



## HAYWOOD SPEAKS ON INDUSTRIALISM, THE COMING VICTORY

(Special to Solidarity.)

New York, Feb. 22.  
Last night was a gala night for industrial unionism in "Little Old New York." The occasion was the great ball of the Brotherhood of Machinery, the particular cause was "Bill" Haywood's lecture on "Industrialism, the Coming Victory of Labor." The Brotherhood of Machinery is a secession from the International Association of Machinery, with pronounced industrial union tendencies. "Bill" is known by almost everybody, so he needs almost no describing. Those who don't know him will find some statements regarding him a little further on.

### Chairman Lackey Explains B. of M.

"Bill" was introduced by Robert Lackey, the able general secretary of the Brotherhood, near the close of an enjoyable entertainment. Despite the break in the round of applause, he was intensely listened to for over one hour. Lackey, in his introduction, said:  
"Many organizations would be proud of the size and character of the gathering assembled here this evening. It is larger than that of our last affair. We shall make each succeeding assembly still bigger. Our organization is an organization with ideals as well as principles. It stands for the brotherhood of man as well as the Brotherhood of Machinery. Its purpose is educational as well as ameliorative and emancipatory. Its upholds and grants the floor to all men engaged in educating the working class to a sense of its own interests. To-night it represents one who is too well known to need introduction; one who occupies a place in modern labor history; and who will be remembered long after whatever we may say or do here this evening has been forgotten; a man who is so great because he stands and strives for an ideal; the solidarity of the working class; a man who gives the great pleasure to introduce, William D. Haywood."

After the generous and long continued applause had subsided "Bill," who had just come from Detroit, threw himself into his subject, showing the folly of craft unionism and the necessity and inevitability of industrial unionism. Said Bill, in

part and substantially.

**Profers Rebels to So-called Leaders.**  
"I have come a long way to be with you this evening. No doubt had I chosen another course and so preferred, I would have been at another machinists' affair (referring to the rival ball of the I. A. M., also held last night) I would have been honored by the A. F. of L. and mentioned in the press with praise, as a member of the executive board of the Civic Federation. I prefer, however, to be with you machinists, the Brotherhood of Machinery, because you are rebels. You have dared to revolt even against the tyranny of labor leaders, who stand in the way of progress. [Long applause.] It is my fate to be ever with the radicals, and the rebels, and the undesirable citizens generally; so I prefer to be with you than with others. [Laughter and applause.]"

### Causes and Evils of Labor Divisions.

Continuing "Bill" said:  
"I regret division in the ranks of labor. But I think that it is often justified and will be vindicated by the victories of the future. The strike of machinists in the Santa Fe railroad was lost because of division in the ranks of labor. The various railroad brotherhoods interceded in behalf of the machinists' organization. They were asked if each of them did not have a contract with the road, and if it were not being carried out according to schedule. When compelled to answer in the affirmative, the management then told the brotherhoods: "Live up to your contracts; we'll attend to the machinists." And it did, so effectively that there is not a union of machinists on the Santa Fe system to-day; it is run on the open shop plan. It was the same in the strike on the Rio Grande." That also has been attended to.

Bill then proceeded to develop his argument more closely.  
"The evils of division," said he, "were seen and appreciated by members of the International Machinery, who instituted a series of referendums for the purpose of obliterating them as much as possible. One was to extend the scope of the organization, so as to include helpers; the sec-

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## DIDN'T STEAL A TRAIN

But I. W. W. Crusaders Got Through All Right and Are Hearing Freedom.

(Special Correspondence.)

The following letter was sent to Solidarity by Fellow Worker Thomas Whitehead of Seattle:  
Hornbrook, Calif. Feb. 19, 1911.  
I guess by this time that one doing has been given publication to some extent, in the capitalist press. We were 150 strong when we left Portland. Now the capitalist papers say that we held up a train, which is a lie. All we did was to get into an empty box car, just as any ordinary thief. It was so well managed that no railroad ball or police knew we were in the yards in Portland, and we were well away.

We were met by the police at Albany Oregon, when we talked to, told them where we were going, and what we were going to do.  
One big fellow, the mayor or something, sent the first news to the press of "Armed Mob, etc.," which was a day lie, as we were all searched every day by our own police.

When we got to Junction City, (put it on the map) we were met by a mob of respectable citizens who were armed with guns, pitchforks, cleavers, etc. They boarded the train, and told us not to get off the train, and with guns pointed in our faces, we just laughed at them, told them what we were, and what we were going to do, using the top of a box car for a soap box, which made them look very small indeed.

We then went to Roseburg, had some supper, which we paid for, held a street meeting, told the people what we were doing, got a collection with all the good wishes from the people of the town.

Next we got to Ashland, got off the train, and had a jungle breakfast, which we paid for. When we got off the train we were told that we could not ride any farther, and as walking was good for a change, after breakfast we started to walk toward the Siskiyou Mts. We arrived at Stemas that evening, and spent the worst time of our lives out on the mountains.  
Next we got to Siskiyou after walking over the mountains, and fought all the grub that was in the town, and had a jungle feed again. Two men were sent ahead to California to make arrangements to cross the line.

Arrived Hornbrook, we were met by the sheriff and all his deputies; explained our mission, told who we were, what we stood for and got a great reception, the town people, many of them, "bought" us a room, out, gave us about \$30.00 worth of grub, which was not asked for, enough to feed 150 men two meals. The police and others took up the subscription list, with the above result. The whole town was swarming with state police, deputies, etc.

We sent a letter to the Industrial Worker but don't know if it got through. If not, send a copy to the Worker, Solidarity and every paper you can get it published in.

I am sending this through a friend of the movement, trusting you will do your duty at that end of the line.  
Yours for free speech and the eight hour day.  
Signed by the whole bunch at Hornbrook.

### WRENSHO

**Joseph O'Carroll, Local 85, Chicago.**  
Fighting for no dm abstraction,  
Fellow workers, tried and true;  
Never sinking to inaction,  
When you think your presence due.  
Counting not the cost of fighting,  
But with tongue and arm and brain,  
Doing all you can towards righting  
Others wrongs, and not in vain.  
Not with any loud rejoicing,  
Nor for any sympathy;  
Unions aim forever voicing,  
As we pay the penalty.  
Though they brand you thief and hebo,  
As they throw you in their jails;  
Just remember this in Fresno,  
Tyranny will not avail!

For the hiring and the lackey,  
And for all of those they serve;  
Give us a burning in your affray  
From our path we'll never swerve.  
For the slave, and for the master,  
We shall end the way he began;  
And you'll suffer the disaster  
That you suffered in Spokane."

## INVASION OF CALIFORNIA

Free speech! Again the distant call heard  
Ere I forward to the scene of fray;  
E-ach to speak the living vital word!  
S-tep lively, for we come to win the day!  
N-o petty tyrants, none can gag our speech!  
O-nward! One more lesson we must teach.

—B. L. WEBBER.  
"Invasion" may sound like an odd word, but it expresses the fact just the same. From different sections of the country come reports that the I. W. W. is preparing to invade California, with a view of showing the thick skulled officials of Fresno that the good old "free speech" clause in the U. S. Constitution still has some meaning when backed by the organized sentiment and power of the militant workers.

This I. W. W. invasion is something new in the political history of the United States. The regulars and volunteers that are recruiting in different sections for the march on Fresno do not bear arms. Yet they have corps or divisions with duly chosen captains, and are moving in regular order to an objective point of attack. They are illustrating on a small scale the discipline and concerted action that must characterize any successful movement of a large body of men.

Yet there is nothing compulsory about it: the discipline is self-imposed. These men do not have to undertake the hazards of a three thousand mile journey across mountains and deserts, without money and without price, simply to demonstrate a principle and to help their fellow workers in Fresno. Yet they are doing that very thing. Why? The future will answer that query; meanwhile let our rulers puzzle their brains over it if they wish. The invasion is a fact.

Speaking of this body of free speech crusaders, a fellow worker writes from St. Louis: "They are the pioneers, who are blazing the way, fighting on the outskirts, in the battle for working class supremacy. Some philosophers, muckhead politicians, hot air merchants, fatalists, optimists and pessimists, even though they are wage workers, misery howlers and muckrakers, are not in the camp of the 'revolutionary industrial army' of the working class."

