





# WHAT'S THE MATTER WITH GRAND RAPIDS?

By O. L. Wakeup

What is the matter with Grand Rapids, Mich.? Why does not the I. W. W. grow here?

Consider the reports on economic and determined industrial revolutionists chronicling the many lullies and wonderful growth of the I. W. W. in all parts of the country. The question arises: why does not this, a reminder that there is at least one industrial center that, up to date, apparently pays little heed to the message of revolutionary industrial unionism. If this is so, it is better that it be known and the reasons therefor discussed so that means of bringing about a change in the attitude of the workers may be discovered and applied. We must know the weak spots as well as the strong; it will not do to deceive ourselves or others concerning our growth and strength, that is, so far as the workers are concerned. Disclosing and examining an obstacle seemingly hard to overcome, should not dampen our ardor or discourage our growth. We will meet with a lot of these in the course of our development. They should, and will, serve to make us more determined than ever to overcome every obstacle that hinders us in our sure and onward march to industrial freedom.

Local No. 202, I. W. W. was organized in July, 1910, and was chartered out of the thirty or more, though members only a half dozen or so worked in the furniture industry. The others were engaged in the shoe, leather and several were members of craft union who had the courage of their convictions in sufficient quantity to join and help in a concrete manner the upbuilding of revolutionary industrial unionism.

The membership has fluctuated up and down, and some excellent material has been developed, only to be lost and become laborers for the one big union; many have joined and dropped out. If, at the present time, Local 202 had all who were once members, together with all those who say they "believe" in the I. W. W. and think it is all right and the only thing-if we had all these as members, Local 202 would certainly be a big local. In fact, we'd have three or four locals here.

But, while 202 lacks the membership, it possesses the revolutionary spirit. Ever since organization, no matter how the firing line has gone ahead, and the little bunch that has stood together through the ups and downs of the local, has each week, dug into its joints, and has expended and sent forth what little aid it could to where it seemed most needed.

We have distributed lots of literature, held meetings, and taken advantage of various opportunities to advertise the fact of our being. But, judging by our membership, revolutionary industrial unionism does not get the location.

Some of the reasons for the non-growth of the I. W. W. here are as follows:

**Character of the Population**  
The workers seem to be contented with their "lot." The dominant nationality is Holland and the majority of these workers come from farming communities and small settlements in Holland, where the standard of living is low. The population is "God-fearing" and "law-abiding"; the ministers dominate and conservatism prevails. The children of these workers are fully impressed by their parents and the dominant faith. The church is the whole thing. This is not meant as a reflection. There are different characteristics between all nationalities; some are more pronounced than others. Also there are differences in the workers of the same nationality coming from different sections of the same country, but living under different conditions. For instance, in Grand Rapids, while the church-going conservative Holland element dominates at present, the majority of the members of 202 and the most revolutionary are those who come from the large industrial centers of Holland, where radical and revolutionary ideas, and non-church-going, are more prevalent.

**Large Families and "Home-Buying" Disincentive**  
Large families and home-buying are other means for keeping the workers conservative and timid. The dominion impresses on the slave the idea that to stand with the "big policeman" is to risk and have duty to marry early in life and propagate a large family, the larger the greater the reward in the "hereafter," I suppose. The workers here, judging by the visible evidence, have contracted fairly followed the "divine" command to "increase and multiply" so that there are lots of unemployed slaves on the job on the market. "Race

that knows how." "Home-buying." Oh, how the capital play on the desire of the worker to have a home to "own your own home," what a fine thing-for the capitalists; but at the present time a snare and delusion for the workers.

In my 24 years' experience all over the United States I have seen and know that those cities in which large numbers of workers owned their homes were always low-wage, long-workday, open shop, and the workers' unionism is made to get an increase in wages or some other betterment might cause "friction" between the union and the boss, as a rule the members to vote against such propositions are the "home owners," the conservative property owners, the members who had a "stake in the community" and could be depended upon to vote against the "home owners" who owned nothing and did not give a damn. In this city where the industrial center of the Chamber of Commerce and could be depended upon to vote against the "home owners" who owned nothing and did not give a damn. In this city where the industrial center of the Chamber of Commerce and could be depended upon to vote against the "home owners" who owned nothing and did not give a damn. In this city where the industrial center of the Chamber of Commerce and could be depended upon to vote against the "home owners" who owned nothing and did not give a damn.

