, Smith. He can put down the price of shoes and still be able to pay for all the machinery he has bought. So he sells his shoes at a lower price, and gains more customers. Smith sees this, begins to scratch his head, and finally decides that in order to keep up in competition he also has got to install machinery. So Smith buys some machines and lays off about half of his men also.

Mr. Jones and Mr. Smith both have now installed machinery, which, put together, displaces 100 men. With 50 men each they are able to make just as many pairs of shoes a day as they used to do with a hundred, and to sell their product cheaper and still make more profit.

### THE RESULT

So we see that those two shoemakers alone, lay off 100 men. Each one still has 50 men working for, say \$2 a day. As time passes, and the 100 men outside can't find any work—because machinery is coming in rapidly in other branches of work also, and consequently men are being laid off everywhere—some of these 50 who used to work for Smith come to him and say: "Mr. Smith, I want some work. I've got a wife and some kids depending on me, and we've got to live somehow. If you'll only give me a chance to work again, I'll work for 25 or 50 cents less a day than I used to."

Smith's face begins to shine, because now he sees a chance to make more money yet. He sees a chance of cutting the wages. So after he has his scheme worked out he walks over to some of those working

for him, saying: "Boys, I have a proposition to make. I've got to have this work done cheaper; I can't pay you more than \$1.50 a day, and I can't use anybody who won't work for that."

This causes some of the men working for him to quit. As they leave, Smith opens the window, waves his hand to some of those fifty he laid off when the machine came along, and tells them if they want to work for \$1.50 all right, if not, he can't use any of them. Some of them are already so hungry they eagerly shout at the top of their voices that they will work for \$1.25 a day, if only given a chance.

Over in Jones' shop the same thing is happening. So now we have the wages down to \$1.50 and \$1.25, and still more men are outside ready soon to work for a dollar a day. Then something happens: Someone gets an idea into his head that if that keeps up, pretty soon they won't get any wages at all. So he proposes that, in order to uphold their interests, those outside the factory get together with those working in the factory.

And thus we have a union in embryo. The men begin to realize that if they want to live they will have to get together, all of them, and by so doing, force their employers to pay them something for their work.

### THE MASTER'S METHOD

The above may not be exactly as it did happen, when the machinery came, but it is an illustration that holds good in general.

Since that time machinery has been improved; instead of the small individual workshop we have today the modern factory employing thousands of men and women. But the conditions created by the first machines, still exist—although today we don't see the slaves in fifties or hundreds only outside the working places, but by the thousands, hundreds of thousands and millions. Today they are standing outside the shops, factories, mills and mines, the same as the fifty, where the first machine factory whistle blew. And as machinery began to become dominant in society, those owning this machinery

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# Is the I. W. W. All-Sufficient for the Workers Needs?

By VINCENT ST. JOHN

IN THE beginning, carping critics questioned the necessity for the existence of the Industrial Workers of the World.

It would be a waste of time and space to specify all of the sophistries that have been made to pass as argument by the opponents of the organization.

We have been derided as impracticable, immoral, unnecessary, unethical, dishonest, and devoid of ability, knowledge, or any other attribute necessary to justify our existence.

Hundreds of pounds of paper and printer's ink

of events, the opponents of the organization now grudgingly admit that the organization on the lines proposed by the I. W. W. is necessary—but—say these professed friends of the workers, it is not all-sufficient, it does not cover all the needs of the working class.

It is their claim now that the I. W. W. can only function to advance the shop interest of the workers. While it is admitted that this is an important item we are reminded that there are other and, according to some, greater problems confronting the human race.

Social problems such as the care of the aged, the sick, insane, infirm and the criminal; general sanitation and hygiene; cultivation of art, literature, and the sciences; the development of education; the abolition of race and national antagonisms; the adjudication of disputes between individuals; the promotion of enterprises and inventions—in short, the whole gamut of human endeavor is cited to prove that the I. W. W. does not and cannot meet the requirements needed to usher in the new order of things.

Once again our critics, friendly and otherwise, are wrong.

Were these objections voiced only by the mouthpieces of the ruling class, their source would be sufficient answer to the allegations. When they are voiced and repeated by alleged revolutionists, radicals and semi-radicals they cause confusion and dissipate time, energy and resources that otherwise would be employed to bring about the abolition of the wage system.