### St. Louis Divisor.

The St. Louis "Globe Democrat" of Feb. 26, states that an "army of 100 unemployed men, consisting of three members of the Industrial Workers of the World and 97 sympathizers," left their quarters, 509 Market St., at 8 o'clock yesterday afternoon to march on Fresno, Calif., and take part in the free speech query to be made there by the Industrial Workers.

"When the army reaches Kansas City

the number will be enlarged to about 800. By picking up the unemployed along the route the marchers expect to number more than a thousand when they reach Fresno. They say they cannot be arrested, as their number will be too large and the city of Fresno will be unable to provide for them should they be arrested, and this would cause the taxpayers to protest at the expense of feeding them."

### Denver Also Recruiting.

The Denver Post of Feb. 20, says: "In Denver the recruiting is going on under the leadership of W. C. Smith of 715 West 11th Ave. Already about 20 members of the union have given in their names, and Smith has received numerous applications from sympathizers with the cause asking that they be allowed to join in the huge army of protest. By the spring of the year, when the army is scheduled to start for Fresno, 5,000 men will be recruited. If they cannot beat their way on the railroad, the members of the army have announced their willingness to walk."

### Invasion From the North.

Elsewhere will be found a statement from the I. W. W. men who were reported to have started a train in Portland, Oregon two weeks ago, but who simply took a line on foot. At last reports this division was approaching Sacramento, the state capital, about 200 miles from their destination.

Carl Brown who claims to be the originator, organizer and ex-chief marshal of the celebrated "Cowboy Army" of 1893, sends us some clippings from the Sacramento "Union" of Feb. 21, which states that Brown has been holding a number of big street meetings in that city, at which he obtained good collections for the relief of the I. W. W. invaders on their arrival from the North. Brown was at first refused a permit to speak by the Sacramento authorities, but he enlisted the aid of the Building Trades Council, and through its intervention he was enabled to secure a permit.

### No Compromise in Fresno.

The following despatch from Fresno, Feb. 20, completes the story to date. A conference of 115 I. W. W. prisoners in the county jail here, held this morning, resulted in a rejection of the compromise offered by the city in the fight now being waged by the street speaking ordinances. By the terms of the compromise, the I. W. W. is to be allowed to speak on county property within the city. The industrialists announced that they will continue their fight indefinitely.

On with the invasion!

## STRIKE OFF IN FIVE SHOPS STILL ON IN FOUR BIG SHOE SHOPS

(Special to Solidarity.)

Brooklyn, N. Y., Feb. 27.  
In the report on the strike situation in the local shoe industry last week, it was stated that nothing but starvation would drive the I. W. W. men back to work. Since that report was written a part of the strike has been declared off for the very reason given.

After putting up a brave fight for fourteen weeks several hundred shoe workers, poverty-stricken, and on verge of starvation, are driven back to work. During the strike there were very few breaks, if any, in the ranks of the strikers. But the moment came when the workers could not any longer stand the lack of starving themselves and their families, and the strike in five of the shops involved has been called off.

Though generously supported by some, they have received very little support from the organized workers of the country as a whole, and many labor unions have turned a deaf ear to appeals of the hungry men. The average benefit the strikers received amounted to 60c to 65c a week, and this, largely, accounts for ending of the fight.

But the fight is not over yet. About 800 men are still out from other shops, and the financial aid of those in sympathy with oppressed workers is needed.

The calling off of the strike of the five shops was discussed at a meeting of the general strike committee and Strobeck's.

An official statement was given out which reads as follows:  
"The strike has been declared off in the shops of Geo. W. Baker, J. Albert & Son, Arside's, Latamann & Strobeck's. As regards the other shops, the men are still holding firmly, and if they are given more substantial support than they have gotten in the past, they will be encouraged to hold on to the fight to a successful termination. These men are sent back beaten, will be mostly because the workers generally did not realize the import of the

struggle and failed to stand properly by their fellow workers in battle.

Funds are needed and needed at once. They are needed for five doubly:  
1. The action of the general strike committee centers the strike in the principal shops.

The strike is still on against Wichart & Gardiner, Atlantic and Schenectady avenues; J. & T. Cousins, J. M. Dodd and Griffin & White, Brooklyn.

The spirit of the men involved has been remarkable. They have cheerfully endured the hardships of partial starvation, enmity of officials of a rival union, and brutality of the police.

The men return to work without any conditions being exacted from them. All are practically re-employed. Scabs are leaving because they find piece work bad for them.

The trial of Frank Buccafferi has again been adjourned for three weeks. Funds are badly needed for the defense of this case. Buccafferi killed a brutal foreman at the factory, and his defense will be made by the Bosses' Association to persecute Buccafferi to the full legal limit. He will be murdered judicially, if possible, in order to create a condition of abject submission in the slave shoe shops of Brooklyn. Let every reader of this report send action and aid Buccafferi's defense, morally and financially. Send in donations for the defense of Chas. Linanfante, 10 Troy avenue, Brooklyn, N. Y. Mark in closure, "For Buccafferi's Defense."

Other legal cases are pending and funds are also required to see them to a successful end.

"Industrial Shoe Workers' Union No. 168 held a well attended meeting last Saturday evening at Jackson Hall, 889 Kent Ave., Brooklyn, N. Y., where it now meets regularly each week. It has opened permanent offices at 10 Troy Ave., Brooklyn, N. Y. Send all funds there.  
BROOKLYNIAN.

## WORLD OF LABOR

The world of labor is interested in the railroad rate decision of the Interstate Commerce Commission. This decision affects labor in so far as it will be made the excuse for wage reductions and retrenchments, which impose more work at less pay on labor. The railroads claim that both are necessary, in order to make conformity to the decision possible. The decision itself, however, proves that at the prevailing rates, the railroads cannot pay advanced wages and dividends, but also enormous profits to allied interests controlled by the financiers at their head. Under the circumstances, railroad employees should prepare to resist wage reductions. They should prevent this decision from not only militating against themselves, but against the working class generally, for there is a movement afoot to reduce wages in general, a movement which the railroad rate decision will help immensely—if the workers permit. Serve notice on the capitalist class that labor is getting tired of having everything taken out of its side.

The argument in favor of reduced wages generally is put forth by a Pittsburg firm of brokers in a letter to its customers, as follows:

"The fall in prices of many commodities since mid-summer is merely recognition of a natural law. It is likely to work

considerably faster, and labor, by sharp reductions in costs of living, can afford to accept lower wages."

This argument would be amusing if it were less sinister. Declines in prices have been so slight as to be hardly felt. Housewives declare that butter and eggs are the only commodities in which reductions are noticeable. In other respects, prices have climbed up to heights where wage could not follow. The history of prices that wages follow prices—always very much behind. So that instead of lowering wages according to imaginary price declines, wages should be increased until they conform to prices. Labor should organize to keep what it has got—and then add more and more to it until it gets all it produces.

It is not likely that labor will submit to wage reductions without a struggle. The boiler-makers are on strike in the New York shops at Cleveland, Buffalo, Depew, Springfield, Mass., Kansas City, Mo., and other points. The cause is the introduction of the piece-work system. Thousands of men are out; sympathetic and general strikes are probable.

At East Douglas, Mass., the grinders and polishers in the foundry of the Amer-

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# SOLIDARITY

OFFICIAL ORGAN PITTSBURGH DISTRICT UNION OF THE I. W. W.

P. O. Drawer 682



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### WATCH FOR YOUR NUMBER.

Each subscriber will find a number opposite his name on the wrapper enclosing SOLIDARITY. For instance: 63. That means that your sub expired last week, and you should renew. This is NUMBER 64.

### BUNDLE RATE

Beginning with No. 64, the first issue in March, the bundle rate of Solidarity will be increased to ONE AND ONE-HALF cents per copy. Canada bundle rate will remain the same.