The "home-owning" proposition is put up in a very attractive package and the worker will stop to think it over, and will not permit his sentiment to becloud his reason, he will perceive it is to the good. For the real estate shark. For instance, if you own a \$1,500 or \$2,000 house for \$2800; you pay \$250 or so down and the rest on "easy" terms, the same as you pay for the furniture for the same interest, that is, for the first year interest will be \$8 per month (maybe a little more), which will leave \$7 a month on principal, so that the first year you will have \$84 on your "home" but, as you keep on paying the interest goes down and the principal goes up. Besides principal interest, you must pay all taxes and assessments against the property, and fire insurance, and keep your home in "reasonable" repair; and the party who sells you your home will be judge of the reasonable repair, as he does not wish the place to depreciate in value, because he may have to "sell" it to some other slave. Also for your own interest you must keep your property against fire, and have some time to dispose of your white elephant. Then when you get caught on the home-buying stunt, all your spare time and what money you can gather hold of goes to improve the place; instead of paying on it you are always putting in something; you can't help it, that is the home buying game, and you will have to take it. You get so you can't or won't think about anything but "owning" the home and hanging on to a job at any price. At the time you "buy" your home, you are already in a "change for the worse" may occur, but you can't move; you see, you "own" the home, and where the location they do not conceal their prejudice of your home also depreciates. However, you may live to get your home paid for, when it will be about time to rebuild it. At the time of insurance and repairs continue. The "home-buying" bait is one of the greatest by which the capitalists have lured the workers and shown that what desirable means the workers have to improve their position to strengthen their grasp on their victims. Workers, beware of the "home-owning" bug; get together in the one revolutionary industrial union and OWN THE JOB!

**Politics and Politicians**  
Politics, as well as religion, keeps the workers muddled and divided. The capitalist politicians of Mayor Geo. E. Ellis, have paid little or no attention to the I. W. W. Ellis has invented all the venom of his narrow capitalist mind on the I. W. W. for two reasons. One, the I. W. W. had the audacity to endeavor to help the garbage workers in a useful day ago. You see the garbage workers were in a department, the controlling board of which is appointed by the mayor, and it was unconstitutionally unjust and impolitic for these workers to strike in a department controlled by that great "friend" of labor, Mayor Geo. E. Ellis, who, so far as I can learn, never performs a useful day labor in his life. Had the strike been under the board of education, or some other not controlled by the mayor, it would have been a different matter. The I. W. W. has a great political capital out of it. Ellis ought to be a member of the machine hands' union, as he has built up a great craft union political machine by doing the I. W. W. a great wrong and appointing a few members of different unions to political jobs. Outside of the hot air he continually pours forth and the appointments referred to, I fail to see what Ellis

done for the craft unions; but George has 'em at his beck and call. Appointing a labor akate to a political job, neither raises wages, shortens the working day or gives job control to the workers. Because the labor akate sells his union influence for a good job, why should any member of a union support and go on the campaign that buys the labor akate's influence? It doesn't benefit anyone unless the fellow that gets the job. Another thing that the craft unionists laud Ellis for is that during the furniture workers' strike he fought against having the militia sent here; the workers think that was a fine thing to do; it was-for Ellis. When the militia is called out on strike duty, it means an extra burden for the taxpayers, and the more taxable property you own the greater your tax burden will be. Geo. E. Ellis is reputed to be one of the largest taxpayers in the city, so you see when the mayor fought against the militia he was fighting more for Geo. E. Ellis' interests than for the workers. Besides, look at the political capital he made out of it. The calling of the militia would have made it difficult for the workers, but it would have made a hell of a difference to the taxpayers of Kent county, as at that time the county had to bear all the expense. Ellis did not stop at appointing the militia to office, but went into the Socialist Party, for at the present time the state secretary of the S. P. is secretary of the Public Welfare Commission by virtue of the appointment of the mayor. But the chief thing Ellis has against the I. W. W. is that it teaches direct action and does not give a fig for the party and their ballot boxes, and that is a heinous crime, in the eyes of his honor. The mayor is also opposed to the Utah Mormons and the anarchists; the latter because they are using for political action, and the former because they are not numerous enough to be a political force; they were, Ellis would like to them, he does to Catholics, politicians, and Socialists, etc. The mayor has not only got the craft unionists signed, sealed and delivered, but a large majority of the other workers. Three strikes have been on in this city the past summer; why doesn't Ellis use some of his "influence" to settle them. The mayor has reform the I. W. W. permission to speak on the streets, as he has done on this city the past summer; why doesn't Ellis use some of his "influence" to settle them. The mayor has reform the I. W. W. permission to speak on the streets, as he has done on this city the past summer; why doesn't Ellis use some of his "influence" to settle them.

