



VOLUME FOUR, No. 5 WHOLE No. 161 NEW CASTLE, PENNSYLVANIA, SATURDAY, JANUARY 25, 1913. SIX MONTHS, 50 CENTS. \$1.00 PER YEAR

HOTEL WORKERS

Battling in New York Against all the Forces of Reaction. I. W. W. Influence Predominating.

(Special to Solidarity.) New York, Jan. 17. The International Hotel Workers' Union, an organization of hotel and restaurant workers with a membership of 25,000, has been on strike in the city of New York for the past week. The strike was called to protest against certain conditions that prevail in this industry. These conditions are: insufficient pay, long hours, poor food, unsanitary conditions where these workers eat, where their clothes are stored during work hours, toilet, etc., and the intervention of the employment check between the workers and their jobs.

The strikers have formulated some of their demands as follows:

- 1. The abolition of the tipping system for waiters, and the establishment of a fixed weekly wage scale to be not less than twenty dollars (\$20) per week;
2. The establishment of an eight-hour day for all workers in the hotel and restaurant industry;
3. The abolition of the practice of engaging employees for hotels and restaurants through unregulated employment agencies, and the establishment in their place of employment bureaus in which the hotel and restaurant workers shall have equal control with the hotel and restaurant employers.

The following members of the I. W. W. have been on the job of assisting the I. W. W. U. to win their strike through I. W. W. methods: Gurley Flynn, Carlo Treaca, Joseph Ritor, William Trautmann, W. Rogerson and A. Giovannitti. Thus far, their efforts to enhance a spirit of solidarity amongst the strikers have been crowned with great success. Large mass meetings have been held every evening, and some of the best and most convincing industrial union propaganda that has ever been given out in so short a time in this city has resulted. French, German, Italian, Greek, English and Bohemian speakers have all spoken to the same point, namely: the necessity of an industrial form of organization if the workers would win their battles against the employing class.

Up to date the strike has been marked by the usual violence on the part of the police and the thugs specially engaged by the hotel and restaurant owners. Riotous gangs have been slugged, picketed, assaulted, thrown into jail or fined. District Attorney Whitman gave a press interview in reply to a communication from the strikers regarding the violence of the police and thugs could have but one result, that the strikers would react from it by rejecting violence for violence, by slaying the first striker who

KIDNAPING AND JUSTICE IN MERRYVILLE, LA.

(Special to Solidarity.) Merryville, La., Jan. 15.

The results of the past week presuppose the supposition that the officials of the American Lumber Co. and also of the city of Merryville, do not know that to kidnap or arrest members of the I. W. W. on a trumped-up charge means trouble in bunches for said company or city, but it is evident they do not know this, because, failing to break the strike by the usual methods, such as threats of violence, evictions, lying statements, importing of men (who will not work once they learn the true state of affairs), or threats of injunctions, etc., they, in conjunction with the ineffectual corrupt city officials, began to arrest the strikers on charges of intimidating labor.

About 7 p. m., Jan. 8, Fellow Worker Robert Allen (colored), who has been one of the most faithful strikers, spoke to a man whom he met on the streets and asked him not to take the bread out of his children's mouths, and Allen also tried to show him it was in his interest, as well as Allen's and his fellow strikers, that this strike should be won.

To show that the whole thing was a frame-up, this negro went back to the office of the American Lumber Co. and got three men—Allen, Benjamin Kinney, Reid, Fred Hamilton, and Dept. Wallace, and they brazenly came into the business meeting of Local 218 and arrested Robert Allen and put him in jail.

No warrant was served, and Allen was not informed as to the reason why he was arrested. About 11 p. m. Allen was placed in an automobile and, accompanied by Reid, kidnaped to DeRidder. No preliminary hearing or opportunity for defense were given, and it was a clear case of kidnaping. As soon as the strikers heard of this dastardly piece of work they began to make preparations to fill the De Ridder jail and give the new parish of Bienville a chance to learn a lesson taught by the I. W. W. to several other towns. The county officials also were aware of the fact that something unusual was being agitated among the strikers, and to avert a possible fire speech fight and the unworkable job of having 100,000 I. W. W. rebels to handle, they hurried Kinney Reid and Judge (2) Mason to DeRidder and had Robert Allen brought back.

Allen was then given a hearing before Mason and, although he was ably represented by Lawyer Jackson, and the evidence was all in his favor, Allen was bound over to the grand jury and his bail fixed at \$250.

During the hearing, the old, corrupt, thieving Mason was loudly shown up by Mr. Jackson and forced to admit that about all the law he knew was as much, if not less, than a 4-day-old child's words.

Bond was later furnished for Allen, and he was released. Not content with arresting Fellow Worker Allen, the two sassy negroes were sent out again the same night to catch more union suckers.

Mont Hay and Lee Williams, two white fellow workers, followed them to Bishop Rose's store and asked them to quit work. No threats were made, nor any violence attempted, and, seeing that they were pure unadulterated scabs, and intended to keep on work, they and Williams left them. The next day, (10th) Walter Bishop, a cockroach Citizens' (?) League member, issued a warrant for Slay and Williams on the charge of intimidating labor, and they were thrown in jail, but the fact of God had about seeped down into their dirty, impenetrable souls, and the attitude of the strikers was so menacing that for

(Continued on Page Four.)