### THE "DAILY SOCIALIST" AGAIN

Solidarity has just received a somewhat lengthy "bawling" from a Socialist Party member in St. Louis, protesting against our article in No. 60, under the heading, "Chicago Garment Workers Sold Out: A. F. of L. officials, Chicago 'Daily Socialist' and working class' politicians betray slaves of the sweat shops." Among other things, our St. Louis correspondent says: "I even took the trouble of reading the article, but I could find no substantiation of the headlines. Why anyone should feel free to make such ugly charges against men and women who have sacrificed much to help their fellows is not clear, to me, excepting from a knowledge of things as they are under-capitalism and which tend to make some persons abnormally bitter. Why use all this bitterness against those whom one ought to call comrades? Or is it right that you should abuse persons in a newspaper simply because you know that there will be no libel suit? Why this utter carelessness of the reputations of others? Why this recklessness in this furnishing of fun to our enemies who can only rejoice in reading the kind of things which you say about comrades?"

Were there no other testimony in support of the statements made by Fellow Workers Trautmann and St. John in their reports of the Chicago garment workers strike, some of our readers, and especially those biased in favor of the "Daily Socialist" (this St. Louis correspondent by the way is one of the active promoters of the Daily Socialist lecture bureau), might be justified in doubting some of the particulars and conclusions of our Chicago reports.

But as a matter of first importance, there is the Daily Socialist itself, in support of Solidarity's conclusions. That Chicago paper's silence at a critical juncture in the great strike, is not a matter for successful denial.

Nor has the Daily Socialist denied the charge against it in any particular, although its reputation is sadly sullied, by these very facts of its treason to the garment workers.

And now comes the "International So-

cialist Review" for March, with an article on the garment strike by Robert Dvorak, confirming in every important detail the previous statements in Solidarity, and adding important details besides. Dvorak was a Daily Socialist reporter, and covered the strike up to the time when he refused to be a party to the treason of A. F. of L. officials, when he was discharged by the board of directors of the Daily Socialist. In the "Review," Robert Dvorak speaks with the assurance and intimate knowledge that only a self-respecting reporter can exhibit. What he says, if not true, offers ground for more than one "libel suit" on the part of that editor and board of directors.

After explaining how Raymond Robbins, Mrs. Raymond Robbins, John Fitzpatrick and other A. F. of L. leaders tried to control his reports, Dvorak offers this bit of interesting information:

"Falling to induce me to write to suit the taste of the union leaders, the emissaries of the Federation League and the Women's Trade Union League took the last step. Miss Paschel, Eleanor Pesse and C. M. Madsen, all of them socialists, closely allied with the Federation through various positions, wrote letters to the Board of Directors demanding my dismissal. They claimed that by my reports I had angered union officials and undone the good work of many comrades who were endeavoring to prove to the organized world that the Daily Socialist was its friend."

Several meetings of the board of directors were held to consider Dvorak's case and the Daily's station. Finally, after some deliberation I was told that I had antagonized the Federation of Labor by what I had written, and that for the well being of the paper it was best that I be removed. I then told the board that if such was the case I had no desire to work for the Daily Socialist, as I never would twist facts to suit the "labor body."

Dvorak then reaches the point in his narrative of the strike where the Daily Socialist was silent, and where the fakirs got in their nefarious work of forcing a fake "agreement" with Hart, Schaffner & Marx upon the strikers, and driving them back to work and to defeat.

All this, and more, in confirmation of Solidarity's contentions.

What, then shall we say to our St. Louis correspondent's charge of slander and libel? That he has not taken the trouble to inform himself? Most assuredly that. But does he also illustrate the old saying, "There are none so blind as those who will not see"? If so, we dismiss him and his kind, claiming to be socialists, as unworthy of further consideration.

Solidarity does not publish such exposures out of a love for controversy; but because the workers need to be understood the part that MATERIAL INTERESTS play in every one of their struggles.

The editor and a majority of the board of directors of the Daily Socialist evidently considered the support of A. F. of L. officials more conducive to "the well being of the paper" than that paper's fealty to 45,000 garment workers in desperate combat with their masters (aided by those officials) for a few more crumbs. We do not share that view with the Daily Socialist.

On the contrary, we say, Better a thousand times the "paper should die, than be a time-serving coward in the face of reaction! So far as lies in its power, Solidarity will refuse to let any traitor to the working class hide behind the appellation of "comrade."

### THE EIGHT HOUR ACTION DAY

Portland, Ore., Feb. 13. Solidarity: We question the authority of any individual to change anything decided upon by representatives of 20 locals. But IN ORDER TO PREVENT FURTHER CONFUSION, we take it upon ourselves to change the date set for 8-hour action from May 2 to May 1, 1912.

Temporary Executive Committee P. C. D. O. E. S. NELSON. Sec. Pro Tem P. C. D. O.

Prepare for the eight hour day by distributing literature and getting subs.

### THE PRESS FUND

Again we must urge our readers and the local unions and supporters of the I. W. W. to renewed and persistent activity in behalf of the Press Fund. We have obtained a 30-days extension of time on part of the \$100 due Feb. 22 on the cylinder press. That must be cleaned up without fail in the next three weeks.

We have also just got next to an exceptional offer on a job press and paper cutter—exactly what we want—which can be obtained on the best possible terms. With this in our possession, we can begin turning out eight-hour and other literature at once. On account of this unexpected offer, we have reduced our recent estimate of funds needed from \$500 to \$300. If our members and supporters realize the importance of the present situation, we should get that \$300 inside of a month.

Get your lists out for donations. Send in your individual dollar to-day. Get it all the small loans possible. Please dig in as you never did before, and there will be things doing at this end in a few weeks. Send all communications and remittances for the I. W. W. PRESS FUND to Earl F. Moore, Box 682, New Castle, Pa.

### SPECIAL CLUBBING RATE

By arrangement with the circulation manager of the International Socialist Review a special clubbing rate has been made with that magazine. Both the Review and Solidarity may now be had one year for the sum of \$1.15. The subscription price of each by itself is \$1 a year. Here is a chance to boost the circulation. The Review each month is crammed with good stuff for wage slaves to know about, and treats as no other Socialist magazine does, of the subject of industrial unionism in its different phases. Its articles on the development of industry and the revolt of the slaves are particularly instructive. A specially prepared lesson in Economics by Mary E. Masey forms one of the regular and valuable features. Both papers at \$1.25 per year. Also don't forget the clubbing rate for the Industrial Worker. Both papers one year for \$1.50. Get busy, and fire in the subs.

### AS TO SABOTAGE

East Orange, N. J. Feb. 24. Editor Solidarity: Inclosed find check for new subscription to Solidarity. I have read every number from the beginning and don't want to miss a number.

Let me seize this opportunity to tell you that I have enjoyed your article on sabotage in answer to Comrade Brauns. Of course I did not intend the sentence which he quoted me to stand as a complete definition of sabotage. Anybody who know anything about the matter knows that this weapon of the working class takes on numerous forms.

I am not ready to express an opinion on sabotage. I have seen too little of it. This is one of the things that cannot be profitably discussed on a basis of general theories. As the thing seems to me now, the main question is, Does sabotage teach class solidarity? Workers who have seen it in operation assure me that it does.

They say that if a group of workers in a factory or on a railway begin to hinder the carrying on of the master's business, their mates soon begin to catch on. They have before their eyes a constant exhibition of class consciousness and cannot help learning from it. If that is true, what more is there to be said? Yours has no answer.

There for the revolution. Wm. E. BOHN.

### TO CORRESPONDENTS

Notices of meetings, change of headquarters, etc., must arrive here by the current issue no later than Tuesday night. We go to press Wednesday noon. When sending such notices in connection with financial matters, please write them on a separate piece of paper to be enclosed in same letter. In that way they will not be likely to get misplaced, and the editor assured of ignoring senseless. Please don't forget!

### THIS IS THE DOPE

Arlington, Wash., Feb. 19. Enclosed find postal money order of \$12 for 24 six months subs. F. H. FRANKLIN.