In answer to our critics we assert that the shop question, so far as the workers are concerned, is THE important question, and furthermore it is the problem that must be solved before any solution of other questions is possible.

With the control of industry passing over into the hands of the workers organized on class lines, as proposed by the I. W. W., the care of the aged and sick in each worker's family will be possible without the assistance of public institutions. The care of those who are without family connections will be arranged for by the industrial organization providing institutions that will readily care for the inmates.

In the care of the insane the industrial organization will take over the present day institutions and convert them from places of horror into establishments operated for the comfort and well being of the unfortunates placed therein. It is also to be noted in this connection that most of the insanity prevalent today comes from the unnatural conditions brought into existence as a result of the wage system. With the abolition of the wage system it will not require many generations before insanity will be a rare disease.

As most criminals, like the insane, are a by-product of the wage system, it will only be necessary for the industrial organization to create an opportunity for employment for all, and the criminals will disappear from society. Those derelicts who are a heritage from the present system will be provided for by taking over the penal institutions by the industrial organization and converting them into sanitariums for the treatment of members of the human race whose characters have been warped in the struggle for existence.

The problem of sanitation and hygiene will, for the most part, settle themselves as the organization of the workers is able to increase the income of the workers. When the organization is in possession of the required resources, the medical profession can and will be organized for the purpose of handling such matters on a comprehensive scale

wherever necessary.

Only when the organized workers have obtained control of industry will it be possible for art and literature to reach their fullest and freest development. Then none will have to smother their talent or curb their pen in order to cater to a ruling class. The genius will be able to provide for his or her material wants by a few hours spent in productive labor and still have more time to devote to cultivation of his or her talents than they now have. The scientist will be able to follow his bent without having to fight starvation and the false scientists who are attempting to pervert science to the interest of a ruling class.

When the industrial organization is firmly entrenched in the industries the work of organizing and educating the educators on class lines will be taken up. As the educators are organized the educational problem of the future will begin to approach a solution.

The antagonisms between races and nations can only be abolished when the idea of class solidarity has been accepted by the workers. In the task of promoting that idea the I. W. W. is the only organization that is meeting the needs of the times.

Disputes between individuals and interests will for the most part disappear with the wage system. For such as arise the industrial organization can and will provide the necessary machinery to settle the same with as good or better results than any other institution.

With the organized workers in control of industry the inventive genius of the human race will be enabled to blossom forth as never before in the history of mankind.

The sum total of human wants may be summed up under five general heads: Food, clothing, shelter, education and amusement.

No one can gainsay that under existing conditions the workers' access to these necessities depends entirely upon the power and efficiency of their organizations within the industries in which they are employed. Not alone as to its power to decide the hours, wages and conditions governing while at work, but also on the ability of the organization to provide an opportunity for all to be employed on terms that will guarantee them the wherewithal to procure these necessities.

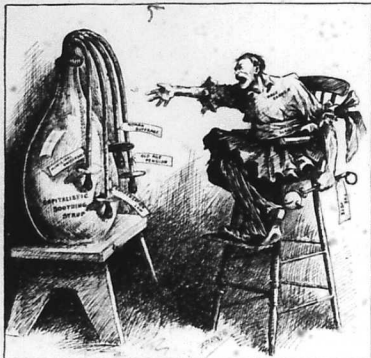
Today the wage received determines what kind of shelter the worker will have; it determines the neighborhood where that shelter is located; it says what the quantity and quality of the food consumed by him and his family shall be; it sets the standard of the amusements that they can enjoy; and it says whether the children shall be well educated, poorly educated, or not at all.

If under the present system the workers' organization within the industries is THE factor that determines the degree of physical comfort and mental relaxation for the worker, does it not follow that after the workers have secured control of industry their organization will provide them with all the necessary machinery to handle the problems of the new society? The conclusion is logically sound, and furthermore is demonstrating its correctness day by day.

For the workers the task is to secure control of industry. Organization on the lines of and with the principles of the I. W. W. is the only method that will accomplish that result.

Let us devote our entire time and energy to the upbuilding of an organization powerful enough to function in our interest, and its sufficiency is assured.

Organize! Educate! Build well the foundation of the new order, and the victory will be ours!



Drawing by Frank Barnes

## The Nursing Bottle

have been used to scatter vituperation and misrepresentation about the organization and its active members.

