



LEGAL ASPECTS OF CASE

Possible Serious Outcome of Ettor-Giovanitti Trial Can be Prevented Only by Working Class Solidarity.

(Special to Solidarity.)

Lazrusen, Mass., June 24.
Headed by George E. Rower, Jr., and John P. S. Mahoney, the counsel employed by the Ettor-Giovanitti Defense Committee is headed by six members. Each handles a different phase of the case, and all are specialists in their particular line. One of them was connected with the Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone cases, and is well known throughout the country.

In addition to the above, Ettor and Giovanitti will be represented by counsel employed by relatives. Manley Ettor, the father, has secured the services of a big firm of lawyers at Tacoma, Wash., where he resides. Aristides Giovanitti, an influential lawyer in Italy, will be at the trial. All the lawyers are co-operating to secure the freedom of their clients.

Coincident with the advent of more legal fighters, there has arisen a discussion of the legal aspects and probabilities of the case. A labor editor writes from Western Pennsylvania that outside of Massachusetts it is not generally believed that the law of Massachusetts can be so construed as to enable the bosses to murder Ettor and Giovanitti. "This particular editor" will send a copy of the opening and closing arguments of District Attorney Attwill at the preliminary trial, so that he may judge of the construction of the law by the prosecution for himself. The prosecution contends that, according to criminal law, one who counsels riot becomes guilty of accessory before the fact to murder, and contends that Ettor and Giovanitti counseled riot and violence, as a result of which a homicide followed. This contention is disputed by the defense, whose evidence shows that the police started the riot; that Policeman Benoit did the actual shooting; and who contend that according to Massachusetts precedent, a rioter can not be held responsible for a murder committed by those engaged in suppressing a riot. This, in brief, is the essence of the main legal contentions of both sides.

But there are other features of the case that the working class should be familiar with. Of the best known editors in Lawrence, in a private discussion of the case, said he did not believe the corporations would go so far as to electrocute Ettor and Giovanitti. He was of the opinion that if they did it was to help pay in Massachusetts, as it was common knowledge that the whole thing was a put up job to get Ettor and Giovanitti out of the way during the strike. He declared that it is generally known that it was Benoit who killed Anna L. Piza, and he said there are at least two of Benoit's comrades who can testify to the facts, if they only dared.

All this the editor believes would prevent electrocution. "But," he continued, they want "to get" Ettor and Giovanitti on the charge of intimidation and conspiracy, if they can. They will be satisfied with that, as it will serve their purposes just as well.

This view is also held by many others in Lawrence. There is much to be said in support of it. District Attorney Attwill repeatedly referred to the I. W. W. as an illegal conspiratorial organization, which, with the militant spirit of the West, has let loose on stricken Lawrence a lot of "labor buzzards" and "social virtues," who must be punished according to law—as interpreted by the district attorney. This interpretation is such as to make even the most conservative union that shows signs of activity in the interests of the working class, an illegal, conspiratorial body. Even the Socialist Party can be held to be

a part of this illegal conspiratorial I. W. W., because of the funds it contributed to help the I. W. W. win the Lawrence strike. In fact, if the district attorney's interpretation is successfully applied in the Ettor and Giovanitti case, the old English anti-combination law, outlawing labor organizations as inimical to the welfare of society, will be virtually re-established, though already decisively overthrown in this very state. The works of Lawrence are just as bitter against the conspiracy charges as they are against the charges of accessory before the fact to murder. They regard the former as just as dangerous as the latter. They declare that they would rather see Ettor and Giovanitti electrocuted than to make possible the outlawing of labor organization.

However, there are definite facts on which to base the belief that the mill corporations intend to electrocute Ettor and Giovanitti if the working class will only permit them to do so. First, there are the indictments against the two men. It is not to be presumed that the mill corporations have had these indictments drawn for fun. They have vast interests to be preserved, and folly, as they conceive it, is not a means to this end. That the means they employ, threaten to defeat themselves, they show no indications of believing. Then we have to consider the positive declaration of James R. Dunbar, lawyer for the Morgan railroad and textile interests of New England. He has emphatically declared that he will go to the limit to electrocute Ettor and Giovanitti. As counsel for corporations that have returned to investors in 10 years 148 per cent in dividends, his emphasis is not without "sound and substantial" reasons. Ettor and Giovanitti must be electrocuted in order that successful working class organization may be stamped out, and dividends continue to flow into the coffers of investors, at an uninterrupted pace.

Here, then, are some of the legal aspects of the Ettor-Giovanitti case. They are all of the gravest concern to all working class organizations, as they involve the very life and death of the latter. Fortunately, many of them realize the fact and are generously supporting the cause of Ettor and Giovanitti. Their numbers should be increased, as more funds are needed in this Herculean struggle between capital and labor. Send to Ettor-Giovanitti Defense Committee, Central Building, Lawrence, Mass.

DATES FOR HAYWOOD

William D. Haywood will fill dates from Chicago east in behalf of Ettor and Giovanitti defense, through the General Office of the I. W. W. from July 17th on. All organizations desiring Haywood as speaker for protest meetings, communicate with Vincent St. John, 518, 160 N. Fifth Ave., Chicago, Ill. Write at once so that dates may be arranged with advantage. Terms furnished upon application.

The scope of the Ettor-Giovanitti protest is widening. Not only France and Italy, but Germany, also, is falling into line. "Die Einigkeit," organ of the Free Union of German Syndicats (Freie Vereinigung deutscher Gewerkschaften) reports a big protest meeting in Berlin on June 17, at which the case was clearly explained to the audience by several speakers, and strong resolutions of protest, in the name of the Freie Vereinigung, were addressed to President Taft and Governor

NOTES FROM MASSACHUSETTS

(Special to Solidarity.)

Lowell, Mass., June 30.
During the past week we have had three educational meetings here in Lowell, addressed by Elizabeth Gurley Flynn. The meetings were well attended, and the crowds were certainly willing to learn the principles of the I. W. W.