### THE MARCH OF THE HUNGRY MEN

REGINALD WRIGHT KAUFFMAN, IN "LIFE"

IN the dream of your downy couches, through the shades of your pampered sleep. Give ear: you can hear it coming, the tide that is steady and deep— Give ear, for the sound is growing, from desert and dunes and den: The tramp of the Marching Millions, the March of the Hungry Men.

As one the lean-limbed Spartans at Locris' last ascent, As William's Norman legions through Sussex Meadows went, As Wolfe assailed the mountains, as Sherman led the way From Fulton to Savannah—as they, and more than they; So comes another army your wit cannot compute, The man-at-arms self-fashioned, the man you made the brute, From farm and sweatshop gathered, from factory, mine and mill, With lever and shears and auger, dibble and drift and drill. They bear no sword nor rifle, yet their ladders are on your walls, Though the hauberk is turned to a jumper, the jambauk to overall; They come from the locomotive, the cab and the cobbler's bench; They are armed with the pick and the jack-plane, the sledge and the axe and the wrench.

And some come empty-handed with fingers garled and strong, And some come dumb with sorrow, and some away drunk with song, But all that you thought were buried are stirring and lithe and quick, And they carry a brass-bound scepter: the brass composing-stick.

Through the depths of the Devil's darkness, with the dust stars for light, They are coming the while you slumber, and they come with the might of Right; On a morrow—perhaps to-morrow—you will waken and den, and start, You will hand the keys of the cities to the ranks of the Hungry Men.

### "MINORITIES VERSUS MAJORITIES"

Above is the title of one of the essays in a collection published under the general title, "Anarchism and Other Essays," by Emma Goldman.

Rather than attempt a review of the entire book, which treats of the various phases of anarchist philosophy in a forcible and stimulating style, and without a trace of dullness—I have chosen this one short essay, as it appears to me to summarize one of the vital weaknesses in that philosophy.

The title of the essay itself suggests at once antagonism and separation of minorities from majorities. That is in fact the central idea of the whole chapter in Emma Goldman's book. It cannot be better illustrated than by the following quotation: "Power, authority, coercion, and dependence rest on the mass, but never freedom, never the free unfoldment of the individual, never the birth of a free society."

I reiterate the majority as a negative force for good, because I know so well that as a compact mass it has never stood for justice or equality. It has suppressed the human spirit, subdued the human mind, chained the human body. As a mass it has always been to make life uniform, gray, and monotonous as the desert. As a mass it will always be the annihilator of individuality, of free initiative, of originality.

The living vital truth of social and economic well-being will become a reality ONLY THROUGH the zeal, courage, the non-compromising determination of INTELLIGENT MINORITIES, and NOT THROUGH THE MASS. Capitals are mine.

The theory is by no means a new one. On the contrary, one might almost imagine himself in the times of Plutarch in ancient Rome, when the "lives of great men" sought to remind him that all the glorious past was the product of their courage and genius. Or again, one might pause on the threshold of the French Revolution and listen to Diderot and other philosophers descend upon the virtues of the "intelligent minority," while insisting with equal emphasis that the "masses must always be distrusted." Or yet again, one might imagine himself just awakening from a nap in the classroom of one of our modern colleges, only to hear some gray-whiskered theological professor of history(?) reeling off the "great man" theory of human progress.

Yet the theory is false, although it has admirably served the purposes of the ruling classes in all ages.

In his "Eighteenth Brumaire," Marx puts the theory of history on its feet, when he says: "Man makes his own history, but he does not make it at order; he fashions it out of the conditions surrounding him."

And one of the conditions surrounding the "intelligent minority" in any given historical period is that apparently "inert mass" without whose movement an advance step in social evolution is impossible. Take, for instance, one of the illustrations used by Miss Goldman in support of her conclusion above quoted. She refers to the pioneers of the abolition movement in America. We are told that "the true patrons of the black men were represented in that handful of fighters in Boston, Lloyd Garrison, Wendell Phillips, Thoreau, Margaret Fuller, and Theodore Parker, whose great courage and sturdiness culminated in that somber giant, John

Brown. Their untrifling zeal, their eloquence and perseverance undermined the stronghold of the Southern lords. Lincoln and his minions followed only when abolition had become a practical issue, recognized as such by all."

Her own illustrations in the words I have emphasized, disprove Miss Goldman's theory. Here we saw a few "dreamers, fanatics and idealists" setting for themselves a mighty task—the abolition of chattel slavery. Whatever illustrations they may have had in other directions, these men and women never conceived the idea that the mass was incapable of movement in that direction. On the contrary, they set resolutely to work moving that mass.

In 1820, Wm. Lloyd Garrison set up his little type stand in the heart of "cultured and conservative" Boston, and in his very first number of the "Liberator" announced that he would not retreat a single inch; and that he would be heard." Later he was mobbed by the "inert mass" dragged through the streets of Boston with a rope around his waist. Wendell Phillips, witnessing that incident, awoke to action; left his law books and his associates, and stepped down into the arena to face that mass and its time-serving leaders. He boldly attacked those leaders. "Whether the rhinoceros broke of a Webster or a Beaton," Phillips drove the harpoon of logic and invective; in his effort to res the rank and file and arouse them to action.

Economic conditions ripened, and gave wings to the forward movement of abolition. Finally, when Sumpter was fired upon, the people of the North were fanned to be thoroughly aroused, and they marched on the stronghold of slavery and overthrew it.

Did the little group of abolitionists overthrow chattel slavery? No; they assisted in the process, that is all. Without favorable economic conditions, which in conjunction with their agitation, led to the mass movement, chattel slavery would be still a time-honored institution in the United States. Abolition became a fact only when it was recognized as a practical issue by all.

So likewise with the revolutionary labor movement. The agitator who "repudiates" the working class as a "creative force for good" will in the long run only waste his or her energy. No matter how heartrending the task may prove at times, the MASS MUST BE MOVED. And it can only be moved when economic and social conditions are ripe for a forward movement. This is not a repudiation of the "great man" or the "intelligent minority" and the part they play in social evolution. But the main factors that make for progress are:

- 1. Ripened economic and social conditions, making a forward step possible. 2. Revolutionary agitators, who are the first to awaken to conditions, and who set about to move the mass, with the dauntless spirit of the pioneer in all progressive movements. 3. The movement of the mass, made possible through a combination of the above-named factors, and culminating in the desired social transformation. No matter how great his ability or untiring his devotion, the anarchist or other agitator who ignores social evolution by separating himself from or "repudiating" the mass, will find the results of his activity turned to ashes in his hands.

B. H. V. "Anarchism and Other Essays," Emma Goldman, with portrait of author and biographic sketch by Havel. Mother Earth Publishing Co., 55 West 28th St., New York, N. Y., \$1.10.

THE FIGHT FOR THE KEEL WORTH MINE FRESNO FIGHT LOOMING UP

BY WILLIAM THURSTON BROWN

Address delivered at Salt Lake City, February 12, 1911.

The afternoon Telegram of Monday and the morning papers of Tuesday deliberately tried to convey to the public mind of Salt Lake City and Utah the idea that the civil war had broken out in the coal camp at Kenilworth; that the Greeks employed in that mine were responsible for it; that they were encamped on the hills about the camp and there besieging the town; that the lives of the mine officials were in grave danger. Indeed, that was the exact impression which not only the papers of this city tried to create but it was an impression which Chief of Police Barlow and Sheriff Sharp also tried to emphasize. For they hastened to send all the thugs from this city that could be spared for the purpose of assisting the coal company in defending its property and the lives of its officers from the supposed bloodthirsty Greeks. We learned from these papers that a deputy sheriff by the name of Jackson had been killed, and that several Greeks had probably been shot. Out of the several columns of matter in the papers relating to the tragedy, the Greeks were not there nor had a dozen sentence even suggesting any responsibility on the part of the company. Instead of attempting to get a detailed statement from the striking miners and giving them the publicity which the rest, these papers took great pains to get a statement from Mr. Strevell, president of the company, who was not on the grounds at all and had no personal knowledge of the matter; and Mr. Frank Seifrit, who holds some position, I believe, on the Tribune, volunteered a statement in which he colored the truth to suit his made up of aims, and does not even suggest the possibility of anything good to be said in behalf of the miners. Mr. Seifrit is an excellent representative of capitalist newspapers. His statement is one of the best exhibitions of what capitalist news is worth I have ever seen. Mr. Seifrit does not have to do to Kenilworth. He doesn't have to go to the ground in order to tell the truth about the matter. He can manufacture the kind of news his paper delects to feed the people with a great deal better than he could get at home.