**Kick out the politicians of all kinds.**  
**Craft Unionism**  
Among the craft unions some of the "leaders" go out of their way to misrepresent and abuse the I. W. W. They claim the credit for the A. F. of L. and the I. W. W. and the benefits for workers, and blame all A. F. of L. defeats and setbacks to the I. W. W. some of them have even represented their cover the number of the leaders in the furniture workers' unions. Some "leaders" look up to the I. W. W. as a job, while others don't give a damn about it one way or the other. Fact is, most of the leaders are so busy trying to keep their unions together they have time to worry about the I. W. W. Outside of a few militant like the Bricklayers, the Typographical, Brewery Workers and one or two others, craft unions do not amount to much, being merely mere bums to the I. W. W. workers from whom some smart greens draw salaries, and who give a social nod and then. At the time of the furniture workers' strike, 4,000 workers were organized, while now, I am informed, that about 600 are left. Notwithstanding the published statements as to their being 12,000 union members here, it is a safe bet that 1,500 will cover the number. As to the general membership, some of them (many in the unions that are still able to get benefits for the membership) think the I. W. W. is O. K. and they will stick to their jobs for the reason that they see no necessity for doing so; they get comparatively good wages, work eight or nine hours, have a little shop control, and fairly decent conditions; also, some craft unions will not permit their membership to join the I. W. W. Other members, due to misrepresentation, are of the opinion that the I. W. W. were something fierce; while others don't think or want to think about it.

It is hard enough in this burg to interest a worker in a conservative craft union, but when you mention "revolution," all bets are off. It is my opinion the I. W. W. should not admit workers as members who of their own free will, and without membership in a craft union. His fellow workers in the craft union look upon him as a traitor (and his enemies in the union work this overtime) while the workers outside whom he advises to join the I. W. W. look upon him as a trimmer, if not worse. So the revolutionary craft unionist gets it going and coming. Let those revolutionists who must remain in the craft unions contribute money and aid in other ways to build up the I. W. W., but let them remain out of the present.

**The I. W. W. Itself**  
Another thing that has militated against the I. W. W. local is the fact that it was chartered and always referred to as a furniture workers' local. This kept other workers away, their eyes being that only furniture workers were being organized. Furniture workers who came, seeing no such workers in the local, departed, thinking doubtless they had made a mistake and when it was explained to them about its being a "revolu-

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## "BEHOLDING THE ISSUE"

By Geo. W. Spangle  
"To be frank, Tom Mann to Youngstown at this time, when a political campaign is beginning, will becloud the issue," was the statement of a prominent member of the Socialist Party and candidate for political office on the Socialist ticket this fall. This politician has been posing as a revolutionist, a direct actionist, a rebel, claiming to understand the principles of direct action, and has admitted time after time that direct action on the part of the workers was the logical remedy to reform and overthrow capitalism. It is not the purpose of the writer to deny that the above individual still believes in the power of the "one big union," but to show the demoralizing and demoralizing effects of political action when it directly concerns the election to political office with a handsome salary attached. Another instance is that of several workers at Youngstown, Ohio, who have stood clearly industrialism until these same men have been nominated for political office, when at this time they are pulling for and supporting "pure and simple" political speakers and generally doing all in their power to effect their own election. These two instances are typical of what political action will "do" for the politicians of direct action. The program is "Behold the issue" by soliciting voters; telling the workers that clean streets, better street cars, more sewers, a straighter river, municipal light and water, etc., will make life easier and better for us all. Thousands of workers are awakened in this "bunk" and pulling away from all political parties, realizing the vain hope of ever receiving material benefit from politicians. Further, the thousands of actual wage workers who have no vote-the unorganized, the woman, and the child worker, cannot be given a voice or expect anything from all this political "bunk."