The co-operative society started here last week is going to open for business on Monday, July 1. The bakery is all ready and a lot of members are also prepared to pull the thing through.

On Saturday, June 29, a picnic was held by Local 436, Lowell, which was largely attended. The spirit of solidarity and I. W. W. was shown in all the different games. In a "tag" of war" the Greeks, Poles and Belgians pulled all on one side, while members of other nationalities were pulling on the other side. There was no such thing as nationality in evidence. Everybody there were fellow workers and conducted themselves as such. There were at least ten different nationalities present, and from the way everything was run off it would seem as if everybody could understand everybody else. Several of the Haywood medals were raffled off, and were much admired.

A rousing protest meeting was held here on the South Common today for the Ettor-Giovanitti defense. It was addressed by Elizabeth Gurley Flynn and others. About 1,800 people were present.

Joseph Schmidt has just returned from the Pittsburgh district, where he aided the 2,000-tile mill strikers.

In Lawrence, Gurley Flynn has been speaking before the different branches every other night, as a part of the educational campaign now going on in that city and in Lowell. A special campaign is being waged among the French Canadians in Lawrence to stop the mill corporations from further discriminations against active men and women of the present strike in the textile mills.

The clerks in Lawrence are certainly waking up to the fact that without organization they can never better their conditions. They have allied themselves with the 19,000 textile workers in the I. W. W. At their meeting on Wednesday night another increase in membership was made, and it looks as if the organization would be fully developed in a few weeks. Further plans are being drafted by the clerks, and will be carried out in a week or two.

A picnic was held by the Jewish branch at Juniper park on Sunday, June 30. It was an undoubted success, as the ticket force sold a lot of tickets. It was one of the best picnics ever held by the I. W. W. in this part of the country.

The defense committee has moved its headquarters from 9 Mason street to the Central Building, Lawrence, for the convenience of all concerned. It is more centrally located, being in close proximity to the other I. W. W. establishments. The I. W. W. spirit seems to be permeating the Lawrence air, if one may judge from this article from a local paper:

"MINIATURE STRIKE AT BRUSH HAT FACTORY.

"Twelve employes of the Brush Hat Manufacturing Company struck Saturday morning for a decrease of hours and headed by four members of the I. W. W. they left the factory on Allen street shortly before noon. The strikers were employed in the finishing department. They struck because the officials of the company refused to grant them Saturday afternoons off at the same pay that they were receiving. They work from 7 o'clock a. m. to 5 p. m., and received \$9 per week. They claim that employes of some of the other departments receive the same pay as they do, and are allowed to go home at 12 o'clock Saturdays for the day."

In the last number of Collier's Weekly an article appears that attracts very much interest. Its title is "Who's Violent?" and is very favorable to the organization. It was found out that by Sunday morning all the available copies were sold out here. It was impossible to find one, such is the local interest in the article. C. C.

GAINING IN SAN DIEGO

I. W. W. Refuses to be Driven Out of that Benighted Burg, and is Making Headway Under Difficulties.

(Special to Solidarity.)

San Diego, Calif., June 25.
Any hopes the police and vigilantes may have had as to the driving out of the I. W. W. and the settling of the free speech fight here have been rudely shattered. We are still in the ring, and getting stronger all the time. All those who had been arrested on charges of vagrancy and street speaking have been released, and the police said, "Shoo! Get out and call it a quit." But men are speaking on the street again, the Worker and Solidarity are being sold, and the business of Local No. 13 is still going on.

George Speed of the G. E. B. is here to assist us in the work, and is giving us valuable aid along the lines of organization.

The Socialist Party held a meeting on the street outside the forbidden grounds last Sunday, but had proceeded only a few minutes when the police started the move-on work for which they are noted. The first persons to be moved were Mr. and Mrs. Emerson, who were standing on the sidewalk, and taking no part in the meeting. A policeman in uniform struck Mr. Emerson across the mouth, and then began clubbing Mrs. Emerson. Mrs. Emerson was struck several blows, and was knocked down twice.

P. S. Ford of the Socialist Party was arrested, and Kasper Bauer, the chairman of the meeting, was clubbed and arrested. The entire crowd was moved away from the scene, and the police reigned supreme.

An I. W. W. speaker concluded to go onto the street inside the restricted district yesterday evening and test the statement of the attorney general that the police were able to handle the situation here. He talked a few minutes, and no policeman came into view, but a vigilante soon saw that the flag was in danger, and started a fight. The result was that the speaker was forced away from the place of speaking, but no arrests were made. Another member was selling the Worker and Solidarity, but was not molested.

A man was selling the I. W. W. papers on the street today when a vigilante jerked them from him and tore them to pieces. A policeman was looking on. The news agent asked him to arrest the man who had torn up the papers, but the bull told him to get a warrant. Getting no

satisfaction from the policeman, he got some more copies of the papers and began selling them, when the policeman arrested him. It is not known what the charge will be, but presumably it will be the unpardonable one of being an I. W. W.

The present executive committee is working along the lines of organization as well as carrying on the fight, and the plans they have under way will give us good results in the future. It is recognized that we must have a strong local to back up the work of the organizers and agitators on the street, and also to give us the job-control that is necessary to justify our existence.

The felony cases are dragging along in court, the only thing that appears possible for the lawyers to do being to delay the game for a time. The courts are largely composed of the vigilantes, and such as are not vigilantes themselves are well under the thumbs of those who are.

The papers here are reporting with much glee that Ben Reitman stated in Spokane a few days ago that some Industrial Workers of the World would kill the city officials here for their actions in the past. There is perhaps an truth in the reports of what Reitman said, but it is just such bare-brained remarks as this which have no truth whatever in them that get men into trouble of which they are entirely innocent. The members here are loud in condemning such remarks, and wish it distinctly understood that there is no thought among the men here of such methods being used. We are strictly an economic organization, and are not organized for private revenge.

We are badly in need of funds, and the committee would like to impress it upon all the members of the organization that it will be absolutely necessary for us to have more money at once. The fight is still on, and will not be over till we win a complete victory, as it is now absolutely necessary that we continue it to prevent the same tactics being used everywhere else. If the methods of the vigilantes can win here they will at once be adopted by the M. & M. everywhere, and then no radical labor organization will be possible.