It is, of course, true that Mr. Seifrit and Mr. Strevell and Mr. Barlow well understand that the great majority of the public will accept as true the story they tell in the papers. These readers cannot make a personal investigation themselves. They try to get the real facts of the situation. And even if some one does do that very thing, he has no such chance to give the facts to the public as the company has. As a matter of fact, two investigations of the matter were made; one by the priest of the Greek church in this city, and one by myself. And I can give you the facts which these two investigations demonstrated.

Before giving you these facts, all of which came direct from the men who had been in that tragedy, I want to remind you of certain facts, principles which should be kept in mind always in trying to get at the truth of such a matter as this. The first must know something about the geology or the kind of mind of society generally regarding what happens in coal mines. It is not true that we have grown accustomed to the wholesale killing of men in this country. That very little attention is paid to such occurrences as these. The public mind is hardened to such facts. Practically no attempts are made to stem this terrible tide of horrors which is taking such a toll of life in our mines. The men who are killed are the most part, our mines. They are killed that nothing is to be done. No one any sense whatever is put on the human life of the coal which our houses in water, that cooks our meals, that furnishes power for our industries. That state of mind must be taken into account in the formation of any judgment as to the merits of this recent tragedy at Kenilworth. We must bear in mind that there is and always has been a marked indifference among the immediate beneficiaries of the coal mining industry as to the loss of life in the mines. We must remember that nowhere has the initiative been taken by stockholders or operating companies to safeguard human life either in the mines or on railroads or anywhere else in our industries. Wherever anything has been done to safeguard life in these places, it has been done at the instance of the workers themselves and AGAINST THE OPPOSITION OF THE OWNERS. That is history. And it is history which you will do well to keep clearly in mind.

In a word, it must be understood at the very start by any man who would know the truth about any trouble which occurs in our industries, that the absorbing concern of the industrial organization is not to serve the interests or happiness of the workers, but to get as big a profit from the business as possible. The Kenilworth Coal Company was not organized and is not run for the welfare of the workers but because its owners understand that large profits can be realized in that way. It must be understood, too, exactly how the profit is made; just how the profit is made in the present system, because the logical factor is the most important part of the whole process of finding the profit in a matter as this. We can understand how much of a little evidence is produced in a given statement unless

we understand something about the inevitable state of mind of the person or persons making that statement.

For example, take the statements contained in the papers of Salt Lake City. There were the press reports. There was the statement of President Strevell, and there was the statement of Mr. Seifrit. What value have these statements and reports? Did the press reports give the whole truth of the matter? Was that or is it ever the real purpose of press reports? Can any one remember when press reports have ever told the whole truth about a single labor strike? Is it possible for them to do so, in view of the fact that the whole business of collecting news is a part of the capitalist system? Did you ever in your life hear even of militia or police being called out to defend workmen trying to secure their rights, or even some small approach to such a thing? Is it possible for them to do so, in view of the fact that the whole business of collecting news is a part of the capitalist system? Did you ever in your life hear even of militia or police being called out to defend workmen trying to secure their rights, or even some small approach to such a thing? Is it possible for them to do so, in view of the fact that the whole business of collecting news is a part of the capitalist system? Did you ever in your life hear even of militia or police being called out to defend workmen trying to secure their rights, or even some small approach to such a thing? Is it possible for them to do so, in view of the fact that the whole business of collecting news is a part of the capitalist system? Did you ever in your life hear even of militia or police being called out to defend workmen trying to secure their rights, or even some small approach to such a thing? Is it possible for them to do so, in view of the fact that the whole business of collecting news is a part of the capitalist system?

How much weight should we give to this statement of President Strevell? He says the trouble was caused by two or three foreigners. He says that Mr. Bell the superintendent, agreed to allow the men to put in one of their own men to check the weights and that the men would not accept this, and the indicators, he says, that the miners were striking for higher wages and not for an honest weight for the coal they mined. He tells us then that after refusing to accept the proposition of a man to check the weights the men quit work and were paid off, and it seemed as if no further trouble would occur. Mr. Strevell desires to convey the impression that in this statement he has told the truth of the matter. Mr. Strevell knows well that the offer of his superintendent, Mr. Bell, to give the miners a checkman was an empty and a valueless offer. He knows, or it is his business to know, that all the checkmen in the world could not make those scales weigh more than what they were weighing, any more than a checkman could have affected the weighing of the sugar by the rotten-sugar trust in New York, which was shown up by the magazine. Scales which don't judge when 600 pounds are put on them will not weigh any better if the whole county acts as checkmen. An impartial investigation will show that the scales were fixed, and if Mr. Strevell doesn't believe it, he ought to be retired from his position. If he does know it, his place is in the penitentiary. Moreover, Mr. Strevell doesn't dare to tell all the facts about that controversy between the miners and Mr. Bell. I challenge him to tell the public exactly what kind of a man Bell is and to quote his exact language to those miners, and his treatment of them.

HERE'S A REASON

Industrial Unionists need no illustration of the class character of the press further than has been furnished them by actual experience. They know that "big business" through its advertising funds control the editorial and news columns of nearly every large newspaper. But for the benefit of those among our readers who have not yet been bunched by bitter experience we wish to call attention to the case of C. W. Post, notorious labor hater, and concocter of Grippe-Guts and Post Mortem Coffee. Post defamed Colliers Weekly (such thing being not impossible even in that sphere of life) and Collier's through a court judgment, was awarded damages of \$50,000. The larger newspapers were in immediate receipt of a telegram from Post asking that publication of the verdict be withheld until his side of the case could be presented. His side came later in the form of large advertisements of the Battle Creek "near food", and the verdict failed to appear in the papers thus honored. So we point out that when newspapers lie about the workers in some instances and suppress news in another it is because "There's a Reason" - the cash of the employing class.

The only "lead to Wellville" for the workers who are building up their own press. You and your fellow-workers must bear the burden. The emancipation of the workers can be brought about only by their own efforts.

WALKER C. SMITH. There is indeed a reason for building up the I. W. W. press. Send in your bunch of ads today.

The fight for free speech in Fresno is rapidly assuming solid proportions, and producing far reaching effects. Wage workers all over California are taking a keen interest in the fight. Right here in Fresno we have a large group of workers corresponding to their different nationalities, who are considering the advisability of forming language branches of the organization. Workers are taking out cards every day or so now, unmodified. Our way of doing things hits them where they live. The prospects are good for an industrial union to be here in the near future. If the fight continues much longer there will be a landslide of the wage workers our way. Still the boss in his swinish stupidity can bring us up to our knees again. "EVEN AGAIN!" This fight will go on until we get what we started out after. All we asked of anyone was to be let alone. We want the boss to attend to his business and not to molest us. We think we can attend to ours. We are going to try it, anyhow.

The Morning Republican states that the rock pile started yesterday with 28 prisoners, 16 of them I. W. W. men. It further states that Sheriff McSwain tried to purchase a new supply of sledge hammers, but was unsuccessful owing to local dealers not having the right kind in stock. A record was made in Police Judge Briggs' court yesterday. A jury of 12 men convicted 18 workmen in 12 minutes. To further expedite proceedings Judge Briggs will henceforth hold night sessions, so the paper states.

While the 12 were being tried, nine more were being arrested. Recent letters from the Coast indicate an great encouragement. Over 25 men arrived here within the last week, and are now in jail; 14 in jail now. Among men coming here a larger percentage of volunteers are found than formerly. The look good for there are 30 million more where they came from. They are all young fellows who act like veterans.

Fellow workers, you have a fine bunch of fighters here, and no mistake. A good feature of this fight is the economy practiced in the expenditure of funds. This is due to the practical sense and judgment used by the men in jail and brought to bear on the committee. There are no "stomach fighters" here that we know of. We think we will soon have all the men we want.