"HELLO GIRLS"

How the Chicago Telephone Company Sweats the Last Penny of Profit From its Slaves at the Exchange.

We have heard all sides of the telephone question from the capitalist newspapers but the workers' side.

On applying for the job as operator a large yellow card is handed the unfortunate with the following questions:

- Name
Address
Parents name and address
What is business of parent or guardian?
Where worked previously?
How much of an education?
Why did you quit last job?
Are you married?
If so, how long?
Have you any children?
Are you divorced, or a widow?
When was the last time you had a physician?
For what ailment?
When were you last vaccinated?
By whom?
Will you agree to give ten days' notice on leaving?
Has any of your family ever had paralysis, insanity or drunkenness?
Afflicted with any nervous trouble?
What diseases have you had?
The operator then attends the telephone school for three or four weeks, after which she is sent to an exchange.

From the time she enters the school up to the time she quits the only words she hears are: "You must do so and so, and hurry up!" Here are a few of the moans:

- Must not visit with other operators.
Must sit properly at board.
Must answer calls within eight seconds.
Must collect or return nickel within 30 seconds.
Must take down disconnections promptly.
Must use set rule of phrases.
Must obey the supervisors and chief operators.

EDITOR MEETING IN PITTSBURG

(Special to Solidarity.) Pittsburg, Pa., Jan. 20.

Joseph J. Ettor received an enthusiastic reception in Pittsburg on Sunday, January 19th, the Lyceum Theatre being filled to its capacity.

Although Ettor did not arrive until 4 o'clock, the crowd waited patiently and listened to addresses from Fellow Workers George Speed and Jacob Margolis.

When Ettor entered the hall he was greeted with applause which lasted for fully five minutes. He gave an interesting talk on the principles, aims and objects of the I. W. W., giving a short review of the Lawrence strike and the events leading up to the arrest of himself and Giovannitti.

He compared the capitalist class to the fly riding on the horn of an ox in the field. When the fly was asked what he was doing he replied, "I'm eating." The capitalist class, he said, "perform the same function in society as the fly does in plowing."

He also devoted a few minutes to the latest brainstrom of Sammy Gompers, who declared that the I. W. W. was born in a lunatic asylum. He said, "We don't deny being crazy, but let the workers decide who should be in the bag house, the I. W. W. or the A. F. of L." Illustrating the policy of the A. F. of L. by showing the strike in the fishbone mills where 10 per cent of the workers in the mills went on strike against the Steel Trust, these being the skilled and highly paid workers, while the great mass of workers in the mills remained on the job, thereby helping the trust to defeat the men on strike. Good union machinists repairing the machines for the scabs and union engineers, elec-

trators.

For all this, the compensation is very poor; hardly enough to keep one out of the bread line. While at the telephone school operators receive \$5 weekly, and when sent to an exchange one begins with 11c an hour. These wages are raised every half or quarter year as follows:

Table with 2 columns: Months, Hours (day), Hours (night). Rows show wage increases from 11c to 1.50 per hour.

Girls working on evenings, 8 to 10, 9 to 11, or 4 to 5, never receive more than 17c an hour, but girls working eight hours in the day have a chance to get a raise of about a penny a year.

Girls working at all night receive 10-12 hours pay at this rate, but the work is so killing that a few months of this is sufficient.

While speaking at the Chicago Telephone Co. to outline their wage scale, Ettor handed out to them a list of questions. This food is ready to be shown what it is represented. Only those girls who have to eat it, do so. The majority never touch it.

Monday, professional business; Tuesday, business; Wednesday, business manager; Thursday, hotel boss; Friday, newspaper; Saturday, Campbell's named soap; Sunday, beer and bologna.

For dessert, an apple, cup of coffee or tea. But the coffee and tea is so cheap and badly prepared that it is enough to give an operator a nervous headache. The food is poorly cooked and disgusting to the palate.

In some part of every exchange a room, done in soft harmonious tones of brown, with velvet rugs and large bold masses and shaded electric lamps is situated. While

tricians and firemen furnishing the power and light for the scabs to run the mills. Good union railroaders handle raw material to the mills and haul away the finished product.

He showed how the policy of the A. F. of L., with its craft contracts, compels the various groups of craft-unionists to scab on each other.

He showed the difference between this method and that of the I. W. W. in which all the workers in the mills would be organized in one union and when they strike they would strike altogether and win or lose together, making no contracts or agreements with the boss which would prevent them from striking again when the opportunity presents itself.

Ettor gave some advance information as to what would be on exhibition in the museums of the future. Beside the ox cart and the spinning wheel would be labor leaders banqueting with capitalists at a swell hotel while the hotel workers were battling against this same hotel for better conditions. Another exhibit would be a group of workers in an industry on strike while the others with paid up union cards in their pockets are staying on the job helping the scabs to run the industry. The audience saw the point and were willing to admit that somebody is a candidate for the bag house, but that candidate was not the I. W. W.

A collection of \$185 was taken and a large quantity of literature was sold.

Number of "The Lumberjack," organ of the I. W. W. National Industrial Union of Forest and Lumber Workers, comes to our exchange table from Alexandria, La. Covington Hall is the editor. It is the same size as Solidarity, printed in larger type, and is full of hot stuff. Subscription price \$1 per year. Address, "The Lumberjack," Box 78, Alexandria, La.

TEXTILE CONVENTION

(New Bedford "Standard," Jan. 24.)