Send all funds to C. R. Neely, Treasurer, Box 312, San Diego, Calif.

STUMPY.

AS TO PER CAPITA

Seattle, Wash.

Solidarity:
Local 179, Br 1, wants an extremely low per capita. Why don't they cut it out altogether? Possibly they can make a \$5 good piece out of every dollar they save.

The Construction Workers of the West don't even want a national union to reduce the per capita to 5 cents. How much faster would the I. W. W. grow by giving the money to local parities to fight over than by paying it to headquarters, where it can be used at the psychological moment to better the condition of the workers, whom strikes like Lawrence, Grays Harbor, the Canadian Northern, etc., occur? No intelligent worker would want headquarters to go broke. Headquarters is to the I. W. W. what the exchange station is to the telephone. Cut out the per capita and you will be like the phone when the girl goes home. Is that solidarity?

If 179, Branch 1, believes an injury to one is an injury to all, why does it want

to cripple headquarters financially so it can't give aid or assistance to workers when they want to organize, or when a few good organizers with a little money could turn defeat into victory in case of a strike? W. J. MORRIS.

Secretary L. U. 892,
Construction Workers.

PICNIC IN CHICAGO

The Mexican Defense League and Industrial Workers of the World will hold joint picnic Saturday, July 15th, at Atlas Park, 5025 N. 40th Ave. Receipts are for the benefit of Ettor-Giovanitti defense. William D. Haywood will speak.

IMPORTANT NOTICE

The Ettor-Giovanitti Defense Committee in Lawrence wishes to keep informed as to the activity throughout the country in behalf of our fellow workers. Send clippings from papers, copies of resolutions, circulars, reports of meetings, etc., to Justus Ebert, 9 Mason street, Lawrence, Mass. Don't neglect this; it is important.

SOLIDARITY

EASTERN ORGAN OF THE INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD

P. O. Drawer 622 New Castle, Pa.

Owned and Published Weekly by
C. H. McCarty and R. H. Williams
 C. H. McCarty, L. U. 598
 B. H. Williams, L. U. 297.

Place of Publication—Near No. 418, Croton Ave.
 B. H. Williams Managing Editor
 C. H. McCarty Business Manager

SUBSCRIPTION:
 Yearly, \$1.00
 Six Months, .50
 Canada and Foreign, 1.50
 Single Orders, per copy,
 ONE & ONE-HALF CENTS.
 Advertising Rates on Application.

Cash MUST Accompany All Orders.

All communications intended for publication in *Solidarity* should be addressed to the Managing Editor; all others, pertaining to financial matters, to the Business Manager.

Entered as second-class matter December 15, 1909, at the post office at New Castle, Pa., under the Act of March 3, 1879.

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

GENERAL OFFICERS

Vincent St. John, - General Sec'y-Treas
 Jas. P. Thompson, - General Organizer

GENERAL EXECUTIVE BOARD

J. J. Ettore, Thos. Halero, F. H. Little, Ewald Koettgen, George Spéner.

WATCH FOR YOUR NUMBER.

Each subscriber will find a number opposite his name on the wrapper enclosing *SOLIDARITY*. For instance 131. That means that your sub expired last week, and you should renew. 132 This is NUMBER

"BASE" HITS

"A Mutt" says: "We don't care to 'see industrial unions in the air. What we want is the union on terra firma, composed of live members." Correct. Only the "sympathetic" politicians and labor bleeders want the "airy" kind of industrial union that never materializes in deeds. The workers will be satisfied only with the reality of their own making.

"Fair" damsel, whose only connection with the I. W. W. was for a day or two which she spent in jail during the Spokane free speech fight, writes recently to an A. F. of L. journal: "All they (the I. W. W.) know of industry is what they read in two 10c pamphlets." She adds: "McKees Rocks, the lumber industry of Washington and Oregon, and the 'mills' victory at Lawrence are proof that it is not even a protest." From which it appears that this "knowing" young lady has found remunerative use for her talents by joining the brilliant staff of anti-I. W. W. "radicals." writes. The credit editors must be in desperate straits. They seem to be in a "Fair" way soon to become mentally bankrupt. But, after all, that is how the labor (?) editors have always estimated the intelligence of their readers.

The current issue of Collier's Weekly has an article by a staff correspondent, entitled "Who's Violent?" and answering the question with an array of facts against the mill owners and their entire army of supporters in Lawrence and Massachusetts. The substance of the author's argument is a warning to the capitalists against practicing illegal and unwarranted violence against the working class. The author concludes that if they would preserve the existing order of society the attitude of employers and their supporters toward revolting workers is far more important to consider in the coming years, than is the attitude of the workers toward their masters. But if history has any meaning, this warning of Collier's will fall on deaf ears. Reaction cannot avoid violence to wards progress, and the workers must be prepared to meet with violence with their own weapons of defense, chief of which is revolutionary industrial organization.

"Violence must be repudiated," shout the socialist press. Violence against whom? The working class, which suffers all conceivable forms of violence at the hands of the master class and its sup-

porters? Oh, no. Only the "violence" of self defense against scabs, plug ugly murderous deputies, cops, soldiers, courts, and what not, that constitute the paraphernalia of capitalist violence against the slaves. How cowardly and hypocritical that cry! And how futile! Trust the slaves, once organized industrially, to protect themselves not only against their masters' violence, but also to repudiate their fifth story "intellectual" saviors, who never operate within range of the enemy's guns on the battlefields of the class war. Violence may be "repudiated" in resolutions; it can only be STOPPED through organization by the working class.

Here is one of the appeals made by a speaker at a big meeting of longshoremen in New York who are now on strike: "It is our brain and muscle that brings about every work that endures. Without the power of labor civilization decays. Show the bosses by striking tomorrow that they cannot slip a bluff over us." The speaker was stopped by a burst of cheering. A circular signed by "Committee of Organized Longshoremen" also has the right ring: "Longshoremen! Teamsters! Warehousemen! Let us strike now, on all docks at once. Action must be electric to be effective."