But to keep things running smoothly here we must have more funds. If more funds are not forthcoming soon, your committee will have to close shop and go back to jail. That's not so bad, but the men in jail need tobacco and a few other things so essential to help them endure their terms. Some of them, in fact, over two-thirds of them, have been in jail over 78 days now.

Come on, fellow workers, a little from each means a great deal to us. Yours for a decisive victory and a powerful I. W. W.

I. W. W. COMMITTEE. Draw money orders to W. F. Little, Box 300, Fresno, Calif.

PACIFIC CONFERENCE PLANS

Portland, Ore., Feb. 11 1911. To Solidarity: The Pacific Coast District Conference is ended. If the plans of the Conference are put into practical operation, the effect will be a permanent development of the I. W. W. The District Organization will embrace two circuit systems, one of the west and one of the south. The meetings of the lecturers and organizers will be prepared for definite organizing purposes. That is, meetings will be called for workers employed in a given industry. The most competent lecturers and organizers shall be employed through district referendum, and they should travel with fares. In this way the lecturers and organizers would not only do good; they would do the most good, and all waste of agitational energy would be eliminated. If there are 3,000 members within the district and a 10 per cent. capita tax is paid to the District organization, per month, it means \$300.00 per month. Three organizers paid \$18.00 per week, means about \$216.00 per month. One District Secretary paid \$15.00 per month, means about \$60.00 per month, and there is about \$24.00 balance left for railroad fares. Profits on literature sales may also be expended on fares. Then the collection at the meetings may be used for advertising and hall rents, etc. These meetings will tend to keep up interest in all local and at the same time tie the local organizers, the camp delegates, send the members to get new members, and to start new locals.

Yours for Industrial Freedom, E. S. NELSON.

NEW SPOKANE HEADQUARTERS.

Kindly insert notice in Solidarity to notify members of the change of hall address and change of secretary. Our new address is rear 513 Main Ave., Spokane, Wash. The present location is in the heart of the slave market. A. BENSON, Secretary. Spokane Joint Locals.

I. W. W. PREAMBLE. The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of working people and the few, who make up the employing class, have all the good things of life. Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and abolish the wage system. We find that the centering of the management of industries into fewer and fewer hands makes the trades unions unable to cope with the ever-growing power of the employing class. The trade unions foster a state of affairs which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping defeat one another in wage wars. Moreover, the trade unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the working class have interests in common with their employers. These conditions can be changed and the interest of the working class upheld only by an organization formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all. Instead of the conservative motto, "A fair day's wage for a fair day's work," we must inscribe on our banner the revolutionary watchword, "Abolition of the wage system." It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. The army of production must be organized, not only for the every-day struggle with capitalists, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown. By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old. Knowing, therefore, that such an organization is absolutely necessary for our emancipation we unite under the following constitution.

INDUSTRIAL WORKER. Published Weekly by the Local Unions of the Industrial Workers of the World in Spokane, Washington. A Red Hot, Fearless Working Class Paper Represents the Spirit of the West. Subscription: Yearly, \$1.00; Six Months, 50 Cents; Canada, \$1.50 Per Year. Address INDUSTRIAL WORKER, 326 Main Ave., Spokane, Wash.

SOLIDARITY LITERATURE BUREAU. Under same management as Solidarity. Read the following: "THE FARM LABORER AND THE CITY WORKER," By Edward McDonald 16 Page Pamphlet; 5 cents a Copy; to Local Unions, 2-1-2 cents. "ELEVEN BLIND LEADERS," by B. H. Williams. 32-Page Pamphlet. Price 5 Cents. "WHY THE A. F. O. CANNOT BECOME AN INDUSTRIAL UNION," By Vincent St. John. A Four-Page Leaflet, 20c per 100; \$1.50 per 1,000. "UNION SCABS AND OTHERS," by Oscar Ameringer Four-page Leaflet, 30c per 100; \$1.50 per 1,000. "GETTING RECOGNITION," by A. M. Stirtan A Four-page Leaflet, 30c per 100; \$1.50 per 1,000. ADDRESS SOLIDARITY LITERATURE BUREAU Box 692 NEW CASTLE, PA.

The Industrialist. Official organ of the Industrialists League, the British Section of the Industrial Workers of the World. American Subscription Rates: Year, 50 cents; Six Months, 25c. Published Monthly. Address all communications to Leslie Boyne, Union St., Union Square, Lansing, London N., Eng.

THE AGITATOR. A Worker's Semi-Monthly. Advocate of the Modern School, Industrial Unionism and Individual Freedom. Yearly, \$1; Quarterly 25c; Sample Free. JAY FOX, Editor Lake Bay, Washington.

CHANGE OF LOCATION. The office of Solidarity is now located in the Gillfillan building at the rear of No. 8 Croton avenue, having been moved from 10 1-2 South Mill street.

"La Vie Ouvriere" Semi-Monthly Syndicalist Review Appearing 5th & 20th each month. Foreign Subscription Rates: One Year, \$2.50; Six Months, \$1.25; Three Months, 75c. Address all correspondence to Pierre Monatte, Editor, 42 Rue Dauphine, Paris, France.

Now is the time to push the circulation of this paper, and spread the industrial union propaganda. Keep in action. TEXTILE WORKERS NOTICE. All communications for the National Industrial Union of Textile Workers should be sent to William Yates, Farklin Hill Road, New Bedford, Mass. Send in the subs. Join the I. W. W. and FIGHT for better conditions.

DULUTH I. W. W. Local Union No. 68 of the Industrial Workers of the World maintains a headquarters and reading room at 807 Michigan Street, Duluth, Minn., for the free use of working men.

WHAT IT MAY LEAD TO

By H. A. Goff.

On January 29, 1911, the naval appropriation bill was reported to Congress. Very quietly and sneakingly a snake was

worke into it. For the bill contains a clause repealing the now existing 8-hour law so as to apply to naval construction.

This apparently trivial piece of sneak work is only one of many indications that reveals the attitude of the capitalist class and the political attitude toward the workers.

And viewing the situation big and large, the workers ought not to have any difficulty making up their minds on the 8-hour question.

I am for the 8-hour day. But I decidedly object to its being in any sense regarded as a finality. For, at best, it might be regarded as but a step toward something better.

I now make this prediction: That if the eight-hour day is carried at any time the most valuable result coming from it will be that it will immediately demonstrate the necessity for a still shorter work day.

And I think this ought to be the central idea in the whole movement.

Once the eight-hour day is carried, it will tremendously arouse the workers' ambition and stimulate their self-respect. And just as these things grow by what they feed upon just so certainly will the eight-hour day be the forerunner of better things.

This is the logic in the premises. I think, however, that success depends largely on the breadth and universality of the movement.

And it is here to be understood how any worker can be opposed to it. Nationally it appeals to all workers regardless of race, religion, politics, or any other consideration.

It is the campaign of the broadest of its campaign and conquest must be solely the work of the workers. No more fakirs, "leaders," "saviors," sky pilots, intellectuals and professionals for me, thank you. The workers have no time to spare when they can not make good on borrowed brains.

However, I am not over sanguine as to the immediate effect of it. It will arouse many of the unemployed, but not all of them. Capitalist tendencies and slave drivers' cunning will still find means to rebuild the army of the unemployed.

It will raise wages! Possibly. But, again, capitalist tendencies and slave drivers' cunning will figure in the transaction.

The eight-hour day will undoubtedly be an added stimulus to the introduction of still more labor saving machinery, with more employment of child and female slaves. So I warn the workers that these matters will come up to them for final reckoning; and others that we cannot now foresee. So I must emphasize the fact that the eight-hour day has its chief value in what it will lead to.

In the eight-hour movement the farm laborer is an important factor that must not be overlooked. As farm conditions now are, it is probable that the farm laborer's average day is eight and a half hours per day. And let us not be frightened at the idea of two eight-hour shifts on the farm. Let us rather be frightened at the fact that the eight-hour day has its chief value in what it will lead to.