Thousands of dollars have been spent by the employers to defeat and disrupt the organization and prevent its growth among the workers employed in the various industries.

Detective agencies have used the I. W. W. as a bugaboo to scare indifferent employers into becoming clients.

Thousands of members have been jailed and many of them murdered in the effort to stop the progress of organization and education among the workers. With ten years of history to our credit the need for the I. W. W. has been emphasized beyond the possibility of doubt in the minds of all who have given the labor problem careful study.

The form of the organization has proved to be in accord with the march of industrial progress. Its principles have proven sound, and its tactics have been demonstrated to be efficient.

Even in defeat these facts have been further emphasized. In every case where the workers have not been victorious the loss of the struggle has occurred not because the methods of the I. W. W. were faulty, but because the organization was not financially or numerically strong enough to generate the power required to apply the tactics needed to win the struggle; or, as in some cases, the workers involved were not educated up to the tactics advocated by the organization.

Driven from their former positions by the logic

## Why We Are What We Are

By HARRISON GEORGE

FELLOW workers of the ONE BIG UNION, let us congratulate ourselves.

On our tenth birthday let us say why we have lived thus far, what we are doing, and what our goal.

Born of a developing machine age, suckled by Poverty and Want, we have lived because we have recognized that concentrating capital functioning through the wage-labor system is expropriating the mass of workers by maintaining a gross inequality in the distribution of labor's products.

We, the I. W. W. stand on our two feet, the CLASS STRUGGLE and INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM, and coolly say we want the earth, the WHOLE EARTH.

Realizing that in the struggle we cannot succeed while having enemies through-out our ranks, we have made a proletarian organization for proletarians only.

Would you realize what this means? Look at the wreck of the Socialist International, gone the way of all political movements who welcome for numbers sake, a motley assembly of proletarians, bourgeois and semi-bourgeois.

Is there any doubt but that what shreds of industrial revolt remain of the Socialist movement of Europe are the instinctive utterances of a prole-

tariat, sans flag, sans home, sans country; forced into war by pot-bellied semi-bourgeois parliamentarians; traitorous lack-als for the workers and bad pets for our own household.

Without wasting too many tears over the spilt milk, I will venture to say that if the so-called Socialist strength of the Germans had been massed on the INDUSTRIAL FIELD with the militant principles of the I. W. W., God would have changed His mind about "forcing the sword into the Kaiser's hand" and the unspeakable damnation war brings to the workers would have been avoided.

The above is reason enough for ONE BIG UNION to counteract reformist tendencies of supposed working-class leaders in America. Instance: Comes Mrs. Chas. Edward Russell (in The New Review, which says there are many of like mind) moving that the Socialist Party discard the Class Struggle and Class Consciousness!

Is it enough, fellow workers when I say to such leaders and intellectuals, "Go ye in sack-cloth and ask forgiveness from the charred little ones of Ludlow; go stand behind the penal fring squad that will immortalize Joe Hill—GO?"

Shall more be said why ALL workers should join the I. W. W., an organization admitting no feeble-

(Continued On Page Eleven)

## Up From Your Knees

By R. H. CHAPLIN

(Air: "Song of a Thousand Years")

Up from your knees, ye fawning serfmen!  
What have ye gained by whines and tears?  
Crush ye the Beast of greed and power—  
Crush him or serve a thousand years.

### CHORUS

A thousand years—then speed the victory!  
Nothing can stop us or dismay.  
After the winter comes the springtime;  
After the darkness comes the day.

Break ye your chains; strike off your fetters;—  
Beat them to shavings; forget your fears.  
Fools! they can never break our spirits,  
Though they should try a thousand years.

Join in the fight—the Final Battle;  
Welcome the fray with ringing cheers.  
These are the times all freemen dreamed of—  
Fought to attain a thousand years.

Over the hills the sun is rising,  
Out of the gloom the light appears.  
See! at your feet the world is waiting—  
Paid for with blood a thousand years.



RICHARD FORD

**S**UCCESSFUL defense of industrial prisoners of war must be on the job. While the battle for the freedom of Ford and Suhr has been waged in the courts, hope has been placed only in action at the point of production. In reviewing the Wheatland affair this point must be kept in mind.