A steady increase in membership and a steady extension in territory were shown by the report of National Secretary Yates of the I. W. W. in the report which he read before the annual convention of that body which is in session today in (Pleasant) hall here. The secretary stated that the membership was in excess of 10,000 members in regular standing, and that the year just closed had been a fruitful one to the extension of the work of the I. W. W. A considerable portion of the report was devoted to a discussion of the problem as to whether the language branches should have any power in themselves, or whether they should be confined exclusively to the local and to a central committee, and the secretary in his report said that this question of policy was a vital one for the I. W. W., and as at present conducted was a source of danger to the strength and solidarity of the organization.

Secretary Yates refused to give out his report at the close of the meeting, saying that he wanted to make some changes and alterations in it, but his figure of mem-

bership and his discussion of language branches were the chief points touched upon in it.

About all the morning session of the annual convention was devoted to a discussion of this same plan of language branches and brief addresses were made by almost every delegate, including Joseph Ettor, who was present throughout. The former, touching this issue and referred the matter back to a committee for further investigation. The leaders of the I. W. W. believe that the language branch, and have no absolute power of their own, but that should be delegates to a local and that the action of the local should bind all branches. There was considerable opposition to this plan from many delegates, who thought it would be impossible to conduct business unless the language branches had some authority of their own, and many delegates stated that they believed the members of these language branches would not be in sympathy with the absolute centralization of power in a central local and a central committee.

"FRENCH SYNDICALISM"

Next issue of Solidarity, No. 102, the first installment of this interesting and instructive article by the secretary of the C. G. T. of France, will appear. Subscribe now, so as not to miss an issue.

# SOLIDARITY

EASTERN ORGAN OF THE INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD

P. O. Drawer 652 New Castle, Pa.

Owned and Published Weekly by  
**C. H. MCCARTY and B. H. WILLIAMS**  
C. H. MCCARTY, L. U. 209  
B. H. WILLIAMS, L. U. 207  
Place of Publication—care No. 416, Craven Ave.

H. H. Williams, Managing Editor  
C. H. McCarty, Business Manager

**SUBSCRIPTION:**  
Yearly, \$1.00  
Six Months, .50  
Canada and Foreign, 1.50  
Single Copies, per copy.  
**ONE & ONE-HALF CENTS.**  
Advertising Rates on Application.  
Carriage Paid Everywhere 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 Decem-ber 18, 1909, at the post office at New Castle, Pa., under the Act of March 3, 1879.

**INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD**  
General Headquarters—307 Mortimer Bldg  
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## A. F. OF L. MOVES

It is interesting to note just now the various "organizing" campaigns of the American Federation of Labor in different industries throughout the country. The capitalist and socialist papers are exploiting these craft union moves, and disannouncing the "great activity" of the trade unions. In and around Chicago A. F. of L. organizers are announcing that on a certain date a great and concerted campaign of organization will begin, to include the packing house workers, steel workers and others of that big center. In Pittsburgh we are also told that the A. F. of L. is organizing the steel workers and making satisfactory progress, along the Pacific coast the A. F. of L. has started a move "to line up all the loggers," etc., etc. A while ago we were told it was the textile industry which Golden and his grebe outfit of traitors were about to pick up.

The undiscerning reader may wonder at this "nervous and promising activity" of the craft unions in these particular sections and industries. But the more intelligent will observe that these are the very sections where the I. W. W. and its, One Big Union propaganda have been making a profound impression upon the minds of the slaves, and have been causing the master no little uneasiness. Not only that, but these are the very sections where, in the past few years, the A. F. of L. has thoroughly discredited itself by its official betrayals of unskilled workers in their struggles against unbearable conditions. The lumber jacks of Montana and California; the packinghouse employes of Chicago; the steel and tinplate workers of the Pittsburgh district—practically all know from bitter experience what the A. F. of L. is, and generally dub it in different languages as "no good." Left to their own choice, the rank and file of these workers will have nothing more to do with the A. F. of L.

But there are indications that it may not be left to the workers' choice, if the bosses can help it. The latter are desperate, they are afraid of the growing spirit of revolt in the mass, and of its probable manifestation through the form and methods of the I. W. W. Every active I. W. W. member or sympathizer is being watched, hounded and blacklisted by the employers of these great stratified industries in their effort to stem the tide of the revolutionary union movement. How ineffectual such methods are is only ap-

parent to those who are in the thick of the fight. The I. W. W. thrives on just such methods of the bosses.

Now it appears the masters are beginning to realize this. Hence the necessity for the bosses' modifying their tactics. The craft union leaders afford them an opportunity. Why not use the A. F. of L. official machine to head off the I. W. W. Of course we masters do not need to "couple up" any "dough" for this purpose; that is, we may not need to pay the A. F. of L. "leaders" any cash for their services; they are only too anxious to fight the I. W. W. anyway; we can "sic" them on, boost the A. F. of L. through our press (the socialists will fall for the game and help us out gratis) and we may, as we have done before, give our employes to join the craft unions, or any other union—EXCEPT THE I. W. W. In this way, we may be able to head off the revolta of our slaves, or lead them away from the direction of working class solidarity.