"This morning 30,000 sailors, firemen, cooks, oilers, water tenders, coal passers and messboys were told to come off the ships in New York, Boston, Philadelphia, Norfolk, Newport News, Mobile, New Orleans, Galveston and Havana. Now is our chance for better conditions. This is vacation time. The companies may rob us forcibly and offer us concessions. We won't recognize them. They haven't recognized us in the past. Our leaders tell us not to strike. We won't recognize them." All the different work front unions are represented in this movement—the National Transport Workers' Federation, Longshoremen's Union Protective Society, International Longshoremen's Union of the A. F. of L., as well as a number of non-union longshoremen. Looks like a sign of growing solidarity, don't it?

The stupid claim that the master class does not fear the economic movements of labor, "since the masters can easily recoup themselves for losses through strikes and enforced raises of wages by raising the prices of their commodities," is being rudely assailed by the logic of events these days. At New Brunswick and other places in New Jersey, strikers fighting for very existence are being shot dead, and I. W. W. organizers ordered out of town "inside of 30 minutes under penalty of arrest," at the instigation of the bosses. Out at Grays Harbor, Washington, the Aberdeen Herald of June 24 asks the question in scare heads: "Is it another I. W. W. Invasion?" and follows with two columns of sensational staff telling how a poor, lone agitator, supposed to be of the I. W. W., was mobbed by the "ass-handle" citizens of that lumber town while speaking from a soap box on the street. The Herald trembles with rage and fear lest "the minions of St. John" again return in great numbers to start another fuss in the mills and camps of that section, and boldly declares that "an attempt on their part to start an industrial war on Grays Harbor will be met as would any other declaration of war. The acts of this organization all over the country are such as to show that to temporize is but to invite business disaster, and this invitation Aberdeen may be relied on not to extend." After all this two columns of nervous fusing, the Herald winds up as follows: "At noon a special edition of the New Era appeared which contained the statement that the speaker was W. E. Reynolds, a socialist organizer from Tacoma, and that he has no connection with the I. W. W." Praises be to God! The town is saved!

Accusations of "base ingratitude" of the I. W. W. toward the A. F. of L. and Socialist Party for support rendered in I. W. W. struggles, are certainly amusing. Since the I. W. W. is not in the business of "trading favors" for support, we can't be expected to feel "grateful" to politicians and labor fakirs who apparently are in that business and who are animated by the bargaining spirit when contributing to the I. W. W. As for the rank and file of the S. P. and A. F. of L., the I. W. W. appeals to them as workmen to support workmen in the struggles of workmen against their masters. If the fakirs and politicians don't like this sort of appeal they can "lump" it. The fighting spirit on the industrial field is far more inspiring than a "spirit of gratitude." That

is why the I. W. W. is getting the sinews of war from workmen in the ranks of the A. F. of L. and the S. P. To this end no compromise with principle, and no "trimming" of our agitation are either necessary or will be tolerated. But there is another side to this "gratitude" business. The half-hearted support given the Ettore-Giovanitti defense by the S. P. and A. F. of L. press, together with the whole-hearted, contemptible lying about the I. W. W.'s principles and tactics by that same press (controlled by the fakirs and politicians) certainly entitles them to no "gratitude" from any red-blooded slave, whether I. W. W. or not. On the contrary, one of the jobs of the I. W. W. is to smoke out labor traitors and misleaders. The howl they are now making against the I. W. W. shows that the smoke is getting into their eyes.

CAPITALIST SABOTAGE

(Translated for Solidarity by Ricardo Moreno.)

In view of the pronouncement against sabotage by one of the minor political parties in a recent convention, it may not be amiss to quote the words of the French syndicalist, Pouget. He concludes a series of articles on the subject in "La Action Obrera," of Buenos Aires, with the following paragraphs:

"A truly brutal, monstrous and abominable sabotage is the very essence of capitalist society. The folk do not seem greatly excited about that sort of sabotage—a sabotage which, not content with robbing its victims, destroys their health and poisons the very well-springs of life. The shopkeepers and the politicians are singularly indifferent to it, for they themselves are its beneficiaries.

Guilty of sabotage against the common folk are the merchants who, by adulterating milk, sow the seeds of disease among children and sweep the sickle of death through the flowers of upcoming generations.

Guilty of sabotage are the millers and bakers who add talcum and other harmful products to their flour, thus adulterating bread which is the staff of life.

Guilty of sabotage are the makers of chocolate who use palm oil or coconut oil; the coffee dealers who falsify their product with starch, chicory and acorns; the manufacturers who mix almond shells and olive stones with pepper; the confectioners who use glucose; the pastry makers who employ vaseline; the dealers in honey who swell their profits by the addition of starch and chestnut-pulp; the manufacturers who adulterate vinegar with sulphuric acid, cheese with chalk and starch, beer with hot-trick leaves, etc.

Guilty of sabotage were the business men who practically fought against their country in 1870-71 by furnishing the soldiers with paper-soled boots and cartridges filled with coal dust. (And our own high-minded patriots who unloaded tons of embalmed beef upon the army during the Spanish-American war.) Equally guilty of sabotage against the fatherland are their successors, their sons and nephews, who build rotten boilers for ships and blow-hole armor for the balls of submarines; who provide the army with despoiled or talcum-soaked and bread made with talcum and dried beans, etc.

Another example of capitalist sabotage was given during a recent aeroplane contest. Two aviators, Legagnieu and Acquaviva, lost their lives. It was charged, at the time, that syndicalist workmen had damaged the machinery on purpose. It is hardly necessary to waste words in clearing the syndicalists of that crime. In the first place, they hold the aeroplane in too high esteem to practice sabotage against it, even when piloted by army officers. The investigation soon proved that it was an honest and patriotic business man who was guilty of the sabotage. This good merchant received an order for fast-grade cast-iron (which is used as a lubricant for the motors) and he delivered, instead, an oil which consisted largely of Ammonium Sulphoacide—an inferior and dangerous product which he sold at the price of par cast-iron.