Three thousand people were gathered upon the Durst Ranch, Wheatland, August 3, 1913, to pick hope. Gov. Hiram W. Johnson, of California, has publicly described the filth and misery of this ranch as beyond the power of the English language to tell. Rebellion against such conditions was natural and certain.

When this revolt against inhuman surroundings took shape the authorities replied by a planned raid upon the strikers by a drunken band of deputies accompanied by the district attorney of Yuba county. Four men were killed. Dozens of men, women and children were severely wounded. One deputy was taken from a saloon in Marysville, where he had been engaged in a drunken carouse for the four previous days. This man was killed. Another, Lee Anderson, a hop head, fired the first shot, without provocation, without responsibility and until now without rebuke from any legal power. Anderson caused the deaths and wounds of Wheatland. Henry Dakin, another drunkard, claimed the honor of the first shot, but in this glory the evidence of the case disappoints this would be mankiller.

When the Wheatland tragedy occurred, Gov. Johnson was visiting in Los Angeles. These killings happened about six o'clock in the evening. Before seven o'clock Gov. Johnson had ordered out the militia. In Sacramento, the I. W. W. local got out a banner, "Let the Militia Pick the Hops." Police chased this placard from the streets.

Dick Ford and Herman Suhr remained with the strikers until the morning of August 4. Five companies of militia were then on the ground. Ford then left for Winnemucca, Neva, and Suhr went to his home in Stockton.

When the militia took charge other posses of deputies came upon the ground. Even in that early dawn there was a cry from all the scissorbill ranchers for the arrest and hanging of Ford and Suhr. They were condemned even then. They were already convicted. Ford had counseled against the slashing down of the hop vines. This was used against him at the trial as evidence that he had conspired to murder Ed. Manwell. Suhr was recognized among the strikers only once and on that occasion secured from the commissary a loaf of bread for an old rheumatic striker, but Suhr signed a telegram to the San Francisco Bulletin, asking that a photographer and a reporter be sent to the strike. He also asked the surrounding I. W. W. locals to send men and money to the Wheatland strike as women and children were there starving. For these things Ford and Suhr are in prison for life. The hop head who fired a shot amid a packed crowd of women, children and men is free to kill and maim again and again, so long as his efforts are directed against the working class.

Immediately after the militia arrived Yuba county, through Bonehead Stanwood, the then district attorney, engaged the services of the Burns' Detective Agency. Every jungle for a hundred miles around Wheatland was combed for weaklings, who might be relied upon to give state's evidence under the gentle persuasion of the Burns thugs. About thirty men were arrested. All of these were tortured. Some were carted around the country, sweated in Santa Rosa, Sacramento, Martinez, San Francisco, Fresno and Oraville. One man, Allen M. Johnson, became a troublesome witness for the prosecution to have on their hands. With the active connivance of Judge E. P. McDaniels, who tried the case of Ford and Suhr, Johnson was sent to the Stockton insane asylum. That he was a healthy, normal man is shown by the fact that he was released within a month. His evidence, however, was useless to the defense because the judge who sent him to the insane wards was the judge who sat at the trial of Ford and Suhr.

Eight men were arrested on the field of Wheatland on August 4. These were held in Marysville jail until the last week of September without permission to see a single friend.

While these things were acting, an I. W. W. speaker, August 7, was challenged in the Sacramento Plaza, at a public meeting, as to whether the I. W. W. would give these men legal defense. The answer

## Ford and Suhr



By MORTIMER DOWNING

was prompt. Fourteen dollars was collected at that meeting. Upon return to the I. W. W. hall, Sim Rowell, James McCarthy and Mortimer Downing were appointed as the "Hop Pickers Defense Committee," with full power to act. None of these men were better known than the humblest of the prisoners. There and then began the struggle. Whatever mistakes that committee and their successors in office made, there was laid the foundations upon which the I. W. W., the A. F. of L., the Socialist party and unorganized labor gathered and fought as a solid body.

Omitting the details of the two weeks sleeplessness of Suhr and his two months ordeal under a picket band of Burns thugs, the beating of men, the death in the Yuba county jail of Nels Nelson—hanged with a pillow slip—a pillow slip in a jail and a jail so filthy that it was condemned by the state board of health, and all the other ghastly tales of the prosecution, this story will be confined to the actual defense. It was at once seen by the committee that the only chance for the men was to get a change of venue or a trial in another county. Judge E. P. McDaniels and District Attorney Edward Bonehead Stanwood filed affidavits in their own court, that they were unprejudiced and unbiased and could give the prisoners a fair trial. Judge McDaniels went so far as to say that he must consider the expense to Yuba county and a trial elsewhere would increase the cost.