This is exactly what the A. F. of L. "organizing moves" of the present moment signify to a close student of the situation. Montana lumberjacks who, some three or four years ago, had to hike down the high-ways from the camps, because their jobs had been taken while they were striking, by A. F. of L. "union" men, will know what may be expected soon if the lumber trust is able to repeat that little stunt; while workers in other sections and industries will have a pretty clear idea of possible craft union tactics to be used against them.

On the other hand, it is doubtful if these "seab moves" will prove as successful now as they did in former years. The intelligence of the mass is greater; the power and influence of the I. W. W. mass far-reaching. The unshy combination of the bosses and the craft union leaders will find itself confronted with stubborn resistance on the side of an awakening working class. We have no hesitancy in predicting that the A. F. of L. "moves" will be checkmated in short order. The job of organizing the steel, packinghouse and lumber industries belongs to the I. W. W.

## THE DECLINE OF THE BALLOT

The New York World, in an editorial on "The Popular Vote," takes pains to destroy "the common belief that the presidential vote in 1912 was less than the presidential vote in 1908." It declares that this belief is incorrect. It quotes figures from The World Almanac to show that "the total vote this year was 14,058,609, as against 14,888,642 four years ago, an increase of 145,227."

As an argument on the actual increase in the popular vote, this showing is too literal. It forgets to consider the increase in the voting population from 1908 to 1912. If this is taken into account it will be seen that voting is on the decline, greatly so.

According to the World Almanac of 1912 the popular vote in 1904 was 13,510,648; in 1908, 14,888,642; a gain of 1,377,794, or 1,232,564 more than is recorded as the gain of 1912. In this connection, it must be remembered that the voting population from 1908 to 1912 was not only increased by native and naturalized male voters, but also by the extension of woman suffrage. In California, alone, some 400,000 voters were thus added to the list. This, alone, is almost three times the amount of the increase in the popular vote, as given in the World editorial.

Right here, we might take another view of the popular vote in its relation, not only to the increase in the number of voters, male and female, but also in its relation to the entire body of voters. The United States census estimated, prior to the last election, that there are about 27,000,000 males of voting age in this country. Taking this as a basis for comparison with the popular vote of 1912 it means that there are over 13,000,000 who do not or can not vote. In other words, nearly 50 per cent of those able to do so do not or can not exercise the right of franchise. If the figures of 1908-1912 indicate anything they indicate an increase in this tendency. Why is this? Why do voters refuse to vote? Are they disfranchised by conditions, or are they convinced that the vote is impotent and use, accordingly, looking for new means to assert their power?

These facts should commend themselves to the working man who seeks the emancipation of the working class by way of the ballot. His method, apparently is losing ground. It is creating a condition in which only those with strong enough prop-

erty interests and long established places of residence, like the skilled workers, will be the voters. In eight years, if the tendency continues, there will be more non-voters than voters. What is the political actionist going to do about it? What is his remedy for this situation? Is the workman, who will not or can not vote at all, and do nothing to smart himself in his own interests or those of his class?

The industrial unionist has a remedy. He would bind all the workers—some 25,000,000 all told—in one big economic organization, the industrial union. Herein the voters and non-voters alike, men, women and children; negroes, foreigners and miners, may assert themselves once more in their own class interests. Herein they can build the new society in the shell of the old, by institutions peculiarly their own. The vote will decline; but all the tendencies of the times show that revolutionary industrialism is bound to grow.

## THE WOMAN QUESTION AGAIN

I would like to discuss a little further why I believe there can be no woman's question in the revolutionary movement.

It is not my intention to antagonize. I merely wish to express my own conclusions drawn from past and present history. I am willing to give way before the truth, but I want to know that it is the truth and not popular opinion that I am accepting.

Our goal is common freedom with this ideal in view our eyes are opened to the wrongs in the old code of morals. Nevertheless, it will be some time after we have become established within the environment of a new society before our ethical code for that society will have fully developed. Then it will gradually come into existence as we adjust ourselves to the new conditions. We have not time now to fit them. The ethics of one society have always followed far into the next. Traces of the old gentile society were quite evident in Rome when Rome was at its height.

Under any conditions which breed dissatisfaction we are bound to make attempts toward relief, but the only possible manner in which we can give ourselves permanent relief is to get at the root of the dissatisfaction. The root of the dissatisfaction with marriage relations is in the system of private ownership, so that is one problem of interest to the women to fight. Not how to give her sex, but how to fight this battle so that she may gain her right to give it in conformity with her own nature.

## Woman Has Always Been Bought at the Price of Her Sex

In my article before I tried to explain how ideals which are not the outgrowth of the environment are apt to be of lower standard than the old ideal, because of the coloring our organs need gives to our reasoning. Now I want to say why for this reason we cannot see any settlement of the sex relations to the revolutionist.

The men of the working class are feeling the need of a new moral for women. Conditions have made it impossible for them to own separate wives, so they would own women in common or alternately. The needs are plain enough, but the conditions are wrong, so we cannot accept the ideal arising from them.

We only want the woman to respond to her inclinations, some one says. Past history proves that under normal conditions, it is women's inclination to be exclusive in her sex love. There is only one love for her while that one love lasts. When there is a new, the old love is dead and becomes repellent to her. The constant changing from one love to another would indicate a weak, unreliable character. Character is largely made up through the control of the reason over the feelings. We have seen to keep our feelings under control or we will become maniacs. If other feelings must be controlled why not the sex feelings?