The action of the heat generated by the rapid revolutions of the motor broke up the Ammonium Sulphoacide and released sulphuric acid whose corrosive action was disastrous to the metal parts of the motor. Instead of lubricating them, the sulphuric acid severely damaged the mechanism, caused the motor to mis fire and finally stop, finally plunging the two officers to their death.

Guilty of sabotage are the master-builders, the railroad contractors, the furniture manufacturers, the makers of chemical

feltizers, the manufacturers of near-wood and shoddy. Everywhere in capitalist production and commerce "we find a hideous, cowardly sabotage.

The capitalist sabotage has not a single redeeming trait—it is damnable from every point of view. The sabotage of the workman attacks only the strong box of the master, whereas the sabotage of the capitalist attacks human life, ruins health and fills the hospitals and graveyards.

From the wounds inflicted by workmen's sabotage there fall only a few drops of gold, but from the wounds inflicted by the capitalists' sabotage blood flows in torrents.

Working class sabotage is inspired by generally altruistic principles. It is a method of defense and protection against the exactions of the master. It is a weapon with which the disinherited fight for their own existence and that of their families. Its effect is toward an improvement of the social conditions of the mass of the workers and in the direction of freedom from the exploitation which oppresses and degrades them. It is the ferment of a radiant and better life.

Capitalist class sabotage is only a means of intensifying exploitation. It merely sharpens the unbridled appetite for profit which is never satiated. It is the expression of repulsive greed, of an insatiable thirst for wealth which balks at no crime to slake its vile fever. Far from enriching life, it spreads about it naught but ruin, desolation and death.

SULLIVAN AND THE ITALIANS

(Special to Solidarity.)

Lawrence, June 27.
 The following letter has been brought to the attention of the Ettore-Giovanitti Defense Committee:

Lawrence, Mass., June 8, 1912.
 John Crowe,
 Chief of Police,
 Chicago Heights, Ill.

Dear Sir:
 In answer to yours of the 7th, these men were arrested on January 30, 1912, charged accessory before the fact to murder. They were arraigned next day and at the request of their counsel a continuance for 10 days was granted. Then on February 15th five days was held, and they were held for the grand jury, without bail. At the April term of the grand jury they were indicted as accessory before the fact to murder, and held without bail.

They were arraigned before the Superior Court at Salem, Mass., in May and pleaded not guilty. They were called for trial May 20, we were ready for trial, and got a continuance to next term of court. Since then the I. W. W. leaders have been sending out appeals for aid through the country. The story is they want \$50,000 for a defense fund. This, of course, is all a bluff to get money for the fellows who are engineering the scheme.

I do not know how people outside the State are responding, but we do know that the Italians and others in this vicinity have sized these fellows up and refuse to contribute.

Hoping this may be of service to you, I am,
 Sincerely yours,
 JOHN J. SULLIVAN,
 City Marshal.

This same Sullivan was the man who led the policemen who clubbed the women and children at the North Station during the recent strike. This most brutal and infamous of a series of brutal and infamous assaults on constitutional rights aroused the indignation of the entire country at the time. It won for Lawrence a most unenviable reputation. Arthur Young made it the subject of a biting cartoon in Collier's, entitled "The Lawrence Way," depicting a Lawrence policeman beating down delicate women and puny children to whom the sympathy of other cities was extending welcoming hands. It is this type of official that speaks in the above letter. The letter shows that the Lawrence way of perpetrating infamy is inexhaustible. Sullivan would practically deny if he could his victims the means of securing legal defense. In this respect he is not as charitable as the State which he pretends to serve, as the State makes it possible for the worst offenders to have legal defense, even going so far as to provide them with the same. But, then, clappers of women and children cannot be expected to show a nice regard for the legal rights of alleged male offenders.

Further, the Sullivan letter is not only typical in its lack of a decent regard for the legal rights of prisoners, but it is also insinuating and untrue. To whom does Sullivan refer when he refers to "the fellows who are engineering the scheme?" As chief of police, Sullivan is presumed to know all about schemes and scheming. There is a suspicion abroad in Lawrence that he is very well acquainted with "the fellows" who are engineering the scheme" to electrocute Ettore and Giovanitti, and his letter above is taken as an indication of his willingness to serve them rather than the ends of justice, which he; as a police officer, is pledged to uphold.

Sullivan deliberately perpetrates a falsehood in the interest of these persons when he declares: "We know that the Italians and others in this city and vicinity have sized these fellows up and refuse to contribute." Sullivan knows a good deal that is untrue; he has shown that all along in the Ettore Giovanitti case. And it is untrue to say that "all the Italians and others in this city have sized these fellows up and refuse to contribute."

The fact of the matter is that the Italians of Lawrence have contributed more in proportion to their earnings, wealth and numbers than any other nationality in any other city interested in the defense. To date the Italians of Lawrence, some 8,000 in number, and earning from \$5 to \$7 a week, have turned in \$1,500; other amounts are in hand awaiting transfer to the defense committee. In addition, the Italians of Lawrence maintain an I. W. W. organization of 4,000 members, and a weekly journal. They have conducted a number of strikes in the woolen trust mills since the conclusion of the great strike with considerable success. If the Italians of Lawrence have sized up anybody it is City Marshal Sullivan and those whom he serves. They are not likely to be swayed by his presentation of conditions; as the same is false in every respect.

Sullivan's reticence to the charge of accessory before the fact is, above all things, not likely to deceive the Italians. They know, as know all observant men, that the real accessories before the fact are the mill corporations. The mill corporations used the tariff laws of the nation to exploit and degrade the textile workers to the point of revolt, during which they also used all the powers of State to pile outrage upon outrage against the workers. It was their man Breen who planted dynamite. But it was all to no avail. The exploited, degraded, outraged workers conducted themselves with restraint, especially when Sullivan plied his brutal and infamous club on the heads of those nearest and dearest to them. And now comes the accessory before the fact charge; a charge obviously intended "to get" Ettore and Giovanitti. Are the Italians taken in by this charge? Is any serious-minded man taken in by it? Most investigators who have come to Lawrence consider the charge as one of questionable expediency. The workers of the country are increasingly recognizing it as one of great danger to them, concocted for the purpose of depriving their leaders of life and their organizations of existence.