In these circumstances the committee built up what legal defense it could, but always kept in mind that the only real resource of the working class prisoner of war is the solidarity of the workers. It was on this broad basis that all labor gathered and that this case has become classical.

On January 12, 1914, the trial of Ford and Suhr, with Beck and Bagan, began in Marysville. To show the feeling of the county it may be stated that W. H. Carlin, the special prosecutor hired by the governor through the attorney general, asked for the acquittal of Beck and Bagan. On the first ballot of the jury the vote was nine to three for conviction of Beck and Bagan. Bagan was accused and identified as the I. W. W. secretary of the strikers. He could not read or write and proved that he was not present, yet the vote was nine to three for conviction, simply because he was arrested among those accused of having aided the strike.

### THE ACTION ON THE JOB.

When this legal farce was concluded, January 31, by the conviction of Ford and Suhr for murder in the second degree, labor was prepared for the natural program of the I. W. W., economic pressure upon the governor of the state and all scissorbills for the Freedom of Ford and Suhr. It was the cry of the committee, the soapboxers, all unionists that the conviction and imprisonment of Ford and Suhr would cost the masters more than the ransom of a king. How well this program was acted is shown by the fact that the 1914 crop showed a loss to the masters of more than a million dollars.

Ford and Suhr and their three thousand fellow strikers were gathered haphazard from the four corners of the earth. Ford and Suhr were convicted of conspiracy. This committee planned a noisy, defiant conspiracy. They preached, advocated and taught sabotage openly and rebelliously. Ford said, "Don't slash down the hop vines," and received hot lead and a life sentence. This committee showed how by the use of chemicals to make hops stink worse than a polecat, how to diminish the crop of future years by sowing Johnson grass and wild morning glories, how to do anything and everything which would hit the boss in the pocketbook, and no man went to prison for more than thirty days and only four were ever arrested.

At Wheatland, when the army of gunmen came out with pick handles, the little body of pickets came upon the line at the next formation with three foot saps of gas pipe. These thugs were good.

There was no massacre, there was no third degree in 1914 as there had been in 1913. Some I. W. W. men say the program of 1914 was "too dangerous." Results are the things that count.

When the plans of the defense committee brought things to the point where the I. W. W. warriors were to take the picket line, some question came up as to the duties of the committee. It was claimed that the committee should have had a defined program of action. It was decided and lived up to by



HERMAN SUHR

the committee that its duties ceased absolutely when the men went on the line; that the actual fighters should not and ought not be hampered by commands from a committee or any other persons whatsoever; that only the men on the line can decide the tactics of battle. These pickets of 1914 came away from Wheatland without the loss of a man and they inflicted a million dollar loss to the hop growers, as compared with 1913 and another million dollar loss in the fact that the most bounteous hop harvest ever known was only half gathered. Let 1915 show a better result. That is the hope and wish of every I. W. W.

Some comment should be made on the legal defense. Lewis and Royce were the attorneys selected by the defense committee. Austin Lewis, as his first contribution to the defense, brought over \$500 from the state convention of the Federation. This was the first substantial sum which came to the committee. No other man than Austin Lewis could have got that money. Lewis was always hand and glove with the I. W. W. program of industrial defense. It has been suggested that a Marysville lawyer should have been hired. None other than W. H. Carlin had a look in to free the prisoners, and the experience of the P. G. and E. strikers with local legal talent in Marysville was then fresh in the minds of the committee. These strikers lost two of their men to the penitentiary through the efforts of Marysville legal defense. W. H. Carlin was the only man who could have freed Ford and Suhr legally and Gov. Johnson had hired him for the prosecution early in August, before the defense committee had a hundred or even fifty dollars to spend. So much for legal defense.