It will be frantically shouted that eight hours and two shifts on the farm will run up the prices of food to the prohibition point. Well, may it or may not be. But we can take a chance on having two shifts on the farm, because prices will continue to climb up in any event. And even if farm laborers worked 34 hours per day for board and clothes, food prices will rise 50 per cent in the next five years anyway. So we are damned if we do and damned if we don't.

Furthermore, assuming that the eight-hour day becomes a fact; if then, the eight-hour movement does not include the farm workers, then the farm workers will still leave the farms and crowd into the congested labor markets of the cities. And scarcity of labor will still further reduce food supplies, with consequent still higher prices.

So for these and other reasons, I hardly see how the farm laborer can be safely ignored in not only the eight-hour movement, but also in the labor movement as a broad general proposition.

I have no desire to discourage the eight-hour movement, but the reverse. The times are ripe for revolutionary propaganda. Absolutely nothing can be gained by delay. But I want to point out some of the factors that I think will surely figure in the movement.

However, at this time, the main question is that of ways and means. Over these matters doubtless much could be said. There must be a clear, systematic plan of campaign worked out and clearly understood.

One thing certain; the capitalists will never concede the eight-hour day, through negotiations and agreements. When it is gotten it will be by seizure and conquest.

Hoping the discussion of the eight-hour day may become more general, with some practical plan of campaign pointed out, I will await to hear the views of others.

WORLD OF LABOR

(Continued From Page One)

lean Ax and Tool Company went on strike, rather than submit to a cut in wages ranging from 10 to 33 1/3 per cent; this, too, despite a threat to shut down, if the cut wasn't accepted.

Wage reductions are not only being resisted, but wage demands are becoming

more numerous, as they should, in order to help wages somewhere up near prices.

Telegraph operators on the Illinois Central system have asked for an increase in wages of about 30 per cent. A year ago the telegraphers asked for higher pay and new working conditions and the question as to wage was left to arbitration. They were not satisfied with the raise granted.

Engineers, firemen, conductors and trainmen on the Wabash presented demands for increased wages. They were granted by the road, subject to the approval of the Grand Trunk, over which Wabash operates between Detroit and Buffalo. The four railroad organizations were set to a unit under an agreement that neither one shall strike until all have been granted their demands.

What's getting into the judiciary? Are they trying to create a good opinion of themselves, or is it some fool labor? Or are they actually being put in jail on the uprising of labor, against which they were supposed to be the strongest bulwarks? Following the big protest demonstration and the big Haywood meeting at Denver, Col., comes this dispatch:

Denver, Feb. 23.—The 416 members of the United Mine Workers who were sentenced to a year in jail on Dec. 31 for contempt of court in violating Judge Whitford's injunction in connection with the miners' strike in northern Colorado, were released from jail today by order of Judge Whitford.

Kicking does some good; keep it up, boys!

The merry war of the progressive miners versus Mitchell and the Civic Federation continues apace. A lot of preachers, editors, politicians, business men, fakirs and friends of Mitchell generally, held a "mass meeting" at McAleer, Pa., and resolved against the constitutional amendment to the miners' constitution forcing members out of the Civic Federation. The amendment was denounced as "unfair," "outrageous," "un-American," etc., from which one is forced to conclude that it is perfectly fair, decent and American. Mitchell has denounced the amendment as a final result of the present situation. The amendment is to be put to a vote when one, the capitalists organized in the Civic Federation, pay him \$5,000 a year for doing so. Even lawyers have not the gall to say that they are two clients. And they are pretty "low down," Mitchell and his friends undoubtedly regard the miners as a lot of suckers, without overly expending by which to judge them. It's up to the miners to prove the contrary, by firing him out of their organization. Lend a hand, I. W. W. members. Get into the ranks of the progressive miners, so that they may understand the issue and vote in favor of the amendment!

A general tie-up of all building in Chicago has threatened as the result of a jurisdictional row. The plumbers' union has called a strike which involves more than 80 shops. A sympathetic strike of a number of the building trades is scheduled and as a final result of the present situation a lockout involving all the building trades in the city is expected. The disturbance arose after it became known that the steamfitters and pipefitters had a year agreement with the contractors, under which they are to receive a gradual increase in wages during the next three years.

How differently the capitalists do things, despite competition among themselves! Four hundred dealers in builders' supplies, in brief, the members of the National Builders Supply Association. A movement was completed to affiliate the association with the National Builders' Association. The result was the organization in forty States, where the organization will represent invested capital in excess of \$50,000,000.

The lumber dealers' association of Indiana, Ohio, New Jersey, Wisconsin, Washington and New York are reported to have acted favorably upon the proposition to merge their interests with the National organization. Over 3000 lumber dealers are members of the State associations affected.

The industrial outlook is on the mend, according to current press reports. The tin plate industry is said to be operating at about 90 per cent of capacity. The steel and iron industry is also improving, although it may be adversely affected by the railroad strike. Much bar being puddled on an increased scale at the furnaces of the Kittanning Iron Co., Pittsburg. The men are reported to be working on three turns of eight hours each.

The strike of the furnace and kiln men of the Lake Superior Iron and Chemical Co., at Ashland, Wis., has been settled; the men returning on the company's terms, which included a reduction 10 per cent in wages.

In the textile industry upwards of 3,000 mill operatives at Waltham and Watertown, Mass., are temporarily idle. At Waltham, Mass., 1,000 employees of the Boston cotton mills are idle. They were "laid off" because of a strike of some of their number for an advance in wages. The Hood Rubber Mills in East Wackerston, Mass., shut down because of lack of orders; 3,500 operatives are affected. Other industries are similarly afflicted. So much for press reports.

MOVEMENT IN ENGLAND

Following upon the Syndicalist Conference held in Manchester, the 20th of November, the Trades Council of Derby convened a conference for the purpose of discussing Syndicalism and the desirability of unifying the sectional unions; a large attendance of delegates of unions were present, and a resolution was carried unanimously favoring the Industrial Syndicalist principle, and the whole council resolved to become an Educational Committee to advance the same.

Recently I have put in considerable time with the men on the Manchester Ship Canal to organize them into the Transport Workers' Union. The Rhondda Miners dispute still continues, but the Federation of Great Britain have decided to support them financially, but they have not decided to make common cause with them by stopping work and forcing the fight to a finish as they should have done.

The demand for a 50 hour week instead of 52 1/2 for the printing trades is to be left to the London Union to fight on, but the unions in the Provinces have declined to put in their notices. Still a big fight will be put up as it is not likely that the Provincial Union will do the work of London firms whom men will be on strike.

HAYWOOD SPEAKS

(Continued From Page One)

ond favored the principles of Socialism; the third directed the delegate to the A. F. of L. convention to vote against Gompers for president. But were those considerations? The first two were put into effect by those elected for the purpose: Had those measures been enforced as amended there would have been no division amongst the delegates. Helpers were not admitted, as desired, and were covered up and blotted out by the I. O. of O. T. M. The miners' organization at the A. F. of L. convention, but in the Division under such circumstances is born of revolt. It is justifiable, and will be vindicated. Though you are only 3,000 in number, you are stronger in fact than 30,000 who are submissive and divided in opinion. You are powerful; they powerless! [Great applause.]

From the speech phase of unionism as represented in the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, Haywood passed to a consideration of the general phase. He said: "Now, I come to my subject for this evening, Industrial Unionism and the Factory Labor. First, let me define industrialism. It is based on a recognition of the class struggle and its world-wide significance. It is the organization of capital as compared with the potency of present day labor organization, which must be abolished and a labor organization paralleling the organization of capital. It is industrialism as Socialism with its working clothes on." [Long continued applause.]

"Bill" now took up the class struggle. "The class struggle," said he, "arises from the conflicting interests of the capitalist class and the working class, which are diametrically opposed. The labor leader who believes the identity of interest fraud perpetrated by the Civic Federation is either a fool or a knave, or under the influence of the masters' champagne. The capitalist class, who are they and what do they want, they want the wages, the waterways, the farms, the mines, the docks, steamships, railroads, telegraphs, banks, factories, the mortgages, the machines; in brief, the means of production, distribution and communication in this world. In brief, they must have access to or serve. The working class, who are they and what do they want? The workers own nothing; not even their jobs. They must have justice. So that the capitalists, owning the means of existence, own also the workers' lives. Can there be an identity of interest between owner and owned?"