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## The Voice of the People

835 Carondelet St. New Orleans

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## The Labor Leader

By Elizabeth Gurley Flynn

The labor leader, like the political "graffer" is an exclusively American product. European countries have conservative unions and clerical unions, but their representatives are identified in the minds of all intelligent workers as out-and-out "job-laws." They are admittedly capitalist institutions and deceive none. But for callous exploitation of labor's noblest aspirations and generous efforts, for Janus-faced, double dealing with the toilers and their exploiters, the American labor leader stands alone.

There has been a plentiful crop in the last forty years, especially since the organization of the American Federation of Labor in 1881. Economic conditions as they existed among the skilled workers from which the A. F. of L. drew the bulk of its members, molded the minds of the labor leaders considerably, and the structure of the union gave them exceptional opportunities to develop.

An intensely individualistic tendency existed among the skilled workers due to the immature stage of socialism and to the competition still rampant in the commercial world. Each man in a shoe factory, for instance, had his own bench, his own tools, his exclusive craft skill, was capable of finishing a pair of shoes and drew comparatively high wages. So in a stone quarry, a machine shop or a textile mill. This produced independence and isolation. Each man thought in terms of "myself." "How can I get ahead?" was the tenor of his ambition. He desired to get into business. Having very little co-operative or interdependent relations with the man at the next bench, he regarded him not as a fellow worker, but as a competitor. Naturally, when craft unions were organized, he brought these feelings into the union. He accepted vaguely the idea of organizing to better conditions, but it was only when machinery eliminated skill and subdivided labor that the skilled workers learned how to work together in the shop and then in the union. As trustification grew nationwide, some realized that their chance to "rise" depended on the ability of their class to rise, but many have this lesson yet to learn.

The labor leader sprouted in this individualistic, self-seeking atmosphere. Instead of selecting business as his field of adventure, he selected

the Irish, hence the preponderance of Irish labor leaders and politicians.

This very quality of sociability has led to the corruption not only of the unscrupulous but also some of the most promising men in the labor movement. A strike occurs and according to the prescribed craft union methods an appeal or a committee of officials is appointed to confer with the employers. Among them may be a bright, honest, and intelligent young man.

He has faith in the cause of labor and is willing to fight for it. He is spotted by the wily capitalists as a potentially dangerous, and a process of insidious corruption begins. He is invited to a conference which finishes with a dinner and the sharp edge of class feeling is dulled.

The Civic Federation was organized under the proterogate of the actor Mark Hanna, coal operator, for this specific purpose on a magnificent scale. The captains of industry specified lieutenants in the dress suit, a sight for the gods, is not Tim Healy in overalls. The latter eat and drink with the capitalists, dress like them and finally think like them. The employers' interest must not be violated, contracts become their sacred trust.

John Golden, president of the United Textile Workers America, went into the office of one of the mills in Williamstown, Conn., to confer with the employers on the strikers' demands. He came forth to issue this ultimatum: "Go back to work; boys, for I can NOT AFFORD to give you an increase."

Lewis, president of the United Mine Workers, rushed to the strike mine in Indiana and ordered strikers back to work because they had "violated the contract." They were demanding SAFE ENTRIES TO THE MINES, yet Mr. Lewis threatened to remove their charter and fill their places with other union men if they did not return. Bosses' contracts were sacred, mine workers were nothing.

Mahon, of the Street Car Workers' Union, denied support to the Interborough strikers of New York City because of "violated contracts" and August Belmont discharged every union man. They lost their strike, their jobs were given to Farleyite strikebreakers, they were hounded by the blacklist, but Gompers, Mitchell and other prominent labor leaders shook the hand of the capitalist, Belmont, with the tears of women and children, and danced with him in the golden ballroom of the Hotel Astor.

John Mitchell, the labor leader par excellence with every capitalist paper in press agent, is an active member of the Civic Federation. In 1903, during the coal miners' strike in Colorado, success was assured through the unity of the Northern and Southern miners; 10,000 unorganized men had answered the call of the union, when John Mitchell hurried "a bolt out of a clear sky"—an order to the Northern coal miners—to return to work on an offer that held good provided the Southern miners won their strike. Only on the fourth day of the men submit and then because sup-

port from headquarters was denied their hungry wives and babies. Defeat overwhelmed the Southern Colorado miners following relief of the coal market. Ninety thousand men and women, after living all winter on the barren hillsides, on an average of 62 cents a week, driven to death and despair by a man who drank their life blood from capitalist wine glasses and traveled through Europe while they fought their desperate battle! (See John Mitchell Exposed by Robert Hande, 1905 convention United Mine Workers of America.) It is not strange Mr. Mitchell exports a \$5,000 diamond, presented by mine owners.