It will take something more than Sullivan's statements about the Italians to destroy these beliefs.

SOMEWHAT INFLATED

In a signed article John Murray editor of the California Socialist Democrat, accuses the I. W. W. of base ingratitude toward the craft unions and Socialist Party. It was their powerful influence, he alleges, which made it possible for the I. W. W. to march in procession behind the body of their dead comrade, Mikolasek. As he puts it: "We dug a well in the desert at which you quenched your thirst—we, the unions of the American Federation of Labor and the Socialist Party."

We assume that the Los Angeles police are not afraid of the American Federation of Labor or the Socialist Party, as represented in this city. Only recently the latter's representatives called on the police and assured them of the party's intentions to co-operate in opposing any such proceedings as had made San Diego, for the moment, a hotbed of revolt. The police grinned and thought it a huge joke.

Of course the truth is that, under the sway of the conservative trades unions and the still more conservative Socialist Party politicians, Los Angeles is as quiet as a mill pond. There is not the slightest reason why procession of any kind, and much less funeral processions, should be prohibited. Let Los Angeles become a storm center—the thought is almost conceivable—and you won't find the police holding their hands for fear of Mr. Murray or any of his kindred.—Regeneration.

Now is the time to get a good bunch of prepaid sub cards and get other readers for Solidarity. Order today.

AFTER THE STRIKE IN LAWRENCE

[The below article appears in "The Outlook" for June 15, and is by a special Lawrence correspondent, H. E. Rodick. It is not necessarily accurate in all particulars, but is nevertheless interesting as showing the type of articles regarding the I. W. W. now appearing in many capitalist magazines.—Editor Solidarity.]

(Continued from Last Week)

In much of the writing that has been done to explain the present state of affairs in Lawrence the main endeavor has been to find some one to blame. The more definite the object of censure, the better pleased the writer was. Some, therefore, have berated the mill owners, and some have cursed the strikers. Such treatment of so big a problem is futile.

The mill owners as a class are not less kindly and conscientious than other men, nor are they so blind to their own interests as to desire a body of discontented workmen. What would you do if you were responsible for a mill in Lawrence? You would find that the owners of the textile industry in New England, instead of being a small and oligarchic group, are numbered by the scores of thousands, with over 40 per cent of them women. You would find that, instead of being in a monopoly, with power to juggle wages and prices regardless of economic law, your largest combination of cotton mills in New England controls over 3 per cent of the total business of the industry, and that the largest combination of woolen and worsted mills controls a little more than 10 per cent.

You would find that the owners in competition of the fiercest kind not only with your neighbors, but with factories located in states where laborers can work 60 hours a week instead of 54, and where they work for lower wages. You would discover that during 1910 and 1911 the business of the cotton and woolen mills in Lawrence, for example, lost money, that the Atlantic Mills dropped \$800,000—30 per cent of the capital stock—during 1911, and that many others paid dividends out of the surplus of previous years. If you had been outraged to hear that the shares of some mills, par value \$1,000, were selling for \$3,800, you would learn that this capital stock, on which dividends are paid, is said to be only a fraction of what it would cost to replace the plant; so that the dividends are but a small income on the real value of the investment. You would learn, moreover, that the 12 per cent dividends paid on this small capital in 1911 were made in one successful deparment alone, while all the others made not a cent. You would find that for every man employed an investment of about \$1,000 capital is necessary, and that this investment is deteriorating from 3 to 10 per cent annually, so that your factory must be replaced out of your savings in a few years. In the end, whether you approved it or not, you would understand why it was that, recognizing the low wages paid in the textile industry, and desiring to raise them as soon as conditions allowed, the mill directors on the first of January decided that they were not justified in paying 56 hours' wages for 54 hours' work. It may have been a foolish decision. It may have been carried out in a manner to arouse rather than allay distrust and antagonism. As the event has proved, their interest would have been far better served had they risked the larger output in raising expenses which an advance in wages required. But that the proceeding was ruthless and brutal is not the fact.

If one calls attention to the settlement of the strike with its large increase in wages, he runs into a question of great interest. Why did the employers give in? Why did they refuse at first to deal with the strikers and insist that they could not raise wages, and then, in the end, hold conferences with the strike committee and give increases that ran in some special cases as high as 56 per cent? One reason advanced is that at the beginning of the trouble they thought they had a small private war on their hands, and they expected, with the aid of the militia and the courts, to handle it, but suddenly they found themselves the center of national attention. Sociologists by the carload came to Lawrence. Official commissions arrived to investigate. Newspaper correspondents kept the pot boiling. Then the police, in an hour of aberration so absurd that it is difficult to understand it, overstepped their authority, and, under cover of a statute that had no connection

with the case, violently prevented parents from sending their own children on an out-of-town visit. Forthwith a congressional investigation was threatened. Inasmuch as the committee would surely have been Democratic, with every interest to take a shy at Schedule K, the mill owners feared an investigation that could be so used for partisan political purposes. Many people infer that this situation is one cause of the surprising eagerness with which the employers capitulated.

This, however, is not all the story. I have seen the private books of the treasurer of one of the largest companies concerned. There unquestionably was a great improvement in the conditions of the cotton and woolen industry during the 10 weeks of the strike. On January 13 there were 168,544 unfilled orders for pieces of cotton goods upon this company's books; on March 10 there were 556,821. On January 13 there were 71,093 unfilled orders for pieces of worsted goods; on March 10 there were 175,878. In the meantime the mills had been running 50 per cent of their capacity in spite of the strike, and the new business is represented by the difference between the number of pieces ordered on the two dates, plus all that had been turned out in the meantime. All the mills testify that there was justification for the rise in wages in March that was not present in January.