But women are showing a disposition for interest outside this one love of theirs. They are clamoring for attention from the outside world. Yes, I grant it. The woman's ideals and interest are becoming broader all the time. But since the days of hetairae, or freed women of Greece, we have had a quality of men called "Eight-Hour Workday; What It Will Mean, and How to Get It," by August Walquist. This is a good introduction to the agitation for a shorter workday, which must soon take shape through the I. W. W. Order now. Price of leaflet, 15 cents per hundred; \$1.25 a thousand. Address: W. W. Publishing Bureau, Box 628, New Castle, Pa.

she would have been thrown out from her world of opportunity. So we find women of today with broad minds, yearning for the social intercourse of other minds congenial with theirs, giving their sex and the price of this association. Not because their sex feeling has become so strong that they must exhaust it in this manner, but because they are willing to sacrifice their sex feelings to supply their intellectual demands.

It is the innate disposition of every man to expect a woman to pay with her sex for all the benefits she receives from his social, intellectual or otherwise.

The woman who refuses to pay this price, but battles in the face of it for her place in the intellectual world has a harder battle to fight, than if she consulted the usual social code. She is the reality, for every effort will be made to ostracize and isolate her, and she is doing the real work to benefit her sex, for she is at least waging war against the inherited prejudice that has permeated the system of man with the "vintner." "Don't think of me, or expect anything of me unless you are willing to go to hell for me."

The results of private ownership have by no means ended in the revolutionist. The old ideals end only where he feels himself in a pinch (as I need), he supplies himself just as freely from the old storehouse.

There is no more a woman's question than there is a man's question. It is just as impossible for the woman to free herself from the old moral code under present conditions as it is for the man to free himself from industrial conditions. By refusing to accept them he has placed himself under conditions still more uncertain. These conditions express themselves in the shiftless unreliable character of the man, just as sex looseness will express itself in an ungracefully disposition in the woman. The only possible manner in which either the man or the woman can help him, or herself, is to become conscious of the conditions creating the wrongs and spend their energies toward changing these conditions. So the man and the woman may as well take hands with the one purpose in view:

Agitate, educate and organize. The sex question, and that is all that can be considered as a woman's question in the labor movement, demands so little attention that it is best to drop altogether. Let individual women live as they please but don't try to control them through any ideal that may have sprung up within the movement. It is undoubtedly true that in the lightness with which this question has been passed over there has been a complete failure to reach its depths. Our men have thought only of themselves, and felt themselves benevolent in inventing this handy means of compensating themselves for the social benefits that women are beginning to demand of them. I can not help guessing that the men have failed to look deep enough into their own natures to know what is best for them.

Beliefs often become popular when there is no solid evidence of their truth.

Is the sex question nearly so important in the lives of men and women as we are in the habit of looking upon it to be? It is commonly known that sex feeling is one of the greatest incentives toward the creation of art, poetry and institutions.

We have passed from the stage of animalism and hope to probe deeper into the intellectual world. Is it not a question if much the greater part of the sex energy may not be exhausted through the creation of things to beautify the world? The greatest inspiration the world has ever known is when some romance has ended before its realization. If men and women would cease to look upon each other quite so much as instruments of physical pleasure, and bend out instead the mystery of depths untired by themselves, yet ever sensitive to the influence of congenial companionship, I think it possible that we might receive greater benefit from the society of each other than we are getting at present.

The ideal of the future is to let the greatest enjoyment out of our emotional world through the control of our reason over it, not for our feelings to govern our intelligence. **MRS. FLOYD HYDE.**

## EIGHT-HOUR LEAFLET

All I. W. W. local and active unionists should send for a quantity of the new leaflet, "Eight-Hour Workday; What It Will Mean, and How to Get It," by August Walquist. This is a good introduction to the agitation for a shorter workday, which must soon take shape through the I. W. W. Order now. Price of leaflet, 15 cents per hundred; \$1.25 a thousand. Address: W. W. Publishing Bureau, Box 628, New Castle, Pa.

Get a bunch of sub cards.

## WAR DEMONSTRATIONS IN FRANCE

Monday, Dec. 16, the strike of 24 hours organized by the French Confederation of Labor took place. The people have shown their opinion of war, and in spite of a lying press we can say that the demonstration has succeeded. The bourgeois press, obeying the orders received from high quarters, did its utmost to diminish the importance of the act and to falsify the figures. By ministerial order the Prefects, who had substituted their authority to that of the mayor, closed the liquor exchanges and the meeting halls. In all the provinces meetings were prohibited. And nevertheless we can say that the number of strikers in Paris and the Seine department was about 110,000. The "Bataille Syndicaliste," the organ of the French union, states that the number of strikers in the whole of France has been over 600,000. In the Ardennes over 50,000 workers in the metal trade left their workshops and factories, and demonstrated their hatred of war, their sympathy for the C. G. T., whilst the delegate of the Central Executive thinks that the number of the strikers on the eastern frontier must have been about 50,000. At Lyons, where the police provoked riots and disorders, over 50,000 workers of the town and surroundings took part in the demonstrations. Similar scenes took place in other large towns. All this movement has clearly what the proprietors think of war. We draw especially attention to this demonstration because it is the first time such a movement has been organized, and therefore it presented great difficulties. The importance of the movement was shown especially by the opposition and hatred from the governing classes, which laugh at the revolutions as taken at the congress of Basel. In Paris the police searched the offices of the unions and labor exchanges in order to get hold of the correspondence of the strike committee, but their efforts were not very successful. At Lyons, where serious riots took place, 55 arrests were made, and several condemnations of comrades, some to 14 and 26 months, have been made. Nearly everywhere some arrests and prosecutions took place. This shows all the more that the movement has been a success. Seven hundred thousand workers may be said to have shown their international feelings, and such a force, if determined, is sufficient to prevent their country being dragged into a war.