And now he is reported en route for Michigan.

Copper miners of Michigan! Take care lest you go down to the same shameful defeat as your coal miners brothers in Colorado, ten years ago. Do you want success? Rely on yourself! Do you want failure? Trust your fate to a man whose mind, body and soul are bent on your employers! You are fighting for YOUR pay envelope. He is fighting for HIS pay envelope. You are fighting for your class. He is fighting for the LEADER CLASS.

Many labor leaders maintain the attitude that the strike is a weapon only of last resort. Their reason is not difficult to understand. Arbitration and conciliation appears the staid word and does not cost anything. The treasury remains intact to pay their salaries. A \$100 a month walking delegate with every amount of his hat in a trap to avoid a strike would rapidly eat up in strike relief a \$5,000 treasury, and thus he protogts and perpetuates his \$100. He is not a worker, he is a politician and iron-clad contracts made in the name of outraged labor bear witness to this deplorable fact.

Similarly, a union man would be suspicious of the labor leader who sneers at "one big union." One union means unemployed international presidents, vice-presidents, secretaries, and officers appointed to thought of the labor shop, on with the overalls, no more fancy dinners, fancy drinks, pleasant associations with the masters of the land, harrows their souls.

That one big union is the most powerful weapon of the workers in this period of the trustification of industry, does not concern the labor leader.

Ambitious labor leaders use the union as a stepping stone to a fat political job. Lynch, of the Typographical Union, proposed for I. N. Commissioner of Labor; Ford, president of the N. J. State Federation of Labor, is government printer; Wilson, the miner, becomes U. S. Commissioner of Labor; Senator Hughes, of New Jersey, arose to power through "friendship" for labor. But once the exalted position is attained, labor's interests are obscured, in factories, mines and streets, is not given further attention. Strikes multiply with their hunger cries, and ever increasing power-breiting jail sentences, suppression of meetings and papers, but the labor leaders of yesterday, the mighty politicians of today, remain silent.

In summing up, the worker may well ask himself—"Who is to blame? What is to be done?" The answer is obvious; the wily alone. Labor leaders could not lead if there were no sheep-like men to follow. Eternal vigilance is a price of purity in unionism as well as in politics.

A labor union to be effective in the interests of the workers, is one where, paradoxically, the soldiers become the generals and the generals are the soldiers; where all power and orders flow from the mass to and through their representatives; where the membership sits at the throttle and shuts off the power of the engine, threatens to jump the track.

He who would be free, himself must strike the blow. When the laborer wakes and shakes off his manacles the labor leader will be hurled, "unhonored and unused," into shameful oblivion.

Ring out the clarion call of Industrial Democracy! Bid labor stand erect, self reliant, all powerful, and take the fruits of his sweat and blood into his mighty hands.

## I. W. W. CONTROLS WATER FRONT AFTER TOM MANN

(Denver Times, Sept. 21)

The coming of Tom Mann, the famous English labor leader, billed to speak in Denver, October 4, will arouse as much antagonism as interest among Denver labor unions, according to statements made by local union leaders. This antagonism, they allege, will be because he is to speak under the auspices of the Industrial Workers' union of the hotel and restaurant employees, between whom and the American Federation adherents there is alleged to be constant friction.

J. P. McGinley, national organizer of the waiters; Clarence Cox, the local union's business agent, and Fred Wessell, president of the Trades Assembly, are among those who criticize Mann's coming under auspices of what they allege to be a dual union not recognized by the American labor movement.

"Mann may not know it," said McGinley today, "but he will be getting a hot reception and a hearing under false pretenses if he speaks for the hotel and restaurant employees. The courts have decided already in several cases that no other organization can represent international may legally use the name. Also I claim that the men who are behind his appearance here have no standing with the legitimate labor bodies."

Letters and telegrams were sent this morning to Samuel Gompers, of the American Federation, and Jere L. Sullivan, of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees, asking for authoritative statements as to Mann's position toward the federated unions. Answers are expected before Mann arrives, and it is expected that the I. W. W. will see that all union men of Denver are notified that Mann appears for himself and the Industrial Workers and not for the federation unions.