Bill then showed the world-wide nature of the class struggle, from "Bloody Sunday" in St. Petersburg, Jan. 20, 1906, down to the Kotoku hangings in Japan in 1910. "It is unnecessary," said he, "to cross the water to find the class struggle. Evidence of it are everywhere here. The bull pens of Colorado and Idaho were built in the shadow of the class struggle. The free speech fight first at Spokane, Wash., and now at Fresno, Cal., are evidences of the class struggle. The Chicago garment workers' strike, the Brooklyn shoe workers' revolt, they, too, are but evidences of the same irrepressible conflict of class interests."

"The attempted hanging of Moser, Pettibone and myself," continued Haywood, "was an evidence of the class struggle. In that instance, the working class, for the first time in the history of the United States, stood together. They saved my life, so that to-day I may truly say that I am the living embodiment of industrialism. I can also say to the working class, do for yourselves what you have done for me. Stand together, save yourselves from capitalism and abolish the class struggle." [Great outburst of applause.]

Haywood then exposed the piratical nature of the capitalist class, saying it has no country, no flag, no humanity, no God, and that its power is based on graft. Nevertheless, despite their insincerity and cru-

ty, they were well organized and performing a great work. The Morgan, Goulds, Harrimans, Rockefeller et al., have done much to develop the country. They are a measure, great benefactors. They have demonstrated that the industry can be socially organized and operated without them. The next step is to own it totally. [Great applause.]

A. F. of L. and the Steel Trust. Haywood now got nearer the kernel of his subject. He took the steel trust, with its one-quarter million of employes and its compact ownership and organization of everything from the process of raw supplies to the finished product, and compared it to the loosely federated and impotent A. F. of L. In the A. F. of L., the most executive board was opposed by 40 different executive boards and craft interests. The result is the destruction of unionism by the steel trust; and pronouncements bombast in retaliation by the greedy and invincible Gompers. [Laughter.]

"The A. F. of L.," said Haywood, "has never won a strike in all its history. It claims to be the champion labor movement, but it is really a voluntary political organization! It consists of an executive board of 11 members, 7 of whom are members of the Civic Federation, an organization that is attempting the impossible task of pooling the interests of capital and labor. One hundred and seventeen international bodies represent the constituent bodies of the A. F. of L. These are divided in 27,000 locals, with trade autonomy. They make 27,000 contracts, expiring in 27,000 different times, and they call it an organized labor movement. Van Clave, Perry, Post, Kirby and all the other outspoken foes of labor, could not devise any better method of dividing labor." [Applause.]

"Every effort of the A. F. of L.," said Haywood, "is to discourage organization." Then "Bill" gave specific instances of the many measures adopted by the A. F. of L. to resist the progress of the labor movement. These included apprentice regulations, high initiation fees, closed membership books, refusal to organize the unskilled, etc. They also involved corrupt alliances with the employers, as in the case of Geo. Warren, an officer of the I. A. M., and the Eric R. R.; and the Tobin "union" stamp, as is evidenced in the saboteur of the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union in the Brooklyn shoe workers' strike.

A Genuine Labor Union. Then Haywood dwelt on the necessity for a genuine labor union. He said: "The working class has organized itself. They must organize into one solid body to labor to win, it is necessary to have one union; a union big enough to take in the entire working class, no matter of what color, race, creed or sex." [Great applause.]

"The human race," concluded Haywood, "depends primarily on the products of land and sea. We must organize a food producers' department, then a mineral department, composed of coal and metaliferous mines and mine workers; a metallurgical department, as well as transportation department, and a public service department. With the working class organized on these lines, we can take and own the social organization of the world, developed by capitalism, and run them for the interests of all instead of a small class. This is industrialism, the coming victory." [Long continued applause.]

Much credit is due the Brotherhood of Machinists for the success of Haywood's lecture. Also for the fact that it gave 100 tickets at 50c each to the striking Brooklyn shoe workers, to be sold for their benefit. Hurrah for industrial unionism!

ANOTHER REPLY TO NILSSON

Fresno County Jail, Feb. 10. Solidarity. In Solidarity of February 4th was an article by B. Nilsson, of Portland, Oregon, with the heading, "Join This Revolt." He states that "the average laborer is not afraid that he will be imprisoned for editing a paper, nor for being active as a union official, nor for his activity in speaking on the street, because he doesn't expect to do any work of that kind. He does not care what happens to the editor, because he has too many troubles of his own, and should not be called on to revolt on account of somebody else's troubles. How long are we going to protect our editors, street speakers and officials? What we should do is to organize the workers, to protect themselves, rather than protect editors, etc."

This is an analysis of the working men of the Pacific coast, and I suggest for them that we revise our preamble in the following way, so as to better express what they want to do: Beginning with the third paragraph of our preamble: "We find that the centering of the management of industries into fewer and fewer hands, makes EVEN the trades unions unable to cope with the ever growing power of the employing class." Moreover, we see, that our best members in this struggle get blacklisted, thrown into jail and become a hindrance in organizing the working class, these conditions can be changed and the interest of our organization upheld, if we formed it in such away that all its members in any one industry, or in an industry, or in a craft, cease to organize their fellow workers, whenever the boss himself, or through his police club, makes this demand, thus making our watchword,

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"Don't go into the class struggle if the boss don't permit it." Instead of "between the working class and employing class a struggle must go on," we should inscribe on our banner, "The boss is all powerful, and we have to submit to him or else we have to make our own way, whenever he demands that such making an injury to one his own concern." By organizing in this way, we will earn the good will of the boss, and our organization will be short lived. It is the membership as any other organization has ever had. Knowing that this is the best and easiest way to organize the working class, we must stand for this institution." Yours in the Class Struggle, H. MINDERMAN, Member Local 382, Seattle, Wash.

OPPOSES CONFERENCE San Francisco, Feb. 21, 1911. To all Pacific Coast Locals of the I. W. W. This local wishes to record itself as in favor of any project that will result in furthering the propaganda or strengthening the organization in all or any locality, but refuses to believe that such result is possible if not done within the limits of the general law of the organization. Being, therefore, that such law has not been observed by the aforementioned proposition, we hereby protest against the conference launched by the Pacific Coast Locals of this local wishes to call the attention of other locals to this violation of the general constitution, and repudiate entirely all action resulting in this violation and refuses to vote on each and all proposition on the ballot sent out by that confederate JOSEPH SEBASTIA, Chairman, J. LEBON, Sec. and Treasurer, PAUL LUNDGARD, Rec. Sec. (Seal) Local 173, I. W.

NO MORE MONEY FOR BORD Local 437, Holtville Calif., desired again inform locals and sympathizers to send any more money for Fellower Bordet, who died on Feb. 7.

MAIL CLERKS TAKE NOTICE Any comrades who are mail clerks need a favor by communicating with undersigned. CARL NYDEN, 92 Park Hill Ave., Yonkers, N. Y.

SALT LAKE, UTAH. Local 69, I. W. W. of Salt Lake City, Utah, maintains headquarters and a free reading room at 621-1 West 2nd St. All workers welcome.

MIKE CARROLL, Fin. Sec'y. THE COMMENTATOR LOS ANGELES I. W. W.

Los Angeles Local 12, 19, 1, and 18 have opened large new quarters and free reading room at 355 Towne Ave. All members and others coming this way please call.

Local No. 53, I. W. W. of Cleveland, meets every Wednesday Evening at 8 o'clock standard time, corner Superior Avenue and Columbus Road, No. 1501. Entrance facing Superior Viaduct, up one flight second door to your right. All workers are invited to attend any and all meetings in order that you may learn what it means to you as workmen and women. We challenge any one to come and dispute our claim for the I. W. W. which is its SUPERIORITY over all others considered from the standpoint of the working class interests.

BELLINGHAM, WASHINGTON. The address of the newly elected Secretary of Local 337 is: E. Ethel, Bellingham, Wash. All correspondence should be addressed to her. Headquarters at same place and night. Free reading room.