## A FOOL QUESTION ANSWERED

Will we call "Bobby" Hunter, in his anxiety to annihilate industrial relations, arise to ask the fool question: "Is the general strike a disease of insanity?" Evidently, with "Bobby" like sabotage, the general strike has become a disease of the imagination; for the arguments that "Bobby" conjures up in connection with both subjects are full of those "translatory things" which make the imagination so fervid, so feverish and so unreliable. However, "Bobby" asks the question at a time when conditions will answer for him, if he is not very dumb. For instance, the Garment Workers Union, one of the oldest and most matured unions in the American Federation of Labor, is conducting a general strike in New York City involving over 100,000 persons. Likewise another A. F. of L. union, the White Goods Workers, is doing precisely the same thing in the same city, with 25,000 or 35,000 persons involved. It was but only recently, again, that in England, the "classical home of trades unionism," with its most venerable labor organizations, the general strike was rampant in at least three basic industries. Even Germany, where everything is hoary with age, has its general strikes turned into general lockouts. Not only have old, established and fully developed unions indulged in the general strike here and abroad in the past, but more of the same kind threaten to engage in it in the future. The International Machinists Union, which is so mature as to be senile, and with a socialist president at its head, is about to boot, threaten to call out 116,000 members as a general strike for the 8-hour day. Then there is Belgium (who dares not speak of Belgium, the country of "Bobby's" model movement); there's Belgium, aged and respected by the Hunter-school of "scientific" socialism, getting ready to use the general strike to obtain complete suffrage. Is the general strike a disease of insanity? Yes; if insanity means the climax of an old system, and the beginning of a new one born of it. **JUSTUS EBBERT.**

## Don't let the work of education lag. Push the press and literature.

From this he speaks to us. "I of the gallies" "to hell with justice-in" fact, "redon in a debarat" ty's crowd. Misrepresente. The Underst fairly raised. And then we the able. Pre augmented by hear Haywood things that there a voting revolution impolite as it without first a. In spite of of the fact that of s' J. W. W. Haywood look when he was. He wanted race in a good pace always but went dire. "Fellow W. no introduction reception is the principles, the auspices of the work purpose of the of the work where we are gance; an orga campaign of unions look capitalist has W. W. We destroy the fact the capitalist pel them to their overalls milk with us. Along the line one of its me that his inter the capitalist and will con bread in the The class strag here in Oti-nopoly on it. We will go only so far as ing-man, and know of. T Angeles that with the Me call off all the cured to the could get a themselves. world-wide in. War. Concluding events of Blis. "And when heard the struggle as a strike and the Triangle fr was brought first constit one thing the general to win—a po be another tion and com young Fin soldier or pin will be part-years ago Sweden who general strike the govern on the rail ferer with water and the your country over the working I visited French ban mines of the to their main side. The to protect the called upon Building T general strike would it be. Los Angeles, the American enal strike. The working.

# HAYWOOD'S LOS ANGELES SPEECH

(Reported for Solidarity by Georgia Kotisch.)

From the heart of the class-struggle they spoke to us. From the jail and the shadow of the gallows rope. Jack Wigste, of "to-hell-with-your-counts-I-know-what-justice-is" fame, frank and unflinching in San Diego's jail, smiling and debonair and making no bid for a martyr's crown, introduced Haywood, the Misrepresenter.

The undrable were out in force and fairly, vested the great roof of the Shrine Amphitheater when Haywood walked down the aisle Friday night. The crowd was augmented by many who were curious to hear Haywood after reading so many things that he did and didn't say. So there were a lot of nice folks there, too—voting revolutionists who wouldn't be so impulsive as to do anything to a capitalist without first asking his advice about it.

In spite of his strenuous activities and the fact that he carries the stormy role of all I. W. W. and Socialist Party men, Haywood looked considerably younger than when he was here some years ago. He wanted no time in putting the audience in a good humor—an I. W. W. audience always being a cheerful state—but went directly to his subject.

"Fellow Workers: I feel that I need no introduction. We are one family. This reception is not for me personally, but for the principles I represent. We need under the auspices of the I. W. W., an organization of the working class with the avowed purpose of fighting the every-day battles of the working class on the industrial field, where we meet the capitalists at their own game, an organization which will make the campaigns of the pure and simple trade unions look like an invalid's picnic. The capitalist has every reason to fear the I. W. W. We workers are not going to destroy the factories we have built, but strip the capitalist class of their ownership, compel them to roll up their sleeves, pat on their overalls and go into the mines and mills with us. The I. W. W. is organized upon the lines of the class struggle. Not one of its members imagine for a moment that his interest is identical with that of the capitalist. This struggle is irrevocable and will continue as long as one can see bread in the sweat of another man's face. The class struggle has been concentrated here in Oils-town, but you have no monopoly on it, it is world-wide.