W. C. Hiestand, of the Colorado State Federation, stated that Mann would be welcomed as an individual because of his ability and services to English labor, but that in no sense would he be permitted to represent the views and purposes of American labor. "We will no doubt hear him for what he is and his views," said Hickey, "but we want all the union people to know that his views are in accord with the spirit and purposes of American labor."

Meanwhile preparations are being made by the Industrial Workers of America for a great reception to this distinguished labor leader. They disclaim any significance attaching to his presence except as desired to see and hear the man who has done so much for the advancement of the political and industrial conditions of English workingmen.

Continued From Page One

was taken and as a result of a total vote cast of 130, 100 went for the I. L. A. and 30 for the I. W. W. This action took them out of the I. W. W. for good.

While this thing was going on it was learned that those people who call themselves organizers of the workers are being organized by the officers of the branches. They were offering the officers a salary of \$21.00 per week and expenses if they would try to swing the bunch into the I. L. A. All methods were used. Secret meetings were held at which the officers of the I. W. W. Longshoremen's union were invited. They were taken to the beach, caajoled, and promised a steady position and money if they would use their influence on the membership to bring about the thing desired.

Now, after all that has been said and done the A. F. of L. has not found this very fruitful field to operate in, especially as far as the longshoremen are concerned in this city.

True, they did get something around 200 members to join their "union." Since that they have called several meetings in the downtown district but have been unable to do anything. At a meeting to be held two weeks ago which was extensively advertised, and by the way this meeting was held in a room leased by a Catholic club, I happened to put in an appearance and waited there until 9:30 with only a few people in the hall and no meeting.

Since then we have not heard from their activity. They could accomplish only one thing—disrupt the organized movement on the front. If successful in this there will not be another offering of the LEADER CLASS.

"The I. W. W. is still supreme on the water front despite the fact that the A. F. of L. has captured the I. W. W. of the I. W. W. I have met several of the "prominents" and have been greeted with the intelligence that the I. W. W. has not lost out in this city. This does not look as though the I. W. W. had lost out in this city.

Errors in Akron Financial Report

Akron, Ohio, Sept. 18.

Solidarity:

Mr. J. M. Prevy, balance Bessmer collection, \$7.52; should be \$37.52.

April 21, stamped envelopes, \$111.56; should be \$11.56.

May 2, Dr. Wilson, mech services, \$112.00; should be \$12.

Error in original report, \$77.20; should be \$78.20.

Of course, the footings are right, and those interested will see the errors, but it may cause some controversy.

G. A. MILLER, Sec'y.

## "BROKEN RAILS" AT 38, JOBLESS R. R. MEN

"We call railroad men over thirty-eight years old who get out of a job and cannot get another place, 'broken rails,'" said Claude Dillon, freight train conductor at the Baltimore & Ohio, who was the first witness yesterday before the Railroad Arbitration Board.

"Few railroad men over thirty-eight years who lose a job can get another position or fit themselves for any other work."

"Would you rather receive \$4.18 a day on a train with a single engine, or \$8.36 on a train with two engines, both of the Mallet type?" asked W. C. Lee, for the trainmen.

"If the railroad save the \$4.18," replied the conductor.

Former Mayor Low, one of the arbiters, said he considered it unnecessary to discuss wages prior to the hearing at that time, and that the men asked for, the Chicago standard, was granted.

"We never got what we asked for," protested W. C. Lee. "Every settlement ever made with a railroad has been a compromise. There have been no reasonable increases in twenty years that have compensated for the increased duties of the trainmen. The increases have not kept pace with the increases in the duties of the men. The increases in 1910 were from 5 per cent to 15 per cent below our requests."

Local 33, Cleveland, Ohio, wishes to announce that no communications from the locals will be recognized as official unless bearing seal of local sending same.

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## NOTICE

Local Secretaries having on hand copies of Solidarity of June 7th, Vol. No. 22, Whole No. 178 are requested to send same in so that we may complete our files.

All orders for extra bundles of Solidarity or for increase in the regular bundle orders, must positively reach the office by Wednesday morning at the latest. These cannot guarantee filling them. Local secretaries and others will please paste this up on the wall.

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