With whatever sympathy, therefore, one regards the cause of the wage earners, he can see in the foregoing condemnation of the mill owners for not raising wages only when he forgets to put himself in their place.

What is all this, however, to a Lithuanian who cannot read or write even his native language, who has been lured to this country by enticing pictures of prosperity, and who now finds himself living under vile conditions on a wage that keeps him permanently below the poverty line? How shall the difficult problem of "big business" be explained to him? In 1909 in one of the largest mills of Lawrence 38 per cent of the operatives were native-born; 67 per cent were foreigners; only 7 per cent were born of native parentage; 27 per cent were wholly ignorant of the English language, and 12 per cent could not even read or write their native tongue. In the local I. W. W. today there are 14 groups, each representing a nationality. I saw a young Turk pay his initiation fee, and take his assignment to the American group, because there was no special group for him. In tenements beyond description, for which rents are paid almost equal to those of the congested parts of New York City, these foreign operatives live. To the mill owners the question is one of more or less profit; to the workers the question concerns hunger and food, life and death.

If one says that with the wages paid at Lawrence even the poorest saved money, the answer is an emphatic affirmative. That is the pity of it. If you had left a mother and father or wife and children in Lithuania or Italy or Greece, would not you save money? One of three motives would compel you: You would be under the necessity of supporting your family where they are; of bringing them some day to America; or of going back some day to them. Of course the poorest workers save money. They save it if they have to sleep 10 in a room and half starve in the attempt.

The economic cause of the strike, however, has been sufficiently emphasized in all the articles upon the trouble in Lawrence. There is another cause lying behind the economic that is responsible for much of the bitterness in the hearts of the workers, and of which but little has been said. "They treated us like dumb cattle," is the summary of one of the strikers. The testimony is too general, too unanimous, to be doubted that the habitual attitude of the foremen and overseers in the mills has been one of ruthless and profane tyranny. A friend of mine, all of whose interests are with the employers, not the employees, and who knows the mills thoroughly, said to me: "I myself have seen a foreman go cursing and blaspheming through a department to fire an operative without explaining why, until my blood boiled with indignation." One of the workers, a trusted and highly paid man, who owns the cottage in which he dwells and enjoys American standards of living, told me that in his department there were none but English-speaking girls, self-respecting young women from American-trained families, but that the overseer habitually addressed them with oaths that do not bear repeating. I asked one of the most highly paid young women operatives in Lawrence to tell me the

names which were commonly addressed to the workers, and which she herself had heard. I had to ask her to stop. Some of the mills have reputations in this regard far superior to others, but the facts are witnessed to beyond controversy that, with or without the knowledge of men higher than human beings in the mills of Lawrence have been subjected to a needlessly brutal degradation and that they have rebelled. One of the men far up on the owners' side said to me concerning this inhuman personal attitude in the mills, "The manufacturers had it coming to them, and they got it!"

Indeed, out of this emotional cause of the strike have come some of its more admirable aspects. The foremost woman among the strikers was paid \$20 a week as a mender. She began work in the mill a girl of 14, and she is now 25. Her husband is paid \$20 a week as a maker of "art squares." They are Canadians by birth, and live in an pleasant home as could be desired. They went on strike, not because they had any grievance, but because, as she put it, "I am being getting madder and madder for years at the way they talked to these poor Italians and Lithuanians." Day after day she led the picket parade up and down Essex street, risking the permanent loss of the best-paying woman's position in Lawrence, because the long-pent indignation had at last its outlet. Today she reaps the reward of gratitude. They say that she could tie up three of the largest mills in Lawrence by a word. The other day an Italian slumbered up to her and said: "Me no care if I die. If any hurt you, I die for you."

A wage earners' revolt, partly born out of resentment at treatment to which human beings cannot with impunity be subjected, partly motivated by a desire for economic gain, under conditions of living at times intolerable, and partly led by the definite and compelling hope that the laborers may some day own the tools and be the possessors of all that they produce—this is the Lawrence strike. The I. W. W. is simply the incarnation of that resentment, that desire for gain, and that revolutionary social ideal. All over Lawrence you hear of the transformation in the attitude of the workers. "We have hope. We never will stand again what we stood before."

The attitude of the conservative elements in Massachusetts towards the rising spirit of the wage earners and towards its revelation in the strike is one of the most instructive aspects of the present situation. The nobility of France before the revolution could not have been more blind to the situation than some of the Bostonese. That strike should have been stopped in the first 24 hours," said a Boston lawyer recently. "The militia should have been instructed to shoot. That is the way Napoleon did it. The strikers should have been shot down. I stand for law and order!" What was said in France in 1790, "Let the people eat grass," is fairly equaled by a lady in Commonwealth Avenue, who owns stocks in the mills, and who revealed the verge of her social horizon in a curt summary of the whole matter. "The strikers should be starved back," she said. One of the leading citizens of Boston was asked whether he did not think that there was some moral question involved in the propinquity of 12 per cent dividends to \$6 a week wages, and his answer was unhesitating: "There is no question of right or wrong there. The whole matter is a case of supply and demand. Any man who pays more for labor than the lowest man he can get men for is robbing his stockholders. If he can secure men for \$6 and pays more, he is stealing from the company." Against the background of this extreme apothosis of the wage system, as the last word in social evolution, one comes to understand why the wage earners' revolt is so often likewise extreme and bitter.