We will go back in history a little way—only so far as runs the memory of a workman, and that is the shortest thing I know of. There are working men in Los Angeles that would sign up an agreement with the Merchants & Manufacturers and all off all the terrible things that have occurred to them and forget them if they could get a small increase in wages for themselves. Other working men view the world-wide struggle as part of themselves.

### World Wide Class Struggle

Concluding a dramatic recital of the events of Bloody Sunday, the speaker said, "And then you heard the rolling you heard the echo of the world-wide class struggle you hear it in the shrieks and groans of the exiled Russian girls now on strike and of those burned to death in the Triangle fire. The Russian government was brought to its knees and forced to grant constitutional government. That was one thing in one nation accomplished by the general strike. It was a small thing to win a political habeas, but there will be another soon to abolish the constitution and establish industrialism. Every young man is compelled to serve as a soldier or pay a great tribute in gold. They will be part of the general strike. A few years ago we were sending funds to Sweden which was engaged in a great general strike. It was led by socialists in the government who decided not to call out the railroad workers for fear of interfering with the government. They told me in Stockholm of living on black bread and water and they said, 'Tell the workers in your country we will be with them until the working class of the world triumphs.' I visited the Latin countries. Certain French bankers had an interest in the gold mines of the Riffs. The Moors objected to their mines being invaded from the outside. The King of Spain was called upon to protect the financial institutions and he called upon the youth to go to war. The Building Trades of Barcelona went on a general strike to prevent war. How long would it take for the Building Trades of Los Angeles to strike to prevent war or the American Federation to declare a general strike for any purpose? (Laughter.) The working class of this country is not

organized for the general strike. It is organized for co-partnership with the employing class rather than for putting it out of business.

A glowing tribute was paid to Francisco Ferrer and his work. "When they sounded his death-knell capitalism in Spain sounded the workers everywhere till even in Egypt is carried on a campaign for industrial unionism. Roosevelt in London Guild Hall, with bloodshot eyes and clenched teeth, gave vent to the same spirit that shot the fleeing Spantard at San Juan Hill and that attacked us when we were lying on our cots, but poor Ferrer is carrying on his campaign still and industrial unionism is growing more rapidly there than anywhere in the world.

In Italy they know how to strike—at the point of production. In the lap of the new-born political liberty of Portugal they are asking for industrial liberty—asking to work when they want to work and to receive the full social value of their work.

I went to Wales during the great mining strike. They have been striking for hundreds of years, but this was the first strike of its kind. I told them of a strike in a mining camp in California when the pumpmen and engineers were called out first and the spirits of the bosses was down as the waters rose in the mine. So the Welshman tried the experiment and every man quit. The bosses took the bookkeeping force to try to run the pumps. They pled for the 300 pumps—surely they would not let them drown. No, they would hoist them up and let the owners feed them during the lay-off. The police were called. It must be said for the police of Great Britain that they are not the murderous outfit we have in this country. They are not allowed to carry firearms. It seems to be understood that a man who will work as a policeman is unable to trust with weapons. They carried bats long—but the miners carried pickhandles that long. Then at the behest of the mine owners the King of England, like his half-witted relative in Spain, sent soldiers to drive the miners back to work. But many of the soldiers and hitlers to the words which spell solidarity and class consciousness and they took the locks of their guns and threw them away and rendered the guns useless. This was sabotage on the government. I know there are patriots here who say that those men did wrong, were not loyal to the government and did not live up to the obligation taken when they became soldiers. It is better to be a traitor to your country than to your class. They were loyal to their brothers in the coal mine. There were some who were loyal to the government and sped the bullet into their brothers' breasts. Many were killed, but the strike was not broken.

Just previous to this the workers of England had spent fifteen million pounds to get out of the coal mine. They were told what you do every four years. But you are not satisfied with one thing. You must have nine, to sit on their thrones in the next election and wear the right to declare unconstitutional and all laws your representatives make. These are the bulwark of capitalism and are duplicated in the United States and you expect to get before these and have laws enacted in your behalf. There never was a time in the history of the workers when a subject class could enforce legislation in its own interest. You are not subject unless you allow the capitalist class to select the ground upon which you fight. Select your own ground. Remember you hold the power in the shop even if the employer does hold the title.

For the first time in mining history all the miners in Wales saw the sunshine at the same time. In this country, other industries quickly followed them in Great Britain and if the rest of the workers had been prepared to have kept those mines for awhile the general strike in England would have turned over the mines to them. And that is the great power of the general strike—the key to unlock the shackles which bind the wage-slave world.

The International Socialist Congress at Copenhagen resolved as a means to prevent war to declare a world-wide general strike if necessary. If we can make peace with the general strike we can do more. We can lock the capitalists out and continue to run the machinery. It was in France during the railroad strike. It was not like any in this country. Every Jerry on the brake and every stenographer in the office carried the same kind of card. They were all in one big union. The strike lasted three days and secured an increase of two francs a day in wages and reduced the hours from ten to eight. In this country, a strike is not large enough for two large men to turn around there is room for two labor organizations, both working for the same company. In Britain we represented the union of mail clerks, baggage-men, brakemen (now for their record as

scale), conductors, and on the track, the fire men. They don't strike in the ports because they are a little off-color—but the company takes any broad enough across the back and narrow enough between the eyes to make a good wage slave. There are 40 railroad organizations, more or less, in this country, and they maintain expensive lobbies at the state legislatures and congress, and, as a result, they have been successful in reducing the hours of labor, so that now no railroad worker works more than 16 hours in one time. They need to work 26 hours in one time.