In round figures the I. W. W. defense committee handled about \$5,000. About \$800 of this sum was devoted absolutely to industrial defense, the expenses of gathering the picket line, of bulletins, postage and clerical work and feeding the men actually at the battle front. To show how readily the heart of labor responds to the right call it may be stated that when the pickets left Sacramento to take their places at Wheatland there was less than \$200 in the treasury. H. C. Adams was detached from Sacramento and sent to Oakland and San Francisco. Every day as it was needed San Francisco and Oakland trades unions supplied the meal tickets of the men on the firing line. About \$800, used for industrial defense, caused such a stink that Gov. Johnson has taken up the case of Ford and Suhr and has his ear to the ground now for the rumblings. He will get them.

This story will appear just when the hop pickers are gathering in the various fields. Let us make 1915 the banner year. Although hundreds and thousands of I. W. W. men have gone to the middle west harvest this year there are other hundreds who remember Ford and Suhr on the job. This year's program has not cost a cent. All the work is voluntary. The boycott is still on the hop fields. It has been extended also to the canneries and all reaching. Loss of profit will help free Ford and Suhr. They were sent to prison as conspirators. They must be freed by giving the bosses a dose of conspiracy.

There were other funds besides those used by the Hop Pickers Defense Committee. Contributions were made to the International Workers Defense League of San Francisco. These were used to aid the Hop Pickers Defense Committee and for valuable publicity, especially in the case of Edward Glazer, the sixteen-year-old boy who was kidnaped at the orders of Edward Bonehead Stanwood. Austin Lewis also received personally a fund of about \$1,300 dollars, which he named the Hop Pickers Appeal Fund. These have all been accounted for outside of the I. W. W. The point is, however, that \$800 spent upon economic defense did more than all the thousands paid the lawyers.

Let us all work toward a ground where the workers will rally as workers to defend the men taken from their ranks as terrorizing examples. Action on the job is the watchword. Action on the job is the lesson the Hop Pickers Defense Committee started out to teach. Its membership was obscure, the victims were unknown, but the case of Ford and Suhr has been bulletined on the New York Stock Exchange, and written about in all languages. It will attract more attention. Sabotage! Turn the cat loose. Sabotage! Until Ford and Suhr are free. Sabotage! when any worker is held in the bastilles of the enemy.

# The I. W. W. Call to Women

By ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN

**I**N THE tremendous process of merging all groups of labor into a unified whole; of infusing their humblest daily struggle with the sense of a great ideal—industrial freedom—women are as vitally concerned as men. But the I. W. W. the instrument through which "the world for the workers" is taking concrete form, makes no special appeal to women as such. To us society moves in grooves of class, not sex. Sex distinctions affect us insignificantly and would less, but for economic differences. It is to those women who are wage earners, or wives of workers, that the I. W. W. appeals. We see no basis in fact for feminist mutual interest, no evidence of natural "sex conflict," nor any possibility—not of present desirability—of solidarity among women alone. The success of our program will benefit workers, regardless of sex, and injure all who, without effort, draw profits for a livelihood.

I have seen prosperous, polite, daintily-gowned ladies become indignant over police brutality in the Spokane free speech fight of 1909, and lose all interest—even refuse to put up bail for pregnant women—when they realized that the I. W. W. intended to organize the lumber, mining and farming industries, whence the golden stream flowed to pay for their comfort and leisure.

Yet more horrible a glimpse into the chasm that divides woman and woman is afforded by the blood-thirsty approval of the Ludlow massacre by the "good women" of Trinidad, Colo. (See "Masses," July, 1914.) Mrs. Northcutt, wife of the lawyer, said: "There has been a lot of maudlin sentiment about those women and children. There were only two women and they make such a fuss!" Mrs. Rose, wife of the superintendent of the coal railroad, said: "They're nothing but cattle! They ought to be shot!" Mrs. Chandler, wife of the Presbyterian minister, said: "The miners probably killed the women and children themselves, because they were a drain on the union!" and, "They ought to have shot Tikas to start with!" This is the Greek leader who had over thirty bullets in his body and his head laid open with the butt of a gun. The solution of labor troubles agreed upon by a dozen representatives of women was "Shoot them down."

The "queen in the parlor" has no interest in common with "the maid in the kitchen"; the wife of the department store owner shows no sisterly concern for the seventeen-year-old girl who finds prostitution the only door to a \$5 a week clerk. The sisterhood of women, like the brotherhood of man, is a hollow sham to labor. Behind all its smug hypocrisy and sickly sentimentality loom the sinister outlines of the class war.