The question of what actually to do with the strikers, however, weighed with immediate responsibility on the municipal government and the courts of Lawrence. They had a great problem on their hands. The present government of the city had been in office hardly a fortnight when the strike broke out. It raked with a rush, and, beginning with some destruction of property in the mills, it threatened to become a carnival of riot. Fear contrived imaginary to actual dangers, and the situation was tense to an extreme degree. Repression seemed the only necessity. The militia were called in, the most drastic regulations were put in force, the courts became draconian ("The only way we can teach them is to deal out the severest sentences," said

L. W. W. PUBLISHING BUREAU

Complete list of Publications in Stock

- "THE FARM LABORER AND THE CITY WORKER," By Edward McDonald
16 Page Pamphlet; 5 cents a Copy; to Local Unions, 2 1-2 cents.
- "Why Strikes Are Lost; How to Win." By W. E. Trautmann.
24 page Pamphlet; 5 cents a copy; to Local Unions, 5 cents.
- "The I. W. W.; Its History, Structure and Methods." By Vincent St. John
24 page Pamphlet; 10 cents a copy; to Local Unions, 5 cents
- "Patriotism and the Worker." By Gustav Herve.
32 page Pamphlet; 10 cents a copy; to Local Unions, 5 cents
- "Eleven Blind Leaders." By B. H. Williams
28 Page Pamphlet; 10 cents a copy; to Local Unions 5 cents a copy
- "Is the I. W. W. Anti-Political?" By Justus Ebert.
Four page leaflet; 15 cents a hundred; \$1.25 per thousand.
- "Political Parties and the I. W. W." By Vincent St. John.
Four page leaflet; 15 cents a hundred; \$1.25 per thousand.
- "Getting Recognition." By A. M. Stirtion.
Four-page Leaflet, 15 cents a hundred; \$1.25 per thousand.
- "Two Kinds of Unionism." By Edward Hammond.
Four page Leaflet; 15 cents a hundred; \$1.25 per thousand.
- "Appeal to Wage Workers, Men and Women." By E. S. Nelson.
Four page Leaflet; 15 cents a hundred \$1.25 per thousand.
- "Union Scabs and Others." By Oscar Ameringer.
Four page Leaflet; 15 cents a hundred; \$1.25 per thousand.
- "War and the Workers." By Walker C. Smith.
Four page leaflet; 15 cents a hundred; \$1.25 per thousand.

ADDRESS

L. W. W. PUBLISHING BUREAU,
Box 622 NEW CASTLE, PA.

Industrial Worker

Western Organ of the I. W. W.

Published Weekly. Thoroughly Revolutionary
Breathes the Western Spirit

Subscription same as Solidarity
In Combination, Both Papers \$1.50 per Year

Address

INDUSTRIAL WORKER,
Box 2129, Spokane, Wash.

Send for some Three
Months Sub Cards to Solidarity. Commission, 25c.
on the Dollar.

Order literature as above
advertised. Do it now!

L. W. W. PREAMBLE

The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There is no power, no money, no honor and no glory to be gained by the working class until it has organized itself as a class, taken possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and abolished the wage system.

We find that the centering of the management of industry in the hands of a few individuals, who are not interested in the welfare of the workers, has made it impossible for the workers to cope with the ever-growing power of these individuals. It is necessary for the workers to organize themselves into a class, to take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and to abolish the wage system.

It is the historic mission of the working class to take over the management of industry, to abolish the wage system, and to organize itself as a class, to take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and to abolish the wage system.

Judge Mahoney) and the workers, striking from the mislead motives of resentment, prurisy and revolutionary hope, found themselves face to face with all the enigma of the law and the militia.

One of the most important aspects of the present situation in Lawrence is the indignation which the strikers feel at the way in which they were treated. The results of the strike indicate that, on the whole, the leaders discouraged rather than encouraged law-breaking, save in one particular. They did intimidate the "scabs." I took from a mill superintendent to one of the strike leaders a list of special instances of intimidation, some of them involving physical violence. "Of course we did these things," the leader said. "How else could we have carried on the strike?" Like Warren Hastings considering what he might have stolen in India, they blame themselves for what they did. "With a regiment of militia to intimidate us from striking, we had to use what persuasion we could to make men afraid or ashamed to work; it was intimidation on both sides," said one.

Aside from this frightening of those who were willing to continue work, the Lawrence strike was singularly free from violence. Of all the thousands of militiamen, policemen, court officers and mill superintendents in Lawrence during the strike, not one was hurt. The two persons who were killed were strikers, and in each case the death was an accident. When, therefore, the strikers complain against their treatment by the militia and the courts, they have in their minds a very high opinion of their own self-restraint. They are thoroughly convinced that the militia were used as private police by the mill owners to put down their protests, and that the courts were determined to stretch the law to the utmost to win the struggle for the employers. They call attention to the fact that the only dynamic in evidence during the strike was planted in the Syrian colony by John J. Breen, son of an ex-mayor of Lawrence, himself an ex-elderman and a member of the board of education, and that upon being convicted

of doing this shameful deed with malicious intent to discredit the strikers he was let off with a \$500 fine. Who paid Breen to plant the dynamite? they wonder. What would the sentence of a striker have been if he had done it?

They call attention to the fact that when Ramr, the young Syrian, was killed by the bayonet of a militiaman, no investigation was made, and that to this day even the militiaman's name is unrevealed; but that when Anna Lopez was struck by a stray bullet from an unknown source, Ettor and Giovanitti, although nowhere near the scene or concerned in it, were arrested and held without bail, and were to put on trial as accessories to the act of murder, on the ground that their language, some two weeks before, encouraged disturbance, the incidental result of which was homicide? They recall that Mrs. Weizenbach and her two sisters, one of them 15 years old, were hauled from bed at midnight and dragged to the police station, on a charge so utterly untrue that when the trial occurred the prosecuting attorney called it absurd and threw up the case. They call attention to the prevention of the strikers' children from leaving Lawrence, a proceeding regretted now by the employers as much as by any one, as typical of the attitude of the courts and the police. That prejudice colors this view of the strikers goes without saying. But that it is at least in part justified and that it is a tremendous element in the present situation is clear to any one who knows. "If Ettor or Giovanitti are convicted," said one of the leaders to me, "there'll be hell in New England."

This is the situation in Lawrence today. If, in view of some obvious mistakes made in the exigency of a dangerous situation, one is tempted to condemn the courts, he would better stop long enough to imagine himself in the place of these responsible officials whose primary obligation was to maintain order. Could he have gone through 10 such weeks on an even keel, without haste, without carelessness, without mistaken judgments or prejudiced decisions?

(Continued On Page 4.)