### Sabotage

The French government discharged 5,500 of the strikers, and the rest refused to return to work without them. Then Premier Briand called out the reserves, and, as soldiers, the men were forced to return to work. White bands upon their arms marked the members of the C. G. T. Then I learned it was possible for a well-disciplined army of workers to put in full time and over-time and be on strike at the same time. I'll tell you how it operated, crying the risk of violating article 2, section 4.

Fifty thousand tons of freight was piled up. The workers were busily engaged in loading it. Some day the trucks got to Marseilles, where it was just as busily unloaded, and some day the mistake was discovered and it was reloaded for Paris and landed in Lyons. The packages were marked: "Shotguns, notice address." These were for their own prisoners in the jails, and these went through properly. A train loaded with lemons, butter, fruits, destined for the miners on the boardwalks, would break down, and it always happened to break down in a working class district, where the workers would have to be distributed to keep it from spoiling. Some think the workers are not entitled to the best. They are. In the packing houses, there are three grades of goods put in the same class and working class, the letter being the scrapings, the long tails and short tails. I think it is a good scheme to organize the packing houses to put the first class label on the third class and vice versa. Give the third class to the fellow who does nothing. That is sabotage. Some capitalists see sabotage means dynamite. It wouldn't hurt them to study a little bit. Others say direct action means physical violence. I am an advocate of direct action. It's the shortest way home. I do not advise any group of workers to elect representatives to do what they can for themselves. At the American Federation's convention a vote was taken which many say indicates that the Federation is moving on to industrial unionism. It is not much more than the idea of the organization. The United Mine Workers is industrial in form, but is poisoned by all the vices of trade unionism. Why do we workers in the country organized and divided into districts one is played against another and they teach on their own members. This magnificent organization, nearly 400,000 strong, is in entire agreement with the boss that contracts shall expire on different dates and there is never united action. The initiation fee is \$50. All these are reactionary tactics.

### Direct Action

I will show the value of direct action by using a union which you may not consider revolutionary. A number of years ago the Typographical Union decided to go on strike. It had followed the tactics advocated by politicians who would have tried to pass an eight-hour law in forty-eight states. They thought that if the laws would have gone the supreme court would have got what the ten-hour law of the baker got from a judge who never struck a blow in his life. The Typographical Union decided on direct action. In its convention in 1908 it passed one law and that law was from the convention hall to the organized shop and on the first of January it went into effect in the 48 states, in Canada, in Mexico, Porto Rico, the Philippines and Hawaii. Do you see any physical force or dynamite about that?

The industrial power of the people is not at Sacramento or Washington. It is in the industries. The I. W. W. is not interested in the machinery of government, but in the government of machinery. We are not here to patch a system too rotten to hold another patch. Change it from a political junk shop to an industrial work shop with jobs enough for everybody and everybody on the job. We know we can accomplish the result we have set out to attain. We are not interested in power upon which civilization rests, the brain and brawn of the working class. Capital can take all it has and yet we could build the old world over again.

### Protected Capitalism

The Executive Association of the Steel Trust, came to your city not to organize but to permeate. When it is announced that every labor organization could be wiped out by one law, for they were divided among themselves. But one remained—the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers—who are not afraid in this most hazardous occupation men who never die—they are not afraid to place they got \$5 a day for scaling sky scrapers. The Executive Association cared not for widows and orphans. This organization stood between us and more profits. It started out to put it out of business. The fight was merciless. It used that most human weapon, the shackles. The government is largely responsible for the results which followed. When its rights are violated in foreign

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parts immediately sends specks to blow them off the map. Citizens are taught murder, violence, destruction, by the example of the nation. Patriotism and the soldier are held up before our youth. Here all lives were lost in an explosion to rescue the mines and lost. They took the chance on the cheapest commodity in the world—human life. No federal grand jury was appointed to investigate. In the Grand Central depot tons of dynamite exploded and lives were lost; in Wyoming herds of sheep were dynamited; at Cripple Creek the Independence depot and 19 men killed; in California iron works set in mines against the laws of the state, but there was no federal grand jury.

There is a man in the city of Los Angeles charged with bribing a jury. You and I know him well. He has struggled for the poor and lifted his voice for the oppressed. They are trying to break the spirit of this great man and send him to the penitentiary. What is your answer? Will you let Clarence Darrow go to the dungeons? Let your answer ring out to those who hate the working class will hear it from the hapless waves of the Pacific to the rear of the Atlantic. By God, you will not put Clarence Darrow in a dungeon cell. He is our friend. He has fought for us, and we will fight for him." (Tremendous applause.)

In closing, the speaker referred to the strikes at Little Falls, Merryville and Lawrence. "If the rest of you will furnish me with seven-cent mail, I will do it," he said, "we can whip any capitalist in the country. The only violence we will commit is to put our hands in our pockets and send seven-cent mail to you." The court issued an injunction, and they sang the Internationale, and the bosses went crazy and planted dynamite. Breen was convicted and fined \$500. Breen was convicted and sentenced seven years. With the strike we got \$15,000,000 in wages in ten weeks and organized 27 different nationalities into One Big Union. Mr. Haywood said his respects to Mr. Otis, but said he regretted that his education had been neglected—that he only

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