## ECONOMIC INDEPENDENCE

Fifty years ago earnest advocates of woman's rights were demanding "economic independence." Today Olive Schreiner, in her book, "Woman and Labor," expresses woman's need "for our share of honored and socially useful human toil—labor and the training and education apportioned to it." It is applicable to an insignificant group of white-handed idlers, whose life consists of pleasure-seeking to counteract ennui; but it is meaningless to eight million women wage earners and the innumerable housekeepers. Women have been engaged in useful human toil since the dawn of time. True enough, much that once was "woman's work"—spinning, weaving, churning, etc.—has been absorbed by the factory system. The old division—men doing the outdoor and women the indoor tasks—ended with the advent of the power-operated machinery. But woman was not to sit idle. Rather, as far as possible and inevitable that she should follow her work and take her place with man, at the factory gate; 21 per cent of the total employes in the U. S. are women, 45 per cent of the total in England.

The private ownership of industry and the propertyless status of labor, becomes a common problem. But entering the industrial arena later than her brother, she is under the disadvantage in common with the immigrant, of being compelled to work cheaper to secure the job. Hunger, want, scarcity of work, drives all workers to accept an ever lower standard, and women the lowest. In England, under the higher civilization, men die to defend the average wage for women is seven shillings a week; in the United States less than \$7 a week. In New Jersey 83,000 women average \$6.50 a week; in Lawrence, Mass., mothers are toiling for \$3 a week; department stores in New York city pay from \$2.50 to \$7; box, paper, handkerchief, garment factories pay as low as \$3. Whatever superficial semblance of sex hatred appears, is due, like "race hatred," to the struggle for the pay envelope. The woman worker is no freer from "masculine domination," even though self-supporting, while mercilessly exploited by an employer; and the fundamental unity of interest between her and her brother is to organize as a class, **STANDARDIZE WAGES, AND REDISTRIBUTE EMPLOYMENT, THROUGH THE SHORTER WORKDAY.**

## THE SACRED HOME

Ancient illusions die hard, and one of the most hoary is "the sanctity of the home." But a visit to Lawrence, Mass., would bring rapid disillusionment. The golden dream of youth, that marriage brings release from irksome toil is rudely shattered by the capitalist system. Whole families toil for a living wage. The heaviest burden is on the tired frame

of the woman. Child-bearing and housework, remain. Pregnant women stand at the door until the labor pains commence. A few weeks after, the puny babe is left at a day nursery with amateur "nurses"—with the result that 300 babies out of every thousand born, die in the first month. The gutter is the baby's playground, and amid the deafening clatter of the looms the mother's heart is torn with anxiety about her children. Miscarriage from overstrain is common, and unscrupulous doctors secure exorbitant sums to perform abortions, that the women may keep at work. But to tell these women toilers how to control birth is a states prison offense in the United States; and they die, 25,000 yearly, from operations. The burden of family, added to the day's mill work, means that while father smokes his pipe and takes his ease, mother has to handle machinery, and their tender forms pass for legal age, they too, are fettered to the in a table



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looms. Tragic indeed is the lot of the woman toiler! Her youth, her love, her home, her babies are "ground into dollars for parasites' pleasure."

## PROSTITUTION

Hardly more attractive is the lot of the young girl toiler, who sells beautiful articles she is denied, who weaves delicate fabrics she never wears, who makes fine garments and shivers home in winter's snows, with barely enough to cover her nakedness. Full of life and spirit, craving enjoyment, good clothes and youthful pleasures—is it any wonder that when resistance is weakened by hunger, many in despair sell their sex to secure what honest effort denies them; 350,000 prostitutes in the U. S.; 20,000 added every year, five per cent of the total working group (although all do not come from that source) is a staggering condemnation of our present society.

"Starvation or prostitution?"—how many girls last winter, with three million unemployed in the land, were compelled to face that question?

The I. W. W. relies upon the organized power of labor to sweep away such nauseous conditions. White slaves investigation, rescue houses, etc., help a hundred, but the juggernaut of industry crushes a thousand. The department store owner is the largest procurer today and the fresh, youthful faces of our daughters and sisters should spur us on to break his power. **POVERTY**, the root of all crime and vice, must be destroyed and labor be free to enjoy the plenitude it creates. Carefree childhood, flowering youth, happy homes, are denied to countless girls who work in the textile towns of the East, and the boys driven into the migratory life of the West, and will be until industry is owned by labor and adjusted to the happiness of the toiler.

## THE I. W. W. APPEAL

The I. W. W. appeal to woman to organize side by side with their men folks, in the union, that shall increasingly determine its own rules of work and wages—until its solidarity and power shall the world command. It points out to the young girl that marriage is no escape from the labor problem, and to the mother, that the interest of herself and her children are woven in with the interests of the class, and to both that this industrial **ENFRANCHISEMENT** is possible for all, women and children, citizens and immigrants, every nation and color.

## WOMEN AND THE CRAFT UNIONS

Where a secluded home environment has produced a psychological attitude of "me and mine"—how is the I. W. W. to overcome conservatism and selfishness? By driving women into an active participation in union affairs, especially strikes, where the mass meetings, mass picketing, women's meetings and children's gatherings, are a tremendous emotional stimulant. The old unions never have considered the women as a part of the strike. They were expected to stay at home and worry about the empty larder, the hungry kiddies, and the growling landlord, easy prey to the agents of the company. But the strike was "a man's business." The men had the joy of the fight, the women not even an

intelligent explanation of it.

Never does a bricklayer or street carmen's union have a woman's meeting. So the women worry and wait, and weaken the spirit of the men by tears and complaining.

## WOMEN AND I. W. W. STRIKES

Women can be the most militant or most conservative element in a strike, in proportion to their comprehension of its purpose. The I. W. W. has been accused of putting the women in the front. The truth is, the I. W. W. does not keep them in the back, and they go to the front. Mothers nursing their babes, stood in the snow at the Lawrence common meetings. Young girls, Josephine Liss, Hannah Silverman, were flaming spirits in Lawrence and Paterson. Hundreds went to jail, with a religious devotion to the cause. The miners' union have followed the example of the I. W. W. and in Calumet and Colorado, women played as gallant a part as men. The spirit becomes infection when solidarity is a reality, and sex vies with sex, nationality with nationality—in courage and devotion.

## WOMAN'S PLACE THE HOME?

A familiar query is, "What effect would the democratization of industry have on the family?" The I. W. W. is at war with the ruthless invasion of family life by capitalism, with the unnatural and shameful condition of a half million able-bodied unemployed men in New York city alone, last winter, yet there are 27,000 children under 16 years of age in cotton mills in the South. We are determined that industry shall be so organized that all adults, men and women, may work and receive in return a sufficiency to make child labor a relic of barbarism. This does not imply that mothers must work, or that women must stay at home, if they prefer otherwise. Either extreme is equally absurd. House work will probably be reduced to a minimum through the application of machinery, now more costly than the labor of women—but the care of children will remain an absorbing interest with the vast majority of women. The free choice of work is the I. W. W. ideal—which does not mean to put women forcibly back into the home, but certainly does mean to end capitalism's forcibly taking her out of the home.

## GLIMMERINGS INTO THE FUTURE

Exact details of the readjustment of human relations after an economic revolution cannot be mapped out. The historical destiny of our times is to establish industrial freedom. What mighty superstructure our progeny will rear upon our work, we can only vaguely prophesy.

But in the "Vision of the World and all the wonder that will be"—we glimpse that economy—but independence, without wage slavery will restore woman's ancient place in the councils of the people—the mother can joyfully bear and rear her child, secure that the accumulated riches garnered in the upward march of humanity, will be lavished upon him.

To the cynic the I. W. W. are "dreamers of idle dreams," to the beneficiaries of plunder, "a menace to society"—to those who cannot see beyond the barbarities of the past "chaos and disorder"—but to the women, who have lived, struggled, suffered, triumphed with the I. W. W. for ten years—it is the mighty arm of labor, cleaving a path to peace and freedom. Ever hopeful, our faces towards "the city at the other end of the road," our spirit for the future is well-worried by the poet:

"Thus drifting afar to the dim-vaulted caves,  
Where life and its treasures are laid;  
The dreamer may gaze while we battle the waves,  
And see us in sunshine or shade,  
Yet, true to our course, though the shadows grow dark,

We'll trim our broad sail as before,  
And stand by the rudder that governs the bark,  
Nor ask how we look, from the shore."

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